

A Grammar of Cavineña

Antoine Guillaume

Mouton de Gruyter

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by

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For Kei, Christophe and Thomas

Preface

This book is a comprehensive grammatical description of the endangered Cavineña language (less than 1,200 speakers), spoken in the Amazonian rainforest of Lowland Bolivia, an area where the indigenous languages are virtually unknown. Cavineña belongs to the Tacanan family, comprising five languages, none of which has been the subject of an adequate descriptive grammar.

The book is a thoroughly revised version of my doctoral dissertation (Guillaume 2004). It is based mostly on the extensive fieldwork that I conducted in traditional Cavineña communities between 1996 and 2003. Cast in the functional-typological framework, and based on natural discourse data, the grammar presents a detailed and copiously exemplified account of most aspects of the language, building up from basic levels (phonetic and phonological) to higher levels (morphological and syntactic), and from brief descriptions of each level to a more comprehensive description of the same level in specific chapters.

The language contains a number of unusual features that will be of interest to typologist linguists, such as an unusual pitch accent system, a morphophonological rule that deletes case markers, an intricate predicate structure, a system of verbal suffixes expressing associated motion, a specific causative of involvement marker, a peculiar prefix *e-* that is attached to nouns that refer to body parts and a complex system of second position clitic pronouns.

The grammar will also be of interest to historical-comparative linguists, as for the first time one has sufficiently detailed grammatical information to make possible a reliable comparison with other languages with which Tacanan languages might be related, in particular the Panoan family, and to serve as input into hypotheses regarding the population history of this part of South America.

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I started this project in 1996, thanks to Colette Grinevald, who welcomed me into her team of linguists revising the alphabets of the Bolivian lowland languages. She was the mentor I needed during my early years of linguistics and has been extremely helpful and supportive ever since.

I owe a great debt to a number of people and institutions for their financial help at various stages of the project: the Région Rhône-Alpes (France), the Graduate School of the University of Oregon (USA), Pieter Muysken and his Spinoza project at the University of Leiden (Netherlands), Bob Dixon and Sasha Aikhenvald from the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology (RCLT) at La Trobe University (Australia), and François Pellegrino from the *Laboratoire Dynamique Du Langage* of the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS) and the University of Lyon 2 (France).

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The present study has progressively developed at three distinct academic institutions, the *Laboratoire Dynamique Du Langage* of the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS) and the University of Lyon 2 in France, the Department of Linguistics of the University of Oregon in the USA, and the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology (RCLT) of the University of La Trobe in Australia. I owe a great debt to the scholars with whom I worked or met at these institutions, starting with Sasha Aikhenvald, whose commitment and genuine interest in helping me write this grammar was way beyond her duties as a Ph.D. supervisor. She has read and commented on every single chapter of this work, often more than once. Bob Dixon has been a major source of inspiration throughout this work. I am also thankful to all those who read through the whole draft of this grammar, or parts of it, and provided me with comments and ideas: Willem Adelaar, Andy Butcher, Hilary Chappell, Timothy Curnow, Christian DiCanio, Carola Emkow, Carol Genetti, Colette Grinevald, Andrew Ingram, Nicole Kruspe, and Hein Van der Voort. The dissertation was submitted in February 2004 (and passed in October 2004). The three examiners, Willem Adelaar, Nilson Gabas Junior, and John Hajek, provided numerous comments which have greatly enhanced the quality of this study. Alec Coupe deserves special thanks for his help in the task of writing in English. Adam Bowles, publication assistant at RCLT, has also been excellent in proofreading many of the chapters. My gratitude also goes to Siew Peng Condon, executive officer at RCLT, whose help went beyond her administrative duties, notably caring for our little boy Christophe during the last hectic weeks of writing the dissertation.

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Antoine Guillaume
Lyon, June 2008

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Abbreviations

+	fused morphemes
-	morpheme boundary
=	clitic boundary
()	material that does not appear on the surface (used in glossing line)
[]	multiple-word constituent
{ }	false start requiring repair

1, 2, 3	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd person	EMPH	emphatic
A	transitive subject	EPEN	epenthetic
ABIL	abilitative	ERG	ergative
ADVERS	adversative	FILL	(lexical) filler
AFFTN	affection	FB	father's brother
ALWS	always	FM	formative
ANTIPASS	antipassive	FOC	focus
APPROX	approximative	FRUST	frustrative
ASF	adjective suffix	FZ	father's sister
ASSOC	associative	GEN	genitive
ATT.GETTER	attention getter	HORT	hortative
AUGM	augmentative	IMP	imperative
CA	common argument	IMPFV	imperfective
CAUS	causative	INCOMP	incompletive
CAUS.INVLT	causative of involvement	INT	interrogative
CC	copula complement	itr.	intransitive
COMP	completive	INTENS	intensifier
CONDIT	conditional	JUSS	jussive
CONTR	contrastive	LIG	ligature
CONT.EVID	contrary to evidence	LOC	locative
CP	copula predicate	LOC.APPROX	locative approximative
CS	copula subject	LOC.GNL	general locative
DAT	dative	MAN	manner
DC	deictic center	MB	mother's brother
DESID	desiderative	MC	main clause
DIM	diminutive	MZ	mother's sister
DISEMPH	disemphatic	NEG	negative
DISTR	distributive	NMLZ	nominalizer
DL/dl	dual	NP	noun phrase
DS	different subject	NPF	noun prefix
E	extended argument	NSG	non-singular

O	object	REM.PAST	remote past
ONOM	onomatopoeia	REP	reportative
PASS	passive	RES	resultative
PERF	perfect	RESTR	restrictive
PERL	perlative	S	intransitive subject
PERM	permanently	SG	singular
PL/pl	plural	SIMLR	similarity
POT	potential	so.	someone
PROX	proximate	sp.	species
PURP.GNL	general purpose	sth.	something
PURP.MOT	purpose of motion	SS	same subject
QUEST	question (marker)	STRG.EMPH	strong emphasis
RC	relative clause	TEMP	temporarily
REC.PAST	recent past	tr.	transitive
REDUP	reduplication	UNCERT	uncertain
REF	reflexive	VBLZ	verbalizer
REITR	reiterative		

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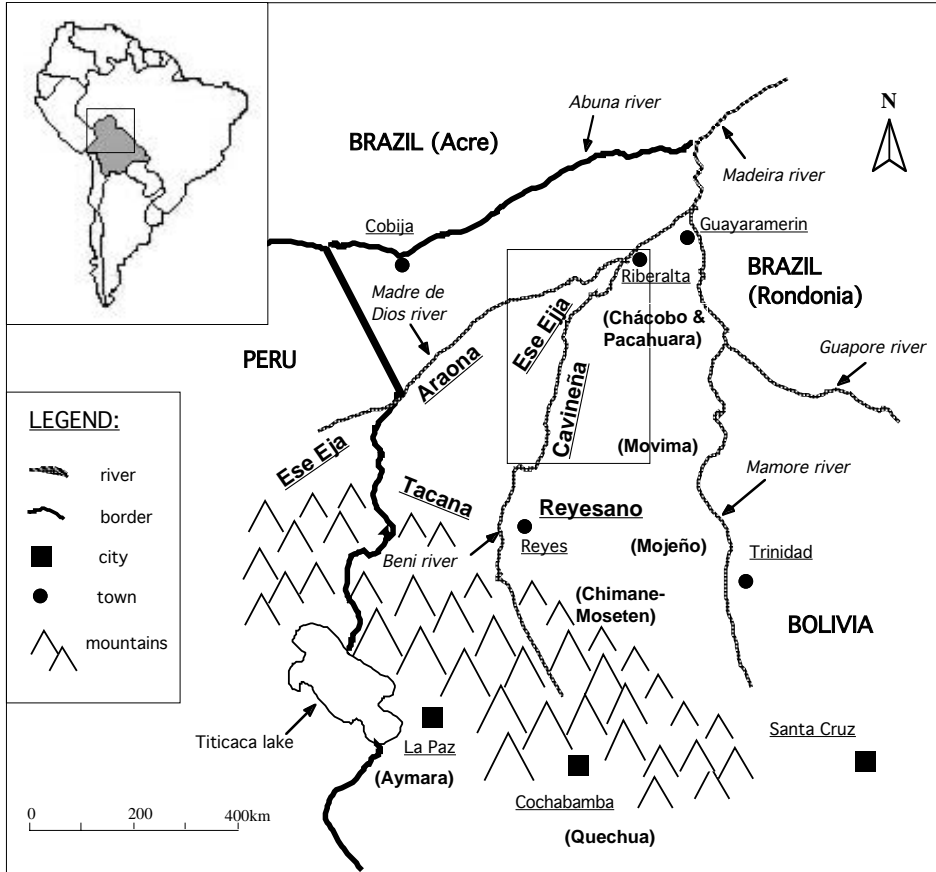
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Maps



Map 1. Approximate location of the languages of the Tacanan family (bold and underlined) and neighbouring languages (bold and in brackets)



Map 2. Approximate location of the main Cavineña traditional communities (bold and underlined)

Plates



Photo 1. Alfredo Tavo and his wife, Carmen Camaconi (†), in the backyard of their house in Riberalta (1997)



Photo 2. Alphabet revision workshop in Tumichucua, with, from left, the author, Juan Tavo, Bonifacio Navi, Gregorio Yubanera and Aureliano Tavo (1996)

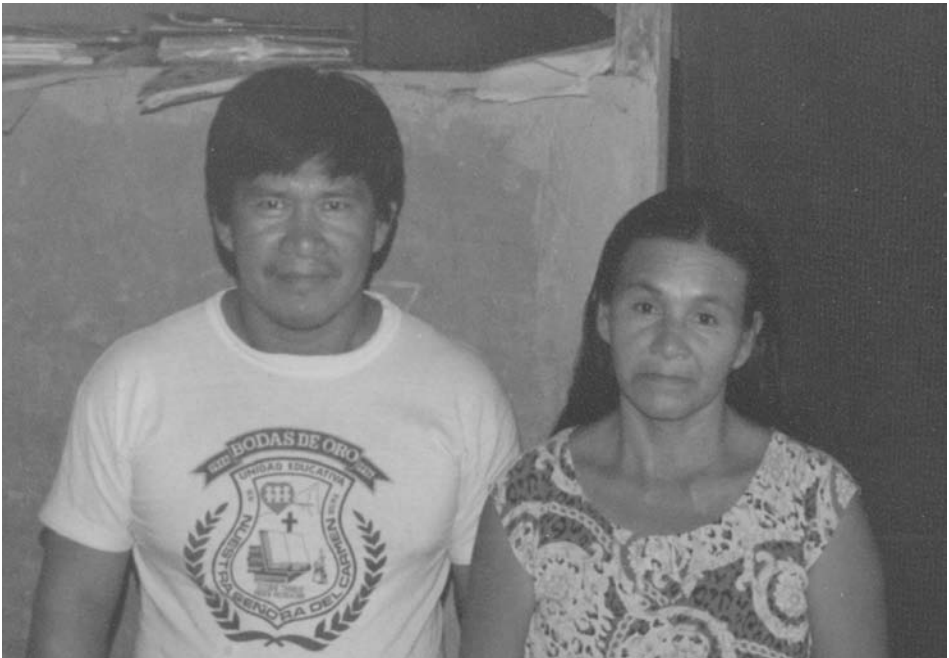


Photo 3. Francisco Vaca and his wife, Griselda Cartagena, in their house in Riberalta, (1997)



Photo 4. Ox-cart trip in the pampa between the communities of San Miguel and Mission Cavinás (1997)



Photo 5. Traditional Cavineña community of Baqueti (1997)

Chapter 1

The language and its speakers

Cavineña is spoken by approximately 1,200 people who live in scattered communities in the Amazonian rainforests of northern Bolivia (South America). Cavineña belongs to the small Tacanan language family, together with Araona, Ese Ejja (or Ese Eja), Reyesano (or Maropa) and Tacana; see Map 1 for the location of Cavineña and its sister Tacanan languages. The language is named after the Franciscan mission Misión (Jesús de) Cavinás,¹ where the Cavineñas were confined at the end of the 18th century, and where some Cavineñas still live today; see the location of Misión Cavinás in Map 2. The term “Cavineña” is also the auto-denomination of the ethnic group. Ethnic Cavineñas include Cavineña speakers as well as non-Cavineña speakers. In Spanish, which is the lingua franca of Bolivia, “Cavineña” alternates with “Cavineño”, according to rules of gender agreement (e.g., *una Cavineña* ‘a Cavineña woman’ vs. *un Cavineño* ‘a Cavineña man’). In this study I consistently use the term “Cavineña”, following the practice used in previous English research on the language.

1.1. Geography and demography

There are between 1,700 and 2,104 ethnic Cavineñas. The first figure comes from the socio-linguistic studies conducted by PROEIB Andes (2000), the second from García Pérez (1998: 96). These figures correspond to people who identify themselves as Cavineña, but these are not necessarily speakers of the Cavineña language; it is my impression that probably not more than 1,200 of these people are fluent speakers of Cavineña.

Most Cavineñas still live in traditional communities. The main Cavineña communities are listed in Table 1.1. These are the most stable communities — new communities are regularly created while others frequently disappear — and those which I am most familiar with; see Map 2 for their location. The table also shows the size of the Cavineña population and the total population (i.e., including non-Cavineña people) for each community.

¹ The origin of the term “Cavinás” is unknown. Interestingly, this term is very similar to “Caviña”, the name of one of the two moieties in the neighboring sister language Araona. The relation between the names remains to be investigated.

Table 1.1. Main Cavineña communities (figures from García Pérez 1998)

Community	Cavineña population	Total population
Baqueti	121	128
Bolívar	85	92
Buendestino	142	142
California	87	87
Galilea	256	256 ²
Las Mercedes	33	33
Misión Cavinás	91	91
Peña Guarayo	80	80
San Miguel	41	42
Santa Catalina	119	133
Total	1,055	1,084

All the Cavineña communities, except Galilea and Mapajo/Santa Ana,³ live east of the Beni river which corresponds to the administrative department of Beni. Galilea and Mapajo/Santa Ana are located on the western side of the Beni river, in the Pando administrative department.

Some Cavineña families also live in non-Cavineña communities, i.e., communities which are not traditionally Cavineña and where Cavineñas are often not a majority. This happens in Puerto Cavinás, with 120 Cavineñas from a total population of 224, and neighboring Candelaria, with 97 Cavineñas from a total population of 268, two communities located on the Beni river. This is also the case in Australia, a community located on the dirt highway, with 44 Cavineñas from a total population of 231. See the location of these communities in Map 2. The total number of Cavineñas living in such communities is 331, according to García Pérez.

Some Cavineñas have emigrated to the regional towns of Riberalta and Guayaramerín. The towns have a Cavineña population of 110 and 38, respectively, out of a total population of over 60,000 for Riberalta and over 30,000 for Guayaramerín.⁴

The community of Mapajo/Santa Ana is located somewhere on the Bolivian side of the Abuna river (north of the Pando department, along the Brazilian

² The ratio 256/256 for Galilea, if it were ever correct in 1998, is definitely inaccurate for 2001; Galilea, where I did 5 months of fieldwork in 2001, has probably at least 20 to 30 non-Cavineña people, consisting of families of teachers who, for the most part, come from Riberalta.

³ The name Mapajo is given by García Pérez (1998) but I have also heard the name Santa Ana used by several Cavineña native speakers to refer to the same community. See further discussion in §1.4.

⁴ Riberalta's and Guayaramerín population figures are taken from the World Gazetteer (<http://www.world-gazetteer.com>).

border). Cavineñas from this community (49 people) have no contact with the rest of the Cavineñas; many Cavineñas are not even aware of their existence. They are said to have been 'sold' by the missionaries of Misión Cavinás as labor workers in 1940 (see §1.4).

1.2. Sociolinguistic situation

Although Cavineña is still actively spoken, and even learned by some children, it is an endangered language. According to PROEIB Andes) estimates, there are 1,178 speakers (67.9 % of the total population). Their figures are reproduced in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2. Language maintenance estimations (figures from PROEIB Andes 2000)

	Percentage	Population
Cavineña ethnic group	100 %	1,736
Monolingual in Cavineña	1.2 %	20
Bilingual in Cavineña and Spanish	66.7 %	1,158
Monolingual in Spanish	30.8 %	535
Other languages (e.g., Portuguese)	1.3 %	23
Level of retention	67.9 %	1,178

I basically agree with these figures, although I am suspicious of there still being any true monolingual speakers. All the Cavineñas whom I met, whether male or female, had at least a rudimentary knowledge of Spanish. Based upon my firsthand experience with two Cavineña communities (Galilea and Misión Cavinás) and the town of Riberalta, the preceding table deserves some comment. The degree of maintenance of the Cavineña language varies from community to community. There appears to be a correlation between language loss and proximity to the town of Riberalta. In Misión Cavinás and the nearby community of San Miguel, Cavineña is the main means of communication between almost everybody, including young children. These communities are some of the most remote areas where Cavineñas live. In Galilea, which is the closest community to Riberalta, Cavineña is still the main means of communication among most adults and elders. Cavineña is also still used between adolescents and adults, but not between adolescents themselves. As for most younger children (below the age of approximately 12) Cavineña is neither used nor understood. In Riberalta, Cavineña is no longer used.

1.3. Physical environment, subsistence and culture

In this section, I provide a brief overview of Cavineñas life in traditional communities. More information can be found in Camp and Liccardi (1980), García Pérez (1998) and Stahl (2003).

The Cavineña communities are located next to rivers (e.g., Buendestino, Baqueti), small streams (e.g., Misión Cavinás, San Miguel) or lakes (e.g., Galilea) in well chosen upland terrain that does not flood. The northern-most communities are surrounded by vast areas of thick jungle (e.g., Galilea). In the south, however, the jungle is mostly restricted to stretches of various widths along the banks of rivers or lakes. Between rivers and/or lakes are vast patches of pampa (savannah). The climate is tropical with temperatures hovering around 35° Celsius (95° Fahrenheit) during most of the year. The rainy season begins in October/November, and most of the areas around where the Cavineñas live become completely flooded until March/April. The dry season runs from April to October. That season is sometimes punctuated by atmospheric fluctuations brought by cold winds from the south — it is winter time in the southern hemisphere. These winds and fluctuations are called *Sur* ‘south’ in Spanish and *Beni* in Cavineña, a word which comes from the southern flowing Beni river. The temperature can suddenly drop from 35° Celsius to a low of (sometimes below) 15° Celsius (59° Fahrenheit). The wind and the cold can last as long as 2 weeks and can be extremely uncomfortable for the people, being used to hot weather, and lacking home insulation or warm clothing.

The Cavineñas’ main means of subsistence in the traditional communities are hunting, fishing, fruit collection and slash-and-burn cultivation of banana, manioc, rice and corn. They also raise chicken, ducks, and rarely cattle. Some Cavineña communities are involved in trading, usually exchanging brazil nuts for goods, such as oil, sugar, salt, soap, bullets, etc., brought from Riberalta by merchants on the river. Some Cavineña men are hired by logging companies.

Cavineñas have an extremely fine sense of humor. They seem to joke about everything, all day long, with extremely sonorous laughter — this is especially true of Galilea. They enjoy having fiestas where they drink incredible amounts of chicha, a fermented drink made of corn or manioc that they prepare themselves.

Cavineñas particularly enjoy giving nicknames. Every person in a Cavineña community has an official name and an official surname. The surname is composed of the father’s surname followed by the mother’s surname, according to Bolivian practices. In most cases, Cavineña surnames include one of the following ten: *Achipa*, *Ayala*, *Camaconi*, *Cartagena*, *Mayo*, *Rutani*, *Sepa*, *Siripi*, *Tavo* or *Yubanera*. However, these names/surnames are hardly ever used in daily life, being used for administrative purposes or with foreigners. Nicknames are used instead of names. The Cavineñas coin many sorts of nicknames. Nicknames are

given according to something special that characterizes a person or that has happened to a person. When I arrived for the first time in Galilea, after a long trip on the river, my face and my neck were completely red from the sun. I was given the nickname *dudu mapa* ('beam shoulder') because my redness made me look like someone struggling to carry a heavy beam on my shoulders. Nicknames are often given (or changed) when someone loses their temper, a terribly bad quality in Cavineña society. Antonio Yubanera recorded a story about how a man once got upset with his wife who had not cooked a fish the way he wanted — this is the text “Apodos” (see Table 1.5 in the appendix). His anger was reported to others who searched for a nickname to “punish” him. They called him *uwi* ‘mole’ because the fish that caused the anger, a threespot leporinus (*Leporinus friderici*), has big stains on its skin. I was also told that Rosalino Mayo (from Galilea) was once given the nickname *bina kani* ‘bat hole’ because he once lost his temper in a situation involving a fish whose mouth resembles the holes bats make in trees. Note that the exact reason of Rosalino’s loss of temper was not given to me.

Cavineñas have special nickname-givers, i.e., persons with acknowledged skills in nickname-giving whom one consults with when someone needs to be “punished” for having lost their temper. The Cavineña language has special suffixes used to coin affective nicknames. They consist of one of two endings, *chu* or *ku*, which are added to part of an official name. I was often called *Antuku* from my (Bolivian) official name *Antonio*. Someone named *Feliz* is often called *Felichu* (see §12.7.8 for a full discussion).

Most Cavineñas are religious, although none of their ancestral beliefs appear to have survived. The traditional and remote communities of the south practice Catholicism, which was introduced to them by Spanish Franciscan missionaries at the end of the 18th century. The more modern communities of the north practice Protestantism, which was introduced by SIL missionaries in the late 1960’s and is still promoted by Swiss and German Missionaries based in Riberalta.

1.4. History

Very little is known of the Cavineña history, especially of the pre-contact period, i.e., before 1764, which appears to be the date of the foundation of the first Cavineña mission.⁵ Before the first contacts with Spanish missionaries, the Cavineñas appear to have lived between the rivers Madidi and Beni (see Map 2). Traditional stories relating to this period mention the constant state of war be-

⁵ This section draws on Rivero (1986a, 1986b), Castro Mantilla (1996), García Pérez (1998: 42), Espinoza (2003), and information provided to me by Alfredo Tavo and Mickaël Brohan.

tween the Cavineñas and enemies, generally identified as the ancestors of the present-day Ese Ejjas (from the same Tacanan linguistic family).

The first contact with the Western World was probably made in the middle of the 18th century by Spanish Franciscan Catholic missionaries, who had already established a number of missions at the foot of the Andes, such as Ixiamas, Tumupasa, San José de Uchupiamonas and Apolo. These missions were located in the actual Tacana territory (see Map 1) and had the purpose of extending their influence into the northern plains. The first Cavineña mission was established in 1764 on the banks of a stream called Undumó, a tributary of the Madidi river with the name Misión Esmeraldas, under the direction of the Franciscan Father José de Sosa.

Misión (Jesús de) Cavinatas was created between 1881 and 1894 when the priests and the Cavineñas fled attacks from the Ese Ejjas. Misión Cavinatas remained in the hands of the Franciscan Fathers until 1941. In 1940, a number of Cavineña families were 'sold' by the priests to a rubber company which took them away from the mission. These people never returned; they correspond to the present-day community of Mapajo/Santa Ana located near the Brazilian frontier on the Abuna river.

In 1941, American Catholics from the order of Maryknoll replaced the Franciscan fathers. In 1958, a number of Cavineña men rebelled against the Fathers and their authoritarian practices. These Cavineñas were expelled from Misión Cavinatas. They moved with their families to nearby rubber centers. Maryknoll priests ran Misión Cavinatas until 1973. When they left, the priests sold the land and the cattle of Misión Cavinatas to the local Bolivian Navy, leaving the Cavineñas with nothing but bad memories, an intruding military barracks, and a herd of cattle constantly damaging their houses and fields.

In the 1960's, the American missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) established their headquarters in Tumichucua (about 25km south of Riberalta; see Map 2). They started working with the Cavineñas in the early 1970's, having first worked with other indigenous groups. They provided education, medical assistance, and training in various fields such as health, mechanics and carpentry. Two SIL missionaries, Elisabeth Camp and Millicent Liccardi, lived for long periods in the Cavineña community of Las Mercedes (see Map 2). They learned and studied the Cavineña language. They collected texts, compiled a dictionary, wrote a grammatical sketch, designed school books and translated the New Testament into Cavineña. They left in September 1985.

Swiss and German missionaries from the Misión Suiza (Swiss Evangelical Mission) settled in Riberalta soon after the departure of the SIL. Since then, they have provided some assistance (notably medical; not educational) to the Cavineñas and other indigenous groups, complementing what is nowadays provided by the Bolivian government.

The departure of the SIL also corresponded with the beginning of the political organization of the Cavineñas together with neighboring indigenous groups, such as the the Chácobos. In 1986, they created the Central Indígena de la Región Amazónica de Bolivia (CIRABO) (indigenous organization of the Amazonian region of Bolivia). Based in Riberalta, this organization is nowadays very active in fighting for the rights of the Cavineñas and other Bolivian indigenous groups of northern Bolivia, despite limited funding. The Cavineñas' main battle nowadays is the right for Tierra Comunitaria de Origen (TCO) (community land of origin) which would make them the owners of their traditional land.

1.5. Genetic affiliation

An overview of the classification of languages within the Tacanan family is provided in Girard (1971: 11 ff.) and is not repeated here. Following the phonological and morphological reconstructions of Key (1963a, 1968, 1992 et al.) and Girard (1971), most linguists now accept that the Tacanan family consists of at least the following five languages (all still spoken to some degree): Araona, Cavineña, Ese Ejja, Reyesano and Tacana. Based on certain phonological and morphological similarities, Girard further sub-classifies these five Tacanan languages into three subgroups, as follows:

- 1 — Tacana, Reyesano and Araona;
- 2 — Cavineña;
- 3 — Ese Ejja.

Girard's (1971) and Key's (1968) studies also attempt to link Tacanan languages with the Panoan languages under a single Proto-Pano-Tacanan language (following an initial suggestion by Schuller 1933). However, establishing the genetic affiliation between the two families requires more work and a better knowledge of the various Tacanan languages. As Girard (1971: 145) acknowledges, "the problem ... demands much more careful investigation ... and much more material is required which at present is not available" and "when one attempts to correlate the two families ... one is left with a meager corpus of allegedly cognate material — so meager indeed that the evidence for a Pano-Tacanan (sic.) relationship seems only probable".

There have also been suggestions of higher level groupings. Suarez (1969, 1973) proposed a link between Tacanan, Panoan, and the Bolivian isolate language Chimane-Mosetén. Greenberg (1987) put forward the hypothesis of a link between Tacanan, Panoan, Chimane-Mosetén, Jê, and Carib languages. However, until more is known about the Tacanan languages and Proto-Tacanan,

these links are highly speculative and remain an open question for further research.

Cavineña is a uniform language with (as far as I know) no dialectal variation.⁶ I could only identify a few minor differences between the speech of the modern communities of the north and the more traditional communities of the south. This lack of major differences was further confirmed in my conversations with Cavineña speakers. The only domain of variation appears to be lexical. For example, the people from Galilea usually say *jetiama* ‘many, a lot of’ while the people from Misión Cavinás prefer *umada* ‘many, a lot of’. Both words are synonymous and are perfectly understood by all the Cavineña speakers from both communities.

1.6. Previous work on the language

The first general study of Cavineña is the work of Camp and Liccardi (1989), which consists of a Cavineña/Spanish (and Spanish/Cavineña) dictionary followed by a grammatical sketch. The dictionary consists of more than 3,000 lexical entries. Each entry is provided with a word class specification (as defined in the following sketch), one or more glosses, and one or two full sentences providing a context for the word, accompanied by a translation in Spanish. The dictionary ends with a number of appendices listing identified affixes of the language, names of trees, birds, fish, expressions referring to the time of the day, snakes, monkeys, and kinship terms. The grammatical sketch consists of 95 pages. It identifies and exemplifies (with morpheme breaks and interlinear glosses) the main structures of the language, from morphology to complex clauses. This is done in a methodic and transparent way. The only criticism that I would make of this work is the absence of discussion and justifications for the proposed classification of the forms. Nevertheless, this work was of invaluable help to me when I started my work on Cavineña. I could rapidly identify basic vocabulary and morpho-syntactic structures. Later on, the dictionary provided me with a fair number of forms and structures that did not occur (or rarely occurred) in my own corpus.

In addition to the dictionary and the grammatical sketch, there are a number of short articles on particular aspects of the language. Brief discussions of the phonetics and phonology of Cavineña can be found in Key (1963a, 1968), Girard (1971) and Liccardi (1983). The pronominal system, which is one of the most complex areas of the language, is studied in Camp and Liccardi (1977,

⁶ But note that I have no information on the Cavineñas who live in the Mapajo/Santa Ana community who have been living apart from the remaining Cavineñas since 1940 (see §1.4).

1983⁷) and in Camp (1985). A number of verbal suffixes encoding notions of motion are discussed in Camp (1982). Camp (1983) discusses several structures equivalent to complementation in other languages.

Camp and Liccardi collected a fair number of texts. Unfortunately, only a portion have been made available (many in unreadable microfiche formats; see below). Four texts are available in the appendices to Camp (1982) (one text), and Liccardi (1983) (three texts), with morpheme breaks, glosses and translations. Also available and translated into Spanish, although not analyzed morphologically, are Camp and Liccardi (1972) (14 texts), Camp and Liccardi (1973) (10 texts), Tavo Mayo (1977) (20 texts), and Tabo Mayo (1978) (17 texts).⁸

The two SIL missionaries also produced several school books, such as Camp and Liccardi (1971, 1978), and translations of religious texts, like the New Testament. There are others but I have not had access to them.

When SIL missionaries left Bolivia in 1985, they transferred most of their fieldnotes and collected texts, whether handwritten or typewritten, onto microfiches. This represents a substantial amount of data which is not published or accessible in any other format. Unfortunately, a great majority of this material is undecipherable because that microfilming was done in very poor conditions (Donald Pitman, p.c.). The full list is given in Table 1.3 with the reference number, the title, the name of the linguist, and the number of pages. Note that I do not have the number of microfiches per reference number.⁹

The material produced by Camp and/or Liccardi uses an alphabet which is slightly different from the one used in this study; see discussion in §1.10 and §2.10.

With the exception of Camp (1985), the majority of the material cited above either is published locally and does not have wide distribution or is not published at all. However, most references (including the microfiches) are available at the *Biblioteca Etnológica* (library of ethnology) of the *Universidad Católica Boliviana* (Bolivian Catholic University) in the Bolivian city of Cochabamba and at the library of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Dallas in the USA.

⁷ Camp and Liccardi (1983) is essentially a translation in English of Camp and Liccardi (1977).

⁸ Tabo Mayo and Tavo Mayo both correspond to the same person whose surname is spelled differently in each reference.

⁹ The list is reproduced exactly as it was given to me by SIL. I have not corrected (what I think are) typos: e.g., *Cavineña* (not *Cavinena*), *Sunchar* (not *Junchar*), *Isaraisara* (not *Esaraisara*).

Table 1.3. Microfiches with data on Cavineña

Ref.	Title	Author(s) ¹⁰	# pp.
74-8078	Lessons for Cavinena Speakers Who Read Spanish	L&C	23
74-8040	Analysis of a New Location	Camp	26
74-8079	Sketches	C&L	18
74-8264	Phonological Statement of Cavinena	L&C	24
84-0392	Esther Peya Jida Que Epuna Cuana Tsehue: Women of the Bible	Camp	30
74-8044	Stories Written by the Cavinena	Camp	37
82-0120	Cuando Trataron de Junchar el Cielo y Otras Historias		1
74-8043	Morpheme Divisions & Translation	C&L	32
74-8090	Data on Biological Categories	Liccardi	12
74-8042	Analysis of Propositional Relations	C&L	108
74-8045	Pronoun Data	C&L	165
74-8041	Negation	C&L	21
74-8032	Texts I	C, L & Key	290
74-8033	Texts & Concordance	C&L	1161
74-8038	Grammar Sketch	C&L	140
74-8034	Texts II	C&L	108
74-8039	Embedded Clauses & Perceptive Clauses	Camp	54
74-8035	Texts Written by the Cavinena	C&L	370
74-8050	Vocabulary Supplement	C&L	12
74-8082	Supplement to Bolivian Vocabulary #4	Liccardi	82
74-8083	Data on Forms of Interrogatives	Liccardi	42
74-8084	Intonation Data	Liccardi	25
74-8048	Grammatical Points of the Idiom	C&L	96
74-8037	Conversation Phrases	C&L	10
74-8085	Pedagogical Advice for Necabahuityatira Esarais- ara	Liccardi	14
74-8036	Analyzed Texts	Camp	240
74-8052	Grammatical Notes	Camp	87
74-8049	Grammatical Construction & Affixes	C&L	272
74-8080	Conversation Phrases	Liccardi	21
74-8081	Phrases & Data	Liccardi	75
74-8086	Cultural Data	Liccardi	55
74-8087	Affix Orders	Liccardi	16
74-8088	Phonology Data	Liccardi	51
74-8051	Paradigms	C&L	24
74-8047	Demography Data	Key	6
74-8046	Lessons for Learning Cavinena	Camp	14

¹⁰ L and C stand for Liccardi and Camp, respectively.

Data on Cavineña (most often wordlists) has also been collected by missionaries and travelers ever since Cavineñas had first contact with Westerners. This is, for example, the case with Armentia and Lafone Quevedo (1906), which includes a number of paradigms (pronouns, numerals, verbs with various affixes), translations in Cavineña of various prayers, and a list of about 3,600 forms. I have not investigated this material. Its content is discussed in an annotated bibliography by Girard (1971: 177ff.).

Alfredo Tavo, who was one of my main language consultant (see next section), has been working for years on writing a history of his people, in both Cavineña and Spanish. Unfortunately, the Cavineña part of Alfredo's manuscript has neither been published nor given away, although Alfredo has generously shared some of his findings in the recording of texts in Cavineña where he relates the past history of the Cavineñas.¹¹

1.7. Fieldwork

Fieldwork in Amazonian Bolivia, especially when it is done in traditional communities, can be quite challenging. The fieldworker has to face a difficult physical environment because of high heat and humidity, mosquitoes and biting flies, and all sorts of diseases. The living and working conditions in the communities are harsh, with no electricity, no running water, and often hardly any furniture. One has to boil or filter water and sleep on a mat on the floor. Chairs and tables are always hard to find. One hardly eats anything other than rice, manioc and bananas, occasionally complemented by fish, chicken or scarce jungle meat. Access to the communities is difficult and hazardous, often requiring several days on rivers and/or non-asphalted roads. The difficulties of fieldwork in Amazonian Bolivia (and many other parts of Amazonia) most likely explains why so little linguistic work has been done in that part of the world and so little is known about these languages.

The present grammar is based on a total of about 15 months of fieldwork. I first started working on Cavineña in 1996 in Tumichucua, a small village near the regional town of Riberalta. Tumichucua was the headquarter of the SIL missionaries until 1985 (see Map 2). Together with other linguistics graduate students, I assisted Prof. Colette Grinevald in a 2 month-long (July and August) government-sponsored project aiming at standardizing practical alphabets for the Bolivian lowland languages. I was given the task of the revision of the Cavineña alphabet together with a team of Cavineña speakers from various communities (see Photo 2). I met Alfredo Tavo (a 56 year old Cavineña man at the

¹¹ Note that the Spanish part of Alfredo Tavo's manuscript is being published under Tabo Amapo (forthcoming).

time), who has been one of my best teachers of Cavineña ever since (see Photo 1). I collected wordlists and started working on the phonology of the language.

I returned to Riberalta for two months in 1997 (July and August). I met Alfredo again, who lives between Puerto Cavinás and Riberalta). He introduced me to Francisco Vaca, a 40 year old man at the time (see Photo 3). Francisco grew up in Misión Cavinás but settled in Riberalta in the late 1980's. Francisco, similar to Alfredo, had been trained by SIL missionaries to do linguistic work. He turned out to be an excellent teacher of Cavineña too. Alfredo also took me on a trip to visit the Cavineña communities (see Photos 4 and 5). The trip ended quickly. After visiting three communities (Baqueti, San Miguel and Misión Cavinás) I caught severe amoebic dysentery and had to be evacuated immediately by light plane to Riberalta for adequate treatment. I decided to stay in town working with Alfredo and Francisco, asking them to tell me stories, which I would record and transcribe with their help.

I went back to Riberalta for two months in 1998 (July and August) and for one month in 2000 (April). I stayed in the town again, collecting texts and eliciting data from Francisco and Alfredo. This work took place in my little hotel and in their houses. I managed to record a few texts from Francisco's wife, Griselda Cartagena (see Photo 3), and Samuel Mayo, an elderly Cavineña who lives in Riberalta.

In 2001, I became more courageous and returned to the 'real' Cavineña world. I lived for five months (March to July) in the community of Galilea (see Map 2). To my surprise, nothing bad happened to me this time. I participated in the daily life of the community. I went fishing and hunting, played soccer, went to every single village meeting, church services and fiestas, drank quite a lot of chicha (traditional beer), learned to speak Cavineña, and started writing down what I was hearing around me. I collected many stories from all sorts of people and recorded conversations. I was assisted in the transcriptions and translations by the pastor of the community, Antonio Yubanera (who was about 45 years old).

In 2003, I stayed a whole month (May) in the remote Misión Cavinás. The trip to Misión Cavinás from Reyes (see Map 1) took 4 days. The first day was spent in a bus on the dirt highway, en route to the village of Australia (see Map 2). The second day was spent on a motorcycle en route to Baqueti (see dotted lines on map 2). The third day was spent in Baqueti, waiting for someone from Misión Cavinás to fetch me. There was so much water on the paths that it was impossible for my motorcycle-taxi driver to take me any further). At 5 pm, two Cavineña women from Misión Cavinás (Victoria Tavo and her daughter) arrived with an ox-cart. The following day, we left at 1 am and it took 15 hours, at an average speed of 2.5km/h, to reach Misión Cavinás. A few days later, I asked Victoria to relate the trip. She gave me an extraordinary 45 minute-long retell-

ing of the whole voyage. Many examples in this study have been taken from this text. Being in Misión Cavinás gave me the opportunity to work with Alfredo Tavo again, who lives in nearby Puerto Cavinás when he is not in Riberalta. He and I were given a house in the village. The time was spent recording new texts and revising a draft of this grammar. Unfortunately, Alfredo had to leave after 2 weeks. Emerenciano Sepa, a young man of about 35 years old, was asked to take over Alfredo's task in helping me revise the grammar and transcribe texts, which he did perfectly.

1.8. Corpus

The corpus for this study consists of the following types of data:

- 1 — 59 recorded, transcribed and translated texts (about 3,800 sentences). Two of these texts are provided with morpheme breaks, glosses and free translations in the appendix to the grammar;
- 2 — 4 recorded, transcribed and translated conversations (about 800 sentences);
- 3 — 20 texts written by my language consultants: 11 texts by Alfredo and 9 texts by Francisco (about 680 sentences);
- 4 — 65 published texts: 20 texts in Tavo Mayo (1977), 17 texts in Tabo Mayo (1978), one text in Camp (1982), 3 texts in Liccardi (1983), 14 texts in Camp and Liccardi (1972) and 10 texts in Camp and Liccardi (1973) (about 3,500 sentences);
- 5 — fieldnote examples (obtained either in controlled settings — elicited or volunteered — or through participant observation): about 3,650 sentences (613 sentences in 1997, 952 sentences in 1998, 530 sentences in 2000, 560 sentences in 2001 and 1,000 sentences in 2003);
- 6 — sentences from the Camp and Liccardi's (1989) dictionary (about 3,000 sentences).

The corpus does not include the data from the following sources:

- 1 — SIL translations of religious texts;
- 2 — SIL school books;
- 3 — SIL microfiches;
- 4 — old sources (i.e., prior to the work of the SIL).

Cavineña authors are listed in Table 1.4. The symbol '†' means that the person has passed away. A question mark '?' means that I do not have this information; that is, the person is someone who worked with the SIL and whom I have never met. The second surname (the mother's name) — recall that Cav-

ineñas, as any Bolivian citizen, have two surnames —, has not been included because I am not aware of it in most cases.

Table 1.4. Name, sex, approximate age and origin of Cavineña speakers for the year 2004

Name	Male/female	Age	Living in
Alfredo Tavo	M	64	Puerto Cavinás or Riberalta
Antonia Sepa	F	?	?
Antonio Yubanera	M	48	Galilea
Bonifacio Navi	M	48	Baqueti
Carmelo Camaconi	M	45	Galilea
Cosme Mayo	M	60	Galilea
Edgar Tavo	M	35	Misión Cavinás
Eli Mayo	M	20	Galilea
Elio Tavo	M	35	Galilea
Ernestor Mayo	M	45	Misión Cavinás
Francisco Vaca	M	47	Riberalta
Gregorio Yubanera	M	84	Buendestino
Griselda Cartagena	F	47	Riberalta
Juan Tavo	M	48	San Miguel
Lucas Tavo	M	48	Misión Cavinás
Osman Rutani	M	40	Galilea
Roberto Amapo	M	?	?
Rosalino Mayo	M	30	Galilea
Samuel Mayo	M	65	Riberalta
Santiago Tavo	M	45	Galilea
Teresa Rutani	F	64	Galilea
Ventura Mayo	M	65	Galilea
Victor Tavo/Tabo	M	†	Riberalta
Victoria Tavo	F	50	Misión Cavinás
Vidal Mayo	M	35	Galilea

The program ‘Shoobox’ has been the main tool for analyzing the corpus, building the lexicon and organizing the data for grammatical analysis. Every single piece of data used in this study was entered into the Shoobox database. Texts were cut into sentences. Each sentence was given a code. The examples provided in this study contain this code; see the list in the appendix to this Chapter.

The recordings were made on analogue tapes. For the purpose of this study, 31 of the recorded texts were digitized (using the program ‘SoundEdit’ on a Macintosh platform). These include the recordings that correspond to the two texts that are given in the appendix to this grammar. These two recordings, together with their transcription, their translation, and the codes, have been deposited at the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA) at

the University of Texas at Austin, where they can be accessed online. In the near future, it is my goal to archive the whole collected corpus so that the reader should be able to check every illustrative example provided in this grammar.

1.9. Linguistic type

Cavineña has a fairly simple phonological system. There are 20 consonants and 4 vowels. The phonetic realization of each segment varies very little. Syllable structure is (C)V. The accentual system, which is used to define the boundaries of phonological words, is unusual because it involves complex combinations of high and mid pitches.

Cavineña has agglutinative morphology with a fairly high degree of synthesis, especially in verbs. The language has an important number of clitics (in particular enclitics). It is essentially a dependent-marking language (following Nichols 1986).

Cavineña has three open lexical classes, consisting of verbs, nouns and predicative adjectives, eleven closed grammatical classes, consisting of verb modifiers, attributive adjectives, number markers, quantifiers, postpositions, pronouns, demonstratives, question words, particles, subordinate clause markers and coordinators, and two semi-open classes, consisting of interjections and onomatopoeia.

The predicate can be extremely complex. Minimally, it consists of a verb (the head) and an inflectional affix (a TAM or imperative-like marker). But maximally, it can consist of as many as 11 structural slots, which may be filled by more than 50 affixes and (phonologically independent) modifiers. In addition, verbs are subdivided into inflecting verbs, where an inflectional affix is attached directly to the verb stem, and non-inflecting verbs, where an inflectional affix is attached to an auxiliary. Cavineña is highly sensitive to transitivity. Most verbs are strictly either intransitive or transitive. Intransitive non-inflecting verbs require an intransitive auxiliary while transitive non-inflecting verbs require a transitive auxiliary. Many verbal affixes have an intransitive form and a transitive form. The predicate in Cavineña does not make any reference to the participants.

Nouns are subdivided into three classes: *e*-nouns, which require a dummy prefix *e*-, denoting parts of entities; kinship nouns, which require possessor inflections, being inalienably possessed; and independent nouns, which are used as bare roots, referring to fauna, flora, artifacts, etc.

Predicative adjectives and attributive adjectives are two distinct word classes. Predicative adjectives are used as copula complements while attributive adjectives are used as NP modifiers.

Cavineña has two types of pronouns: independent pronouns and bound pronouns. Independent pronouns fill NP or PP slots and can occur in any type of clause. Bound pronouns are enclitics in second position in main clauses only, being attached to the last phonological word of the first immediate constituent of a main clause. Independent pronouns and bound pronouns can co-occur in a single main clause.

Cavineña has many particles. These are bare roots which cannot take affixes. We recognize four categories of particles which differ in their degree of phonological and grammatical independence. Two categories are phonologically and grammatically independent: (1) independent particles, which are free to occur anywhere in a clause, and (2) first position particles, which must occur in clause-initial position. Two categories of particles are enclitics: (1) second position particles, which cluster in second position in a clause, together with bound pronouns, and (2) phrasal particles, which are attached (and modify) a phrase (NP, PP, predicate, predicative adjective, subordinate clause, etc.).

Cavineña has free constituent order. Grammatical functions are encoded by a system of postpositions (on NPs) or suffixes on pronouns. The encoding of core grammatical functions abides by a strict ergative/absolutive pattern. Contrary to what was previously thought, there is no system of split ergativity in Cavineña. The postposition *=ra* (or suffix *-ra*) marks transitive subjects (A function). The absence of a postposition (or a suffix) marks intransitive subjects (S function) or transitive objects (O function). Oblique functions are also marked by postpositions (or suffixes on pronouns). The main oblique postpositions are associative, dative, genitive, locative, general locative, perlative and 'up to'. Most postpositions are enclitics, being attached to the last phonological word of an NP. A few are separate phonological words and follow the NP.

Cavineña has three types of subordinate clauses which are marked by subordinate clause markers: (1) non-finite adverbial clauses, which require a non-inflected verb, (2) finite adverbial clauses, which require an inflected verb, and (3) relative clauses, which also require an inflected verb. Cavineña has neither complement clause nor any coordinate clause type. Some subordinate clauses have co-reference restrictions vis-à-vis their controlling clause. In all the cases, these restrictions always operate in terms of a nominative/accusative pivot, showing that Cavineña is only ergative at the morphological level.

1.10. Writing systems

Cavineña was first written when SIL missionaries began studying in Bolivia, starting with Key (1963b). Key's system is based on the Spanish orthography. For example the phoneme /k/ is written *qu* before front vowels *i* and *e* and *c* before non-front vowels *a* and *u*.

Key's (1963b) alphabet was slightly modified in the subsequent work by Camp and/or Liccardi. They notably left out a grapheme for a glottal stop and a liquid *l* — these are not independent phonemes in the language.

In 1996, in the context of the reform for multicultural-bilingual education (Ley de Reforma Educativa, July 1994),¹² I proposed a revised alphabet (Guillaume 1996), based on a more straightforward association between phonemes and graphemes. Notably, I proposed that the two graphemes *qu* and *c*, both representing /k/, be replaced by the grapheme *k*. The new orthographies were designed to make language reading and writing easier for children and to give the Cavineñas the feeling of having their own alphabet (as opposed to a copy of the Spanish alphabet).

The graphemes used in this study are basically these from Guillaume (1996). See a full discussion of Cavineña writing systems in §2.10.

1.11. Illustrative examples

In this study, the source of every illustrative example is provided at the end of the free translation line.

Examples taken from the grammatical sketch part of Camp and Liccardi (1989), or from one of their published scholarly articles, are referenced by the date of the publication and the page number where the example comes from, as in (1.1).

- (1.1) *Shana-tirya-kware* =*tuna*_A
 leave-COMP-REM.PAST =3PL(-ERG)
 [*piya=kwana*_O *mariku=kwana*_O *jadya*].
 arrow=PL bag=PL and
 'They left all their arrows and bags behind.' (Camp and Liccardi 1989: 314)

Examples taken from the dictionary part of Camp and Liccardi's (1989) are coded by the two letters 'di' followed by a four digit number — the number refers to the order of the example in my database —, as in (1.2).

- (1.2) *Kwatsabiji* =*tu*_S *ju-ya* *ekwita=tsewe*.
 tell.story.to =3SG(-FM) be-IMPV person=ASSOC
 'He is talking with the man.' di0619

¹² Information about the alphabet revision workshops conducted in Bolivia in 1995 and 1996 can be found in Grinevald (1995, 1996) and Bolivia Multi Étnica (1997).

Examples taken from my fieldnotes are coded by the letter ‘n’, followed by a number from 1 to 5 which refers to a particular notebook — n1 refers to the first notebook of 1997, n2 to the second notebook of 1998, etc. —, followed by a dot ‘.’, followed by a four digit number which refers to the order of the example in the database, as in (1.3).

- (1.3) *Mi-kes ani-kwe! Mi-kes je-ume!*
 2SG-FM sit-IMP.SG 2SG-FM come-IMP.SG.NEG
 ‘You (sg) stay (lit. sit)! You (sg) don’t come!’ n1.0167

Examples from texts or conversations, whether or not they come from my own corpus, are coded by two letters, which are an abbreviation of the title of the text/conversation, followed by a three digit number referring to the order of the example in my database, as shown in (1.4).

- (1.4) *Ara-kware=ama ni=matuja=ra_A.*
 eat-REM.PAST=NEG NEG=NOT.EVEN=caiman=ERG
 ‘(God protected me during that trip because) not even a caiman ate me.’ mj067

Examples from the two illustrative texts that come at the end of this study are referenced with the letter T, followed by either the number 1, if they come from text 1, or the number 2, if they come from text 2, then followed by a period and a number referring to the order of the example in the text, as in (1.5).

- (1.5) *Tuna-ra_A pa-isara-ti!*
 3PL-ERG JUSS-talk.to-GO.TEMP
 ‘Let them (the people from the CIRABO organization) go and talk to them (the Araona people who are fighting with each other)!’
 T1.20

The full list of the codes for text/conversation examples is given below, together with the name of the text, the author(s) (recorded speaker(s) or writer) and the source (publication, text or conversation recorded by me, or text written by one of my language consultants). First, note that the authors of the texts published by Camp and Liccardi are most often unknown; this is coded by a question mark ‘?’. Second, note that it is unknown how the published texts were collected (recorded, written, etc.).

Table 1.5. Text/conversation example codes

Ref.	Text name	Author(s)	Source
ab	Abanico	Ventura Mayo, Teresa Rutani, Antonio Yubanera	recorded conversation
ag	Anguila	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
aj	Aja	Cosme Mayo	recorded text
am	Aimaristo	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
ap	Apodos	Antonio Yubanera	recorded text
at	Avioneta	?	C&L (1972)
av	Avion	Griselda Cartagena	recorded text
aw	Awada	?	C&L (1973)
ba	Bari	Cosme Mayo	recorded text
bb	Barbasco	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
bc	Bacalao	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
bi	Bina	Lucas Tavo	recorded text
bj	BetaJae	?	C&L (1972)
bn	Bañar	Antonio Yubanera	recorded text
bo	Borocho	Griselda Cartagena	written text
bp	Barepa	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)
br	Brasil	Antonia Cepa	Camp (1982)
bu	Buca	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
bw	Biwa	?	C&L (1973)
ca	PapaSeCaio	Griselda Cartagena	written text
cb	Ceboi	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
cc	Chacobo	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
cd	Cazador	Antonio Yubanera	recorded text
ce	Centro	Roberto Amapo	Liccardi (1983)
ch	Chancho	Francisco Vaca	recorded text
ci	Chicha	Ventura Mayo, Teresa Rutani, Antonio Yubanera	recorded conversation
cm	Caiman	?	C&L (1972)
co	Comunidades	Alfredo Tavo	written text
cp	Capitan	Alfredo Tavo	written text
ct	CazarAntes	Ventura Mayo, Antonio Yubanera	recorded conversation
cu	Cuartel	Francisco Vaca	written text
cv	Cavinas	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)
cx	Calixto	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)
cy	Cuyabo	Alfredo Tavo Mayo	recorded text
cz	Cazar	Gregorio Yubanera	recorded text
dk	Dukweri	?	C&L (1972)
dm	DosMujeres	Juan Tavo	recorded text
du	Duende	Alfredo Tavo	written text
eb	Ebakwapiji	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
el	Eliodoro	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo (1978)
en	Ena	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)

es	Escuela	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
et	Etiki	Victor Tavo Mayo	Liccardi (1983)
fd	Fundaron	Alfredo Tavo Mayo	recorded text
fe	Felipe	?	C&L (1972)
fg	Fuego	Francisco Vaca	recorded text
fm	Familia	Antonio Yubanera	recorded text
ft	Foto	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
ga	Gallinas	Francisco Vaca	recorded text
gd	Guido	?	C&L (1972)
gr	Gringo	?	C&L (1972)
gu	Guerra	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
hi	HijoDelSol	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
hm	Hermanos	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
ho	HombreOso	EdgarTavo	recorded text
hp	HombrePerdido	Bonifacio Navi	recorded text
hs	Historia	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
ht	HombreTigre	Alfredo Tavo	written text
hu	Huracan	Francisco Vaca	written text
ib	Iba	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
ij	Ija	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
is	Isla	Bonifacio Navi	recorded text
ja	Jaguar	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)
jb	Jiruwababa	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)
ji	Jiruwa	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)
jo	Jose	?	C&L (1973)
ju	Juje	Rosalino Mayo	recorded text
ka	karetu	Victoria Tavo	recorded text
kb	Kwaba	?	C&L (1973)
kw	Kawayu	?	C&L (1973)
la	LadronYPerros	?	C&L (1972)
lc	Leoncio	?	C&L (1973)
ld	Ladron	?	C&L (1972)
le	Leonardu	?	C&L (1973)
lg	Lagarto	Francisco Vaca	recorded text
lm	LasMercedes	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)
lp	Leopardo	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)
lv	Levadura	Francisco Vaca	recorded text
lz	Lizardu	?	C&L (1972)
ma	MateAnta	Alfredo Tavo	written text
md	Mada	?	C&L (1973)
me	Mercedes	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
mg	Mango	Francisco Vaca	recorded text
mi	Mauri	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
mj	Majukware	Ventura Mayo	recorded text
mk	Makei	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
ml	Maleantes	Elio Tavo	recorded text

mn	Mision	Samuel Mayo	recorded text
mo	Moto	Francisco Vaca	recorded text
mp	Mapisi	Elio Tavo	recorded text
mr	Melero	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)
ms	MalaSuerte	Alfredo Tavo	written text
mt	MateTigre	Francisco Vaca	written text
mu	Mujer	Francisco Vaca	recorded text
na	Navi	Alfredo Tavo	written text
ni	Nijuki	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
nk	Nerekadake	Teresa Rutani	recorded text
nn	Nanata	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
no	Noria	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)
np	Napoleon	?	C&L (1973)
os	Oso	Francisco Vaca	written text
pa	Pacahuara	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
pc	Pucarara	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
pe	MePerdi	Francisco Vaca	written text
pf	PalmaFlor	Antonia Cepa	Liccardi (1983)
pi	Piscua	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
pn	Pinpin	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
pq	Paquio	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)
pr	Pusari	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
ps	Pescado	Francisco Vaca	recorded text
pt	Peta	Samuel Mayo	recorded text
pu	Pacu	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
qp	Quispe	?	C&L (1972)
qu	Quemo	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
rb	Riberalta	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
ri	RioBiata	Griselda Cartagena	recorded text
rz	Rozar	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
sd	Sed	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
se	Serpiente	Alfredo Tavo	written text
sg	Sergio	?	C&L (1972)
si	Sicuri	Alfredo Tavo	written text
sl	Salon	Eli Mayo	recorded text
sn	Santiago	?	C&L (1973)
so	Soldado	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
sp	SanPedro	?	C&L (1972)
st	Saltamonte	Elio Tavo	recorded text
T1	Araona	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
T2	Matrimonio	Gregorio Yubanera	recorded text
ta	Taitetu	Francisco Vaca	written text
tb	Trabajo	Carmelo Camaconi, Osman Ru- tani, Elio Tavo, Vidal Mayo, Santiago Tavo, Antonio Yubanera	recorded conversation
te	Tejones	Francisco Vaca	written text

tg	TigreYPerros	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
ti	TigreYPerros	Alfredo Tavo	written text
tk	Tirukware	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
tm	Tamal	Francisco Vaca	recorded text
to	Tomas	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)
tr	Tierra	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
ts	Tigresa	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
tu	Tatu	Alredo Tavo	written text
vb	ViajeBakei	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
vc	Vaca	Francisco Vaca	recorded text
ve	Velasquez	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)
vi	Vibora	Francisco Vaca	recorded text
vo	Voz	?	C&L (1972)
vz	Venganza	Alfredo Tavo	recorded text
wa	Waburasa	Cosme Mayo	recorded text
wi	Winiude	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)
wk	Wikamutya	Victor Tabo Mayo	Tabo Mayo (1978)
ya	Yawanana	Ernestor Mayo	recorded text
zj	Zanja	Victor Tavo Mayo	Tavo Mayo (1977)
zo	Zorro	Elio Tavo	recorded text

Chapter 2

Phonology

This chapter is an overview of Cavineña phonology. It begins with inventories of consonant phonemes (§2.1) and vowel phonemes (§2.2), including a discussion of the phonetic realization of each phoneme. The next two sections discuss syllable structure (§2.3) and phonotactic restrictions (§2.4). A number of analytic choices regarding the phonological system of Cavineña are discussed in §2.5. Morphologically-conditioned phonological processes are presented in §2.6. The accentual system is discussed in (§2.7). Intonational patterns are presented in §2.8. The phonology of loanwords in Cavineña is the topic of §2.9. Finally, in §2.10, I discuss the Cavineña writing systems.

2.1. Consonants

2.1.1. Inventory

Cavineña has 20 consonant phonemes. They are given in Table 2.1 in the practical orthography used in this study (see §2.10). The phonetic realization of each phoneme is given in square brackets using the International Phonetic Alphabet.¹

Two observations can be made on this table. First, I should point to the fact that in the practical orthography, the letter *j* refers to the glottal fricative [h] whereas the letter *y* refers to the alveo-palatal glide [j]. Second, a number of segments could lend themselves to a different analysis where they would be made up of two independent segments: *ty* [c], *dy* [tʃ], *ry* [ʎ], *ny* [ɲ], *ts*, *ch* [tʃ] and *kw*. Argumentation against this sequential analysis is given in §2.5.

¹ Note that the velar column has been placed next to the bilabial one. (Following a more traditional practice, we would have placed the velar column between the alveo-palatal and glottal columns.) This allows to better capture the nature of the labialised stop *kw* and glide *w* which involve both bilabial and velar places of articulation.

Table 2.1. Cavineña consonant phonemes

	bilabial	velar	alveolar	alveo-palatal	glottal
voiceless stop	p	k	t	ty [c]	
voiced stop	b		d	dy [ɟ]	
labialized stop	kw [kʷ]				
voiceless affricate			ts	ch [tɕ]	
voiceless fricative			s	sh [ɕ]	j [h]
liquid			r [ɭ]	ry [ʎ]	
nasal	m		n	ny [ɲ]	
glide	w [w/β]			y [j]	

2.1.2. Phonetic realization

With the exception of *w*, Cavineña consonant phonemes do not fluctuate in their phonetic realization (at least not enough to be noteworthy). They maintain their place, manner and voicing specifications regardless of the environment. For example, segments which do not have a voiced counterpart, such as *k*, *kw*, *ts*, *ch* [tɕ], *s*, *sh* [ɕ] and *j* [h], are never voiced. Conversely, segments which do not have a voiceless counterpart, such as *r* [ɭ], *ry* [ʎ], *m*, *n*, *ny* [ɲ], *w* and *y* [j], are never voiceless.

The segments *b* and *d* are always realized voiced stops.

- (2.1) a. *bati-* [bati] ‘humid’
abari [abali] ‘chonta palm’
- b. *dami* [dami] ‘golden trahira (fish)’
awada [awada] ‘tapir’

The segments *p*, *t*, and *k* are always realized as voiceless stops.

- (2.2) a. *patse-* [patse] ‘bitter’
dawapa [dawapa] ‘squirrel’
- b. *tapa-* [tapa] ‘step on’
ata [ata] ‘(a/the) relative’

c.	<i>kani</i>	[kani]	‘hole’
	<i>baka-</i>	[baka]	‘hear’

The segments *sh* [ç] and *ch* [tç] can be described as palatalized post-alveolar fricative and palatalized post-alveolar affricate, respectively, using Ladefoged and Maddieson’s (1996: 150ff.) terminology.

(2.3)	a.	<i>shabi-</i>	[çabi]	‘tender’
		<i>shasha</i>	[çaça]	‘flower’
	b.	<i>chai</i>	[tçai]	‘small bird (generic)’
		<i>chacha</i>	[tçatça]	‘alive’

The liquid *r* is probably the most noteworthy sound in Cavineña. Roughly speaking, its pronunciation lies somewhere between a tap [r] and a lateral [l]. An instrumental study (Guillaume 2002) has revealed that its articulation combines tongue tip retroflexion, a very brief period of complete closure in the oral cavity made by the tongue tip striking the alveolar ridge, and lateral airflow release. According to these characteristics, this sound would be an alveolar lateral flap [ɺ] (Ladefoged 1971: 51-52; Laver 1994: 311-312; Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 243).

(2.4)	<i>rake-</i>	[.lake]	‘break’
	<i>ara-</i>	[ala]	‘eat’

The glide *w* is the only consonant with allophonic variation. It has a labial-velar approximant allophone [w] before *a* and a bilabial approximant allophone [β] before front vowels (*e* and *i*), the latter allophone occasionally heard as a labio-dental approximant [v] or a labial-palatal approximant [ɥ]. Note that *w* never precedes *u* (see §2.4).

(2.5)	a.	<i>wani</i>	[wani]	‘smoke’
		<i>awada</i>	[awada]	‘tapir’

b. <i>wika</i>	[βika]	‘hook’
<i>e-wi</i>	[eβi]	‘NPF-beak’
<i>wekaka</i>	[βekaka]	‘day’
<i>sewe-</i>	[seβe]	‘black’

Examples of the remaining consonant phonemes are provided in (2.6) to (2.11).

(2.6) stops

a. <i>tya-</i>	[ca]	‘give’
<i>barepatya</i>	[balepaca]	‘at midday’
b. <i>dyake</i>	[jake]	‘very’
<i>jadya</i>	[haʃa]	‘thus’
c. <i>kwati</i>	[k ^w ati]	‘firewood’
<i>bakwa</i>	[bak ^w a]	‘viper, snake’

(2.7) affricates

<i>tsa-</i>	[tʃa]	‘laugh’
<i>katsa-</i>	[kʃa]	‘beat’

(2.8) fricatives

a. <i>sawa-</i>	[sawa]	‘green/blue’
<i>e-jasa</i>	[ehasa]	‘NPF-lung’
b. <i>jaku-</i>	[haku]	‘sour’
<i>aja</i>	[aha]	‘capuchin monkey’

(2.9) liquid

<i>ryu-</i>	[ʎu]	‘comb’
<i>tirya-ya</i>	[tiʎaja]	‘finish-IMPV’

(2.10) nasal

a. <i>masa-</i>	[masa]	‘hard’
<i>sama-</i>	[sama]	‘cure’
b. <i>naka-</i>	[naka]	‘wet’
<i>ekwana</i>	[ek ^w ana]	‘1PL’
c. <i>nyuwiri</i>	[ɲoβi.li]	‘stinging hair caterpillar’
<i>manyari</i>	[maɲari]	‘slingshot’

(2.11) glide

<i>y-akwa</i>	[jakwa]	‘NPF-chest’
<i>ba-ya</i>	[baja]	‘see-IMPFV’

2.1.3. Minimal pairs

In the following, I provide minimal (or near minimal) pairs illustrating the major phonological contrasts in Cavineña.

Voicing is only contrastive in bilabial, alveolar and alveo-palatal stops, as in (2.12a-c); it is not contrastive for labialized velar stops.

(2.12) a. <i>pisu-</i>	‘untie’
<i>bisu-</i>	‘feel ashamed’
b. <i>tata</i>	‘sir, father’
<i>-tada</i>	‘butt’
c. <i>tya-wa</i>	‘give-PERF’
<i>dyawa-</i>	‘kiss’

Palatalization is interesting because it applies to all alveolar phonemes for all manners of articulation: the stops, the affricate, the fricative, the liquid, and the nasal, as in (2.13a-f).

- (2.13) a. *tata-ki* ‘with a father’ (father-WITH)
tya-taki ‘can/must give’ (give-ABIL)
- b. *ada-* ‘to add’
adya- ‘to contaminate’
- c. *atsa* ‘barbasco (poison)’
chacha ‘alive’
- d. *sipi-* ‘repair’
shipi ‘eyebrow’
- e. *wira-* ‘urinate’
wiry- ‘be bored with’
- f. *ina-* ‘grab’
inyakwa ‘grass louse’

Labialization is a contrast only found at the velar place of articulation.

- (2.14) *ekana* ‘3PL’ *mi-ke* ‘2SG-FM’
ekwana ‘1PL’ *mi-kwe* ‘2SG-GEN’

2.2. Vowels

2.2.1. Inventory

Cavineña has 4 vowel phonemes as given in Table 2.2. Note that there is no phonological distinction in terms of length² and nasalization.

² See §2.5.2 for a discussion of identical vowel sequences.

Table 2.2. Cavineña vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		
Mid	e [e/ɛ]		u [ʊ]
Low		a	

2.2.2. Phonetic realization

The vowels *i* and *a* are pronounced like the cardinal vowels [i] and [a].

- (2.15) a. *iwi-* [iβi] ‘smelly’
pidi- [pidi] ‘viscous’
- b. *abari* [aba.li] ‘chonta palm’
patse- [patse] ‘bitter’

The vowel *e* is most often pronounced as the cardinal vowel [e]. It is occasionally heard with a more open pronunciation making it sound more like cardinal vowel [ɛ].

- (2.16) *emiwe* [emiβe] ‘manioc flour’
bei [bei] ‘lake, lesser anteater’

The vowel *u* most often has a near-close near-back unrounded pronunciation [ʊ]. It is occasionally pronounced slightly more open and slightly rounded, making it sound like the cardinal vowel [o].

- (2.17) *utsa-* [ʊtsa] ‘wash’
kunu [kʊnʊ] ‘liana’

The observations made above are corroborated by the following plot of the vowel space in Diagram 2.1; F1 and F2 frequency values were calculated for four utterances of words with each vowel in the environment *t_k* and performed by two different male speakers (see Guillaume 1998: 50ff.).

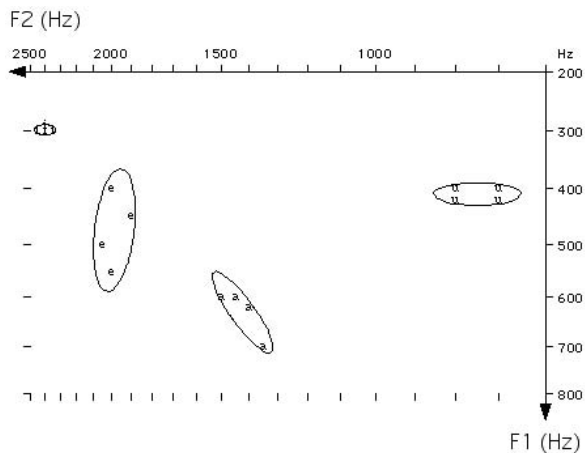


Figure 2.1. Cavineña vowel space

Minimal (or near-minimal) pairs illustrating vowel contrasts are given in (2.18a) (word initially) and (2.18b) (word medially).

- (2.18) a. *iba* 'jaguar'
e-ba 'RES-see'
aba 'chontilla palm'
uba [uba] 'foam'
- b. *e-biti* 'NPF-skin'
e-bebakwa 'NPF-back'
e-bakani 'NPF-name'
ebute [ebute] 'port'

2.3. Syllable structure

The canonical Cavineña syllable structure is (C)V. Both V and CV syllables can occur either word initially or word internally. This is illustrated in (2.19), where syllables are separated by a dot symbol.

(2.19)	<i>aja</i>	[a.ha]	‘capuchin monkey’	V.CV
	<i>bari</i>	[ba.li]	‘giant anteater’	CV.CV
	<i>ai</i>	[a.i]	‘INT’	V.V
	<i>dii</i>	[di.i]	‘mosquito’	CV.V

Sequences of two consonants are found in borrowed words which have only been partially integrated into the Cavineña phonological system (see §2.9). Most often we observe *nd*, *nk*, *st*, *sk*, and *rt* sequences, as in (2.20).

(2.20)	<i>bandia</i>	←	‘good morning’	(Span. <i>buen(os) día(s)</i>)
	<i>tunka</i>	←	‘ten’	(Aym. <i>tunka</i> ‘ten’)
	<i>bastare</i>	←	‘good afternoon’	(Span. <i>buenas tarde(s)</i>)
	<i>kistyanu</i>	←	‘person’	(Span. <i>cristiano</i> ‘Christian’)
	<i>puskuruku</i>	←	‘nine’	(Aym. <i>pusiqalq’o</i>)
	<i>marteshi</i>	←	‘Tuesday’	(Span. <i>martes</i>)

Some Spanish loanwords have not (or almost not) been integrated into the phonological system and show other consonant sequences; e.g., *gringo* ‘foreign man of Caucasian type’ (from Spanish *gringo*) and *profeso* ‘teacher’ (from Spanish *profesor*), with *gr* and *pr* syllable onsets. In addition to having irregular syllables, these words also include (Spanish) sounds which are foreign to Cavineña, such as *g*, *f*, etc.

Consonant sequences within native Cavineña words — other than those found in complex consonant sequences — could be more challenging for the (C)V syllable template. However, this only occurs within a total of five words. In addition, in all these words but one, the sequence of consonants has clearly arisen from an idiosyncratic process of vowel elision.

(2.21)	<i>e-spere</i>	‘stream’	←	/e- se pere/	(NPF-stream)
	<i>e-spi-ki</i>	‘wall’	←	/e- si pi-ki/	(NMLZ-repair-NMLZ)
	<i>kas-tere-</i>	‘become tired’	←	/kasa- te re-/	(strength-finish(itr.)-)
	<i>kas-tirya-</i>	‘tire (tr.)’	←	/kasa- ti rya-/	(strength-finish(tr.)-)
	<i>endya</i>	‘say yes’	←	?	

In this study, I will consider the *sp*, *st* and *nd* consonant sequences found in these 5 words as insufficient evidence to contradict the posited (C)V syllable structure.

Finally, interjections and onomatopoeias display unexpected syllable structures in Cavineña (and typically in other languages). For instance, CVC syllables are allowed in the interjection *juj* ‘signal uttered when approaching a house for a visit’ and the onomatopoeia *tin* ‘sound of action of grabbing’ (see §4.5.7 and §4.5.8).

2.4. Phonotactics

As we saw in the examples in §2.1.2, any consonant can occur in the beginning or in the middle of a word. However, not every consonant can be combined with every vowel. The following restrictions apply:

- 1 — *y* [j] is never found before *i*; it is found before *e* in only three words: *iyē* ‘kill O’, *piyē* ‘imitate O’ and *juyē* ‘ox’ (borrowed from Spanish *buey* [bweɰ]);
- 2 — *ty* [c], *dy* [ɟ], *ry* [ʎ] and *ny* [ɲ] never occur before front vowels (*i* and *e*). The segment *ny* is only found in 6 words: *bunyari* ‘partridge sp.’, *inyakwa* ‘grass louse’, *manyari* ‘slingshot’, *wanya-* ‘marry O’ *inyukwija* ‘armpit’, *nyuwiri* ‘stinging hair caterpillar’;
- 3 — *ts* never occurs before the vowel *i*;
- 4 — *w* and *kw* never occur before *u*.

2.5. Analytical issues

A number of analytical decisions made regarding the phonological system of Cavineña require discussion.

2.5.1. Complex consonants

Within the inventory of consonant phonemes (Table 2.1), a number of segments are complex and might lend themselves to a different analysis in terms of sequences within more complex syllable structures. Such an analysis is possible for *ty* [c], *dy* [ɟ], *ry* [ʎ], *ny* [ɲ], *ts*, *ch* [tʃ] and *kw*. For these, one could have posited the following alternative analyses:

- (1) a (C)V(C) syllable template and no complex consonant phonemes: a sequence of two consonants consists of two different phonemes distributed over

coda and onset of two distinct syllables (e.g., *jadya* ‘thus’ [had.ja] CVC.CV);
 (2) a (C)(C)V syllable template and no complex consonant phonemes. The consonant sequence consists of two different phonemes making the onset of single syllable (e.g., *jadya* ‘thus’ [ha.dja] CV.CCV);
 (3) a (C)V syllable template and a number of diphthong vowels (e.g., [ha.dja] CV.CV, then to be written orthographically *jadia*). This analysis could be proposed as an alternative to the complex consonants that involve [j] and [w], i.e., *ty* [c], *dy* [j], *ry* [ɕ], *ny* [ɲ] and *kw*. There would only be two complex consonants (i.e., unitary phonemes), *ts* and *ch* [tʃ].

I only discuss alternative analyses (1) and (2) here. Alternative analysis (3) is discussed under §2.5.3 together with the consonant status of *y* [j] and *w*.

An argument in favor of both (1) and (2) is that each of the consonants found in consonant sequences are also found outside of these sequences; *t*, *d*, *s*, *sh* [ʃ], *k*, *y* [j] and *w* have been analyzed as distinct phonemes.

Discarding alternative analysis (1) is straightforward. First, when speakers are asked to spell out words slowly, consonant sequences always come together as onset of a single syllable.

(2.22)	<i>jadya</i>	[ha.ɟa]	‘thus’	*[had.ja]
	<i>dutya</i>	[du.ca]	‘all’	*[dot.ja]
	<i>patse-da</i>	[pa.tse.da]	‘bitter-ASF’	*[pat.se.da]
	<i>yachi</i>	[ja.tʃi]	‘pampa’	*[jat.ɕi]
	<i>bikwe-da</i>	[bi.kwe.da]	‘heavy-ASF’	*[bik.we.da]

A second argument can be found in a reduplication process that involves the final syllable of a root (§7.1.9). In some examples, the final vowel of the root is preceded by *kw* or *ts*. When the process of final syllable reduplication is applied to these roots, as in (2.23), we observe that *k* and *t* are reduplicated along with the following consonants:³

(2.23)	a.	<i>jikwi-</i>	‘cut off’	
		<i>jikwi-kwi+sha-</i>	‘cut off many times’	* <i>jikwi-wi+sha-</i>

³ Note that the reduplicated syllable is obligatorily followed by the causative suffix *-sha*; see the full details in §7.1.9.

- b. *katsa-* ‘beat’
katsa-tsa+sha- ‘beat many times’ **katsa-sa+sha-*

This phenomenon strongly suggests that *k* and *t* together form part of the onset of the final syllable: if they had belonged to the coda of the preceding syllable, they should not have been repeated. Note that I do not have examples of other complex consonants other than *kw* and *ts* involved in final syllable reduplication.

The main argument against (2) — a (C)(C)V syllable structure and only simple consonant phonemes — is the limited range of possible cluster types. The first member in the cluster may be *t*, *d*, *n*, *l* and *k* while the second member may be *s*, *ç*, *j* and *w*. There are very few possible combinations. For instance, *t* can be followed by *j*, *s* and *ç* but not by *w*; *d*, *n* and *l* can only be followed by *j*; *k* can only be followed by *w*. These limitations suggest that the elements within these clusters function as single units rather than sequences that are independently combined in a cluster. An analysis with a (C)(C)V syllable structure would be more appealing if there were more possible sequences of consonants allowed (e.g., **pj*, **mj*, **kj*, **ps*, **pw*, **tw*, etc.).

In the case of *kw/w*, an additional argument against (2) and (1) is the phonetic realization of the glide portion of *kw*. As we noted in §2.1, the phoneme *w* has a bilabial approximant allophone [β] before front vowels (*i* and *e*). If *w* were an independent segment within a *kw* cluster, we would expect the same allophonic alternation. However, this is never the case, as the glide portion of *kw* is always pronounced as a labial-velar approximant; e.g., *kwinana-* [kwinana] ‘emerge’ (*[kβinana]); *kweri* [kweli] ‘river’ (*[kβeli]).

2.5.2. Vowel sequences

Cavineña allows any possible sequence of two vowels, as shown in (2.24).

- (2.24) a. *dii* ‘mosquito’ [ii]
eje-ji-u ‘INT-good-EPEN’ [iu]
jietana- ‘get better’ [ie]
wiatsura ‘upriver’ [ia]

b.	<i>jejee</i>	‘yes’	[ee]
	<i>bei</i>	‘lake, lesser anteater’	[ei]
	<i>peadya</i>	‘one’	[ea]
	<i>e-usi</i>	‘1-older.brother’	[eu]
c.	<i>baara</i>	‘fever’	[aa]
	<i>chai</i>	‘small bird (generic)’	[ai]
	<i>jae</i>	‘fish’	[ae]
	<i>jau</i>	‘younger brother’	[au]
d.	<i>duu</i>	‘howler monkey’	[uu]
	<i>pui</i>	‘cicada’	[ui]
	<i>tu-eke</i>	‘there-PERL’	[ue]
	<i>yuama</i>	‘bad’	[ua]

Sequences of three different vowels are less common but are nevertheless attested, as shown in (2.25).

(2.25)	<i>anuai</i>	‘sweet potatoe (?)’	[uai]
	<i>dyai-u-si</i>	‘lazy-ASF-AUGM’	[aiu]
	<i>e-a-u</i>	‘POT-affect-POT’	[eau]

In this study, I analyze the vowel sequences as consisting of distinct short vowel phonemes filling the V slots of distinct syllables. However, the following alternative analyses are also possible:

- (1) VV sequences are long vowels (when identical) within the single V slot of the (C)V structure;
- (2) VV sequences are diphthongs (when different) within the single V slot of the (C)V structure;
- (3) VV sequences are sequences of distinct short vowels (whether identical or different) within a (C)(V)V syllable template.

Certain observations allow us to reject these three alternative analyses:

- (1) When speakers are asked to slowly spell out words with vowel sequences (of any type), they invariably separate the vowels within different syllables (e.g., [di.i] ‘mosquito’ *[di:], [du.u] ‘howler monkey’ *[du:], etc.).

(2) A glottal stop can always be inserted between the two vowels, as in (2.26).

(2.26)	a.	[di.i]	~	[di.ʔi]	‘mosquito’
		[du.u]	~	[du.ʔu]	‘howler monkey’
	b.	[a.i]	~	[a.ʔi]	‘INT’
		[be.i]	~	[be.ʔi]	‘lake, lesser anteater’

2.5.3. Glides

The two glides *y* [j] and *w* [w/β] could be viewed as parts of diphthongs (i.e., vowels with a modified quality). As such, the glides would fill the V slot of the (C)V syllable template, as opposed to being considered as independent consonants filling the C slot of the (C)V syllable template. This possibility has already been considered for *y* and *w* within consonant sequences *ty* [c], *dy* [ʧ], *ry* [ʎ], *ny* [ɲ] and *kw* (alternative analysis (3) in §2.5.1).

Two possibilities are possible for a nucleus made up of a diphthong:

(1) the glide precedes the vowel

(2) the glide follows the vowel

We can easily discard the second possibility. The vowel and the glide (either *j* or *w*) of a vowel-glide sequence will always fall within separated syllable in slow speech as in (2.27).

(2.27)	a.	<i>riya</i>	[li.ja]	‘here’	*[li.j.a]
		<i>peya</i>	[pe.ja]	‘other’	*[pe.j.a]
		<i>uyu-da</i>	[u.jʊ.da]	‘muddy-ASF’	*[u.j.ʊ.da]
	b.	<i>iwi-da</i>	[i.βi.da]	‘smelly-ASF’	*[iβ.i.da]
		<i>e-wi</i>	[e.βi]	‘NPF-beak’	*[eβ.i]
		<i>isawe</i>	[i.sa.βe]	‘deaf’	*[i.saβ.e]

In the case of consonant-glide sequences (i.e., *ty* [c], *dy* [ʧ], *ry* [ʎ], *ny* [ɲ] and *kw*), I have already shown that the two consonants always fall within a single syllable (see (2.22)).

The first possibility (a glide preceding the vowel) is not as easily discarded. There are two arguments in favor of the diphthong analysis. First, in glide-vowel sequences, with or without a preceding consonant, the glide will always fall within the same syllable as the following vowel (e.g., *ya* or *yu* in (2.27a) and *wi* or *we* in (2.27b)). Second, recognizing diphthongs would simplify the phonological system by removing *j* and *w*, along with the complex consonants *ty* [c], *dy* [ʃ], *ry* [ʎ], *ny* [ɲ] and *kw*, from the consonant inventory (leaving only *ts* and *ch* [tʃ]).

However, the diphthong analysis complicates the phonological system more than it simplifies it. First, the inventory of vowels would have to comprise 6 additional vowels, *ye*, *ya*, *yu*, *wi*, *we* and *wa* (remembering that *y* and *w* never occur before *i* and *u*, respectively; see §2.4). Second, there would be very strong restrictions as to what consonant could fill the onset of syllables with diphthongs. One would have to specify that only *d*, *t*, *n* and *r* are allowed before *y* (i.e., *dya*, *tya*, *nya* and *rya*) — but not any other consonant (i.e., **pya*, **mya*, **kya*, etc.) — and only *k* is allowed before *w* (i.e., *kw*) — but not any other consonant (i.e., **pwa*, **mwa*, **twa*, etc.).

2.6. Morphophonology

The phonological processes discussed in this section are restricted to certain morphemes.

2.6.1. Palatalization

The noun prefix *e-* ‘NPF’ (§12.3.1) is realized as *y-* [j] when it precedes *a*. It is realized as *e-* before consonants. It is never attested before the vowels *i*, *e* or *u*, or before the consonant *y*.

(2.28)	a.	<i>y-atuka</i>	(NPF-eye)	<i>y-aa</i>	(NPF-branch)
		<i>y-akwa</i>	(NPF-chest)	<i>y-ana</i>	(NPF-tongue)
	b.	<i>e-bitu</i>	(NPF-skin)	<i>e-rami</i>	(NPF-flesh)
		<i>e-wi</i>	(NPF-beak)	<i>e-kwatsa</i>	(NPF-mouth)

2.6.2. Vowel deletion

The vowel in the prefix part of the reflexive/reciprocal circumfix marker *k(a)-...-ti* (§8.2) does not appear before a vowel-initial stem, but does appear before consonant-initial stems.

- (2.29) a. *k-ina-ti-* (REF-grab-REF-)
k-ejene-ti- (REF-believe-REF-)
k-utsa-ti- (REF-wash-REF-)
k-abu-ti- (REF-carry-REF-)
- b. *ka-peta-ti-* (REF-look.at-REF-)
ka-shana-ti- (REF-leave-REF-)
ka-sita-ti- (REF-gather-REF-)
ka-yupu-ti- (REF-pull.off-REF-)
ka-warya-ti- (REF-make.turn-REF-)

Two exceptions were found in the corpus: *ka-adeba-ti-* ‘foretell’ from *adeba-* ‘know’ and *ka-akwa-tsuru-ti-* ‘face each other’, from *akwa-tsuru-* (chest-meet-). Examples of these words can be found in (8.32b) and (5.36), respectively.

2.6.3. Syllable deletion

The Aktionsart suffix *-(ne)ni* ‘RANDOM’ (§7.1.8) and the subordinate temporal clause suffix marker *-(a)tsu* ‘SS’ (§18.2) are realized as *-neni* and *-atsu* when they are attached to monosyllabic roots, as in (2.30a) and (2.31a), respectively. They lose their first syllable (*ne* and *a*, respectively) when they are attached to polysyllabic roots/stems, as in (2.30b) and (2.31b), respectively. Examples (2.30c) and (2.31c) show polysyllabic stems constructed on monosyllabic roots.

- (2.30) a. *ju-neni-* (be-RANDOM-)
je-neni- (come-RANDOM-)
a-neni- (affect-RANDOM-)
ba-neni- (see-RANDOM-)

- b. *kike-ni-* (shout-RANDOM-)
nubi-ni- (enter-RANDOM-)
isara-ni- (talk.to-RANDOM-)
iwara-ni- (call-RANDOM-)
- c. *ju-diru-ni-* (be-GO.PERM-RANDOM-)
a-kere-ni- (affect-CAUS.INVLT-RANDOM-)
be-ti-ni- (bring-GO.TEMP-RANDOM-)
- (2.31) a. *kwa-atsu* (go-SS)
ju-atsu (be-SS)
je-atsu (come-SS)
- b. *nawi-tsu* (bath-SS)
iji-tsu (drink-SS)
imeta-tsu (point.at-SS)
- c. *kwa-baka-tsu* (go-SHORT.TIME-SS)
ju-nati-tsu (be-GO.TEMP-SS)
je-nuka-tsu (come-REITR-SS)

2.6.4. Suffix deletion

The pronominal suffixes *-ra* ‘ERG’ and *-ke* ‘FM’ drop from bound pronouns coming last in a phonological word. This is illustrated with the second person singular bound pronouns =*mi-ra* in (2.32a) and =*mi-ke* in (2.32b). The deleted suffixes are indicated by parentheses in the glossing lines.

- (2.32) a. *-ra* dropped, *-ke* not dropped

Jadya=tu-ke=mi *e-a-ti-u.*
 thus=3SG-FM=2SG(-ERG) POT-affect-GO.TEMP-POT

‘Thus you might get it.’ (Camp 1985: 49)

b. *-ke* is dropped, *-ra* not dropped

Mi-ke chapa metse=tibu=tu-ra=mi
 2SG-FM dog owner=REASON=3SG-ERG=2SG(-FM)

tupu-ya.
 follow-IMPFV

‘Since you are the dog’s owner, he (the dog) will follow you.’
 tg030

This deletion rule is actually more complicated; see the full details in §15.2.2.

2.6.5. Clitic deletion

A relative clause (RC) is marked by the morpheme *=ke* ‘LIG’ that cliticizes on its last phonological word, as in (2.33); see §2.7 and Chapter 3 for a discussion of the phonological word and clitics.

(2.33) *Katsukawijati-ya=tu arusu waka=ra*
 sprout.back-IMPFV=3SG(-FM) rice cow=ERG
ara-chine=ke.
 eat-REC.PAST=LIG

‘The rice that the cows ate is sprouting back.’ di0540

The marker *=ke* ‘LIG’ is deleted when it occurs in the same clitic sequence with a postposition and when it precedes the postposition. For example, this happens in (2.34), where *=ke* would be followed by the ergative postposition *=ra*; the deleted marker is indicated by parentheses in the glossing line.

(2.34) *E-puna ordeña=ra kwa-wa=ra=yatse*
 NPF-female milk=PURP.MOT go-PERF(=LIG)=ERG=1DL
ba-kware.
 see-REM.PAST

‘The woman who had gone to milk saw us.’ n1.0585

See a full discussion of this in §13.6 and §20.2.1.

2.6.6. Vowel epenthesis

Cavineña has 10 monosyllabic inflecting verbal roots (see §5.2.1). When these roots are used without any affixes, they require the addition of an epenthetic vowel *u*.⁴

Examples of monosyllabic verbal roots taking a epenthetic vowel *u* are shown in (2.35a). Examples of polysyllabic verbal roots not taking *u* are shown in (2.35b).

(2.35)	a.	<i>ba-u</i>	‘see-EPEN’	b.	<i>diru</i>	‘go’
		<i>be-u</i>	‘bring-EPEN’		<i>iye</i>	‘kill’
		<i>je-u</i>	‘come-EPEN’		<i>isara</i>	‘talk to’
		<i>ju-u</i>	‘be-EPEN’		<i>wau</i>	‘mix’

Note that in Cavineña, a phonological word must have a minimum of two syllables (see Chapter 3). It is likely that the addition of the *u* ending is a consequence of this two syllable-requirement."

2.7. Accentual system

Cavineña has a pitch-accent system where only pitch is relevant while length and intensity play no role. The accentual system is not contrastive though. Its role is to delimitate the phonological word as a prosodic domain.

A phonological word receives a particular pitch contour which makes use of two pitch levels: high and mid.⁵ The rules of pitch assignment are given in (2.36).

⁴ According to Trask (1996: 292), the exact term for this type of epenthesis is ‘prop-
aralepsis’.

⁵ High pitch and mid pitch contrast with low pitch at the utterance level (§2.8.1).

- (2.36) a) the first syllable receives a high pitch
 b) the last two syllables receive a mid pitch (the last syllable if it is a two syllable word)⁶
 c) the high pitch of the first syllable extends rightwards to any syllable before the last two syllables

The pitch-accent contour in the phonological word can be formalized with the formula $H^n(M)M$ (where H and M stand for high pitch and mid pitch, respectively, and $n \geq 1$) and gives the following possibilities for phonological words of up to 6 syllables; note that a phonological word can be longer.

2 syllables	n=1	HM
3 syllables	n=2	HMM
4 syllables	n=3	HHMM
5 syllables	n=4	HHHMM
6 syllables	n=5	HHHHMM

I illustrate each pattern in (2.37) below; high pitch is marked by an acute accent, mid pitch is unmarked.

- (2.37) a. 2 syllables

<i>béta</i>	‘two’
<i>búna</i>	‘bullet ant’
<i>ákwi</i>	‘tree’

- b. three syllables

<i>kímisha</i>	‘three’
<i>mátuja</i>	‘caiman’
<i>jíkwi-tsu</i>	(cut-SS)

⁶ Note that a phonological word requires a minimum of two syllables (see Chapter 3).

c. four syllables

<i>jútákiju</i>	‘therefore’
<i>chámákama</i>	‘finally’
<i>ání-kware</i>	(sit-REM.PAST)

d. five syllables

<i>íwará-kware</i>	(call-REM.PAST)
<i>wésá-tána-tsu</i>	(lift-PASS-SS)

e. six syllables

<i>kwéjá-méré-kware</i>	(tell-CAUS-REM.PAST)
<i>netí-dírú-kware</i>	(stand-GO.PERM-REM.PAST)

2.8. Intonation

There do not appear to be any specific intonation patterns that distinguish between declarative, interrogative and imperative types of clauses in Cavineña. However, there are a number of intonational patterns that are used for other purposes. These patterns modify the normal $H^n(M)M$ pitch-accent contour in the phonological word. In this section, I briefly discuss three of the identified intonational contours: the utterance-final contour (§2.8.1), the ‘contrastive’ contour (§2.8.2), and the intensifier contour (§2.8.3). Note that this discussion is still preliminary; a full study of Cavineña intonation remains to be done.

2.8.1. Utterance-final contour

The end of an utterance is signaled by a low (as opposed to mid) pitch on the final two syllables of the last phonological word. The $H^n(M)M$ pitch contour on the last phonological word is overridden, becoming H^nLL (where H and L stand for high pitch and low pitch, respectively, and $n \geq 1$).

The H^nLL contour requires a minimum of three syllables, unlike the $H^n(M)M$ which is possible over a two syllable word. With phonological words of three or more syllables, there is only a change in the pitch from M to L of the

final two syllables, as illustrated in (2.38); a grave accent marks low pitch.

(2.38) a. 3 syllables

É-na=tu *ári-dà.*
 NPF-water=3SG(-FM) big-ASF
 ‘The water is high (lit. big).’ mj026

b. 4 syllables

Jára-búte-tsu=Ø *bétsá-kwàrè.*
 lie-GO.DOWN-SS(=1SG-FM) swim-REM.PAST
 ‘I lay down (on my raft) and I swam.’ mj061

c. 5 syllables

... *mée=ju* *bá-nátí-kwàrè.*
 saltlick=LOC see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST
 ‘While I was going I saw (a big male coati) in a saltlick.’ mj119

The HⁿLL pitch contour, however, cannot apply to two syllable words. Two syllable words merge together with the preceding phonological word, in which case the HⁿLL pitch contour applies to the last two phonological words of the utterance. This is shown in (2.39).

(2.39) a. ... *bábí jù-yà.*
 hunt be-IMPFV

‘(My dogs) were hunting.’ ba031

b. ... *pá-májú ì-kè!*
 HORT.SG-die 1SG-FM

‘(If I want to die,) let me die!’ ba078

c. *Mí-rá=ámá=rí* *à-wà.*
 2SG-ERG=NEG=3PROX.SG(-FM) affect-PERF

‘You are not the one who killed it.’ hm081

- d. *Éjébuchá* *íyé-é=ri-ke=Ø* *túmé*
 MAN.INT kill-MAN.INT=3PROX.SG-FM(=1SG-ERG) there
à-yà?
 affect-IMPFV

‘How am I going to kill it there?’ ba058

Recall that there is no special interrogative or imperative intonation in Cavineña. In other words, the utterance-final contour applies equally to any type of clause. This is the case in the interrogative clause in (2.39d), for example.

2.8.2. Emphatic contour

The Hⁿ(M)M unmarked contour is sometimes replaced by an H(Mⁿ)M emphatic contour, in which case the high pitch of the first syllable does not extend rightwards (see rule (2.36c)). As a result, there is a high pitch on the first syllable only and a mid pitch on all the remaining syllables in the phonological word. Typically, this happens with the first phonological word of an utterance. The meaning appears to be emphatic. An example is given in (2.40).

- (2.40) *Chá:makama=Ø_s* *ápúpú-ya=ju* *jú-dírú-kwàrè.*
 finally(=1SG-FM) darken-IMPFV=DS be-GO.PERM-REM.PAST
 ‘Finally, when it was getting dark, I arrived.’ sd067

In some cases, in addition to the high pitch, the vowel is also lengthened, as in (2.40). But in other cases, vowel lengthening does not occur (as in *chapa=kwana* ‘dogs’ in (2.42) below).

2.8.3. Intensifier contour

The penultimate syllable of (predicative) adjectives in copula complement function (§11.1.1) can be singled out and given prominence through the combination of vowel lengthening, increased intensity and increased duration of preceding or following consonants. Semantically this has the effect of intensifying the quality denoted by the adjective. An example is presented in (2.41).

- (2.41) a. *Jádyá=tibu tú-wa pup:í-da jú-kwàrè.*
 thus=REASON there-LOC clean-ASF be-REM.PAST

‘(A lot of cattle use this path.) For this reason, it (the path) is very clean there.’ sd071

- b. *Sikaká:-da kúrakwa átá=kwànà.*
 noisy-ASF parrot relative=PL

‘The Ese Ejjas (lit. parrot relatives) were very noisy.’ sl078

The Hⁿ(M)M (non-utterance final) pitch contour becomes MⁿHM, as in (2.41a,b), and the HⁿLL (utterance-final) pitch contour becomes MⁿHL, as in (2.42).

- (2.42) *Chápa=kwana=shana kasteré:-wa.*
 dog=PL=PITY get.tired-PERF

‘My dogs were very tired.’ ba146

2.9. Phonology of loanwords

Cavineña has borrowed a large number of words from Spanish (and Aymara/Quechua to a lesser degree). In a number of cases, the loanwords have been fully integrated into the phonological system of the language. That is, the segments of these words have been reorganized according to (1) the set of possible consonants and vowels in Cavineña (Table 2.1 and Table 2.2), (2) the syllable structure of the language (§2.3) and (3) the accentual system of the language (§2.7).

For example, this is the case with the noun *irisha* ‘church’ [íliça] (from Spanish *iglesia* [iglésja]).⁷ There are a number of differences between the two words. In terms of accent, the word has lost its penultimate stress and has acquired an Hⁿ(M)M pitch contour, realized on this three syllable word by high pitch on the first syllable and mid pitch on the final two). In terms of syllable structure, the complex syllable onsets *gl* and *si* [sj] (and the sounds *g* and *l* which are foreign to Cavineña) have been converted into the single phonemes *r*

⁷ Note that the acute accent marks high pitch in Cavineña and a stressed syllable in Spanish.

[l] and *sh* [ç]. In addition to these modifications, we observe the change of the vowel *e* of the second syllable into an *i*.⁸

In other cases, the segments in the borrowed words have not (or have only partially) been adapted into the Cavineña system (presumably because they are more recent borrowings). For example, the noun *gringo* [gríŋgo] ‘foreign man of Caucasian type’ is not pronounced any differently in Cavineña than it is in Spanish, although the complex onset *gr* [gr] (and the sound *g*), the coda *n* [ŋ] and the nasal-stop cluster are all foreign to the system. In addition, the vowel *o* is pronounced exactly like Spanish *o* (not like Cavineña [u]). In this study, these words have been written with their Spanish orthography and therefore include letters such as *g* [g], *v* [b/β], *f* [f], *o* [o], etc. Some examples are *carga* ‘load’, *directiva* ‘board of leaders’, *familia* ‘family’, *junio* ‘June’, etc.

The study of how foreign words have been integrated into the Cavineña system is a fascinating topic. However, it will not be dealt with here, as it falls outside the scope of the present description of Cavineña.

2.10. Previous writing systems

The first orthography created for the Cavineña language is found in Key (1963b). This system is based on the Spanish orthography. The velar stop /k/ is written *qu* before the front vowels *i* and *e*, and *c* before non-front vowels *a* and *u*. The labial-velar glide /w/ is written *hu*. The glottal fricative /h/ is written *j*. The alveo-palatal nasal /ɲ/ is written *ñ*. The alveo-palatal /ç/ is written *ll*. See Table 2.3 below.

Key’s (1963b) alphabet is slightly modified in the subsequent work by Camp and/or Liccardi — the alphabet both authors use throughout their work is listed in Camp and Liccardi 1989: xi. The authors use the grapheme *u* instead of *o* to represent the back vowel phoneme /u/. They also leave out the glottal stop, as it is not a phoneme in Cavineña, and the liquid *l*.⁹

In 1996, in the context of the Bolivian educational reform for multicultural-

⁸ Note that it is not clear why such a change happened, since *e* is a phoneme in Cavineña.

⁹ In the case of the glottal stop, it is not a phoneme in Cavineña (but an optional means by which to distinguish two vowels in a sequence (e.g., (2.26)). As for *l*, as far as I can see, Key only uses this grapheme for words borrowed from Spanish (e.g., *leche* ‘milk’, *baila* ‘dance’, etc.)

bilingual education (§1.6), I proposed a revised alphabet based on a more straightforward association between phonemes and graphemes (Guillaume 1996). The two graphemes *qu* and *c* are replaced by *k*, the grapheme *hu* is replaced by *w* and the grapheme *cu* is replaced by *kw*. The graphemes *ll* and *ñ*, which occur in very few words, are retained.

Most of the graphemes used in this study follow Guillaume (1996), except for two forms. I use *ry* instead of *ll* and *ny* instead of *ñ*. This makes clearer the fact that these two phonemes belong to the series of alveo-palatal phonemes. This also makes the reading easier for readers unfamiliar with the Spanish orthographic system.

Table 2.3 shows the four different writing systems. Letters revised from one system to another are in bold face.

Table 2.3. Different Cavineña writing systems

IPA	Key (1963b)	C & L (1989)	Guillaume (1996)	This study
p	p	p	p	p
b	b	b	b	b
t	t	t	t	t
d	d	d	d	d
c	ty	ty	ty	ty
ʝ	dy	dy	dy	dy
k	c, qu	c, qu	k	k
k ^w	cu	cu	kw	kw
ʔ	'	—	—	—
ts	ts	ts	ts	ts
tʃ	ch	ch	ch	ch
s	s	s	s	s
ʃ	sh	sh	sh	sh
h	j	j	j	j
ɹ	r	r	r	r
l	l	—	—	—
ʎ	ll	ll	ll	ry
m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n
ɲ	ñ	ñ	ñ	ny
w	hu	hu	w	w
j	y	y	y	y

IPA	Key (1963b)	C & L (1989)	Guillaume (1996)	This study
i	i	i	i	i
e	e	e	e	e
a	a	a	a	a
u	o	u	u	u

Chapter 3

Grammatical vs. phonological word

In Cavineña, as in many languages, a distinction must be made between the grammatical word and the phonological word since they are not always in correspondance. One phonological word can be made up of two (or more) grammatical words while one grammatical word made up of two phonological words.

In this chapter, I will first give the criteria for both word types in Cavineña (§3.1) — see Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002) for a discussion of criteria for both types of word in a cross-linguistic perspective. Then I will discuss the situations where the two types of words do not coincide with each other (§3.2).

3.1. Criteria for grammatical vs. phonological word

3.1.1. Grammatical word

A grammatical word in Cavineña has the following characteristics:

1 — it can have one or more syllables;

(3.1)	<i>=ju</i>	(=LOC)	1 syll
	<i>beta</i>	‘two’	2 syll
	<i>matuja</i>	‘caiman’	3 syll
	<i>chamakama</i>	‘finally’	4 syll

2 — it can be monomorphemic, as in the previous examples, or polymorphemic;

(3.2) a. 2 morphemes

<i>e-na</i>	(NPF-water)
<i>kasa-da</i>	(strong-ASF)
<i>jikwi-ya</i>	(cut.off-IMPFV)

b. 3 morphemes

<i>e-tawi-ki</i>	(NMLZ-sleep-NMLZ)
<i>neti-tsura-kware</i>	(stand-GO.UP-REM.PAST)

c. 4 morphemes

<i>Jeke-sha-nuka-kware</i>	(fill.up-CAUS-REITR-REM.PAST)
<i>Kwa-baka-nuka-tsu</i>	(go-SHORT.TIME-REITR-SS)

What are the criteria for determining whether two morphemes are part of the same grammatical word or separate grammatical words? According to Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002: 19), the parts of a grammatical word ‘always occur together, occur in a fixed order and have conventionalized coherence and meaning’.

We can illustrate this with a number of morphemes in Cavineña with different statuses. The morpheme *kware* encodes the meaning ‘remote past’ (§6.1.1), as in *tawi-kware* (*sleep*-REM.PAST) ‘slept’. This morpheme can only occur together with a lexeme from the verb class. For example, it is impossible to have **chapa-kware*, where *chapa* ‘dog’ is a noun, or **ari-kware*, ‘where *ari*- ‘big’ is an adjective. In addition, *kware* obligatorily follows the verb lexeme (**kware-tawi*). The morpheme *kware* can therefore be analyzed as a part of a grammatical word, rather than an independent grammatical word.

We can contrast *-kware* with a morpheme such as *beru* ‘before, long ago’ (§16.1) which is fully independent grammatically. *Beru*, similarly to *-kware*, can co-occur with a verb and directly follow it, as in *ina-kware beru* (*grab*-REM.PAST before) ‘grabbed long ago’. However, unlike *-kware*, *beru* can also precede the verb, as in *beru kueti-kware* (before *pass*-REM.PAST) ‘passed long ago’. *Beru* can even be discontinuous with the verb, as in *inimetupu-kware esiri=kwana=ra beru* (*think*-REM.PAST old=PL=ERG before) ‘the elders thought long ago’. This morpheme can therefore be analyzed as a grammatically independent word (as opposed to being a part of an independent grammatical word).

A number of morphemes are grammatically less independent than *beru* but more independent than *kware*. This is the case with *ama* ‘NEG’ (§17.2.9). When *ama* occurs with a verb, it must follow it, as in *jikwi-ya=ama* (*cut.off*-*kware*=NEG) ‘did not cut’ (**ama=jikwi-ya*). However *=ama* is not restricted to occurring only with verbs. It can also occur with nouns, as with the place name *Bolivar* in *Bolivar=ama* ‘not Bolivar’, or with a postposition, as in *e-kwaa=tsewe=ama* (1-mother=ASSOC=NEG) ‘not with my mother’. Despite having less flexibility than morphemes such as *beru*, clitic morphemes such as *=ama* are nevertheless still independent grammatical words because, as I have shown, they are not bound to a particular word class.

3.1.2. Phonological word

The phonological word, unlike the grammatical word, can only be defined with language-internal criteria (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002: 13). In Cavineña, a phonological word must have: (1) a minimum of two syllables and (2) an independent Hⁿ(M)M pitch contour (see §2.7).

Examples illustrating the assignment of the Hⁿ(M)M pitch contour on phonological words of various lengths are given in (3.3); high pitch is encoded with an acute accent on top of a vowel while mid pitch is left unmarked.

(3.3)	<i>bé</i> ta	‘two’	2 syll
	<i>kí</i> misha	‘three’	3 syll
	<i>jú</i> tákiju	‘therefore’	4 syll
	wésá-tána-tsu	‘(lift-PASS-SS)	5 syll
	nétí-dírú-kware	(stand-GO.PERM-REM.PAST)	6 syll

In the speech chain, the boundary between two independent phonological words is identified by a characteristic mid-pitch-high-pitch sequence. The mid pitch corresponds to the end of the preceding phonological word. The high pitch corresponds to the beginning of the following phonological word.¹ In (3.4), I illustrate a number of phonological word sequences taken from texts.

(3.4)	a.	<i>pé</i> adya	<i>ú</i> ra	c.	<i>jú</i> tákiju	<i>ré</i> -keja
		one	hour		therefore	here-LOC.GNL
		‘one hour’ mj104			‘therefore (I’m going) this way’ ba037	
	b.	<i>pé</i> re	<i>é</i> make			
		raft	under			
		‘under the raft’ mj055				

3.2. Mismatch between grammatical and phonological words

All the examples of phonological words illustrated above correspond to one grammatical word, in which case both the grammatical and phonological words are identical. However, not all phonological words correspond to a single grammatical word, and not all grammatical words correspond to a single

¹ Note that this is true as long as this pattern is not overridden by a different pitch contour such the utterance-final contour (§2.8.1), the emphatic contour (§2.8.2) or the intensifier contour (§2.8.3).

phonological word in Cavineña. There can be two types of mismatch that may occur:

- 1 — one phonological word consisting of more than one grammatical word, as with clitics (§3.2.1);
- 2 — one grammatical word consisting of more than one phonological word (normally two), as with full reduplication (§3.2.2).

3.2.1. One phonological word = two (or more) grammatical words

Cavineña has an important number of grammatical words which are prosodically deficient. These morphemes are called clitics and written with ‘=’. Although they qualify as independent grammatical words (according to the criteria in §3.1.1 above), they do not qualify as independent phonological words. They do not receive the phonological word $H^n(M)M$ pitch-contour independently but attached to an already independent phonological word. In Cavineña, most clitics link to the preceding word and can be referred to as enclitics. The only attested cases of procliticization are the particle *ni=* ‘NOT.EVEN’ (§17.2.10) and monosyllabic verb roots when modified by a particular set of quantifier markers (§10.4).

In connected speech, the mid-pitch-high-pitch sequence that characterizes the juncture between two independent phonological words does not occur at the juncture between a clitic and the preceding (or the following) phonological word. This can be illustrated by comparing the juncture between the two phonological words in (3.4a) (repeated) with the juncture between a phonological word and a clitic (postposition) in (3.5).

(3.4a) *péadya* *úra*
 one hour
 ‘one hour’ mj104

(3.5) *é-spéré=keja* (**é-spere=kéja*)
 NPF-stream=LOC.GNL
 ‘in the direction of the stream’ ba037

In both examples, we have a sequence of two grammatical words with the same number of (five) syllables. But in (3.4a), the prosody is HMMHM. There are two different phonological words which each receiving the $H^n(M)M$ contour separately. In (3.5), the prosody is HHHMM because only one phonological word receives the $H^n(M)M$ contour.

The next pair of examples contrasts the two independent phonological words of (3.4b) (repeated) and a sequence of one phonological word followed by two clitic morphemes (plural marker and ergative marker) in (3.6).

(3.4b) *pére émake*
raft under
‘under the raft’ mj055

(3.6) *chápá=kwána=ra* (**chápa=kwána=ra*)
dog=PL=ERG
‘dogs’ ba074

Here again, we have two sequences with the same number of syllables but in (3.4b), the Hⁿ(M)M pattern applies to each of the two different phonological words, while in (3.6), the pattern applies once to the whole sequence.

In (3.7), I provide examples of phonological words consisting of various numbers of grammatical words (from 2 to 4) and with various length (from 3 to 9 syllables).

(3.7) a. 3 syllables

<i>yáchi=ju</i>	(pampa=LOC)	ba012
<i>é-na=ra</i>	(NPF-water=ERG)	ba023
<i>tú-wa=tu</i>	(there-LOC=3SG)	mj008
<i>é-ra=mi</i>	(1SG-ERG=2SG)	sl003

b. 4 syllables

<i>chápá=kwana</i>	(dog=PL)	ba030
<i>kwábá=tsewe</i>	(canoe=ASSOC)	mp021
<i>jádyá=tibu</i>	(thus=REASON)	pa088

c. 5 syllables

<i>jádyá=tíbu=tu</i>	(thus=REASON=3SG)	ba024
<i>míkwáná-keja</i>	(2PL-LOC.GNL)	pa058
<i>íyé-yá=tibu</i>	(kill-IMPV=REASON)	ba023

d. 6 syllables

<i>páé=kwáná=keja</i>	(priest=PL=LOC.GNL)	sd001
<i>ésírí=kwána=ra</i>	(old=PL=ERG)	mj046

e. 7 syllables

<i>kwínáná-núká-ya=dya</i>	(emerge-REITR-IMPV=FOC)	mj070
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f. 8 syllables

<i>ájá=búchá=táá=tu-ke</i>	(monkey=SIMLR=EMPH=3SG-FM)	aj008
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3.2.2. One grammatical word = two phonological words

The other mismatch between the grammatical word and the phonological word in Cavineña occurs with full (but not partial) reduplication. Here, one grammatical word (the reduplicated word) consists of two phonological words (the two non-reduplicated parts). Both parts receive the Hⁿ(M)M independently, as illustrated in (3.8).

(3.8) a. reduplication of a 2 syllables word

<i>míri-míri</i>	(strike-REDUP)	ba144
(* <i>mírí-míri</i>)		

b. reduplication of a 3 syllables word

<i>kwínana-kwínana</i>	(emerge-REDUP)	sl026
(* <i>kwínáná-kwínana</i>)		

The requirement that both parts of a reduplicated word be separate phonological words (with a minimum of two syllables and with independent Hⁿ(M)M contours) is also reflected by the fact that when a monosyllabic root is reduplicated, each part is augmented by an epenthetic vowel *-u* (see §2.6.6), as in (3.9).

(3.9) reduplication of a 1 syllable root/word

bá-u-bá-u (see-EPEN-REDUP-REDUP) n5.0342
 (**bá-ba*)

tyá-u-tyá-u (give-EPEN-REDUP-REDUP) n5.0343
 (**tyá-tya*)

3.3. Monosyllabic grammatical words

Since a phonological word requires at least two syllables, monosyllabic roots never form phonological words by themselves. They always require an additional syllable. The additional syllable is provided by two processes in Cavineña: affixation or cliticization (but not vowel lengthening).

Many Cavineña monosyllabic roots belong to word classes whose members are all (or mostly) clitics (either mono- or polysyllabic). For these monosyllabic roots, the additional syllable is provided by an adjacent phonological word to which they are attached. This is the case with the postpositions =*ra* ‘ERG’, =*ju* ‘LOC’ and =*ja* ‘DAT/GEN’ (§4.5.1 and Chapter 14), the subordinate clause markers =*ra* ‘PURP.MOT’, =*ju* ‘DS’, and =*ke* ‘LIG’ (§4.5.6, Chapters 18, 19 and 20), the second position particles =*pa* ‘REP’ and =*ni* ‘MAYBE’ (§4.5.5 and Chapter 16), and phrasal particle =*dya* ‘FOC’ (§4.5.5 and Chapter 17).

There are also monosyllabic roots which belong to word classes whose members are independent phonological words (not clitics). With some word classes, the root is never found without at least one affix. This is the case with the pronominal root *mi-* ‘2SG’, the adverbial demonstrative root *re-* ‘here’ (§4.5.2 and Chapter 15), and the five monosyllabic predicative *da*-adjectives *ba-* ‘cold’, *de-* ‘deep’, *ji-* ‘good’, *mu-* ‘scary’ and *tsa-* ‘scarce’ (§4.3 and §11.2).

However, for verbs and nouns (inflecting verbs and *e*-nouns in particular), there are contexts where roots can be found without affixes. In the remainder of this section, I discuss the various ways monosyllabic verbs and nouns form independent phonological words in such contexts.

There are ten monosyllabic inflecting verbs, as given in (3.10), each sorted according to its transitivity value. Note that all non-inflecting verbs are polysyllabic.

(3.10)	a.	<i>je-</i>	‘come’	b.	<i>a-</i>	‘affect O’
		<i>ju-</i>	‘be’		<i>ba-</i>	‘see O’
		<i>kwa-</i>	‘go’		<i>be-</i>	‘bring O’
		<i>pa-</i>	‘cry’		<i>ryu-</i>	‘comb O’
		<i>tsa-</i>	‘laugh’	c.	<i>tya</i>	‘give O to O’

Monosyllabic verbs form a full phonological word through one of the following mechanisms:

1 — the addition of a verbal affix, as in *né-kwa* (HORT.DL-go) and *tsá-ya* (laugh-IMPV). Note that the verb of any main verbal clause requires an inflectional affix;

2 — the addition of an epenthetic vowel *-u* ‘EPEN’, as in *bá-u* ‘see-EPEN’ and *bé-u* ‘bring-EPEN’. This happens when no verbal affix can be included with the verb, as in full reduplication marking the antipassive (§8.3.1), or when a verb is used in a main clause without the (otherwise obligatory) inflection (§6.1.6);

3 — the addition of a clitic. This happens with non-finite adverbial clause markers, as in *jú=ishu* (be=PURP.GNL), *á=ra* (affect=PURP.MOT) and *jé=wie* (come=JUST.BEFORE);

4 — the procliticization of the verb onto a following (verbal) modifier. This happens with auxiliary-triggering postposed markers (§10.4), as in *jú=péadya* (be=ONCE) and *jú=kímisha* (be=THREE.TIMES). Note that there is no attested instance of verb encliticization.

There are five monosyllabic noun roots which all belong to the *e*-noun subclass, as given in (3.11).

(3.11)	<i>-bi</i>	‘arm’	<i>-tse</i>	‘tooth’
	<i>-ka</i>	‘egg’	<i>-wi</i>	‘beak’
	<i>-na</i>	‘water’		

Nouns from the *e*-noun subclass obligatorily take a dummy *e-* prefix, whether they are mono- or polysyllabic (see §12.3.1). As such, the monosyllabic *e*-nouns can form independent phonological words (thus *e-ka* ‘egg’, *e-na* ‘water’, *e-bi* ‘arm’, etc.). However, in some contexts, *e*-nouns lose their prefix *e-*. This notably happens when they are modified by preceding noun. When monosyllabic *e*-nouns lose their prefix *e-*, they are encliticized to the preceding noun, i.e., *dáti=ka* ‘tortoise egg’, *kwéri=na* ‘river water’, etc. The *e-* prefix is also lost in various derivational processes. All derivational processes involving nouns are marked by affixes. As such, the monosyllabic *e*-nouns form independent phonological words together with the derivational affix (e.g., with the adjectivizer *-ma* ‘WITHOUT’ in *tsé-ma* ‘toothless’).

3.4. When a phonological word only consists of clitics

In some cases, one phonological word can only consist of clitics. This appears to happen in the examples given in (3.12); separate phonological words are between square brackets.

- (3.12) a. ... [é-na] [=tséwe=dya]...
 NPF-water =ASSOC=FOC
 ‘(This time, I arrived) with water.’ sd101
- b. ... [píshika] [métro] [=túpú=diane]...
 five meter =UP.TO=APPROX
 ‘(I could see the anteater) about five meters away (from me).’
 ba118
- c. ... [kwéjá-wa=ju] [=tú-ké =ékwana]...
 inform-PERF=DS =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG)
 ‘When they told that to us, we (first thought that) it (was not serious).’ T1.5

In (3.12a), we expect a single HHHMM pitch contour coding a single phonological word since =tsewe ‘ASSOC’ is a clitic. However, what we hear is a sequence of an HM contour followed by an HMM contour, which suggests that there are two different phonological words.

In (3.12b), we expect a sequence of a HMM contour followed by a single HHHMM contour since =tupu ‘UP.TO’ is a clitic. However, what we have is a sequence of a HMM contour followed by a HM contour followed by a HHMM contour, which suggests that there are three different phonological words.

In (3.12c), we expect a single HHHHHHMM contour since =tu-ke ‘3SG-FM’ and =ekwana ‘1PL(-ERG)’ are clitics. However, what happens is a sequence of a HHMM contour followed by a HHHMM contour which suggests that there are two different phonological words.

In these three examples, it appears that a clitic followed by another clitic can begin a new phonological word. As a result one phonological word only consists of clitics. This issue has not been fully investigated. It could be that in this language sequences of clitics can indeed form independent phonological words. This could also be the effect of a secondary stress or a specific intonational contour which has not been identified; recall that the Hⁿ(M)M pitch contour which defines a phonological word can be modified by specific intonational patterns such as the utterance-final contour, the emphatic contour and the intensifier contour discussed in §2.8.

Chapter 4

Grammatical overview

This chapter is an overview of Cavineña grammar. The first section lists the words classes (§4.1). The next four sections present each word class within its superordinate phrasal environment: predicate structure and verbs (§4.2), predicative adjectives (§4.3), NP structure, nouns and NP modifiers, which consist of attributive adjectives, number markers and quantifiers (§4.4), and remaining word classes, which consist of postpositions, pronouns, demonstratives, content question words, particles, subordinate clause markers, interjections and onomatopoeias (§4.5).

Clause structure is the topic of §4.6. I first present the structure of basic main clauses (§4.6.1), followed by a discussion of grammatical functions (§4.6.2). Other types of clauses are discussed next: copula clauses (§4.6.3), imperative and hortative clauses (§4.6.4), interrogative clauses (§4.6.5) and negative clauses (§4.6.6). Dependent clauses are introduced in §4.7. The last section discusses coordination (§4.8).

4.1. Word classes

Classes of words are determined by morphological possibilities, syntactic behavior and semantic content. Cavineña word classes are listed in Table 4.1, together with indications about whether they consist of a lexical or a grammatical class, whether they are open or closed, their phonological status, and where in this chapter the word class is discussed.

The following remarks can be made about the table:

- Cavineña has two different classes of adjectives: predicative adjectives and attributive adjectives. As we will see, predicative adjectives function ‘predicatively’ (as copula complements) but not attributively. In contrast, attributive adjectives function attributively (as NP modifiers) but not ‘predicatively’;
- Cavineña does not have a class of articles;
- Cavineña does not have a specific class of adverbs. Concepts of manner, such as ‘well’, ‘fast’, etc., concepts of location, such as ‘upriver’, ‘here’, etc. and concepts of time, such as ‘today’, ‘tomorrow’, etc., are expressed by predicative adjectives (used adverbially), particles or demonstratives.

Table 4.1. Word classes

Type	Name	Phonological status	Section
Lexical: open	Verbs	word	§4.2.2
	Predicative adjectives	word	§4.3
Grammatical: closed	Nouns	word	§4.4.2
	Verb modifiers	word	§4.2.3
	Attributive adjectives	word	§4.4.3
	Number markers	enclitics	§4.4.4
	Quantifiers	word	§4.4.5
	Postpositions	word or clitic	§4.5.1
	Pronouns	word and clitic	§4.5.2
	Demonstratives	word	§4.5.3
	Content question words	word	§4.5.4
	Particles	word and clitic	§4.5.5
	Subordinate clause markers	word and clitic	§4.5.6
Semi-open	Coordinators	word	§4.8
	Interjections	word	§4.5.7
	Onomatopoeias	word	§4.5.8

4.2. Predicate and verbs

The predicate consists of a verb and its modifiers. In Cavineña, the predicate can be simple or complex. When the predicate is simple, the lexical verb carries all the verbal affixes. Here the verb structure matches the predicate structure. When the predicate is complex, the lexical verb is accompanied by an auxiliary which carries (at least part of) the verbal affixes. Here the verb structure and the predicate structure do not match. Predicate structure is presented in §4.2.1. Verbs, which head the predicate, are discussed in §4.2.2.

4.2.1. Predicate structure

The predicate in Cavineña can be described in terms of 11 structural slots, from A to K, as shown in the following slot diagram:

- Slot A: **Inflectional prefix**
 Slot B: Preverbal modifier
 Slot C: Valency-changing prefix
 Slot D: **Verb root**
 Slot E: **Auxiliary**
 Slot F: Postural or directional suffix
 Slot G: Valency-changing suffixes
 Slot H: Aktionsart suffixes
 Slot I: Mode suffix
 Slot J: Postverbal modifier
 Slot K: **Inflectional suffix**

A brief description of each slot is given below:

— Slots A and K are filled by obligatory and therefore inflectional markers. There can only be one morpheme per slot at a time. There are prefixes that go into slot A, as in (4.1a), suffixes that go into slot K, as in (4.1b), and circumfixes that go into both slots A and K, as in (4.1c). Note that superscript capital letters refer to structural slots within the predicate structure while subscript capital letters refer to core grammatical functions.

- (4.1) a. Ne^A - iye^D *chai=kwana*_O!
 HORT.DL-kill bird=PL
 ‘Let’s (dl) kill birds!’ tb174

- b. *Yawa=ju* =*shana* *ekana*_S *ani*^D-***ya***^K.
 ground=LOC =PITY 3PL sit-IMPV
 ‘They would sit (directly) on the ground, the poor women (our Cavineña grandmothers).’ ci079

- c. *Deka* =*yatse*_S e^A -*pakaka*^D-***u***^K.
 POTENTIALLY =1DL POT-fall-POT

‘(Get down from the motorcycle and cross the bridge first! Otherwise,) we (dl) might fall down.’ mo018

— Slots B and I are filled by optional auxiliary-triggering modifiers. These modifiers prevent the verb from taking inflectional affixes (slot A/K). Inflectional affixes are then obligatorily attached to an auxiliary (in slot E). Slot B is filled by phonologically independent words, as with *pana* ‘PROPERLY’ in (4.2a). Slot I is filled by suffixes, as with *-kara* ‘DESID’ in (4.2b). The auxiliary-

triggering marker *jadya/ejebucha ...-e* ‘MAN’ is discontinuous and fills both slots B and I, as shown in (4.2c).

- (4.2) a. [**Pana**^B *peta*^D] *ne*^A-*a*^E-*kwe*^K!
 PROPERLY look.at IMP.NSG-affect-IMP.NSG
 ‘(Our Cavineña ancestors finally found the footsteps of their enemies. Before deciding to prepare an ambush someone said:) “you (pl) look at it (the path) carefully!”’ vz076
- b. *Tuna-ra*_A =*ekwana*_O *iyē*^D-***kara***^I *a*^E-*ya*^K.
 3PL-ERG =1PL kill-DESID affect-IMPFV
 ‘They want to kill us.’ T1.10
- c. [***Jadya***^B *ani*^D-***e***^I] =*tus* [*ekwana-ja e-baba=ekana*]_S
 MAN sit-MAN =3SG(-FM) 1PL-GEN 1-grandfather=PL
ju^E-*kware*^K [*tume*_{CC}=*ke yawa=ju*].
 be-REM.PAST there=LIG ground=LOC
 ‘This is the particular way our grandfathers used to live (lit. sit) in that land (constantly at war with Ese Ejja people, not in peace as Cavineñas live nowadays).’ hs041

— Slots C and G are filled by affixes used to modify the valency of a verb. There is a circumfix marker, the reflexive *k(a)-...-ti*, that fills slots C and G, as in (4.3a), and several suffixes that only go into slot G, as with the passive *-tana*, in (4.3b)).

- (4.3) a. *Re-wa* =*yatses* *e-spere=ju* ***k***^C-*utsa*^D-***ti***^G-*chine*^K.
 here-LOC =1DL NPF-stream=LOC REF-wash-REF-REC.PAST
 ‘Here (in that stream), we bathed (lit. washed ourselves).’ ft034
- b. *Jadya=tibu* =*tus* [*tume*_{CC}=*ke e-majaka=ju*]
 thus=REASON =3SG(-FM) there=LIG NPF-space=LOC
*[jee*_{CC}=*ke karetu]*_S *tsume*^D-***tana***^G-*ya*^K...
 here=LIG cart use-PASS-IMPFV
 ‘For that reason (that in Cavineña communities there aren’t any motorized vehicles), this (rudimentary) cart is used in these places.’ ft023

— Slot D is obligatorily filled by a verb root, whether it is inflecting, as in the previous examples, or non-inflecting, as with *mere ju-* ‘work’ in (4.4).

- (4.4) *Junio=ju e-diji=ju mere^D ju^E-kware^K.*
 June=LOC NPF-path=LOC work be-REM.PAST
 ‘In June I was working on the road.’ n5.0116

— Slot E is filled by an auxiliary. There are two auxiliaries: *ju-* ‘be’ (intransitive), as in *mere ju-* ‘work’ illustrated in (4.4), and *a-* ‘affect’ (transitive), as in *bidubidu a-* ‘wag O’ illustrated in (4.5).

- (4.5) *Iwa_O =tuna_A bidubidu^D a^E-ya^K...*
 tail =3PL(-ERG) wag affect-IMPV
 ‘They (my dogs) were wagging their tails...’ wa095

— Slot F is filled by a paradigm of mutually exclusive optional suffixes encoding notions of posture and direction, as with *-tura* ‘GO.UP’ in (4.6).

- (4.6) *E-ra_A =tu_O ani^D-tura^F-sha^G-wa^K*
 1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) sit-GO.UP-CAUS-PERF
mishi_O [silla dyake].
 cat chair ON
 ‘I made the cat sit on the chair.’ n3.0095

— Slot H is filled by optional Aktionsart suffixes. These suffixes — there are about 30 of them — encode notions of aspect/manner, motion, time of the day and emotion. The Aktionsart *-nuka* ‘REITR’ is illustrated in (4.7).

- (4.7) [*Tuna_S ju-diru-wa=ju*] =yatse_S mochila_E karetu=ju
 3PL be-GO.PERM-PERF=DS =1DL bag cart=LOC
k^C-iya^D-butya^F-ti^G-nuka^H-chine^K.
 REF-put-GO.DOWN-REF-REITR-REC.PAST
 ‘When they arrived, we (dl) put again our bags down in the cart
 (and we went on foot).’ vb055

Some Aktionsart suffixes are mutually exclusive. Some others are not and can co-occur in the slot (up to three at a time).

— Slot J is filled by auxiliary-triggering modifiers which are phonologically independent. These markers are used to specify the number of times an event is performed, as with *beta* ‘TWICE’ in (4.8).

- (4.8) [Kakemiti^D **beta**^J] ju^E-kware^K.
 marry TWICE be-REM.PAST
 ‘She got married twice.’ mu049

The presentation of the structure of the predicate can be completed by the following two remarks:

- only verbs can head the predicate;
- the predicate does not make any reference to the arguments of the clause (S, A, O) or the obliques (dative, associative, locative, etc.).

4.2.2. Verbs

Verbs in Cavineña only function as the head of the predicate. They cannot head an NP unless they are nominalized. They cannot function as NP modifiers unless they are used within a relative clause.

Verbs can be subdivided between:

- 1 — inflecting verbs which directly take affixes (e.g., *tawi-* ‘sleep’, *peta-* ‘look at’);
- 2 — non-inflecting verbs which cannot carry any affix and require an auxiliary for this purpose (e.g., *mere ju-* ‘work’, *kwatsabiji a-* ‘tell a story to O’).

Both inflecting verbs and non-inflecting verbs can be further subdivided between:

- 1 — intransitive verbs (i.e., with one core argument S). Non-inflecting intransitive verbs require the intransitive auxiliary *ju-* ‘be’, as in (4.4);
- 2 — two extended intransitive non-inflecting verbs (i.e., with two core arguments S and E): *bawe ju-* ‘know E’ and *baekwa ju-* ‘not know E’;
- 3 — transitive verbs (i.e., with two core arguments A and O). Non-inflecting transitive verbs require the transitive auxiliary *a-* ‘affect’, as in (4.5);
- 4 — ditransitive verbs (i.e., with three core arguments A, O and O);¹

¹ It will be seen that the two non-subject arguments of ditransitive verbs are treated identically to the single non-subject argument (O) of (mono)transitive verbs by Cavineña grammar.

5 — two S=A ambitransitive inflecting verbs (i.e., either with one core argument S or with two core arguments A and O): *kike-/keke-* ‘shout, shout at O’ and *kwina-* ‘give birth, give birth to O’.

Inflecting verbs and non-inflecting verbs behave differently with regard to derivation and borrowing, as follows:

1 — the subclass of inflecting verbs is open to derivation (from nouns and predicative adjectives) but closed to borrowing;

2 — the subclass of non-inflecting verbs is open to both derivation (essentially from inflecting verbs) and borrowing.

Verbs are discussed at length in §5.2 (inflecting verbs) and §5.3 (non-inflecting verbs).

4.2.3. Verb modifiers

The closed class of verb modifiers consist of grammatically and phonologically independent morphemes that function as aspectual or manner modifiers. They are all auxiliary-triggering; that is, once they have been applied to a verb, any additional verbal suffixes must be carried by an auxiliary. According to their position in the predicate structure and their semantics, they can be divided into three categories:

1 — preverbal modifiers consist of four morphemes that go into slot B: *nere* ‘VIGOROUSLY’, *yume* ‘IMMEDIATELY’, *riya* ‘STARTLING’ and *pana* ‘PROPERLY’. They are discussed in §10.2;

2 — discontinuous modifiers involve two morphemes that go into slot B, *jadya* ‘MAN’ and *ejebucha* ‘MAN.INT’, and that require to be used in conjunction with a suffix *-e* in slot I. They are presented in §10.3;

3 — postverbal modifiers correspond to three morphemes that go into slot J: *pidya* ‘ONCE’, *beta* ‘TWICE’, and *kimisha* ‘THREE.TIMES’. They are the topic of §10.4.

Table 4.2. Verb modifiers

Preverbal modifiers	<i>nere</i>	‘VIGOROUSLY’
	<i>yume</i>	‘IMMEDIATELY’
	<i>riya</i>	‘STARTLING’
	<i>pana</i>	‘PROPERLY’
Discontinuous verb modifiers	<i>jadya ...-e</i>	‘MAN’
	<i>ejebucha ...-e</i>	‘MAN.INT’
Postverbal modifiers	<i>pidya</i>	‘ONCE’
	<i>beta</i>	‘TWICE’
	<i>kimisha</i>	‘THREE.TIMES’

4.3. Predicative adjectives

In Cavineña, we need to distinguish between two different word classes of adjectives:

1— Predicative adjectives primarily function as copula complement, as with *ari-* ‘big’ in (4.9a). Predicative adjectives can also function as adverbs and secondary predicates. However, they cannot function as NP modifiers, unless they are used within a copula relative clause — in which case they are marked with the relative clause marker =*ke* ‘LIG’ — as with *ari-* ‘big’ in (4.9b).

- (4.9) a. *Ari-da*_{CC} *ju-kware*_{CP} *aja*_{CS}.
 big-ASF be-REM.PAST capuchin.monkey
 ‘The capuchin monkey was big.’ aj025
- b. *E-kwe* *ani-kware* [*maletero ari-da*_{CC}=*ke*_{RC}]_S.
 1SG-DAT sit-REM.PAST bag big-ASF=LIG
 ‘I had a big bag (lit. a big bag sat to me).’ mj052

2 — Attributive adjectives only function as NP head modifiers. They cannot function as copula complement, adverb or secondary predicate. They have therefore been assigned to a different word class (see §4.4.3).

Predicative adjectives are further subdivided into two subclasses on morphological grounds:

1 — *da*-adjectives consist of a closed subclass of about 110 to 120 bound roots which must take an affix or be reduplicated. By default, *da*-adjectives carry the dummy suffix *-da* ‘ASF’, as with *ari-* ‘big’ in (4.9);

2 — independent adjectives consist of an open subclass (of at least 40 to 50 basic roots) which do not need to take any affixes or be reduplicated. They never take the *-da* dummy suffix, as shown in (4.10).

- (4.10) *Pureama*_{CC} (**pureama-da*) =*ekwana*_{CS} *ju-kware*_{CP...}
 happy =1PL be-REM.PAST
 ‘We were happy...’ ga008

Da-adjectives and independent adjectives express the typical adjectival concepts of DIMENSION, AGE, VALUE, COLOR, PHYSICAL PROPERTIES, HUMAN PROPENSITIES, etc. (as per Dixon 1982, 2004). *Da*-adjectives tend to express positive concepts while independent adjectives tend to express negative concepts, as shown in (4.11).

- | | | | | |
|--------|----------------------|---------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| (4.11) | <i>da</i> -adjective | | independent adjective | |
| | <i>ari-</i> | ‘big’ | <i>achacha /</i> | ‘small’ (DIMENSION) |
| | | | <i>ashasha</i> | |
| | <i>nana-</i> | ‘young’ | <i>esiri</i> | ‘old’ (AGE/VALUE) |
| | <i>juji-</i> | ‘fat’ | <i>ushuri</i> | ‘skinny’ (PHYS. PROPERTY) |

Note that this is only a tendency, as some negative concepts can be conveyed by *da*-adjectives (e.g., *da*-adjective *baji-* ‘scared’) and positive concepts by independent adjectives (e.g., *pureama* ‘happy’).

Predicative *da*-adjectives are closed to both derivation and borrowing. Predicative independent adjectives, on the other hand, are open to both processes.

Predicative adjectives are discussed at length in Chapter 11.

4.4. Noun phrase — nouns and NP modifiers

4.4.1. NP structure

The noun phrase in Cavineña can be described in terms of 8 structural slots (from A to H), each associated with a particular type of constituent, as shown in the following slot diagram and illustrated by the cross-referenced examples:

Slot A:	Relative clause	(4.2c), (4.3b), (4.36)
Slot B:	Quantifier	(4.12c), (4.14), (4.23), (4.37)
Slot C:	Genitive modifier	(4.12a), (4.12c), (4.29)
Slot D:	Juxtaposed noun	(4.12a), (4.18), (4.39)
Slot E:	Head noun	(4.12a), (4.12b), (4.12c), (4.14)
Slot F:	Attributive adjective	(4.12b), (4.20)
Slot G:	Number	(4.12b), (4.12c), (4.21), (4.23), (4.32)
Slot H:	Relative clause	(4.12c), (4.14)

Examples illustrating the co-occurrence of various NP constituents are given in (4.12). Recall that superscript capital letters refer to structural slots within the NP while subscript capital letters refer to grammatical functions.

- (4.12) a. *Ai=ra_A =tu_O tiru-sha-wa=ama*
 INT=ERG =3SG(-FM) burn-CAUS-PERF=NEG

[*Lizardu=ja^C arusu^D tee^E*]_O?
 Lizardu=GEN rice garden

‘Who prevented (lit. did not let) Lizardu’s rice garden from burning (when it was threatened by a big fire)?’ lz018

- b. [*E-marikaka^E ebari^F=kwana^G*]_E =ekwana_S
 NPF-cooking.pot big=PL =1PL

ka-kemi-ti-kware...
 REF-buy-REF-REM.PAST

‘(Nowadays) we buy big cooking pots...’ ci118

- c. *Ba-ti-kware =tu_A*
 see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST =3SG(-ERG)

[*dutya^B tuna-ja^C etawiki^E=kwana^G e-tiru_{CC}=ke^H*]_O
 all 3PL-GEN bedding=PL RES-burn=LIG

‘He went and saw all their bedding that had burned.’ fg027

Note that the situation where all NP slots are filled at the same time is never encountered in the available data, although there is no apparent constraint on particular combinations.

Only a noun can head an NP, even though the nominal NP head is often elipsed. When this happens its identity is always recoverable from the context, as in (4.13).

- (4.13) *Peya^B=kwana^G=ra=kamadya_A =tu_O a-kware.*
 other=PL=ERG=ONLY =3SG(-FM) affect-REM.PAST
 ‘(Me, I have never made traditional hats.) Others only would do that.’ ab096

Note that some NP modifiers obligatorily require an overt head. This restriction applies to genitive modifiers, juxtaposed nouns and attributive adjectives.

Verbal relative clauses (RC) normally fill slot H, as in (4.14).

- (4.14) [*Ai bakani*]_{CC} =tu_{CS} *ju-kware*
 INT name =3SG(-FM) be-REM.PAST
 [*pushi^B ekwita^E*
 four person
 [[*makei_O iye=ra*] *kwa-kware=ke^H*]_{CS?}
 enemy kill=PURP.MOT go-REM.PAST=LIG
 ‘What are the names of the four men who went to kill the enemies?’ mk098

Slot A is normally filled by very particular types of copula RCs, notably demonstrative copula RCs. Demonstrative copula RCs consist of a pointing demonstrative (§4.5.3) in CC function within a copula clause that is relativized (with obligatory deletion of the copula predicate), as in (4.2c), (4.3b) and (4.36). This serves as a strategy to remedy the fact that Cavineña does not have specific nominal demonstratives (i.e., demonstratives used within NPs), but only adverbial demonstratives.

RCs are marked by the subordinate clause marker =*ke* ‘LIG’ (§4.5.6). This marker is deleted when it occurs in the same clitic sequence with a postposition and when it precedes the postposition, as shown in (4.15):

- (4.15) [*E-puna^E* [*ordeña=ra* *kwa-wa^H=ra*]_A =yatse_O
 NPF-female milk=PURP.MOT go-PERF(=LIG)=ERG =1DL
ba-kware.
 see-REM.PAST

‘The woman who had gone to milk saw us.’ n1.0585

4.4.2. Nouns

Nouns in Cavineña are the only word class that can be the head of an NP (in slot E).² Nouns can also function as (juxtaposed) modifiers of a noun in an NP.

There are three subclasses of nouns distinguished by morpho-syntactic criteria:

1 — *e*-nouns consist of a closed class of about 100 to 150 terms which must take a dummy prefix *e*- ‘NPF’ (realized as *y*- before the vowel *a*). This prefix drops in a number of circumstances. *E*-nouns refer to parts of entities, such as *-atsanaka* ‘mouth’ and *-wachi* ‘foot’ shown in (4.16).

- (4.16) $[Y\text{-}atsanaka^E_O \quad kisha\text{-}tsu] =tu\text{-}ra_A =\emptyset_O$
 NPF-mouth open-SS =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM)
- karu-jeri-kware* *e-wachi^E=ju.*
 bite-ALMOST-REM.PAST NPF-foot=LOC

‘He (a caiman) opened its mouth, and almost bit my foot (lit. almost bit me on the foot).’ lg013

2 — kinship nouns consist of a closed small class of about 30 terms which are (obligatorily) inflected for the person of their possessor. They refer to kinship relations such as *wane* ‘wife’, as in (4.17), *tata* ‘father’, *anu* ‘grandmother’, etc..

- (4.17) *E-wane=ke^E=ra_A* *amena* *ba-ti-kware* *tu-ke_O.*
 3-wife=3=ERG BM see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST 3SG-FM

‘His wife went to see him.’ mu041

3 — independent nouns consist of an open class of a few thousand terms which do not take any *e*- prefix nor any possessor inflections. They refer to fauna, flora, artifact, proper nouns, etc. There is also an interrogative noun, *ai* ‘INT’; see an illustration in (4.12a).

E-nouns and independent nouns (but not kinship nouns) can be used as juxtaposed modifiers (in slot D) to another noun (as NP head in slot E). When the modified noun is an *e*-noun, its *e*- prefix is obligatorily deleted. This is illustrated in (4.18) with the *e*-noun *-rami* ‘flesh’ modified by the independent noun *waka* ‘cow’.

² It will be seen that independent pronouns can fill NP slots (§4.5.2). Unlike nouns, however, independent pronouns make a full NP by themselves (i.e., they cannot take any NP modifiers). They are not, strictly speaking, the head of an NP.

- (4.18) *Ani-ya=dya* *yu-keja* [*waka*^D *rami*^E]_S?
 sit-IMPV=FOC over.there-LOC.GNL cow flesh
 ‘Is there cow meat (lit. flesh) over there (in your country)?’ tb205

An example with the independent noun *arusu* ‘rice’ functioning as a juxtaposed modifier to *tee* ‘garden’ can be seen in (4.12a).

Nouns are discussed at length in §12.3 (*e*-nouns), §12.4 (kinship nouns) and §12.5 (independent nouns).

4.4.3. Attributive adjectives

Attributive adjectives are a closed class of 16 bare roots which cannot take affixes or be reduplicated. They are listed in (4.19), sorted by semantic type.

- (4.19) a. DIMENSION b. AGE
- | | |
|--|--|
| <p><i>baru</i> ‘tall’
 <i>ebari</i> ‘big’
 <i>kaka</i> ‘small and round’
 <i>wiri</i> ‘tiny’</p> | <p><i>nana</i> ‘young’
 <i>siri</i> ‘old’</p> |
| <p>c. COLOR</p> <p><i>pude</i> ‘red/brown’
 <i>paja</i> ‘white, clear’
 <i>sewe</i> ‘black’
 <i>jawa</i> ‘yellow’
 <i>sawa</i> ‘green/blue’</p> | <p>d. PHYSICAL PROPERTIES</p> <p><i>baba</i> ‘big and unique’
 <i>jika</i> ‘lush, luxuriant’
 <i>midi</i> ‘tight’
 <i>uke</i> ‘hot’
 <i>туру</i> ‘big male’</p> |

Attributive adjectives only function within an NP (in slot F), as with *baba* ‘unique’ in (4.20).

- (4.20) [*Tepatsu*^E *baba*^F]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} [*dyake mure-da*]_{CC}.
 leaf.cutter.ant unique =3SG(-FM) very fierce-ASF
 ‘The big (lit. unique) leaf-cutter ant is very fierce.’ di2660

Attributive adjectives are discussed in §13.2.

4.4.4. Number markers

Cavineña has three number markers. It has a dual marker, =*ekatse* ‘DL’, and two plural markers, =*kwana* ‘PL’, used with any type of noun, and =*ekana* ‘PL’, used with kinship nouns possessed by first and second persons. Number markers have the following morpho-syntactic properties:

- 1 — they consist of bare roots which cannot take any affixes or be reduplicated;
- 2 — they are enclitics. That is, they are not phonologically independent; they obligatorily require a host which must be an NP constituent;
- 3 — they only function as modifiers to the head of an NP (in slot G). The dual number marker =*ekatse* ‘DL’ is illustrated in (4.21).

(4.21) *Tu-wa* =*shana* *juye=ekatse*_{CS} *nereka-da*_{CC}.
 there-LOC =PITY ox=DL miserable-ASF

‘There, the oxen (dl) were miserable (having to pull the terribly heavy cart).’ ka239

Number markers are discussed in §13.3.

4.4.5. Quantifiers

There is a closed class of quantifiers which includes the ten numerals in (4.22a), the four logical quantifiers in (4.22b), the quantifier question marker *ejeuma* ‘how many/much’, and the word *peya* ‘other’.

(4.22) a. *peadya* ‘one’ *shukuta* ‘six’
beta ‘two’ *pakaruku* ‘seven’
kimisha ‘three’ *kimisakaruku* ‘eight’
pushi ‘four’ *puskuruku* ‘nine’
pishika ‘five’ *tunka* ‘ten’

b. *dutya* ‘all’
umada/jetiama ‘many, a lot of’³
umae ‘few’

³ These two logical quantifiers are synonymous.

Quantifiers have the following morpho-syntactic properties:

- 1 — quantifiers are bare roots. They cannot take affixes or be reduplicated;
- 2 — quantifiers only function as NP modifiers (in slot B of the NP structure).

The quantifier *dutya* ‘all’ is illustrated in (4.23).

- (4.23) [Dutya^B uu^E=kwana^G]_{CS} =pa ushuri=tere_{CC} ju-kware.
 all animal=PL =REP skinny=ONLY be-REM.PAST
 ‘All the animals were very skinny (because they had not eaten for days).’ ti005b

Quantifiers are discussed in §13.5.

4.5. Remaining word classes

4.5.1. Postpositions

Cavineña has a closed class of postpositions. Postpositions relate an NP to a predicate or a (superordinate) NP head. Postpositions are bare roots which cannot take any affixes or be reduplicated.

Cavineña has two types of postpositions. First, the language has postpositions that require an argument. They are listed in (4.24).

- | | | |
|--------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| (4.24) | =ra | ‘ERG’ |
| | =tsewe | ‘ASSOC’ |
| | =ja | ‘DAT’ |
| | =ja | ‘GEN’, ⁴ |
| | =ju | ‘LOC’ |
| | =keja | ‘LOC.GNL’ |
| | =eke | ‘PERL’ |
| | =tupu | ‘UP.TO’ |
| | =kama | ‘ONLY’ |
| | =taka | ‘ALONE’ |
| | jiteke/jeteke | ‘LOOKING.FOR’ |
| | pidya/beta/kimisha | ‘ONE/TWO/THREE.WHOLE’ |

⁴ Note that the dative postposition and the genitive postposition are homophonous.

Second, the language has postpositions that do not require an argument, although they can (and often) take one. The full list is given in (4.25), sorted semantically.

(4.25)	<i>dyake</i>	‘ON’
	<i>idyake</i>	‘ABOVE’
	<i>emake</i>	‘UNDER’
	<i>=duku</i>	‘INSIDE’
	<i>tsekwe</i>	‘OUTSIDE’
	<i>tibene</i>	‘BEHIND’
	<i>yueketibene</i>	‘FARTHER.BEHIND’
	<i>tupuju</i>	‘FOLLOWING’
	<i>tsuku</i>	‘AT.CORNER.OF’
	<i>peke</i>	‘AT.SIDE.OF’
	<i>jiruru</i>	‘AT.EDGE.OF’
	<i>patya/patyapatya</i>	‘IN.MIDDLE.OF’
	<i>pijidyane/japadama</i>	‘CLOSE.TO’ ⁵

A number of postpositions are enclitics. They are attached to the last phonological word of the NP that they are marking, as with *=tsewe* ‘ASSOC’ in (4.26)).

(4.26)	<i>Wikamutya=ra</i>	<i>=pa</i>	<i>=tus</i>	<i>kwa-kware</i>
	fish=PURP.MOT	=REP	=3SG(-FM)	go-REM.PAST
	<i>e-wane=ke=tsewe.</i>			
	3-wife=3=ASSOC			
	‘He went fishing with his wife.’ vz003			

Other postpositions are independent phonological words. They are postposed to the NP that they mark, as with *jiteke* ‘LOOKING.FOR’ in (4.27).

(4.27)	<i>Felicia_S</i>	<i>=tus</i>	<i>tsajaja-aje-kware</i>
	Felicia	=3SG(-FM)	run-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST
	[<i>kuchiru jiteke</i>].		
	machete LOOKING.FOR		
	‘Felicia ran to get a machete (to kill the agouti).’ md013		

⁵ There are no clear meaning differences between the postpositions *pijidyane* and *japadama*.

Finally, let us note the use in Cavineña of the Spanish preposition *hasta* ‘until, up to, as far as’. As in Spanish, this morpheme is preposed to its argument in Cavineña, as with the adverbial demonstrative *re-keja* in (4.28). Note that except for this borrowed morpheme, Cavineña does not have any preposition.

- (4.28) *Amena aje-etibe-chine* [hasta re-keja].
 BM walk-COME.PERM.DISTR-REC.PAST until here-LOC.GNL
 ‘I came back walking slowly until here (Misión Cavinás).’ ka458

See also *hasta* with the independent particle *riyakama* ‘now’, giving *hasta riyakama* ‘until now’, in (12.64) and (T1.112).

Postpositions are discussed in Chapter 14.

4.5.2. Pronouns

There are two major types of pronouns in Cavineña: (1) independent pronouns, with different sets for core functions (S/CS, A and O) and for various oblique functions (DAT, GEN, ASSOC, LOC.GNL and ‘ALONE’), and (2) second position bound pronouns, with distinct sets for core functions (S/CS, A and O) and one set for the dative oblique function (DAT) — there are no second position bound pronouns for GEN, ASSOC, LOC.GNL and ‘ALONE’ functions.

In addition to these two major types, Cavineña has two independent pronominal-like morphemes, *ekatse* ‘3DL’ and *ekana* ‘3PL’, only used to refer to S/CS or O arguments. Finally, the language has a prefix *e-* ‘1’ and a circumfix *e-...=ke* ‘3’ that attach to the subclass of kinship nouns and refer to the person of the possessor.

Independent pronouns and second position bound pronouns are basically identical in form: they have the same segmental make-up, encoding person, number and case with essentially the same roots and suffixes. The only exception resides in the roots of the third person singular proximate absolutive forms — *riya* for independent pronouns and *ri* for bound pronouns — and the root of the third person singular proximate dative forms — *riya* for independent pronouns and *re* for bound pronouns. In Table 4.3 and Table 4.4, for convenience, the two types of pronouns are not distinguished, apart from those third singular forms, where the independent form is written before an oblique stroke and the bound form after it.

Table 4.3. Core pronouns

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Absolutive	1	<i>i-ke</i>	<i>yatse</i>	<i>ekwana</i>
	2	<i>mi-ke</i>	<i>metse</i>	<i>mikwana</i>
	3 (neutral)	<i>tu-ke</i>	<i>tatse</i>	<i>tuna</i>
	3 (proximate)	<i>riya-ke / ri-ke</i>	<i>retse</i>	<i>rena</i>
Ergative	1	<i>e-ra</i>	<i>yatse-ra</i>	<i>ekwana-ra</i>
	2	<i>mi-ra</i>	<i>metse-ra</i>	<i>mikwana-ra</i>
	3 (neutral)	<i>tu-ra</i>	<i>tatse-ra</i>	<i>tuna-ra</i>
	3 (proximate)	<i>riya-ra</i>	<i>retse-ra</i>	<i>rena-ra</i>

Table 4.4. Oblique pronouns

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Dative/ Genitive	1	<i>e-kwe</i>	<i>yatse-ja</i>	<i>ekwana-ja</i>
	2	<i>mi-kwe</i>	<i>metse-ja</i>	<i>mikwana-ja</i>
	3 (neutral)	<i>tu-ja</i>	<i>tatse-ja</i>	<i>tuna-ja</i>
	3 (proximate)	<i>riya-ja / re-ja</i>	<i>retse-ja</i>	<i>rena-ja</i>
Associative	1	<i>ea-tsewe</i>	<i>yatse-tsewe</i>	<i>ekwana-tsewe</i>
	2	<i>mia-tsewe</i>	<i>metse-tsewe</i>	<i>mikwana-tsewe</i>
	3 (neutral)	<i>tua-tsewe</i>	<i>tatse-tsewe</i>	<i>tuna-tsewe</i>
	3 (proximate)	<i>riya-tsewe</i>	<i>retse-tsewe</i>	<i>rena-tsewe</i>
General locative	1	<i>ea-keja</i>	<i>yatse-keja</i>	<i>ekwana-keja</i>
	2	<i>mia-keja</i>	<i>metse-keja</i>	<i>mikwana-keja</i>
	3 (neutral)	<i>tua-keja</i>	<i>tatse-keja</i>	<i>tuna-keja</i>
	3 (proximate)	<i>riya-keja</i>	<i>retse-keja</i>	<i>rena-keja</i>
‘Alone’	1	<i>i-ta(taka)</i>	<i>yatse-taka</i>	<i>ekwana-taka</i>
	2	<i>mi-ta(taka)</i>	<i>metse-taka</i>	<i>mikwana-taka</i>
	3 (neutral)	<i>tu-ta(taka)</i>	<i>tatse-taka</i>	<i>tuna-taka</i>
	3 (proximate)	<i>riya-ta(taka)?</i>	<i>retse-taka?</i>	<i>rena-taka?</i>

Independent pronouns and bound pronouns have very different morpho-syntactic properties, as follows:

1 — independent pronouns are phonologically and grammatically independent words that fill core NP slots, PP slots or object of postposition slots. They tend to occur first in a clause, as with *e-ra* ‘1SG-ERG’ in (4.29). Note however that this is not an obligation; see for example *tu-ke* ‘3SG-FM’ in clause final position in (4.17). Example (4.29) also illustrates the genitive pronoun *e-kwe* ‘1SG-GEN’.

- (4.29) *E-ra*_A =*tu*_O [*e-kwe tata-chi*]_O *adeba-ya=ama*.
 1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) 1SG-GEN father-AFFTN know-IMPV=NEG
 ‘I do not know my father.’ nk011

2 — bound pronouns are enclitics in second position in main clauses. They undergo a number of morphological modifications not attested with independent pronouns. They only occur in certain types of main clauses. They can co-occur with an independent pronoun or an NP that has the same function in the same clause. An illustrative example is the sequence =*tu-ra* = \emptyset in (4.30).

- (4.30) *Jadya* =*tu-ra*_A = \emptyset _O *a-kware*
 thus =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) affect-REM.PAST
*bari=ra*_A.
 giant.anteater=ERG

‘That’s what the giant anteater did to me (he poked me with his trunk).’ ba098

In this study, bound pronouns, together with second position enclitic particles (§4.5.5), are separated from their host, and from each other when more than one co-occur, by a space. This is intended to distinguish them from clitics that do not occur in second position, such as case markers, phrasal particles, etc. — those are written as attached immediately to their host and to each other.

The additional independent pronominal-like morphemes *ekatse* ‘3DL’ and *ekana* ‘3PL’ are used very frequently but are not fully understood yet. They have not been included in the tables of pronouns above. These forms appear to be peripheral elements. They are not independent pronouns because they do not fill NP slots. They are not bound pronouns because they are not enclitics in second position and can occur in any type of clause. They refer to S/CS or O arguments. Examples can be seen in (4.79a), which shows *ekatse* ‘DL’ referring to the CS argument, (4.1b), which shows *ekana* ‘3PL’ referring to the S argument, and (4.31), which shows *ekana* ‘3PL’ referring to the O argument.

- (4.31) *E-ra*_A *duju-kware* *ekana*_O.
 1SG-ERG take-REM.PAST 3PL

‘I took them (my three sisters-in-law, to see the deer that I had killed).’ sl072

Independent pronouns, second position pronouns and pronominal-like *ekatse* and *ekana* are discussed in details in §§15.1-6, and person inflections for kinship nouns in §12.4.2.

4.5.3. Demonstratives

Cavineña has two types of demonstratives: (1) adverbial demonstratives⁶ and (2) pointing demonstratives — note that Cavineña does not have specific nominal demonstratives. Both types encode three degrees of distance ‘near’ vs. ‘mid’ vs. ‘far’. There are three sets of adverbial demonstratives (locative, general locative and perlative) and one set of pointing demonstratives. They are listed in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5. Demonstratives

	Adverbial			Pointing
	LOC	LOC.GNL	PERL	
‘near’	<i>re-wa / jee-ju</i>	<i>re-keja</i>	<i>re-eke</i>	<i>riya / jee</i>
‘mid’	<i>tu-wa</i>	<i>tu-keja</i>	<i>tu-eke</i>	<i>tume</i>
‘far’	<i>yu-wa</i>	<i>yu-keja</i>	<i>yu-eke</i>	<i>yume</i>

Adverbial demonstratives and pointing demonstratives differ in the following ways:

1 — an adverbial demonstrative can be used instead of a locative, a general locative or a perlative postpositional phrase and is always anaphoric. In (4.32), for example, the locative postpositional phrase *AltoIvón=ju* ‘Alto.Ivón=LOC’, in the first sentence, is replaced by the adverbial demonstrative *tu-wa* ‘there-LOC’, in the second sentence.

- (4.32) *Kwa-kwe* *AltoIvón=ju!* *Ba-ti-kwe* *tu-wa*
 go-IMP.SG Alto.Ivón=LOC see-GO.TEMP-IMP.SG there-LOC

*Chakubu=kwana*_{O!}
 Chácobo.person=PL

‘(One day the missionary sent me to the Chácobo village. He said to me:) “Go to Alto Ivón! Go and meet (lit. see) the Chácobo people there!”’ pa002

2 — pointing demonstratives do not substitute for any particular postpositional phrase. They are not used anaphorically and require a pointing gesture (whereas a pointing gesture is optional with adverbial demonstratives). An example is given in (4.33).

⁶ The term ‘adverbial demonstrative’ is taken from Dixon (2003b).

- (4.33) *Abakata ne-ju-kwe!* **Tumi=dya ekanas**
 silent IMP.NSG-be-IMP.NSG there=FOC 3PL
jeti-ya.
 come-IMPFV

‘Be quiet! There they come!’ mk065

Demonstratives are discussed in §15.7 (adverbial demonstratives) and §15.8 (pointing demonstratives).

4.5.4. Content question words

Cavineña has a number of special words used in content questions. These words can also be used in non-interrogative clauses with an indefinite sense, or within relative clauses, encoding the argument that is common between the relative clause and the main clause.

There are words used for questioning particular oblique phrases, listed in (4.34a). There are also words used for questioning particular subordinate clauses, listed in (4.34b).

- (4.34) a. *eju* ‘INT:LOC’ (locative phrases; §14.2.3)
ejekeja ‘INT:LOC.GNL’ (general locative phrases; §14.2.4)
ejeke ‘INT:PERL’ (perlative phrases; §14.2.5)
jetupu ‘INT:UP.TO’ (‘up to’ phrases; §14.2.6)
- b. *ejebuchajuatsu* ‘INT:REASON’ (reason clauses; §19.3)
ejebucha ‘INT:SIMLR’ (‘similarity’ clause; §19.4)
eje=ke ‘INT=LIG’ (relative clause; §13.6 and Chapter 20)

Note that content questions also make use of the interrogative noun *ai* ‘INT’, the interrogative prefix *eje-* ‘INT’ (on predicative adjectives) and the interrogative non-inflecting verb *a(i)ju-* ‘do what’. A discussion on interrogative clauses is provided in §4.6.5 below.

4.5.5. Particles

Cavineña has a closed class of particles. Particles are bare roots which cannot take affixes or be reduplicated. There are four distinct subclasses of particles which differ in their degree of phonological and structural independence:

1 — independent particles have the highest degree of freedom. They form independent phonological words which can occur anywhere in any type of clause. The full list of independent particles is given in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6. Independent particles

Sentence linkage	<i>jutakiju</i>	‘therefore’
	<i>tudya</i>	‘then’
	<i>tuekedya</i>	‘then, next’
	<i>tume</i>	‘then’
	<i>tumebae</i>	‘also’
Aspect / manner	<i>aikwana/aikira</i>	‘FILL’
	<i>amena</i>	‘BM’
	<i>butseeju</i>	‘for the first time’
	<i>chamakama</i>	‘finally, with difficulty’
	<i>datse</i>	‘FRUST’
	<i>dyake</i>	‘very, a lot’
	<i>ebajarara</i>	‘quickly’
	<i>ejebuchaju</i>	‘sometimes’
	<i>jadya</i>	‘thus’
	<i>muyajutidya</i>	‘suddenly’
	<i>piyeju</i>	‘by chance’
	<i>riyapiji</i>	‘a little bit’
	<i>yanakana</i>	‘in vain’
<i>yaratupu</i>	‘for a short while’	
<i>yudijidya</i>	‘again’	
Time	<i>tumepatya</i>	‘at that time (long ago)’
	<i>beru</i>	‘before, long ago’
	<i>riyabarepa</i>	‘yesterday’
	<i>iyakwa</i>	‘now, today, nowadays’
	<i>riyakama</i>	‘now’
	<i>jadyaatsu</i>	‘later today’
	<i>metajudya</i>	‘tomorrow’
Time of day	<i>apudajudya</i>	‘early morning’
	<i>barepatya</i>	‘at midday’
	<i>barepatyawesuta</i>	‘in the afternoon’
	<i>meta</i>	‘at night’
	<i>meta(bare)patya</i>	‘at midnight’
Direction / location	<i>wiatsura</i>	‘upriver’
	<i>tibabutya</i>	‘downriver’
	<i>ikwene(ta)</i>	‘first’

The independent particles *iyakwa* ‘now’ and *yudijidya* ‘again’ are illustrated in (4.35).

- (4.35) ***Iyakwa*** =*mi-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A *duju-nuka-ya* ***yudijidya***.
 now =2SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) take-REITR-IMPV again
 ‘Now we (pl) will take you (sg) again.’ di0036

See also an example of *amena* ‘BM’ in (4.17).

2 — first position particles also form independent phonological words but have distributional restrictions. They can only occur in main clauses (not in subordinate clauses) and have to occur in first position. First position particles are listed exhaustively in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7. First position particles

<i>are</i>	‘QUEST’
<i>ita</i>	‘ATT.GETTER’
<i>deka</i>	‘POTENTIALLY’
<i>masa</i>	‘SEEMINGLY’
<i>jipakwana</i>	‘SEEMINGLY.NOT’
<i>jipake</i>	‘LUCKILY’

The first position particle *ita* ‘ATT.GETTER’ is illustrated in (4.36).

- (4.36) ***Ita*** [*jee*_{CC}=*ke* *bicho*]_O *ba-na-kwe!*
 ATT.GETTER here=LIG beast see-COME.TEMP-IMP.SG
 ‘Come and see that beast!’ ij012

3 — second position particles do not form independent phonological words. They are enclitics to the last phonological word of the first immediate constituent of a main clause, such as an NP, a PP, the predicate, an independent or a first position particle, an adverbial clause, etc. Second position particles are listed exhaustively in Table 4.8, sorted by semantic field.

Examples of second position particles can be seen with =*shana* ‘PITY’ in (4.21) and =*pa* ‘REP’ in both (4.23) and (4.26).

Table 4.8. Second position particles

Epistemic modality	= <i>ni</i> = <i>masa</i>	'MAYBE' 'SEEMINGLY'
Evidentiality	= <i>pa</i> = <i>tukwe</i>	'REP' 'CONT.EVID'
Discourse	= <i>di(dya)</i> = <i>taa</i> = <i>bakwe</i>	'STRG.EMPH' 'EMPH' 'CONTR'
Referential scope	= <i>jatsu</i>	'EXACTLY'
Speakers attitude	= <i>shana</i>	'PITY'
Manner	= <i>datse</i>	'FRUST'

4 — phrasal particles do not form independent phonological words either. All phrasal particles but one, *ni*= 'NOT.EVEN', are enclitics to the last phonological word of a phrase, such as an NP, a PP, the predicate, an independent or a first position particle, an adverbial clause, etc. The particle *ni*= 'NOT.EVEN' is a proclitic which is attached to the first phonological word of a phrase. Phrasal particles can occur in any type of clause. They are listed exhaustively in Table 4.9.

Examples of phrasal particles can be seen with =*dya* 'FOC' in both (4.18) and (4.33), =*tere* 'ONLY' in (4.23), and =*ama* in (4.29).

Second position particles, together with bound pronouns, are written with an equal sign ('=') to indicate their clitic phonological status, and are separated from their host, and from each other when more than one co-occur, by a space. See, for example, the second position particle =*pa* 'REP' and the bound pronoun =*tu* '3SG(-FM)' in (4.37) below. Phrasal particles are also written with an equal sign ('='). However, unlike second position particles and bound pronouns, they are written as attached immediately to their host and to each other. See for example =*kwita* 'RESTR' in (4.37).

Table 4.9. Phrasal particles

Aspect	= <i>jari</i> = <i>nuka</i>	‘STILL’ ‘REITR’
Discourse function	= <i>dya</i>	‘FOC’
Referential scope	= <i>kwita</i> = <i>kamadya</i> = <i>tere</i> = <i>piisi</i> = <i>dyane</i> = <i>ama</i> <i>ni</i> =	‘RESTR’ ‘ONLY’ ‘ONLY’ ‘JUST’ ‘APPROX’ ‘NEG’ ‘NOT.EVEN’
Speaker attitude	= <i>piji</i> = <i>ebari</i> = <i>jutidya/jutii</i> = <i>jipenee</i>	‘DIM’ ‘INTENS’ ‘RESTR’ ‘ALMOST’
Epistemic modality	= <i>kwana</i>	‘UNCERT’

(4.37) [Tu-ra_A ba-ya=*ju=kwita*] =*pa* =*tu*_A
3SG-ERG see-IMPFV=DS=RESTR =REP =3SG(-ERG)

*ina-chine tu-ja [peadya juje]*_O.
grab-REC.PAST 3SG-DAT one duck

‘Right when she saw him, he grabbed (and stole) one of her ducks (reported).’ ml025

Independent, first position and second position particles are discussed in Chapter 16. Phrasal particles are discussed in Chapter 17.

4.5.6. Subordinate clause markers

Subordinate clause markers are very similar to postpositions. They form a closed class of bare roots which mark a constituent and relate it to another (superordinate) constituent. However, subordinate clause markers mark clauses while postpositions mark NPs. Subordinate clause markers are used to mark three different types of clauses:

- 1 — non-finite adverbial clauses (Chapter 18), which they relate to a controlling clause;
- 2 — finite adverbial clauses (Chapter 19), which they also relate to a controlling clause;
- 3 — relative clauses (Chapter 20), which they relate to the head of an NP.

The full list of subordinate clause markers is given in (4.38).

(4.38) a. non-finite adverbial clauses

= <i>ishu</i>	‘PURP.GNL’
= <i>ra</i>	‘PURP.MOT’
= <i>ra</i>	‘CAUSE’
= <i>wie</i>	‘JUST.BEFORE’

b. finite adverbial clauses

= <i>ju</i>	‘DS’
= <i>tibu</i>	‘REASON’
= <i>bucha</i> / = <i>bae</i> / = <i>jiu</i>	‘SIMLR’
= <i>ke juatsu</i>	‘COND’
= <i>ademe</i>	‘THANKS.TO’
(<i>arepa</i>) <i>majaka</i> /	‘EVEN.THOUGH’
(<i>arepa</i>) (<i>pa</i> -)...= <i>amabucha</i>	
<i>mekeke</i> / <i>tsunumee</i>	‘WHILE’

c. relative clause

= <i>ke</i>	‘LIG’
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Most subordinate clause markers are enclitics. They are attached to the last phonological word of the clause that they are marking, as with =*tibu* ‘REASON’ in (4.39).

- (4.39) [Mi-ke_{CS} [chapa metse]_{CC}]=**tibu** =tu-ra_A =mi_O
 2SG-FM dog owner=REASON =3SG-ERG =2SG(-FM)

tupu-ya.
 follow-IMPV

‘Since you are the dog’s owner, he will follow you (whereas he didn’t want to follow me).’ tg030

See also an example with =*ju* ‘DS’ in (4.37).

One subordinate clause marker, *majaka* ‘EVEN.THOUGH’, consists of a separate phonological word. It is postposed to the clause that it marks, as shown in (4.40).

- (4.40) [Ba-da ba-ya **majaka**] =Ø_s kwa-wa
cold-ASF see-IMPFV EVEN.THOUGH (=1SG-FM) go-PERF

tee=ju.
garden=LOC

‘Even though I was feeling cold, I went (working) in my garden.’
n2.0904

4.5.7. Interjections

Interjections are bare roots which never take affixes and are never reduplicated. They behave like a whole utterance in one word. Interjections have not been studied in depth. They are only briefly discussed here and not elsewhere.

Interjections encode a number of different meanings listed and glossed in (4.41).

- (4.41) a. Speaker attitude/emotion

<i>achi</i>	‘speaker feels disgusted’
<i>akwe</i>	‘speaker feels sorry’
<i>juj</i>	‘speaker feels impressed’
<i>juwaaba</i>	‘speaker does not know’
<i>pa</i>	‘speaker feels impressed’
<i>pajuani</i>	‘speaker disagrees’
<i>pusi</i>	‘speaker is amused’
<i>ujepa</i>	‘speaker is angry’

- b. Phatic

<i>a(a)</i>	‘hearer follows/understands speaker’
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c. Answers to polar questions

<i>aama</i>	‘not.exist’
<i>aijama</i>	‘not.exist.at.all’
<i>jejee</i>	‘yes’

d. Imperative

<i>kwii</i>	‘speaker orders the hearer to go first’
<i>juwejuwe</i>	‘speaker orders the hearer to hurry up’

e. Signals

<i>juj</i>	‘signal uttered when approaching a house for a visit’
<i>tsujj</i>	‘signal uttered when discovering enemies nearby’

The interjection *pa* ‘speaker impressed’ is illustrated in (4.42).

- (4.42) ***Pa!*** *Kasa-u-si_{CC}!*
 INTERJ strong-ASF-AUGM

‘Wow! (Those traditional canoes were) very strong! (Uttered by Antonio Yubanera when hearing that the canoes Ventura Mayo used to build could contain up to six people.)’ ab203

A number of interjections are phonologically irregular. For example, the interjection *achí* ‘speaker feels disgusted’ has a low-pitch-high-pitch contour; if it were regular, it would have the high-pitch-low-pitch contour normally applied to two syllable words (see §2.7). The interjection *pa* and the short form of the interjection *a(a)* ‘hearer follows/understands speaker’ have only one syllable and still form one independent phonological word; if these were regular, they would have at least two syllables since an independent phonological word in Cavineña has a minimum of two syllables (see §3.1.2). The two interjections *juj* ‘signal uttered when approaching a house for a visit’ and *tsujj* ‘signal uttered when discovering enemies nearby’ have closed syllables; if they were regular, they should have open syllables (see §2.3).

A number of interjections are borrowed from Spanish and are used with the same meanings. The interjections in (4.43a) and (4.43b) have been fully integrated into the Cavineña phonological system. The interjections in (4.43c) have not, and were probably borrowed more recently.

(4.43) a. Greeting

<i>bandia</i>	‘good morning’ (from <i>buenos dias</i>)
<i>bastare</i>	‘good afternoon’ (from <i>buenas tardes</i>)
<i>banuchi</i>	‘good night’ (from <i>buenas noches</i>)

b. Thanking

<i>yusurupai</i>	‘thank you’ (from <i>Dios se lo pague</i> ‘May God pay you for it’) ⁷
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c. Speaker attitude

<i>bien/bueno</i>	‘speaker feels positive’
<i>carajo</i>	‘speaker feels impressed’
<i>caramba</i>	‘speaker feels concerned’

There used to be a traditional way of greeting but it is not used anymore. According to Alfredo Tavo, greeting was done by uttering a time of day independent particle such as *barepatya* ‘at midday’, *barepatyawesuta* ‘in the afternoon’, *metapatya* ‘at midnight’, etc. — see the full list in §4.5.5. These particles could either be used as one word utterances, or be followed either by the first person dual pronoun *yatse* ‘1DL’ (if the speaker was greeting only one person) or first person plural *ekwana* ‘1PL’ (if the speaker was greeting more than one person).

4.5.8. Onomatopoeias

Onomatopoeias are quite similar to interjections in that they are bare roots which do not take any affixes or cannot be reduplicated. They also constitute a full sentence by themselves. But unlike interjections, onomatopoeias do not express any other meaning than the entity associated with the cry or sound they are used to depict. Onomatopoeias have not been fully studied. They are briefly illustrated in this section and not elsewhere.

Onomatopoeias can be used to refer to the cries of birds, as in (4.44a), or the cries of various mammals in (4.44b).

⁷ W. Adelaar (p.c.) suggests that Cavineña actually borrowed the Quechuanized version of this Spanish expression (or the related expression *Dios se lo pagará!* ‘God will pay you for it’), in the form of *yusulpay(ki)*.

- (4.44) a. *ajj* or *kwajj* (cry of nightjar)
bui or *pi* (cry of smooth-billed ani)
piskwa or *chi* (cry of squirrel cuckoo)
pin (cry of any small bird)
shun (cry of duck)
- b. *jau*, *kwee*, or *siu* (cry of dog)
kwi (cry of pig)
muu (cry of cow)
jeej (cry of anteater)
jeu (cry of capuchin monkey)
ri (cry of peccary)

Onomatopoeias can also refer to various sounds associated with vegetation, water, artefacts and animate entities, as in (4.45a-d).

- (4.45) a. *rajj* (sound of vegetation moving)
shajj (sound of leaf falling)
shujj (sound of liana being pulled up)
taajj (sound of stick breaking)
tuku (sound of bone breaking)
- b. *kwaj* or *puchari* (sound of water boiling)
tsupu or *kubu* (sound of something falling in water)
- c. *tsajj* (sound of shooting an arrow)
tujj (sound of shooting a gun)
- d. *bujj* (sound of person falling on the ground)
drajj or *tajj* (sound of animal moving inside a hole)
jiish or *juj* (sound of animal suddenly running)
tin (sound of action of grabbing)

Onomatopoeias are phonologically even more abnormal than interjections. A large number end with a closed syllable, typically with fricative codas *sh* or *j*. These fricatives are also often lengthened — this is indicated here by doubling the consonant. Most onomatopoeias, even though they form an independent phonological word, have only one syllable.

Syntactically, an onomatopoeia, similarly to an interjection, makes up a whole utterance. This is illustrated in (4.46). The onomatopoeia *tujj* occurs between two sentences; an utterance-final contour and a pause clearly separate *tujj* from both *era* in the preceding sentence and *mare-kware* in the following one.

- (4.46) *Mare-kware* *e-ra_A* ***Tujj!***
 shoot.at-REM.PAST 1SG-ERG ONOM
- Mare-kware* *e-ra_A* *aja_O*
 shoot.at-REM.PAST 1SG-ERG capuchin.monkey
- ‘I shot at it (with my shotgun). Tujj! I shot at the capuchin mon-
 key.’ aj014

4.6. Main clause structure

Declarative affirmative verbal main clauses are the most frequently used in texts. They will therefore be referred to as basic. Basic clause structure is presented in §4.6.1 and is followed by a discussion of core grammatical functions (§4.6.2). The next sections discuss non-basic clauses which differ to some degree from basic clauses: copula clauses (§4.6.3), imperative and hortative clauses (§4.6.4), interrogative clauses (§4.6.5) and negative clauses (§4.6.6).

4.6.1. Basic clause structure

Unlike the constituents of the predicate and the NP, most constituents of a basic clause are freely ordered. In a basic transitive clause, for example, the position of the two core NPs (or independent pronouns), when expressed, does not have any impact on their semantic role interpretation, as shown by comparing (4.47) and (4.48a-d):⁸

- (4.47) A V O
- Iba=ra_A* =*tu_O* *iye-chine* *takure_O*
 jaguar=ERG =3SG kill-REC.PAST chicken
- ‘The jaguar killed the chicken.’ n1.0227
- (4.48) a. A O V
- Iba=ra_A* =*tu* *takure_O* *iye-chine.* n1.0229

⁸ Note that I have not conducted any detailed study of constituent order in Cavineña, so that I cannot say whether there is a constituent order more basic than others.

b. V		A	O	
	<i>Iye-chine</i>	=tu	<i>iba=ra_A</i>	<i>takure_O</i> n1.0234
c. V		O	A	
	<i>Iye-chine</i>	=tu	<i>takure_O</i>	<i>iba=ra_A</i> n1.0235
d. O		A	V	
	<i>Takure_O</i>	=tu	<i>iba=ra_A</i>	<i>iye-chine</i> n1.0230

The only constituents that have a fixed position in basic clauses are the first position particles (see §4.5.5) and the second position clitics (see §4.5.2 for second position bound pronouns and §4.5.5 for second position particles).

Additional characteristics of the basic clause structure are as follows:

1 — a basic clause must contain minimally (1) a predicate and (2) a mark of each core participant — there is one exception: third person singular participants do not need to be marked; see §15.3 for a full discussion of participant encoding in Cavineña;

2 — interjections and onomatopoeias are not part of clause structure but make up a full main clause by themselves;

3 — a basic clause appears to be equal to a sentence in Cavineña. I could not identify any structure that would be used to coordinate two main clauses (into a sentence). In other words, all the clause combination processes in Cavineña involve subordinating constructions;

4 — a basic clause/sentence normally matches the utterance prosodic unit (§2.8.1). Recall that the end of an utterance is signaled by low (as opposed to mid) pitch on the last two syllables of the last phonological word.

4.6.2. S, A and O grammatical functions

Cavineña encodes the core arguments S (subject of an intransitive clause), A and O (subject and object of a transitive clause) by a system of case-marking. Recall that there is no marking of arguments in the predicate and that NP/independent pronouns that refer to core arguments are free to occur in any position in a clause.

The case-marking follows an ergative/absolute pattern. An NP in A function receives the ergative postposition =*ra* ‘ERG’. See examples (4.12a), (4.13), (4.15), (4.17) and (4.30). A pronoun in A function, whether independent or bound, receives a suffix *-ra* ‘ERG’. Examples with independent pronouns in A

function can be seen in (4.2b), (4.6), (4.29) and (4.46). Examples of bound pronouns in A function can be seen in (4.16), (4.30) and (4.39). The suffix *-ra* ‘ERG’ within bound pronouns undergoes a rule of deletion when the bound pronoun occurs last in the second position clitic sequence, as in (4.49a), unless the bound pronoun is also last in the sentence, as in (4.49b):⁹

- (4.49) a. *Tu-ke=kamadya_O =shana =tatse_A aikwana*
 3SG-FM=ONLY =PITY =3DL(-ERG) FILL

kemi-kware.

take.out-REM.PAST

‘(They spent a whole night fishing and only caught a tiny fish.)
 This is the only thing that they caught, the poor guys.’ ps013

- b. *Ara-wana-wa=ama=dya =tatse-ra_A.*
 eat-ADVERS-PERF=NEG=FOC =3DL-ERG

‘They (dl) did not eat it (the meat) (because it was not cooked).’
 hm102

An NP in S or O function is unmarked for case. Examples showing NPs in S function are in (4.2c), (4.3b) and (4.27), and NPs in O function are in (4.5), (4.12a) and (4.29). A pronoun in S or O function, whether independent or bound, is equally unmarked for case. Singular (but not non-singular) pronouns marking S and O have a formative *-ke* which undergoes a rule of deletion when the bound pronoun occurs last in the second position clitic sequence, as in (4.39) (repeated), unless the bound pronoun is also last in the sentence, as in (4.50). Note that this is the same rule that applies to the ergative suffix *-ra* ‘ERG’ of bound pronouns in A function.

⁹ Note that in their earlier work on Cavineña, Camp and Liccardi (1977, 1983, 1989) and Camp (1985) did not distinguish between independent and bound pronouns, nor did they identify the morpho-phonological nature of the rule that deletes the suffix *-ra* (and the suffix *-ke*; see below). This resulted in the misconception, formulated by Camp (1985), and often cited in the literature (e.g., Dixon 1994: 106-7, Aikhenvald and Dixon 1999: 366-7, Adelaar with Muysken 2004: 421-422), that there was a split ergative pattern in Cavineña. As the present work will make clear, there is no reason to analyze the Cavineña argument coding system in such terms. See also Guillaume (2006a, forthcoming-b) for a detailed reevaluation of Camp’s (1985) analysis.

- (4.39) [Mi-ke_{CS} [chapa metse]_{CC}]=tibu =tu-ra_A =mi_O
 2SG-FM dog owner=REASON =3SG-ERG =2SG(-FM)

tupu-ya.
 follow-IMPFV

‘Since you are the dog’s owner, he will follow you (whereas he didn’t want to follow me).’ tg030

- (4.50) Jiru-ya =tu-ra_A =mi-ke_O
 smell-IMPFV =3SG-ERG =2SG-FM

‘He smells you.’ (Camp and Liccardi 1983: 149)

Although Cavineña has a consistent ergative pattern at the morphological (‘coding’) level, this ceases to be the case at the syntactic (‘behavior-and-control’) level. Here, S and A grammatical functions are treated as a single subject grammatical relation. This can be observed in co-reference restrictions between certain subordinate clauses and their controlling clause.

4.6.3. Copula clauses

Copula clauses have two core arguments, a copula subject (CS) and a copula complement (CC), and a copula predicate, which have the following morpho-syntactic properties:

1 — the copula subject (CS) is encoded identically to the subject of an intransitive clause (S). The CS can be a full NP or an independent pronoun and/or a bound pronoun. These are all unmarked for case. Illustrative examples of CS NPs are given in (4.9a), (4.20), (4.21) and (4.51), of CS independent pronouns in (4.54), and of CS bound pronouns in (4.10).

- (4.51) Mu-dacc =tu_{CS} ju-kware kwejipa_{CS}...
 scary-ASF =3SG(-FM) be-REM.PAST hurricane

‘The hurricane was scary...’ di0632

A CS is treated similarly to an S with respect to the co-reference restrictions that hold between certain subordinate clauses and their controlling clause (§4.7).

Although S and CS are identical grammatical functions in Cavineña, for clarity I will nevertheless continue to code copula subjects as CS (not S) in the examples.

2 — the copula predicate can only be headed by the verb *ju-* ‘be’; that is, there are no other copula verbs in Cavineña. This verb is similar to any (monosyllabic)¹⁰ intransitive verb and the intransitive auxiliary verb *ju-* ‘be’ (to which it is homophonous) in its morphological (derivational and inflectional) possibilities. Examples showing the copula predicate with inflectional affixes are given in (4.52).

- (4.52) a. *Ji-dama=dya*_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} *e-ju-u*.
 good-NEG=FOC =3SG(-FM) POT-be-POT
 ‘It (a handmade sieve) could be defective (if we don’t plait it properly).’ ab088
- b. *Waja-da*_{CC} =*pa* *pa-ju*.
 sweet-ASF =REP JUSS-be
 ‘(For the masticated corn to be good,) it has to be sweet!’ ci200
- c. *Nime-ki*_{CC} *ne-ju-kwe!* *Akwis* =*tu*_S
 thought-WITH IMP.NSG-be-IMP.NSG tree =3SG(-FM)
riwi-ya.
 fall-IMPV
 ‘Be careful (lit. be with thoughts)! The tree is going to fall down.’ di2135

Examples showing the copula predicate with various non-inflectional affixes are shown in (4.53).

- (4.53) a. ... *tu-ke*_{CS} [*dyake* *peyainime*]_{CC} *ju-neti-ya=ju*...
 3SG-FM very sad be-STAND-IMPV=DS
 ‘... as he was standing very sad...’ cd016
- b. ... *pureama*_{CC} *ju-nuka-wa* *iba*_{CS}.
 happy be-REITR-PERF jaguar
 ‘... the jaguar was happy again.’ zo041

¹⁰ Monosyllabic verbs (and words in general) always show some irregularities in Cavineña.

- c. *Peyainime*_{CC} *ekana*_{CS} *ju-bare-kware*.
 sad 3PL be-DISTR-REM.PAST

‘Everyone was very sad.’ fg030

3 — the copula complement almost always precedes the copula predicate when the copula predicate is present; see below for a discussion of the omission of the CP. This can be seen in all examples provided in this chapter, except for (4.54) which is an exception.

- (4.54) *Tu-ke*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *ju-kware* *mure-da*_{CC}.
 3SG-FM =3SG(-FM) be-REM.PAST fierce-ASF

‘It (the maned wolf) looked fierce.’ bo015b

The copula complement resembles an absolutive (i.e., a S/CS or an O) argument in that it is unmarked for case but there are many differences. Unlike absolutive arguments, the CC cannot be represented by a bound pronoun (in second position), cannot be omitted and (as noted) normally occurs preposed to the copula predicate.

The CC can be a predicative adjective, whether a *da*-adjective or an independent adjective, as in the preceding examples; note that in Cavineña, the CC cannot be an attributive adjective. The CC can also be an NP, as in (4.55), where it expresses the semantic relation of identity, in (4.56), where it manifests the the semantic relation of equation, and in (4.57) where it conveys the semantic relation of naming.

- (4.55) a. *Bari*_{CC} =*mi*_{CS} *ju-ya*.
 giant.anteater =2SG(-FM) be-IMPV

‘(The man lay down and heard a voice coming from the ground saying:) “you are going to be(come) a giant anteater”.’ ho080

- b. *Nanata*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *jae=dya*_{CC}...
 electric.eel =3SG(-FM) fish=FOC

‘The electric eel is a fish ...’ ag001

- (4.56) *Jee=dya* [*Antoni=ja* *tujuri*]_{CC}.
 here=FOC Antoni=GEN mosquito.net

‘Here is Antoni’s mosquito net.’ ft018

- (4.57) a. [*Mi-kwe e-bakani*]_{CS} *Antonio*_{CC?}
 2SG-GEN NPF-name Antonio
 ‘Is your name Antonio?’ tb098
- b. [*E-kwe e-tatiine*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} [*Carlos.Mayo bakani*]_{CC}
 1SG-GEN 1-uncle.FB =3SG(-FM) Carlos.Mayo name
ju-kware.
 be-REM.PAST
 ‘My uncle (my father’s brother) was called Carlos Mayo.’ mj016

The CC can be a postpositional phrase, as in (4.58):

- (4.58) *Jee-ju* =*ekwana*_{CS} *yachi=ju*_{CC} *ju-chine.*
 here-LOC =1PL pampa=LOC be-REC.PAST
 ‘Here (in this picture), we were in the pampa.’ ft042

Copula clauses are morpho-syntactically very similar to intransitive basic clauses based on (intransitive) non-inflecting verbs. The copula predicate is homophonous with the intransitive auxiliary. Both have the same morphological possibilities. The CC of a copula clause precedes the copula predicate, similarly to the non-inflecting component of a non-inflecting verb which must precede its auxiliary. There are however (at least) two differences which make the two constructions different:

- 1 — only copula clauses can have an NP or PP as CC;
- 2 — the copula predicate can be omitted (while the predicate of an intransitive basic clause cannot). The main function of the copula predicate is to carry verbal affixes. Speakers very often leave out the copula predicate when they do not judge it necessary to express the verbal categories encoded by these affixes. This happens for example in generic statements, as in (4.55b), or when the verbal categories are understood from either the textual context, as in (4.59), where the sentence comes within a text that only refers to remote past, or the physical/visual context, as in (4.56), where the speaker is pointing to the referent of the CS.

- (4.59) *Mu-da*_{CC} =*tu* *matuja=kwana*_{CS}.
 scary-ASF =3SG(-FM) caiman=PL
 ‘The caimans (that were surrounding me as I was crossing the river) were scary.’ mj065

4.6.4. Imperative and hortative clauses

Clauses used for commands directed to a second or a first person, i.e., clauses with verbs inflected with imperative or hortative inflectional affixes, can be analysed as a different clause type on the basis that their core arguments cannot be represented by bound pronouns.

In imperative and hortative clauses, core arguments can be encoded by NPs or independent pronouns or not overtly encoded at all, but can never be encoded by bound pronouns.

Examples showing the expression of the S, A and O arguments by NPs or independent pronouns in imperative clauses can be seen in the second sentence of (4.60a) (S argument), (4.60b) (A argument) and the repeated example (4.32) (O argument).

- (4.60) a. *Bute-kwe!* ***Mi-ke***_S *ikwene* *kueti-kwe!*
 go.down-IMP.SG 2SG-FM first pass-IMP.SG
 ‘You (sg) go down (from the motorcycle)! You (sg) pass (on the bridge) first! (And I will follow with the motorcycle.)’ mo017

- b. ***Mi-ra***=*dya*_A =*di* *isara-kwe* *aikira*, *Biri!*
 2SG-ERG=FOC =STRG.EMPH talk.to-IMP.SG FILL Biri
 ‘You (sg) talk to him, Biri!’ tb024

- (4.32) *Kwa-kwe* *AltoIvón=ju!* *Ba-ti-kwe* *tu-wa*
 go-IMP.SG Alto.Ivón=LOC see-GO.TEMP-IMP.SG there-LOC
 Chakubu=kwana_O!
 Chácobo.person=PL
 ‘(One day the missionary sent me to the Chácobo village. He said to me:) “Go to Alto Ivón! Go and meet (lit. see) the Chácobo people there!”’ pa002

Examples showing the absence of encoding of the core arguments in imperative clauses can be seen in the first sentences of both (4.60a) and (4.32) (S argument), and the second sentence of (4.32) (A argument) and (4.60b) (O argument).

The S, A and O core arguments of imperative and hortative clauses cannot be expressed by bound pronouns. In (4.60a), for example, it is not possible to use the second person singular bound pronoun =*mi(-ke)* ‘2SG-FM’. Similarly, in (4.32) and (4.60b), it is not possible to use the second person singular bound pronoun =*mi(-ra)* ‘2SG-ERG’.

Hortative clauses have the same properties as imperative clauses. Core arguments can be overtly expressed by NPs or independent pronouns or not overtly expressed at all, but never expressed by bound pronouns. This is briefly illustrated in (4.61). In the first sentence of (4.61a) the S is encoded by an independent pronoun, while in the second sentence the O is encoded by a full NP. In (4.61b), the S argument is not expressed.

- (4.61) a. *Yatse_S ikwene ne-kwa! Ne-kwere-ti*
 1DL first HORT.DL-go HORT.DL-cut-GO.TEMP
batsara_O!
 Spanish.cedar
 ‘Let’s (dl) go first. Let’s (dl) go to cut Spanish-cedars.’ cv083
- b. *Ne-diru-nuka, Utsekwa!*
 HORT.DL-go-REITR grandchild
 ‘Let’s go back, Grandchild!’ ps014

In the first sentence of (4.61a) and in (4.61b), it is not possible to have the first person dual bound pronoun encoding the S function, i.e., =*yatse*. In the second sentence of (4.61a), it is not possible to have the first person dual bound pronoun encoding the A function, i.e., *yatse(-ra)*.

Clauses used for commands directed to a third person, i.e., clauses with verbs inflected with jussive inflectional affixes, do allow bound pronouns and are therefore not treated as a different clause type from basic main clauses in Cavineña. Examples of jussive clauses with third person bound pronouns are given in (4.62).

- (4.62) a. *Pa-kwadisha =tu_A sudaru=kwana_O*
 JUSS-send =3SG(-ERG) soldier=PL
elicoptero=tsewe!
 helicopter=ASSOC
 ‘Let it (the government) send soldiers with a helicopter!’ T1.15
- b. *Jeke-ya=tupu =tuna_A pa-ara!*
 fill.up-IMPV (=LIG)=UP.TO =3PL(-ERG) JUSS-eat
 ‘Let them (the ducks, the chicken and the pigs) eat it (the corn and the rice) until they are full (lit. fill up).’ di1460

See also a bound pronoun encoding an A argument in a jussive clause in ‘he has to drink it with water’ in (T1.107).

At least one particle, *ita* ‘ATT.GETTER’, can only be used in imperative or hortative clauses — this particle is used to make unexpected but polite commands/requests (see §16.2.3). See an example in (4.36).

Note that imperative and hortative clauses (like interrogative clauses; §4.6.5) have the same intonation contour as basic clauses in Cavineña.

4.6.5. Interrogative clauses

Interrogative clauses in Cavineña are very similar to basic clauses, whether they are used to question content or polarity. One striking feature of interrogative clauses is that they do not appear to have any specific interrogative intonation,¹¹ or constituent order (but see footnote ⁸), or any obligatory marking that would distinguish these clauses from statements; there are question words but these can always be used with an indefinite sense (see §4.5.4).

A polar question clause is identical to a statement clause, unless the (optional) first particle *are* ‘QUEST’ is used (see below). Whether a particular clause is a statement or a polar question is retrieved from the context.

Content questions are more easily identifiable as they always contain special question morphemes. These morphemes can be (1) the interrogative (independent) noun *ai* ‘INT’, which is used to substitute a noun within an NP and means ‘who’ or ‘what’, (2) the special content question words, which are used to substitute oblique phrases or subordinate clauses and which have meanings such as ‘where’, ‘when’, ‘how’, ‘which’, etc., (3) the interrogative prefix *eje-* ‘INT’, which means ‘how (big, long, strong, etc.)’ on *da*-adjectives, or (4) the interrogative non-inflecting verb *a(i) ju-* ‘do what’. I briefly illustrate each type of question morpheme below.

The question word *ai* ‘INT’ is a straightforward independent noun. It can fill any position an independent noun can fill. It is used to question the head of an A NP in (4.12a), the head of an O NP head in (4.70), and the head of an associative oblique NP head in (4.63).

- (4.63) *Ai=tsewe* =*tu*_O *e-tata=ke=ra*_A *shana-kware*
 INT=ASSOC =3SG(-FM) 3-father=3=ERG leave-REM.PAST
 *e-bakwa=ke*_O?
 3-child=3

¹¹ Note that I have not conducted any systematic study of prosody in Cavineña, so that this statement should be taken as tentative for the time being.

‘With whom did the father leave his child?’ (Answer: He left him with his grandfather.)’ eb040

The interrogative noun *ai* can be juxtaposed to the head of an NP to question the type this NP head belongs to, as in (4.64).

- (4.64) [Ai jae]_O =mi_A kemi-wa?
 INT fish =2SG(-ERG) take.out-PERF
 ‘What type of fish did you catch (lit. take out)?’ n4.0544

For another example, see (4.14).

Oblique phrases and subordinate clauses are questioned by special content question words (§4.5.4), as in (4.65) and (4.66) respectively.

- (4.65) a. *Eju* =tuna-ra_A =∅_O duju-ya?
 INT:LOC =3PL-ERG (=1SG-FM) take-IMPV
 ‘(I had no idea where the missionaries were taking me. I said to myself:) “Where are they taking me?”’ me044

- b. *Ejekeja* =yatse_S kwa-ya wikamutya=ra, Utsekwa?
 INT:LOC.GNL =1DL go-IMPV fish=PURP.MOT grandchild
 ‘(The grandfather asked his grandson:) “Where about are we (dl) going fishing?”’ ps004

- (4.66) *Ejebuchajuatsu* =mi-ke_O =∅_A bape ba-ya.
 INT:REASON =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) different see-IMPV
 ‘Why am I seeing you different (today)? (Is there something wrong?)’ n5.0210

Subordinate relative clauses are questioned by *eje=ke*. An interrogative RC basically corresponds to English ‘which’, as illustrated in (4.67).

- (4.67) [*Eje=ke*_{RC} jae]_O =mi_A kemi-wa?
 INT=LIG fish =2SG(-ERG) take.out-PERF
 ‘Which fish (among those ones) did you catch (lit. take out)?’ n4.0542

Da-adjectives can be questioned by taking a special interrogative prefix *eje*-‘INT’ meaning roughly ‘how’, as in (4.68).

- (4.68) *Eje-baru*_{CC} *ju-wa* *mesa*_{CS?}
 INT-tall be-PERF table
 ‘How tall is the table?’ di0249

The special interrogative intransitive non-inflecting verb is illustrated in (4.69).

- (4.69) *Ai* =*mi*_S *ju-ya* *Kana?*
 do.what =2SG(-FM) be-IMPV Kana
 ‘(When the Cavineña saw Kana, the traitor, back near the Cavineña village, he asked him:) “What are you doing, Kana?”’ hm196

Interrogative clauses have the following morpho-syntactic properties:

1 — content question morphemes come first in the clause;
 2 — interrogative clauses, unlike imperative and hortative clauses, can have their core arguments (S/CS, A and O) and/or a dative oblique expressed by bound pronouns. An example showing a sequence of O and A bound pronouns in a content question is given in (4.70).

- (4.70) *Ai*_O =*tu-ke*_O =*mi*_A *mare-wa?*
 INT =3SG-FM =2SG(-ERG) shoot.at-PERF
 ‘What did you (sg) shoot at?’ Ig019

(See also =*tu* in (4.12a) and (4.14) and =*mi* in (4.71) and (4.72a).)

3 — a number of particles can only occur in interrogative clauses. The first position particle *are* ‘QUEST’ is only used in polar questions. This particle is used to make explicit that a clause is a question as opposed to a statement. An example is given in (4.71).

- (4.71) *Are* =*mi*_O *bakwa=ra*_A *a-wa=ama?*
 QUEST =2SG(-FM) viper=ERG affect-PERF=NEG
 ‘Isn’t that a viper that bit you?’ mp069

The second position particle =*jatsu* ‘EXACTLY’ (§16.3.6) appears to be only allowed in interrogative clauses, either in content questions, as in (4.72a), or polar questions, as in (4.72b).

- (4.72) a. *Ai*_O =*jatsu* =*tu-ke*_O =*mi*_A *ara-wa?*
 INT =EXACTLY =3SG-FM =2SG(-ERG) eat-PERF
 ‘But what exactly did you eat?’ lv032
- b. [*Ara-aki=dya*] =*jatsu* =*mi-kwe* *aikwana* *mono*_S?
 eat-TYPICAL=FOC =EXACTLY =2SG-DAT FILL monkey
 ‘Can you really eat, what’s its name, monkey? (lit. is monkey typically eaten by you)’ ka167

4.6.6. Negative clauses

Negation can be manifested by one (or more) of the following morphemes:

1 — the negative phrasal particle =*ama* (§17.2.9). This particle can be attached to (and modify) any immediate constituent of a clause: the predicate, as in (4.12a), (4.29) and (4.49b), a predicative adjective, as in (4.73a), a core NP, as in (4.73b), a postpositional phrase, as in (4.73c), or a subordinate clause, as in (4.73d).

- (4.73) a. *E-na*_S =*e-kwe* *tupu=ama*_{CC} *ju-kware*.
 NPF-water =1SG-DAT sufficient=NEG be-REM.PAST
 ‘I ran out of water (lit. water was not sufficient to me).’ sd013
- b. ... =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O *dutya=ama*_O *nudya-kware*.
 =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) all=NEG make.enter-REM.PAST
 ‘(They were so cross that) they did not let all of them enter.’ vz099
- c. *Iyakwa* =*mikwana*_S *e-wasi=eke=ama* *diru-ya!*
 now =2PL NPF-foot=PERL=NEG go-IMPV
 ‘Now you (pl) won’t go on foot (but by plane, because it’s too dangerous)!’ ri041
- d. *Muyajutidya* =*tu*_S *enashumaumakeama*_S
 suddenly =3SG(-FM) storm
ju-eti-kware, [*tuna-ra*_A *iwa-ya=ju=ama*].
 be-COME.PERM-REM.PAST 3PL-ERG wait.for-IMPV=DS=NEG
 ‘Suddenly a storm arrived when they were not expecting it.’
 di2574

2 — the auxiliary-triggering verbal suffix *-karama* ‘DESID.NEG’ which is the negative counterpart of the auxiliary-triggering verbal suffix *-kara* ‘DESID’ (§10.1.1);

3 — the suffix *-dama* ‘NEG’ (§11.2.4) on predicative *da*-adjectives, as in (4.52);

4 — the negative predicative independent adjectives *aama* ‘not exist’, illustrated in (4.74), or *aijama* ‘not exist at all’.

(4.74) *Aama*_{CC} =*tucs* *ju-kware* *salon=kwanacs...*
not.exist =3SG(-FM) be-REM.PAST rifle=PL

‘(When I was young) there weren’t rifles (but only shotguns) (lit. rifles did not exist).’ wa032

5 — the negative first position particle *jipakwana* ‘SEEMINGLY.NOT’ (§16.2.6), as illustrated in (4.75).

(4.75) *Jipakwana* =*ekwana-ja* *radios* *ani-ya.*
SEEMINGLY.NOT =1PL-DAT shortwave.radio sit-IMPV

‘It sounds like we won’t have that shortwave radio (lit. a shortwave radio will seemingly not sit to us).’ tb088

6 — the negative interjections *aama* ‘not exist’, *aijama* ‘not exist at all’, *ju-waaba* ‘speaker does not know’ or *pajuani* ‘speaker disagrees’;

7 — the negative imperative affixes *-ume* ‘IMP.SG.NEG’ or *ne-...-ume* ‘IMP.NSG.NEG’ (§6.2.1), as in (4.76).

(4.76) *Mi-kes* *ani-kwe!* *Mi-kes* *je-ume!*
2SG-FM sit-IMP.SG 2SG-FM come-IMP.SG.NEG

‘You (sg) stay (lit. sit)! You (sg) don’t come!’ n1.0167

There is also a phrasal particle, *ni*= ‘NOT.EVEN’, which is used to reinforce the negative polarity of a negative clause (see §17.2.10). This is illustrated in (4.77).

(4.77) *Ara-kware=ama* = \emptyset _O *ni=matuja=ra*_A.
eat-REM.PAST=NEG (=1SG-FM) NOT.EVEN=caiman=ERG

‘(God protected me during that trip because) not even a caiman ate me.’ mj067

See also (4.80b) and (4.87c).

Negative clauses are not significantly different from affirmative clauses. Negation does not appear to have any effect on constituent order, on the use of other grammatical categories, such as verbal affixes,¹² particles, etc., and on the encoding of arguments. Notably, arguments of negative clauses can be expressed by bound pronouns; see for example (4.73b) and (4.73d).

4.7. Dependent clauses

Cavineña has three types of dependent clauses, all of which are subordinate: (1) non-finite adverbial clauses (Chapter 18), finite adverbial clauses (Chapter 19), and relative clauses (§13.6 and Chapter 20). Cavineña does not have complement clauses, only complementation strategies. Cavineña does not have coordinate clauses either.

The three types of subordinate clauses are marked by dependency markers. Only one dependency marker, *-(a)tsu* ‘SS’, is a (verbal) affix (used in slot K of predicate structure; §4.2.1). The remaining dependency markers are enclitics or separate phonological words that belong to the word class of subordinate clause marker; see full list in §4.5.6).

Non-finite adverbial clauses have a verb without a TAM inflectional affix. There are five types of non-finite adverbial clauses:

- 1 — same-subject temporal clause, marked by *-(a)tsu* ‘SS’ (§18.2);
- 2 — general purpose clause, marked by *=ishu* ‘PURP.GNL’ (§18.3);
- 3 — purpose of motion clause, marked by *=ra* ‘PURP.MOT’ (§18.4);
- 4 — cause clause, marked by *=ra* ‘CAUSE’ (§18.5.1);
- 5 — ‘just before’ clause, marked by *=wie* ‘JUST.BEFORE’ (§18.5.2).

Finite adverbial clauses have a verb obligatorily inflected with a TAM inflectional affix. There are six types of finite adverbial clauses:

- 1 — different-subject temporal clause, marked by *=ju* ‘DS’ (§19.2);
- 2 — reason clause, marked by *=tibu* ‘REASON’ (§19.3);
- 3 — similarity clause, marked by *=bucha*, *=bae* or *=jiu* ‘SIMLR’ (§19.4);
- 4 — conditional clause, marked by *=ke juatsu* ‘COND’ (§19.5);
- 5 — ‘thanks to’ clause, marked by *=ademe* ‘THANKS.TO’ (§19.6.1);
- 6 — concessive clause, marked by either *majaka* or *=amabucha* ‘EVEN.THOUGH’ (§19.6.2).

¹² An exception to this statement would be the alternation between the two variants of the Aktionsart suffix meaning ‘almost’: *-jeri* (when used within an affirmative predicate) / *-neri* (when used within a negative predicate); see full details in §7.1.3.

Cavineña has arguably a ‘switch-reference’ system¹³ involving the following two types of subordinate clauses:

1 — same-subject temporal clauses, as their name indicates, obligatorily have their subject, either S/CS or A, co-referential with the subject, either S/CS or A, of their controlling clause (see §18.2). Examples are given in (4.16), (4.78a) and (4.79a);

2 — different-subject temporal clauses, as their name also indicates, obligatorily have their subject, either S/CS or A, non-coreferential with the subject, either S/CS or A, of their controlling clause (see §19.2). Examples are given in (4.7), (4.37), (4.78b) and (4.79b).

- (4.78) a. [*Babi=ra* *kwa-atsu*] =*tu-ja* =*tu*_O
 hunt=PURP.MOT go-SS =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM)

tsuru-kware [*peadya matuja*]_O.
 meet-REM.PAST one caiman

‘When he_i went hunting, he_i met a caiman.’ cd003

- b. [*Jipetana-ya=ju*] =*tu*_A *isara-nuka-kware*.
 approach-IMPV=DS =3SG(-ERG) talk.to-REITR-REM.PAST

‘When he_i (the caiman) was getting closer, he_j (the fox) talked to him_i again.’ cd042

- (4.79) a. [*Iji-iji-tsu* *ekatse*_{CS} *nijuki*_{CC} *ju-kware*.
 drink-REDUP-SS 3DL drunk be-REM.PAST

‘They (dl) drank and became drunk.’ ht007

- b. [*Kuchi=kwana*_S *nawi-ya=ju*] =*tu*_{CS} *e-na*_{CS}
 pig=PL bathe-IMPV=DS =3SG(-FM) NPF-water

[*dyake* *duka-da*]_{CC} *ju-ya*.
 very murky-ASF be-IMPV

‘When the pigs bathe, the water is very murky.’ di0756

¹³ It is debatable to call this pair of clauses a ‘switch-reference’ system since, structurally, they belong to two distinct clause types. See discussion in §19.2.3.

4.8. Coordination

Coordination structures have not been fully investigated yet and require additional study. Coordination in Cavineña can be realized by simple apposition of two constituents of the same type and in the same function, as in (4.80a), illustrating conjunction, and (4.80b), illustrating disjunction.

- (4.80) a. *Ne-duju-kere-kwe*
 IMP.NSG-take-CAUS.INVLT-IMP.NSG
 [[*tu-ja* *carga=kwana*] [*tu-ja* *tichira=kwana*]]_{o!}
 3SG-GEN load=PL 3SG-GEN container=PL
 ‘Help (pl) him carry his load and his containers.’ tr003
- b. *Aijama*_{CC} =*pa* =*tuna-ja*
 not.exist.at.all =REP =3PL-DAT
 [[*ni=jae*] [*ni=e-rami*]]_{cs.}
 NOT.EVEN=fish NOT.EVEN=NPF-meat
 ‘They say that they really don’t have any fish or meat (lit. neither any fish nor any meat exist at all to them).’ ka162

Coordination can also be realized by way of coordinators. There are two coordinators: *jadya* ‘and’, used for conjunction (§4.8.1), and *jadyaamajuatsu* ‘or’, used for disjunction (§4.8.2). Note that the terminology used while discussing coordination is taken from Haspelmath (2000). Cavineña coordinators can coordinate words, phrases and subordinate clauses. They cannot be used to coordinate main clauses.

4.8.1. Conjunction

Conjunction, i.e., ‘and’-coordination, is realized by the coordinator *jadya* ‘and’. Note that in a few examples, *jadya* also expresses disjunction, i.e., ‘or’-coordination. This morpheme is homophonous with and probably historically related to the independent particle *jadya* ‘thus’ (§4.5.5).

Jadya can be used to coordinate two or more coordinands. It occurs only once per coordination structure and is postposed to the last coordinand; for example, with three coordinands A, B and C, we have A B C *jadya*.

Coordinated S NPs are illustrated in (4.81).

- (4.81) a. *E-kwe ani-kware*
1SG-DAT sit-REM.PAST

[[*sesenta takure chacha_{CC}=ke*]_S [*kimisha juje*]_S ***jadya***].
sixty chicken alive=LIG three duck and

‘I had sixty live chickens and three ducks (that I wanted to sell in Riberalta) (lit. sixty live chickens and three ducks sat to me).’
ga011

- b. *Tudya* [[*e-kwe e-mama*]_S [*e-kwe e-tata*]_S ***jadya***]
then 1SG-GEN 1-mother 1SG-GEN 1-father and

kwa-kware nawi=ra.
go-REM.PAST bathe=PURP.MOT

‘My father and my mother went to bathe.’ tk006

Coordinated O NPs are illustrated in (4.82).

- (4.82) a. *Tudya amena kwaba=ju iya-tsura-kware*
then BM canoe=LOC put-GO.UP-REM.PAST

[[*waburu*]_O [*beta dati*]_O ***jadya***].
peccary two turtle and

‘Then I put the peccary and the two tortoises (that I had caught) in my canoe.’ ch015

- b. [[*Eskupeta*]_O [*kuchiru*]_O ***jadya***] =*tu*_O *mapisi=ra*_A
shotgun machete and =3SG(-FM) anaconda=ERG

ijewe-mere-kware e-na=ju.
throw-CAUS-REM.PAST NPF-water=LOC

‘(Hitting the man,) the anaconda made him drop (lit. throw) his shotgun and machete in the water.’ si005

- c. ... [[[*e-puna=ja e-rami*]_O [*atsu=ekatse*]_O ***jadya***]
NPF-female=GEN NPF-flesh breast=DL and

jikwi-tsu].
cut.off-SS

‘... he had cut off the woman’s flesh and the two breasts and ...’
vz093

Coordinated postpositional phrases are illustrated in (4.83).

- (4.83) *Kawaiti-tsu =tuna_S ka-mare-ti-kware*
 get.angry-SS =3PL REF-shoot.at-REF-REM.PAST
 [[*piya=tsewe*] [*salon=tsewe*] ***jadya***].
 arrow=ASSOC rifle=ASSOC and
 ‘They got angry and they shot at each other with arrows and rifles.’
 T1.2

Coordinated relative clauses are illustrated in (4.84).

- (4.84) ... *e-ra_A pisu-kware*
 1SG-ERG untie-REM.PAST
 [*rasu* [[*iyuka=ju_{CC}=ke*]_{RC} [*e-wachi=ju_{CC}=ke*]_{RC} ***jadya***]]_O.
 lasso head=LOC=LIG NPF-foot=LOC=LIG and
 ‘I removed (lit. untied) the lasso from the head and from the feet
 (of the cow I had finished milking).’ vc028

Coordination of three coordinands is illustrated in (4.85).

- (4.85) a. [[*Banu=ra*]_A [*aceite=ra*]_A [*cebolla=ra*]_A ***jadya***] =*tu_O*
 salt=ERG oil=ERG onion=ERG and =3SG(-FM)
earaki_O uutura-ya.
 food give.good.taste.to-IMPFV
 ‘The salt, the oil and the onions give a good taste to the food.’
 di2950
- b. *Tudya =tu_O e-ra_A*
 then =3SG(-FM) 1SG-ERG
 [[*e-kwe salon*]_O [*jukuri*]_O [*dati*]_O ***jadya=kamadya***]
 1SG-GEN rifle coati turtle and=ONLY
iya-kware pere=ju.
 put-REM.PAST raft=LOC
 ‘I only put my rifle, the coati and the tortoise on the raft.’ pe044

Coordination of verbs requires bare verbal stems; that is, inflected verbs cannot be coordinated. The verbs must have the same transitivity value and an auxiliary which matches the transitivity of the coordinated verbs, i.e., either

intransitive *ju-* ‘be’ or transitive *a-* ‘affect’. This is illustrated in (4.86) with coordination of four transitive verbs.

- (4.86) ... [[*budari=kwana*_O *kwere-re+sha*]
 banana=PL cut-REDUP+CAUS
 [[*tama=kwana e-uwa*_{CC}=*kwana=ke*]_O *sakwa-kwa+sha*]
 calabash=PL RES-plant=PL=LIG pierce-REDUP+CAUS
 [*shita=kwana*_O *tubu-bu+sha*]
 sugarcane=PL cut-REDUP+CAUS
 [*kunukaji=kwana*_O *jimimisha*] ***jadya***] =*tuna*_A
 sweet.potato=PL pull.out and =3PL(-ERG)
a-ti-kware...
 affect-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

‘... they (the Cavineña ancestors) cut the (enemies_i) bananas, punched their_i planted calabashes, cut their_i sugarcane plants, and pulled out their_i sweet potatoes.’ mk011

Disjunction is normally realized by *jadyaamajuatsu* ‘or’, as discussed in the following section, but is occasionally realized by *jadya*, as illustrated in (4.87).

- (4.87) a. [[*Kimisakaruku*] [*puskuruku*] ***jadya***]_{CC} =*tu*_{CS}
 eight nine and =3SG(-FM)
 [*bunyari=ja e-ka*]_{CS}.
 nambú.partridge=GEN NPF-egg

‘The nambú partridge lays eight or nine eggs (lit. the nambú partridge’s eggs are eight ones or nine ones).’ di2344

- b. [*Takure=ja e-ka*]_{CS} *ji-da*_{CC}
 chicken=GEN NPF-egg good-ASF
 [*ara=ishu katyati=ishu jadya*].
 eat=PURP.GNL sell=PURP.GNL and

‘Chicken eggs are good to eat or to sell.’ di0859

- c. [[*Ni=kwati patsa=ishu*]
 NOT.EVEN=firewood split=PURP.GNL
 [*ni=arusu taka=ishu jadya*] *aijama*_{CC}.
 NOT.EVEN=rice peel=PURP.GNL and not.exist.at.all

*Kasa-dama*_{CC} *ju-chine*.
 strong-NEG be-REC.PAST

'I didn't have any strength to split firewood or peel rice. I was very weak.' di0501

4.8.2. Disjunction

Disjunction, i.e., 'or'-coordination, in Cavineña is normally realized by the word *jadyaamajuatsu* 'or' which comes from the lexicalization of the same-subject temporal clause (§18.2) *jadya=ama ju-atsu* 'thus=NEG be-SS' (lit. being not thus). In fast speech, *jadyaamajuatsu* is often shortened to *jadyamajuatsu*, *jadyamaatsu* or even *amaatsu*. *Jadyaamajuatsu* is only found coordinating two coordinands in the data and it occurs in between; more work is needed to determine whether more than two coordinands can be involved.

Jadyaamajuatsu is illustrated combining various types of coordinands in (4.88).

(4.88) a. *Ina-bawe* =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O *ju-kware*
 grab-ALWS =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) be-REM.PAST

[[*ebakwa*]_O ***jadyaamajuatsu*** [*eweebari*]_O].
 child or teenager

'(In the olden days, our Cavineña ancestors) used to kidnap (lit. grab) children or teenagers.' hm037

b. *Tuekedyá* =*pa* *ekana*_S *tere-ya*
 then =REP 3PL finish-IMPFV

[[*kwejipa=eke*] ***jadyaamajuatsu*** [*e-tiki=eke*]].
 hurricane=PERL or NPF-fire=PERL

'(When the world was new, our ancestors) would die (lit. finish) from the hurricanes or from the fire.' ya007

c. [*Mi-kwe epu=ju*] *aijama*_{CC} *kasamati=kwana*_{CS},
 2SG-GEN village=LOC not.exist.at.all medicine=PL

[[*ai akwi jaki*]_{CS} ***jadyaamajuatsu*** [*akwi tiri*]_{CS}]?
 INT tree leaf or tree root

'In your (Cavineña) village, wouldn't you have medicines, something like tree leaves or tree roots?' T1.102

Note that the Spanish disjunction *u* ‘or’ is sometimes used instead of *jadyaamajuatsu*, as in (4.89).

- (4.89) a. *Eje=ke_S =yatse_S diru-ya?*
 INT=LIG =1DL go-IMPV
I-ke_S u [tume_{CC}=ke ekwita esiri=ke]_S?
 1SG-FM or there=LIG person old=LIG

‘Who of us (dl) will go? Me or that old man? (The recently returned husband asked his wife, who was about to remarry.)’
 mu043

- b. *Tume ai=tsewe yu-wa kemi-ya?*
 then INT=ASSOC over.there-LOC take.out-IMPV
Wika=tsewe, malla=tsewe, tarafa=tsewe,
 hook=ASSOC net=ASSOC casting.net=ASSOC
u ai=tsewe?
 or INT=ASSOC

‘What do they fish (lit. take fish out) with over there (in your country)? With a hook, a with net, with a casting net, or with what?’
 tb198

Chapter 5

Predicate structure — an overview

This chapter is a general introduction to the structure of the predicate, one of the most complex areas of Cavineña grammar. The following five chapters deal in detail with specific topics: inflectional morphology (Chapter 6), Aktionsart suffixes (Chapter 7), valency-changing mechanisms (Chapter 8), postural and directional suffixes (Chapter 9) and auxiliary-triggering processes (Chapter 10).

In Cavineña, the predicate must be distinguished from the verb itself. Both structures match when the predicate is simple — both predicate and verb consist of one grammatical and phonological word. But the two structures do not match when the predicate is complex — the predicate consists of more than one grammatical and phonological word and the verb is only one among these predicate components.¹ The structure of the predicate consists of 11 slots (A to K). It is discussed in §5.1.

The predicate can only be headed by a verb. There are two types of verbs: inflecting verbs, which take affixes, and non-inflecting verbs, which do not; the latter require an auxiliary for this purpose. Inflecting verbs are discussed in §5.2. Non-inflecting verbs are discussed in §5.3.

The non-inflecting component of a complex predicate can always be separated from the inflecting component (i.e., the auxiliary). In §5.4, I discuss why I chose to treat both components as a single (although complex) predicate as opposed to possible alternative analyses.

Verbs can undergo various processes of reduplication. These processes are introduced in §5.5.

5.1. Structure of the predicate

The predicate in Cavineña can be described in terms of 11 slots. There is one slot for a verb root, one for an auxiliary, slots for (phonologically and grammatically) independent modifiers (preverbal and postverbal), two prefix slots and four suffix slots (one of which — slot H — can be filled by up to three co-occurring suffixes). A number of predicate modifiers are discontinuous and occupy more than one slot.

The predicate structure can be diagrammed as follows (repeated from §4.2.1; obligatory components are in boldface).

¹ See Dixon (2003a: 141ff.) for a discussion of the notions of verb vs. predicate in different languages.

Slot A:	Inflectional prefix
Slot B:	Preverbal modifier
Slot C:	Valency-changing prefix
Slot D:	Verb root
Slot E:	Auxiliary
Slot F:	Postural or directional suffix
Slot G:	Valency-changing suffixes
Slot H:	Aktionsart suffixes
Slot I:	Mode suffix
Slot J:	Postverbal modifier
Slot K:	Inflectional suffix

In addition to the 11 slots, a number of clitics (phrasal particles) can be attached to the predicate. These include the negative particle =*ama* ‘NEG’, the aspectual particle =*jari* ‘STILL’ and the focus particle =*dya* ‘FOC’ (see Chapter 17). These particles are not analyzed as part of the predicate structure per se because they can normally occur on other types of constituents (NPs, PPs, copula complements, etc.).

Note that there are no pronominal markers in the Cavineña predicate. Cavineña does have bound pronouns but these occur in second position in a clause (phonologically bound to the last phonological word of the first immediate constituent of a main clause; §15.2).

In addition there are various reduplication processes. These are discussed independently in §5.5 below.

5.1.1. Slots A/K: inflectional affixes

The affixes that go into slots A/K (i.e., into slot A and/or slot K) are obligatory and mutually exclusive. We can distinguish between five different sets of inflectional affixes:

- 1 — tense-aspect-modality (TAM) (used in declarative and interrogative mood)
- 2 — imperative (command addressed to a second person)
- 3 — hortative (command addressed to a first person)
- 4 — jussive (command addressed to a third person)
- 5 — clause linker suffix *-(a)tsu* that yields a subordinate temporal clause

The full list of inflectional affixes is provided in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Verbal inflectional affixes

TAM	-ya -wa -chine -kware -buke e-...-u	‘IMPFV’ ‘PERF’ ‘REC.PAST’ ‘REM.PAST’ ‘REM.FUT’ ‘POT’
Imperative	-kwe / -ume ne-...-kwe / ne-...ume	‘SG / SG.NEG’ ‘NSG / NSG.NEG’
Hortative	pa- ne- ne-...-ra	‘SG’ ‘DL’ ‘PL’
Jussive	pa-	‘SG / DL / PL’
Subordinate	-(a)tsu	‘SS’

Examples illustrating an affix from the first four sets are provided in (5.1).

(5.1) a. TAM (potential)

*E-ra*_A = *mi*_O *e-bawitya-u*
1SG-ERG =2SG(-FM) POT-teach-POT

[*i-ke*_S *bawe=kwana=ke*]_O.
1SG-FM know=PL=LIG

‘I could teach you what I know.’ cp017

b. Imperative

Bute-kwe! *Mi-ke*_S *ikwene* *kueti-kwe!*
go.down-IMP.SG 2SG-FM first pass-IMP.SG

‘You (sg) go down (from the motorcycle)! You (sg) pass (the bridge) first!’ mo017

c. Hortative

Chine=keja je-ya salon=tsewe.
 night=LOC.GNL come-IMPV rifle=ASSOC

Ne-iye chai=kwana_o!
 HORT.DL-kill bird=PL

‘I will come late afternoon with my rifle. Let us (dl) hunt (lit. kill) birds!’ tb174

d. Jussive

Esiri_{CC}=ke_S pa-diru! Mi-ke_S ani-kwe!
 old=LIG JUSS-go 2SG-FM sit-IMP.SG

‘The old one (man) leaves! You (sg) stay (lit. sit)!’ mu044

TAM and command inflections are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

The last inflectional morpheme is the suffix *-(a)tsu* ‘SS’. This suffix yields a subordinate clause which obligatorily has the same subject (either S/CS or A) as the subject (either S/CS or A) of the main verb. The meaning encoded by the suffix *-(a)tsu* is most often temporal as in (5.2a) but can also be adverbial (modifying) as in (5.2b).

- (5.2) a. *Ka-bajeje-ti-tsu shana-nuka-kware.*
 REF-prepare-REF-SS leave-REITR-REM.PAST

‘He prepared himself and left it (a viper) again.’ vi022

- b. *I-ke_S [aje-tsu] pa-diru.*
 1SG-FM walk-SS HORT.SG-go

‘I will go down (from the cart) and I will go walking (*I will walk and I will go).’ ka456

A full discussion of same subject temporal clauses is in §18.2.

5.1.2. Slot B: preverbal modifiers

Slot B is associated with auxiliary-triggering processes. A verbal affix cannot be attached to the verb once an element occurs in slot B. Verbal affixes can still be used but they are then carried by an auxiliary.

Three types of elements can go into slot B:

- 1 — the four phonologically independent markers *nere* ‘VIGOROUSLY’, *yume* ‘IMMEDIATELY’, *riya* ‘STARTLING’ and *pana* ‘PROPERLY’ (§10.2);
- 2 — the first part of the discontinuous marker *jadya/ejebucha ...-e* ‘MAN’ (the second part, the suffix *-e*, goes into slot I) (§10.3);
- 3 — an ‘incorporated’ element (e.g., an independent particle or a postpositional phrase) that accompanies a Ø-marked auxiliary-triggering process (§10.5).

5.1.3. Slots C/G: valency-changing affixes

Cavineña has four valency-changing mechanisms. Three of these mechanisms are realized by affixes that go into slot C/G (i.e., into slot C and/or slot G) of the predicate. They are listed in Table 5.2. The fourth mechanism consists of an exchange of auxiliaries.

Table 5.2. Valency-changing affixes

	Valency reducing		Valency increasing
Passive	<i>-ta(na)</i>	Causative	<i>-sha/-mere/-kere</i>
Reflexive	<i>k(a)-...-ti</i>		

These affixes can apply equally to inflecting and non-inflecting verbs.

The causative is noteworthy in having three forms. The form *-sha* can only be applied to intransitive verbs and the form *-mere* to transitive verbs. The form *-kere* can apply to both intransitive and transitive verbs but has a slightly different meaning, encoding the involvement of the causer in the activity. Auxiliaries have suppletive causativized forms: *amere-* (be+CAUS) (corresponding to ungrammatical **ju-sha-*) and *akere-* (be+CAUS.INVLT) (corresponding to ungrammatical **ju-kere*).

Valency-changing affixes fill slot C/G of the predicate. Example (5.3) shows the verb *ani-* ‘sit’ followed by a directional suffix (slot F) followed by the causative marker *-sha* (slot G) followed by the obligatory inflectional suffix *-wa* (slot K).

- (5.3) $E-ra_A = tu_O \quad ani^D -tsura^F -sha^G -wa^K$
 1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) sit-GO.UP-CAUS-PERF
mishi_O [*silla dyake*].
 cat chair ON

‘I made the cat sit on the chair.’ n3.0095

A full discussion of valency-changing mechanisms is given in Chapter 8. This chapter also includes a discussion of two antipassive derivations. Antipassive derivation is carried out by reduplicating the verb root if the verb is inflecting (see §5.5 on the various reduplication processes that can be applied to a verb), or by exchanging the transitive auxiliary (*a-* ‘affect’) for the intransitive auxiliary (*ju-* ‘be’) if the verb is non-inflecting.

5.1.4. Slot D: verb root

Slot D is filled by the predicate head which can only be a verb. It can be (1) an inflecting verb which directly takes affixes or (2) a non-inflecting verb which cannot carry an affix but instead requires an auxiliary in slot E which takes the affixes. Similarly to slots A/K (for inflectional affixes), slot D is obligatorily filled.

We can contrast the intransitive inflecting verb *ani-* ‘sit’ in (5.4a) with the intransitive non-inflecting verb *wikamutya ju-* ‘to fish’ in (5.4b).

- (5.4) a. *Yawa=ju =shana ekana_S ani-ya.*
 ground=LOC =PITY 3PL sit-IMPFV

‘They would sit (directly) on the ground, the poor women (our Cavineña grandmothers).’ ci079

- b. ... *weka-da_{CC}=ju ekana_S wikamutya ju-ya.*
 bright-ASF=LOC 3PL fish be-IMPFV

‘(Nowadays, when the youths go fishing,) they fish during the day (not during the night as we used to).’ ct087

We can also contrast the transitive inflecting verb *ina-* ‘grab’ in (5.5a) with the transitive non-inflecting verb *bidubidu a-* ‘wag’ in (5.5b).

- (5.5) a. [*Jee ebakwapiji=ra*]_A *ina-ya*
 here small.child=ERG grab-IMPFV
 [*make wiri=kwana e-tutsu_{CC}=ke*]_O...
 piranha tiny=PL RES-sew=LIG

‘This small child (here in the picture) is holding (lit. grabbing) tiny piranhas attached (lit. sewn) (on a string)...’ ft030

b. *Iwa*_O =*tuna*_A ***bidubidu*** *a-ya*...
 tail =3PL wag affect-IMPFV

‘They (my dogs) were wagging their tails...’ wa095

Verbs are discussed in detail in §5.2 (inflecting verbs) and §5.3 (non-inflecting verbs) below.

5.1.5. Slot E: auxiliary

An auxiliary is obligatory when the head of the predicate (slot D) is a non-inflecting verb, whether a basic non-inflecting verb or a derived non-inflecting verb (i.e., a verb which has undergone an auxiliary-triggering process).

There are two auxiliaries: *ju-* ‘be’ and *a-* ‘affect’. They have two main functions: (1) carrying affixes and (2) marking transitivity. As affix-carriers, *ju-* and *a-* are required by non-inflecting verbs (basic or derived). As transitivity markers, *ju-* marks an intransitive predicate, as in (5.4b), while *a-* marks a transitive one, as in (5.5b). Exchanging the transitive auxiliary for the intransitive auxiliary has an antipassive function — a full discussion is provided in §8.3.2. Note that the reverse, exchanging the intransitive auxiliary for the transitive auxiliary, is not grammatical.

5.1.6. Slot F: postural and directional suffixes

There are seven postural and directional suffixes, listed in Table 5.3. These suffixes may not be combined; that is, they are mutually exclusive.

Table 5.3. Postural and directional suffixes

Postural	<i>-jara</i>	‘LIE’
	<i>-ani</i>	‘SIT’
	<i>-neti/-nitya</i>	‘STAND’
	<i>-bade</i>	‘HANG’
Directional	<i>-tsura</i>	‘GO.UP’
	<i>-bute/butya</i>	‘GO.DOWN’
	<i>-sikwa</i>	‘GO.AWAY’

Postural and directional suffixes have strong distributional restrictions, only occurring with a limited number of verbs. Example (5.6) shows the directional *-tsura* ‘GO.UP’ following the verb root *iya-* ‘put’ (slot D) and followed by the

obligatory inflectional suffix *-kware* ‘REM.PAST’ (slot K).

- (5.6) *Tudya amena kwaba=ju iya^D-tsura^F-kware^K*
 then BM canoe=LOC put-GO.UP-REM.PAST
 [[*waburu*]_O [*beta dati*]_O *jadya*].
 peccary two turtle and

‘Then I put the peccary and the two tortoises (I had caught) in my canoe (i.e., moved them up to the edge of the canoe and dropped them in).’ ch015

A full discussion of postural and directional suffixes is in Chapter 9.

5.1.7. Slot H: Aktionsart suffixes

Aktionsart suffixes provide optional modification of the verb in much the same way that adverbs or adverbial clauses modify a verb or predicate in other languages.² These suffixes are very rich semantically and often express notions that are not commonly found in the morphology of the verb in other languages, particularly European languages. For example, there is a series of suffixes that encode the time of the day an action is performed (e.g., *-wekaka* ‘the action is performed at dawn’, *-apuna* ‘the action is performed at dusk’, etc.).

There are about 30 Aktionsart suffixes. According to their semantics and distribution (i.e., co-occurrence possibilities), we can sort them into four broad groups. Table 5.4 lists all suffixes with their glosses (the different paradigms are separated by a blank line).

Example (5.7) shows a predicate with a directional suffix (slot F), a valency-changing circumfix (slot C/G), an Aktionsart suffix (slot H), and an obligatory inflectional suffix (slot K).

- (5.7) *k^C-iya^D-butya^F-ti^G-nuka^H-chine^K*
 REF-put-GO.DOWN-REF-REITR-REC.PAST
 ‘(we) put again (our bags) down (in the cart)’ vb055

² The term ‘Aktionsart’ is taken from Aikhenvald (2003a: 342 ff.), who describes similar verbal categories in Tariana, an Arawak language from north west Amazonia.

Table 5.4. Aktionsart suffixes of aspect/manner

Aspect/manner	<i>-tere/-tirya</i>	‘COMP’
	<i>-bisha</i>	‘INCOMP’
	<i>-jaka</i>	‘STOP’
	<i>-tibune</i>	‘START’
	<i>-baka</i>	‘SHORT.TIME’
	<i>-siri</i>	‘LONG.TIME’
	<i>-jeri/-neri</i>	‘ALMOST’
	<i>-nuka</i>	‘REITR’
	<i>-(ne)ni</i>	‘RANDOM’
	<i>-bare</i>	‘DISTR’
Motion	<i>-wisha</i>	‘FAST’
	<i>-nati/-ti</i>	‘GO.TEMP’
	<i>-diru</i>	‘GO.PERM’
	<i>-na</i>	‘COME.TEMP’
	<i>-eti</i>	‘COME.PERM’
	<i>-kena</i>	‘LEAVE’
	<i>-aje</i>	‘GO.DISTR’
	<i>-be</i>	‘COME.TEMP.DISTR’
	<i>-etibe</i>	‘COME.PERM.DISTR’
	<i>-tsa</i>	‘COME(O)’
<i>-dadi</i>	‘GO(O)’	
Time of day	<i>-wekaka</i>	‘AT.DAWN’
	<i>-apuna</i>	‘AT.DUSK’
	<i>-chinepe</i>	‘ALL.DAY’
	<i>-sisa</i>	‘ALL.NIGHT’
Emotion	<i>-jara/-wana</i>	‘ADVERS’

Aktionsart suffixes can be organized in a number of paradigms. One Aktionsart suffix from one paradigm can co-occur with another (or two other) Aktionsart suffix(es) from another paradigm. This is illustrated with *-wekaka* ‘AT.DAWN’ and *-nuka* ‘REITR’ in (5.8a), and *-jaka* ‘STOP’ with *-diru* ‘GO.PERM’ in (5.8b).

- (5.8) a. *Metajudya=piisi =ekwana_S kwa-wekaka-nuka-ya.*
 tomorrow=JUST =1PL go-AT.DOWN-REITR-IMPFV
 ‘Tomorrow at sunrise we will keep going and arrive there (lit. in one go).’ vb031
- b. ... *bei=ju ina-jaka-diru-kware matuja_O.*
 lake=LOC grab-STOP-GO.PERM-REM.PAST caiman
 ‘He let go of (lit. stopped grabbing) the caiman in the lake on his way.’ cd007

A full discussion of Aktionsart suffixes is in Chapter 7.

5.1.8. Slot I: mode markers

Similarly to slot B (and slot J; see below), slot I is associated with auxiliary-triggering processes. While slot B (as well as slot J) is filled by phonologically independent elements, slot I is filled by suffixes.

Two types of markers go into slot I:

- 1 — the five auxiliary-triggering suffixes *-kara/-karama* ‘DESID’, *-metse* ‘FIRST’, *-jakama* ‘CEASELESSLY’, *-bawe/-baekwa* ‘ALWS’ and *-ki/-aki* ‘TYPICAL’ (§10.1);
- 2 — the second (suffix) parts of the discontinuous markers *jadya ...-e* ‘MAN’ and *ejobucha ...-e* ‘MAN.INT’; the first parts go into slot B (§10.3).

Example (5.9) shows the verb *maju-* ‘die’ followed by an Aktionsart suffix (slot H), then preceded-and-followed by the discontinuous marker *jadya ...-e* ‘MAN’, and finally followed by an (obligatory) inflectional marker borne by an auxiliary.

- (5.9) [*Jadya*^B *maju*^D-*jeri*^H-*e*^I] *ju*^E-*kware*^K
 MAN die-ALMOST-MAN be-REM.PAST
 [*manga=eke pakaka-tsu*].
 mango=PERL fall-SS
 ‘This is the particular way I almost died, falling from a mango tree.’ mg034

5.1.9. Slot J: postverbal modifiers

Similarly to slots B and I, slot J is associated with auxiliary-triggering processes, and, similarly to slot B markers, slot J markers consist of phonologically independent morphemes. Two types of elements can go into slot J:

1 — a member of a set of quantifier markers that are used to specify the number of times an event is performed: *pidya* ‘ONCE’ (corresponding to *peadya* ‘one’), *beta* ‘TWICE’ (corresponding to *beta* ‘two’) and *kimisha* ‘THREE.TIMES’ (corresponding to *kimisha* ‘three’). They are discussed in §10.4;

2 — an ‘incorporated’ element (often an independent particle) that accompanies a \emptyset -marked auxiliary-triggering process. (A symmetrical process happens with slot B; see §5.1.2.) The auxiliary-triggering \emptyset -marked process with incorporation of elements into slot J (as well as into slot B) is discussed at length in §10.5.

5.2. Inflecting verbs

Inflecting verbs are a clearly defined class. Only inflecting verbs can take affixes from slots A/K, C/G, F, G, H and I — this morphological criterion is enough to distinguish them from non-inflecting verbs and any other word classes. The class of inflecting verbs is open to derivations (from other word classes) but closed to borrowings (unlike non-inflecting verbs).

5.2.1. Basic inflecting verbs

Inflecting verb lexemes are strictly subdivided between intransitive and transitive verbs in Cavineña (except for two ambitransitive verbs; see below). Intransitive verbs can only take one core argument (S), as with *tsajaja*- ‘run’ in (5.10a), while transitive verbs can only take two core arguments (A and O), as with *iyé*- ‘kill’ in (5.10b).

- (5.10) a. [*Tu-ke tupuju*] =*tu*_S *iba*_S *tsajaja-chine*.
3SG-FM FOLLOWING =3SG(-FM) jaguar run-REC.PAST

‘The jaguar chased him (lit. ran following him).’ sg010

- b. *Iba=ra*_A =*tu*_O *iyé-chine* *takure*_O.
jaguar=ERG =3SG(-FM) kill-REC.PAST chicken

‘The jaguar killed the chicken.’ n1.0227

Subject NPs of transitive verbs are always marked with the ergative enclitic =*ra* ‘ERG’ (suffix *-ra* on pronouns) as opposed to subject NPs of intransitive verbs which are always unmarked for case.

The clear-cut distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs is also reflected by the fact that a number of verbal affixes have different forms depending on whether they apply to an intransitive verb or to a transitive verb. This is the case for the causative suffix which has the form *-sha* when applying to an intransitive verb, and *-mere* when applying to a transitive verb. Other similar alternations are found with the postural *-neti/-nitya* ‘STAND’, the directional *-bute/-butya* ‘GO.DOWN’, and the Aktionsart suffixes *-tere/-tirya* ‘COMP’ and *-jara/-wana* ‘ADVERS’. In each set, the first member can only apply to an intransitive verb and the second only to a transitive verb. Any inflecting verb lexeme can only select one of these pairs of suffixes. Finally, a number of verbal suffixes only apply to transitive verbs, as with *-tsa* ‘COME(O)’ and *-dadi* ‘GO(O)’.

A count of basic (non-derived) inflecting verbal lexemes reveals that there are four times more transitive verbs (about 280) than intransitive ones (about 70).

Two verbs can be used either intransitively or transitively, following an S=A pattern in both cases: *kike-/keke-* ‘shout, shout at O’³ and *kwina-* ‘give birth, give birth to O’. The verb *kike-/keke-* is illustrated below. In (5.11a), it takes a single core argument, unmarked for case, while in (5.11b) it takes two core arguments, with the subject marked as ergative. In addition, we can note that in (5.11b) *kike-* takes the suffix *-dadi* ‘GO(O)’ which, as mentioned earlier, only applies to transitive verbs.

- (5.11) a. *Dukwadukwas* =*tus* *kike-ya*
 titi.monkey =3SG(-FM) shout-IMPV

duu=bae=dya.
 howler.monkey=SIMLR=FOC

‘The titi monkey shouts like the howler monkey.’ di0763

- b. *Tudya* = \emptyset _O [*e-kwe* *mama-chi=ra*]_A
 then (=1SG-FM) 1SG-GEN mother-AFFTN=ERG

kike-dadi-kware: “*Chenu, je-kwe!*”
 shout.at-GO(O)-REM.PAST daughter come-IMP.SG

‘Then my mother yelled at me (from behind as I was walking first): “Daughter! Come over here!”’ bo006

³ The two forms, *kike-* and *keke-*, are in free variation; as the examples show, this alternation has nothing to do with transitivity.

The examples in (5.12) show that *kike-/keke-* can be causativized with either *-sha* (causative suffix for intransitive verbs) or *-mere* (causative suffix for transitive verbs).

- (5.12) a. *E-ra_A* =*tu_O* *kike-sha-wa*.
 1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) shout-CAUS-PERF
 ‘I made it (the ventilator) work (lit. shout).’ n1.0587
- b. [*E-kwe mama-chi=kwana=kwita=dya*]_O
 1SG-GEN mother-AFFTN=UNCERT=RESTR=FOC
 =*tuna-ra_A* = \emptyset _O *kike-mere-kware*.
 =3PL-ERG (=1SG-ERG) shout.at-CAUS-REM.PAST
 ‘(Those coatis scared me so much that) they made me shout at my dear mother.’ te020

In addition to the intransitive and the transitive verbs (and the two ambitransitive verbs), there are four attested ditransitive (underived) verbs: *baka-* ‘ask O for O’, *kweja-* ‘inform O of O’, *seka-* ‘take O away from O’ and *tya-* ‘give O to O’. These verbs have two non-subject arguments that are both unmarked, identically to the O of (mono)transitive verbs. An example of each of these verbs is provided in (5.13).

- (5.13) a. *Ekwita=ra_A* =*tu_O* *kweja-wa* [*peadya kwatsabiji*]_O
 person=ERG =3SG(-FM) inform-PERF one story
e-puna_O.
 NPF-female
 ‘The man told a story to the woman.’ n3.0226
- b. *E-puna=ra_A* =*tu_O* *tya-wa* *ebakwapiji_O*
 NPF-female=ERG =3SG(-FM) give-PERF small.child
 [*peadya pelota*]_O.
 one ball
 ‘The woman gave a ball to the child.’ n3.0216

- c. *Baka-diru-kware* =*tu*_A [*e-tata=ke*]_O
 ask.for-GO.PERM-REM.PAST =3SG(-ERG) 3-father=3
 [*tatse-ja e-bakwa=ke*]_O
 3DL-GEN 3-child=3

‘He_i asked his_i father for their (his_i + his_i wife’s) child.’ eb024

- d. *Francisco=ra*_A *seka-wa* [*manga kaka*]_O
 Francisco=ERG take.away.from-PERF mango fruit
 [*tume*_{CC}=*ke ebakwapiji*]_O.
 there=LIG small.child

‘Francisco took the mango away from that small child.’ n3.0537

A few more ditransitive verbs are historically derived from these ditransitive verbs by means of noun incorporation. The process is not productive however (see §5.2.5). The forms attested in the data are as follows. Based on *tya-* ‘give O to O’, we have *bawitya-* ‘teach O to O’ with incorporation of the noun *bawe* ‘customs’ (lit. custom-give O to O), and *tsujetya-* ‘pay O to O’ with incorporation of the noun *-tsuje* ‘price, value’ (lit. price-give O to O). Based on *baka-* ‘ask O for O’, we have *tsujebaka-* ‘charge O O’ with incorporation of the same noun *-tsuje* ‘price, value’ (lit. price-ask O for O). The verb *bawitya-* ‘teach’ is illustrated in (5.1a) (repeated).

- (5.1a) *E-ra*_A =*mi*_O *e-bawitya-u*
 1SG-ERG =2SG(-FM) POT-teach-POT
 [*i-ke*_S *bawe=kwana=ke*]_O.
 1SG-FM know=PL=LIG

‘I could teach you what I know.’ cp017

Ditransitive verbs can also be derived by causativization of a transitive verb, as shown in (5.14) based on the verb *ara-* ‘eat O’ (see §8.4.2).

- (5.14) *E-puna=ra*_A =*tu*_O *ara-mere-wa* *misi*_O
 NPF-female=ERG =3SG(-FM) eat-CAUS-PERF tamale
 [*tu-ja ebakwa*]_O.
 3SG-GEN child

‘The woman fed the child with tamale (i.e., she put tamale herself in the child’s mouth).’ n3.0334

It has not been possible to single out any grammatical property that would differentiate one non-subject argument from the other with these ditransitive verbs (either basic or derived). The main difficulty comes from the fact that ditransitive verbs are not very numerous in Cavineña. As a result there are very few textual examples of these verbs. However, from the few examples available, it appears that the traditional tests for distinguishing the two non-subject arguments of ditransitive constructions in languages fail in Cavineña: both can be expressed by bound pronouns (§15.2.4); both have the same flexible ordering possibilities; both can be passivized (§8.1); both can enter within a reflexive or reciprocal relation with the agent when the reflexive/reciprocal derivation is applied (see §8.2.4); and both are left unexpressed in all types of valency reducing mechanisms (passive, reflexive/reciprocal and antipassive).⁴

The majority of inflecting verb roots have two syllables. Ten verbs have only one syllable — five intransitive (*je-* ‘come’, *ju-* ‘be’, *kwa-* ‘go’, *pa-* ‘cry’ and *tša-* ‘laugh’), four transitive (*a-* ‘affect O’, *ba-* ‘see O’, *be-* ‘bring O’ and *ryu-* ‘comb O’) and one ditransitive (*tya-* ‘give O to O’). A handful have more than two syllables.

5.2.2. Verbalization of nouns

Two processes of derivation that produce inflecting verbs from nouns have been identified. The first one makes use of a circumfix marker *k(a)-...-ti* and derives intransitive inflecting verbs. The second makes use of a suffix *-ne* and derives transitive inflecting verbs. Their level of productivity is unknown. They are described in turn below.

5.2.2.1. Derivation of intransitive verbs from nouns with *k(a)-...-ti*

A few intransitive inflecting verbs are derived from noun roots, including some lexical loans, with a circumfix *k(a)-...-ti*.⁵ The form *k-...-ti* applies to roots which begin with a vowel, while the form *ka-...-ti* applies to roots which begin with a consonant. (There two exceptions: *ka-atsanaka-ti-* ‘yawn’ and *kaanati-* ‘talk’.) The full list of such forms is given in (5.15).

⁴ See Guillaume (2008) for a discussion of Cavineña ditransitive constructions in a typological perspective.

⁵ Note that this discontinuous marker is homophonous with and probably historically related to the discontinuous reflexive marker *k(a)-...-ti* (§5.1.3 and §8.2)

(5.15) a. Verbs derived from *e*-nouns

<i>ka-atsanaka-ti-</i> 'yawn'	<i>-atsanaka</i> 'mouth'
<i>ka-ana-ti-</i> 'talk'	<i>-ana</i> 'tongue'
<i>ka-kaka-ti-</i> 'give fruit'	<i>-kaka</i> 'fruit'
<i>ka-nime-ti-</i> / <i>k-inime-ti-</i> 'be alert'	<i>(i-)nime</i> 'thought'
<i>ka-puna-ti-</i> 'become an adult woman'	<i>-puna</i> 'female'
<i>ka-tapanana-ti-</i> 'sprout (for new leaf)'	<i>-tapanana</i> 'new leaf'
<i>ka-tsa-ti-</i> 'blossom'	<i>-tsa</i> 'flower'

b. Verb derived form a kinship noun

<i>ka-bakwa-ti-</i> 'have a child'	<i>bakwa</i> 'child'
---------------------------------------	-------------------------

c. Verbs derived from independent nouns

<i>k-ijawa-ti-</i> 'be agitated'	<i>ijawa</i> 'devil'
<i>ka-kasa-ti-</i> 'exert force'	<i>kasa</i> 'strength'
<i>ka-kweya-ti-</i> 'transform oneself'	<i>kweya</i> 'spirit'
<i>ka-makei-ti-</i> 'become enemy'	<i>makei</i> 'enemy'

d. Verbs derived from lexical loans

<i>ka-chipiru-ti-</i> 'become rich'	<i>chipiru</i> 'money'
<i>ka-jucha-ti-</i> 'to sin'	<i>jucha</i> 'sin'
<i>ka-shasha-ti-</i> 'blossom'	<i>shasha</i> 'flower'

An example containing the derived verb *ka-bakwa-ti* is provided below.

- (5.16) *Jee jadya*_{CC=ke} *ka-bakwa-ti-kware* *i-ke*_S.
 here thus=LIG VBLZ-child-VBLZ-REM.PAST 1SG-FM
 [*E-kwe e-awe=tsewe*] = \emptyset _A [*umada ebakwa*]_O
 1SG-GEN 1-husband=ASSOC (=1SG-ERG) many child
a-kware.
 affect-REM.PAST

'Thus I had children. With my husband I made many children.'
 nk138

5.2.2.2. Derivation of transitive verbs from nouns with *-ne*

A few transitive inflecting verbs are derived from nouns by adding the suffix *-ne*. The full list is given in (5.17).

(5.17) a. Verbs derived from *e*-nouns

<i>diji-ne-</i> 'open a path in O (e.g., forest)'	<i>-diji</i> 'path'
<i>kare-ne-</i> 'make O one's friend'	<i>-kare</i> 'half'
<i>kari-ne-</i> 'clear a track in O (e.g., forest)'	<i>-kari</i> 'track'

<i>tisu-ne-</i> 'put a strap on O'	<i>-tisu</i> 'strap'
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<i>tuchaki-ne-</i> 'put a twig on O (e.g., mosquito net)'	<i>-tuchaki</i> 'twig'
--	---------------------------

b. Verbs derived from independent nouns

<i>bawe-ne-</i> 'trust O, be accustomed to O'	<i>bawe</i> 'knowledge, customs'
--	-------------------------------------

<i>espiki-ne-</i> 'provide O with walls'	<i>espiki</i> 'wall'
---	-------------------------

<i>kani-ne-</i> 'make a hole in O'	<i>kani</i> 'hole'
---------------------------------------	-----------------------

<i>kweya-ne-</i> 'recognize, understand O'	<i>kweya</i> 'spirit'
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<i>metse-ne-</i> 'make oneself owner of O'	<i>metse</i> 'owner'
---	-------------------------

<i>situ-ne-</i> 'make O one's friend'	<i>situ</i> 'friend'
--	-------------------------

<i>taraka-ne-</i> 'build a corral around O, fence O'	<i>taraka</i> 'corral'
---	---------------------------

<i>umashi-ne-</i> 'give O a nickname'	<i>umashi</i> 'nickname'
--	-----------------------------

<i>uu-ne-</i> 'raise O as a domestic animal'	<i>uu</i> 'domestic animal'
---	--------------------------------

c. Verbs derived from lexical loans

<i>grawa-ne-</i> 'record O'	<i>grawa</i> 'to record'
--------------------------------	-----------------------------

<i>jabu-ne-</i> 'soap O'	<i>jabu</i> 'soap'
<i>sepiryu-ne-</i> 'brush O'	<i>sepiryu</i> 'brush'
<i>warasha-ne-</i> 'make a bridge over O'	<i>warasha</i> 'bridge'

The verbalized forms *kani-ne* 'make a hole in O' and *warasha-ne* 'make a bridge over O' are exemplified below.

- (5.18) a. *E-tse=kwana_S =e-kwana-ja k-utsa-ti-taki,*
NPF-tooth=PL =1PL-DAT REF-wash-REF-ABIL

bia=kwana=ra_A e-kani-ne-u=ju.
louse=PL=ERG POT-hole-VBLZ-POT=DS

'We have to wash our teeth, otherwise the germs (lit. louse) can make holes in them.' di0461

- b. *Roberto=ra_A =tu_O e-spere_O warasha-ne-kware.*
Roberto=ERG =3SG(-FM) NPF-stream bridge-VBLZ-REM.PAST

'Roberto made a bridge over the creek.' n2.0546

5.2.2.3. Derivation of verbs from nouns with other suffixes

The derivation of a number of additional inflecting verbs from nouns involves more irregular morphology. For example, a *-ta* suffix derives the intransitive verbs *muruta-* 'becomes ashes' from the independent noun *muru* 'dust, ash'; a *-kata* suffix derives the intransitive verbs *nakata-* 'get wet' from the *e*-noun *-na* 'water'; and a suffix *-tura* derives the transitive verb *baaratura-* 'cause O to have fever' from the independent noun *baara* 'fever'.⁶

⁶ Note that *-ta* and *-tura* are homophonous with other suffixes in the language. Starting with *-ta*, it is first homophonous with the adjective verbalizer *-ta* (§5.2.3.4). It is also homophonous with the *-ta* allomorph of the passive marker (§5.1.3 and §8.1). As for *-tura*, it is homophonous with the adjective verbalizer *-tura* (§5.2.3.5).

5.2.3. Verbalization of adjectives

Inflecting verbs can be derived from adjectives with five suffixes, with different degrees of productivity. Four suffixes derive intransitive verbs: *-kwina* (21 verbs), *-na* (13 verbs), *-tsu* (4 verbs) and *-ta* (3 verbs). Two suffixes derive transitive verbs: *-tura* (21 verbs), and *-ne* (2 verbs). Each suffix is illustrated in turn.

5.2.3.1. Derivation of intransitive verbs from adjectives with *-kwina*

The suffix *-kwina* was found deriving 21 intransitive inflecting verbs from *da*-adjectives (§11.2).⁷ A verb derived with *-kwina* depicts the action of slowly and gradually acquiring the property denoted by the adjective. The 21 verbs derived with this suffix that were found in the available data are listed in (5.19), sorted by semantic type.

(5.19) a. DIMENSION

<i>baru-kwina-</i> 'slowly become tall/high'	<i>baru-</i> 'tall, high'
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b. COLOR

<i>apu-kwina-</i> 'slowly darken'	<i>apu-</i> 'dark'
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<i>jawa-kwina-</i> 'slowly become yellow'	<i>jawa-</i> 'yellow'
--	--------------------------

<i>paja-kwina-</i> 'slowly whiten'	<i>paja-</i> 'white'
---------------------------------------	-------------------------

<i>pasa-kwina-</i> 'slowly become grey'	<i>pasa-</i> 'grey'
--	------------------------

<i>pude-kwina-</i> 'slowly become red/brown'	<i>pude-</i> 'red/brown'
---	-----------------------------

⁷ Note that this suffix is homophonous with and perhaps related to the ambitransitive verb *kwina-* 'give birth, give birth to O'.

sawa-kwina-
‘slowly become green/blue’

sawa-
‘green/blue’

sewe-kwina-
‘slowly become black’

sewe-
‘black’

c. PHYSICAL PROPERTY

ba-kwina-
‘slowly become cold’

ba-
‘cold’

duka-kwina-
‘slowly become murky’

duka-
‘murky’

jika-kwina-
‘slowly become lush’

jika-
‘lush’

juji-kwina-
‘slowly become fat’

juji-
‘fat’

kasa-kwina-
‘slowly become strong’

kasa-
‘strong’

misi-kwina-
‘slowly become thick’

misi-
‘thick’

pidi-kwina-
‘slowly become viscous’

pidi-
‘viscous’

tiki-kwina-
‘slowly become bright’

tiki-
‘bright’

tseri-kwina-
‘slowly become fat’

tseri-
‘fat’

uke-kwina-
‘slowly become hot’

uke-
‘hot’

d. HUMAN PROPENSITY

dyai-kwina-
‘slowly become weak’

dyai-
‘lazy’

nime-kwina-
‘slowly become wild’

nime-
‘wild, untamed’

e. POSITION

japa-kwina-
‘slowly go far’

japa-
‘far’

f. SPEED

weni-kwina-
‘slowly become vigorous/fast’

weni-
‘vigorous, fast’

g. DIFFICULTY

ibe-kwina-
‘slowly become hard to understand’

ibe-
‘hard to understand’

h. QUANTIFICATION

uma-kwina-
‘slowly become numerous’

uma-
‘many’

I illustrate the verbalization of some color and physical property adjectives with *-kwina* in (5.20) and (5.21) respectively.

- (5.20) a. *Pude-kwina-wa* [e-kwe e-butsekini]_s
red/brown-VBLZ-PERF 1SG-GEN NPF-face

[*ijeti=ra_A* a-wa=*ju*].
sun=ERG affect-PERF=DS

‘My face is slowly becoming red/brown from the sun.’ n2.0328

- b. *Jawa-kwina-ya* [e-kwe shasha taraka=*ju_{CC}=ke*]_s.
yellow-VBLZ-IMPV 1SG-GEN flower corral=LOC=LIG

‘My flowers in the corral are slowly getting yellow, day after day.’
n2.0373

- c. *Sawa-kwina-ya* *amena* *nutsa_S* [*otubre badi=ju*].
 green/blue-VBLZ-IMPV BM grass october month=LOC
 ‘The grass is getting greener and greener in (the month of) October
 (as it starts to rain again).’ n2.0341

- (5.21) a. *Uke-kwina-ya* *ijeti_S* *amena*.
 hot-VBLZ-IMPV sun BM

‘The sun is becoming hotter and hotter now.’ n2.0340

- b. ... *jadya* *ushuri=kwita_{CC}=ke_S* *juji-kwina-kware* *i-ke_S*.
 thus skinny=RESTR=LIG fat-VBLZ-REM.PAST 1SG-FM

‘... and this is how I, who was very skinny, put on weight (by
 drinking cod oil).’ bc038

5.2.3.2. Derivation of intransitive verbs from adjectives with *-na/-ne*

The suffix *-na/-ne* also derives intransitive inflecting verbs from *da*-adjectives.⁸ In contrast with the semantics of *-kwina*, above, this suffix denotes the intensive and rapid acquisition of the property expressed by the adjective. In most cases, it is the *-na* allomorph that is used; only two adjectives, *jawa-* ‘yellow’ and *ba-* ‘cold’, take *-ne* instead of *-na*. The full list is given in (5.22).

- (5.22) a. DIMENSION

<i>ari-na-</i> ‘become very big’	<i>ari-</i> ‘big’
<i>baru-na-</i> ‘become very tall’	<i>baru-</i> ‘tall’
<i>junu-na-</i> ‘become very long’	<i>junu-</i> ‘long’

⁸ Note that *-na* is homophonous with and perhaps related to the motion suffix *-na* ‘COME.TEMP’; §5.1.7 and §7.2.1.

b. COLOR

<i>apu-na-</i> 'become very dark' ⁹	<i>apu-</i> 'dark'
<i>jawa-ne-</i> 'become very yellow, ripen'	<i>jawa-</i> 'yellow'
<i>paja-na-</i> 'become very white'	<i>paja-</i> 'white'
<i>pude-na-</i> 'become very red/brown'	<i>pude-</i> 'red/brown'
<i>sawa-na-</i> 'become very green/blue'	<i>sawa-</i> 'green/blue'
<i>sewe-na-</i> 'become very black'	<i>sewe-</i> 'black'

c. PHYSICAL PROPERTY

<i>ba-ne-</i> 'become very cold'	<i>ba-</i> 'cold'
<i>iwi-na-</i> 'become very smelly'	<i>iwi-</i> 'smelly'
<i>jaku-na-</i> 'become very sour'	<i>jaku-</i> 'sour'
<i>kasa-na-</i> 'become very strong'	<i>kasa-</i> 'strong'
<i>sasa-na-</i> 'become very fermented'	<i>sasa-</i> 'fermented'
<i>uke-na-</i> 'become very hot'	<i>uke-</i> 'hot'

⁹ This term also means 'be at dusk'.

d. QUANTIFICATION

uma-na- ‘become very numerous’ *uma-* ‘many’

The *-na* verbalizer is illustrated in (5.23).

- (5.23) a. [[*Nei ebari=ra*]_A *a-chine=tibu*] *nutsas*
rain big=ERG affect-REC.PAST=REASON grass

sawa-na-ya.
green/blue-VBLZ-IMPFV
‘There has been a very heavy rain so the grass has become very green.’ n5.0650
- b. *Amena* [*tu-ke*]_S *uke-na-wa=ju*] *amena* *isha-ya*
BM 3SG-FM hot-VBLZ-PERF=DS BM put.in-IMPFV

amena.
BM
‘Once it (the water) is hot, they (our Cavineña grandmothers) would pour it (the grounded corn, in the hot water, in order to prepare corn beer).’ ci086
- c. [*Dii=ra*]_A *karu-ya=ju*] = \emptyset _S *pude-na-ya.*
mosquito=ERG bite-IMPFV=DS (=1SG-FM) red/brown-VBLZ-IMPFV
‘When a mosquito bites me, I become very red/brown right away.’
tb141
- d. *Amena* *uma-na-kware* *i-ke*_S.
BM many-VBLZ-REM.PAST 1SG-FM
‘I became very numerous (I had many children and grandchildren).’ nk096

See also *ari-na-* ‘(the mosquitoes) were becoming bigger and bigger’ in (T2.7).

The two intransitive inflecting verbs that take *-ne* instead of *-na* are illustrated in (5.24).

- (5.24) a. *Nawi-tsu* =*ekwana*_S *ji-da* *ba-ne-ya.*
bathe-SS =1PL good-ASF cold-VBLZ-IMPFV
‘When we bathe, we refresh ourselves (very well).’ di2072

- b. *Amena* =*tu*_S *arusu*_S *jawa-ne-chine*.
 BM =3SG(-FM) rice yellow-VBLZ-REC.PAST

‘The rice ripened (and it is time to harvest it).’ rz046

5.2.3.3. Derivation of intransitive verbs from adjectives with *-tsu*

A third way to derive intransitive inflecting verbs from *da*-adjectives is with the suffix *-tsu* derives intransitive inflecting verbs from *da*-adjectives. I have rather few examples of this suffix in the available data. The derived verb appears to denote the action of beginning to acquire the property denoted by the adjective. The exhaustive list of verbs derived with *-tsu* is given in (5.25).

(5.25) a. COLOR

<i>jawa-tsu-</i> ‘begin to become yellow’	<i>jawa-</i> ‘yellow’
<i>paja-tsu-</i> ‘begin to become white’	<i>paja-</i> ‘white’
<i>pasa-tsu-</i> ‘begin to become grey’	<i>pasa-</i> ‘grey’
<i>pude-tsu-</i> ‘begin to become red/brown’	<i>pude-</i> ‘red/brown’

b. PHYSICAL PROPERTY

<i>paji-tsu-</i> ‘begin to become hard’	<i>paji-</i> ‘hard’
<i>temu-tsu-</i> ‘begin to become stiff’	<i>temu-</i> ‘stiff’
<i>uke-tsu-</i> ‘begin to become hot’	<i>uke-</i> ‘hot’
<i>tseri-tsu-</i> ‘begin to become fat’	<i>tseri-</i> ‘fat’

When trying to obtain more examples of *-tsu* during elicitation, the suffix was refused by Emerenciano Sepa on the following verbs; the exact reasons for the ungrammaticality of these forms are not known.

- (5.26) **uma-tsu-* (*uma-* ‘many’)
 **baru-tsu-* (*baru-* ‘tall, high’)
 **kasa-tsu-* (*kasa-* ‘strong’)
 **ba-tsu-* (*ba-* ‘cold’)

The verbalized for *paji-tsu-* ‘begin to become hard’ is illustrated below.

- (5.27) *Amena* =*tu*_S *paji-tsu-ya*
 BM =3SG(-FM) hard-VBLZ-IMPFV
 [*uyuyuyu e-diji=jucc=ke*]_S.
 mud NPF-path=LOC=LIG
 ‘The mud in the path is already starting to dry (lit. become hard).’
 n5.0840

5.2.3.4. Derivation of intransitive verbs from adjectives with *-ta*

A fourth way to derive intransitive inflecting verbs from *da*-adjectives is with the suffix *-ta*.¹⁰ I have only three examples of this suffixes, listed in (5.28). Apparently, the derived verb denotes the action of acquiring the property expressed by the adjective to an extreme degree.

- (5.28) *shabi-ta-* *shabi-*
 ‘become extremely tender’ ‘tender’

 paja-ta- *paja-*
 ‘become extremely white’ ‘white’

 tsunu-ta- *tsunu-*
 ‘become extremely long (time)’ ‘long (time)’

A possible addition to the list would be the intransitive verb *ushuta-* ‘deflate’, that possibly comes from the independent adjective *ushuri* ‘skinny’ minus the syllable *ri*.

¹⁰ Note that this suffix is homophonous with and perhaps related to the noun verbalizer *-ta* (§5.2.2.3) and/or the *-ta* allomorph of the passive marker (§5.1.3 and §8.1).

Note that the suffix *-ta* also derives a few inflecting verbs from nouns; see §5.2.2.

5.2.3.5. Derivation of transitive verbs from adjectives with *-tura* and *-ne*

Transitive inflecting verbs can first be derived from adjectives by way of the suffix *-tura*. This suffix applies essentially to *da*-adjectives, like the adjective verbalizing suffixes discussed above. Yet it is also found with two independent adjectives: *yuama* ‘bad’ and *pureama* ‘happy’. The 21 forms found in the data are listed in (5.29), sorted by semantic type.

(5.29) a. DIMENSION

ari-tura-
‘make O big’

ari-
‘big’

de-tura-
‘deepen O’

de-
‘deep’

b. COLOR

apu-tura-
‘darken O’

apu-
‘dark’

c. VALUE

yuama-tura-
‘damage O’

yuama
‘bad’

d. PHYSICAL PROPERTY

asika-tura-
‘dirty O’

asika-
‘dirty’

bikwe-tura-
‘make O heavy’

bikwe-
‘heavy’

jemi-tura-
‘make O powdery’

jemi-
‘powder-like’

kasa-tura-
'strengthen O' *kasa-*
'strong'

kweru-tura-
'sharpen O' *kweru-*
'sharp'

paji-tura-
'make O hard' *paji-*
'hard'

shabi-tura-
'smoothen O' *shabi-*
'tender'

sikaka-tura-
'make O noisy' *sikaka-*
'noisy'

uu-tura-
'give O a good taste' *uu-*
'tasty'

weka-tura-
'illuminate O' *weka-*
'bright'

e. HUMAN PROPENSITY

baji-tura-
'scare O' *baji-*
'scared'

bisu-tura-
'make O ashamed' *bisu-*
'ashamed'

mu-tura-
'render O dangerous' *mu-*
'scary'

nereka-tura-
'make O suffer' *nereka-*
'miserable'

nime-tura-
'make O wild' *nime-*
'wild, untamed'

pureama-tura-
'make O happy' *pureama*
'happy'

f. DIFFICULTY

masa-tura-
‘annoy O’

masa-
‘hard’

The verbs *ari-tura-* ‘make O big’ and *pureama-tura-* ‘make O happy’ are illustrated in (5.30).

- (5.30) a. *Nei=ra_A =tu_O ari-tura-ya kweri_O.*
rain=ERG =3SG(-FM) big-VBLZ-IMPV river

‘The rain caused the river to become bigger.’ di0132

- b. *Pureama-tura-wa =mi-ra_A =∅_O, E-bakwa!*
happy-VBLZ-PERF =2SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) 1-child

‘You made me happy, Son!’ di2294

Two transitive inflecting verbs were found derived with a suffix *-ne*: *ashasha-ne-* ‘make O short’, from the independent adjective *ashasha/achacha* ‘small’, and *chacha-ne-* ‘make O alive, cure O’, from independent adjective *chacha* ‘alive’.¹¹

5.2.4. Verbalization by reduplication

About 30 intransitive and a few transitive inflecting verbs have the last CV syllable reduplicated.¹² A few of these verbs are derived from other word classes (verbs, *da*-adjectives, or nouns). However, the vast majority of these verbs are inherently reduplicated: the base from which the final syllable is repeated does not exist as an independent form in the language.

Cases where a verbal base is recoverable include *rara-ra-* ‘dry (slowly?)’ (intransitive verb *rara-* ‘dry’), *katsa-tsa-* ‘drizzle’ (transitive verb *katsa-* ‘beat O’) and *kwina-na-* ‘go out, be born’ (ambitransitive verb *kwina-* ‘give birth, give birth to O’).

Two *da*-adjective bases are identifiable in *apu-pu-* ‘darken’, from *da*-adjective *apu-* ‘dark’, and *jawa-wa-* ‘ripen’, from *da*-adjective *jawa-* ‘yellow’. Note that both forms *apu* and *jawa* also exist as verbs, but with the causative meanings ‘cover’ and ‘paint yellow’, respectively.

¹¹ Note that *-ne* is also an allomorph of the adjective verbalizer *-na/-ne* (§5.2.3.2).

¹² Note that this only happens with CV syllables, never with V syllables.

Finally, a nominal base is found within *weka-ka-* ‘be at dawn’ (independent noun *weka* ‘light’).

For the remaining (about 20) verbs with final syllable reduplication, there is no identifiable source. They are given in (5.31), with intransitive verbs in (a.), and transitive verbs in (b.):¹³

(5.31)	a.	<i>barere-</i>	‘feel dizzy’	<i>petutu-</i>	‘boil’
		<i>bukuku-</i>	‘move’	<i>piriri-</i>	‘shiver’
		<i>burara-</i>	‘germinate’	<i>rururu-</i>	‘flow’
		<i>iserere-</i>	‘stretch’	<i>sukururu-</i>	‘drip’
		<i>manunu-</i>	‘shriveled, dry up’	<i>tadada-</i>	‘shiver’
		<i>muriri-</i>	‘bubble’	<i>tarara-</i>	‘snore’
		<i>muwewe-</i>	‘gush, spurt’	<i>tsajaja-</i>	‘run’
		<i>pakaka- /</i>	‘fall’	<i>warere-</i>	‘turn’
		<i>pajaka-</i>		<i>wenana-</i>	‘become nervous’
		<i>patata-</i>	‘drip’	<i>weruru-</i>	‘sweat’
		<i>pejiji-</i>	‘lean’		
	b.	<i>bajeje-</i>	‘prepare O’	<i>mukaka-</i>	‘cover eyes of O’
		<i>bajiji-¹⁴</i>	‘arrange O’	<i>piruru- /</i>	‘roll O up’
		<i>iruru-</i>	‘thresh O’	<i>piriri-</i>	
		<i>itata-</i>	‘shake O’	<i>pukaka-</i>	‘make O round’
		<i>jibururu-</i>	‘wash face of O’	<i>sirara-</i>	‘undo O’
		<i>makaka-</i>	‘hug O’		

Note how many of the previous forms encode events that have a sonorous component (*patata-* ‘drip’, *tarara-* ‘snore’, *petutu-* ‘boil’, etc.). I am tempted to suggest that final syllable reduplication is primarily a matter of onomatopoeia, in which new verbs are created from sounds that are somehow associated with the entity or the event depicted.

Similarly to verbs with final syllable reduplication, there are verbs with a fully reduplicated shape but for which no independent base can be identified. As we will see, verbal full reduplication also exists as a productive process (§5.5 and §8.3.1). The full list of these inherently fully reduplicated verbs attested in the data is given in (5.32), in which the a-examples are intransitive, and the b-examples transitive).

¹³ A few more verbs have been found with the final syllable reduplicated but with a meaning still unclear, such as *kanana-* ‘cry (?)’, *pisisi-* ‘drip from a small hole (?)’ and *putsutsu-* ‘lose the sensation (?)’.

¹⁴ Only two examples are available of *bajiji-*. This word is possibly a variant of *bajeje-* ‘prepare O’.

- (5.32) a. *jikajika-* ‘scratch head’
juju- ‘burn’
kanakana- ‘pulsate’
rikwirikwi- ‘palpitate’
riri- ‘rot’
jiji- ‘burn (e.g. spicy food)’
rudurudu- ‘limp’
- b. *jaja-* ‘sieve O’
kaka- ‘tie O’
papa- / *pepa-* ‘cover O (e.g., with soil)’
tata- ‘nail O’
susu- ‘suck O’

Again, it is quite possible that (at least) some of these verbs have an onomatopoeic origin. Note that all these verbs, except perhaps *riri-* ‘rot’ and *jiji-* ‘burn (e.g. spicy food)’, denote actions with sonorous or rhythmic components. We will also see nouns with a partially or fully reduplicated shape, again likely to have had an onomatopoeic origin (§12.7.7).

5.2.5. Noun incorporation

A number of transitive inflecting verbs are derived by incorporating a noun within an existing transitive inflecting verb. The full list of attested forms is given in (5.33), with nouns and verbs which occur more than once in boldface.

- (5.33)
- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>aa-tubu-</i>
‘cut branch of O’ | <i>-aa</i>
‘branch’ | <i>tubu-</i>
‘cut O’ |
| <i>akwa-tsuru-</i>
‘face O’ | <i>-akwa</i>
‘chest’ | <i>tsuru-</i>
‘meet O’ |
| <i>atuka-puri-</i>
‘poke O in the eye’ | <i>-atuka</i>
‘eye’ | <i>puri-</i>
‘poke O’ |
| <i>bawa-paja-</i>
‘slap face of O’ | <i>-bawa</i>
‘face’ | <i>paja-</i>
‘palm O’ |
| <i>bawi-tya-</i>
‘teach O to O’ | <i>bawe</i>
‘custom’ | <i>tya-</i>
‘give O to O’ |

<i>bi-tubu-</i> 'cut arm of O'	-bi 'arm'	tubu- 'cut O'
<i>ijaka-baka-</i> 'listen carefully to O'	<i>ijaka</i> 'ear'	<i>baka-</i> 'hear O'
<i>kasa-seka-</i> 'weaken O'	<i>kasa</i> 'strength'	<i>seka-</i> 'take O away from O'
<i>kas-tirya-</i> 'tire O out'	<i>kasa</i> 'strength'	<i>tirya-</i> 'finish O'
<i>me-deke-</i> 'help O with arm'	-metuku 'hand'	<i>deke-</i> 'fence O'
<i>metuku-karu-</i> 'bite hand of O'	-metuku 'hand'	karu- 'bite O'
<i>metuku-take-</i> 'hack finger of O'	-metuku 'hand'	<i>take-</i> 'hack O'
<i>metuku-tubu-</i> 'cut finger of O'	-metuku 'hand'	tubu- 'cut O'
<i>nime-warya-</i> 'discourage O'	<i>-nime</i> 'thought'	<i>warya-</i> 'make O turn'
<i>piti-karu-</i> 'bite the neck of O'	-piti 'neck'	karu- 'bite O'
<i>piti-tubu-</i> 'cut neck of O'	-piti 'neck'	tubu- 'cut O'
<i>rumu-pudi-</i> 'pound throat of O'	-rumu 'throat'	<i>pudi-</i> 'pound O'
<i>rumu-tubu-</i> 'cut throat of O'	-rumu 'throat'	tubu- 'cut O'
<i>tsaka-tubu-</i> 'cut leg of O'	-tsaka 'leg'	tubu- 'cut O'

<i>tsaru-mutsu-</i> 'pull hair of O'	<i>-tsaru</i> 'hair'	<i>mutsu-</i> 'pull O'
<i>tsuje-baka-</i> 'charge O to O'	<i>-tsuje</i> 'price'	<i>baka-</i> 'ask O for O'
<i>tsuje-tya-</i> 'pay O to O'	<i>-tsuje</i> 'price'	<i>tya-</i> 'give O to O'
<i>wimumu-risi-</i> 'tie snout of O'	<i>-wimumu</i> 'snout'	<i>risi-</i> 'tie O'
<i>wi-risi-</i> 'tie neck of O'	<i>-wi</i> 'beak'	<i>risi-</i> 'tie O'
<i>wi-tiki-</i> 'punch nose of O'	<i>-wi</i> 'beak'	<i>tiki-</i> 'punch O'
<i>witu-kweru-</i> 'make tip of O pointed'	<i>-witu</i> 'tip'	<i>kweru-</i> 'make O pointed'

The morpho-syntactic characteristics of noun incorporation in Cavineña are as follows:¹⁵

1 — The incorporated noun is in most cases an *e*-noun (i.e., a noun which requires an *e*- prefix formative and which refer to the part of an entity; see §12.3.1), except for *ijaka* 'ear', *kasa* 'strength' and *bawe* 'custom' (which are independent nouns).

2 — The valency of the derived verb is not affected by the process of noun incorporation, with the possible exception of transitive *kasa-seka-* 'weaken O', based on ditransitive *seka-* 'take O away from O'. In (5.34), for example, volunteered by Alfredo Tavo, there are two core arguments: an ergative subject and an absolutive — unmarked — object. This makes clear that the derived verb *metuku-tubu-* 'cut O' is transitive, exactly like the non-derived verb *tubu-* 'cut O'.

(5.34) *Santiago=ra_A =tu_O e-ju=ke_O*
Santiago=ERG =3SG(-FM) 3-younger.brother=3

¹⁵ Note that these characteristics would make Cavineña noun incorporation fall under Mithun's (1984: 856) type II noun incorporation.

metuku-tubu-wa.
hand-cut-PERF

‘Santiago has cut the finger (lit. hand) of his younger brother.’
n5.0299

Similarly in (5.35), also volunteered by Alfredo Tavo, the derived verb *aa-tubu-* ‘cut branch of O’ appears with an overt absolutive — unmarked — object, showing that the incorporation of *-aa* ‘branch’ has not affected its transitive status.

(5.35) *Aa-tubu-kwe* [tume_{CC}=ke akwi]_{O!}
branch-cut-IMP.SG there=LIG tree
‘Cut the branch of that tree!’ n5.0304

3 — The incorporated noun occurs immediately before the root; nothing can occur in between. In (5.36), for example, which was said to me by Elio Tavo at the beginning of a working session, *-akwa* ‘chest’ occurs between the *ka-* part of the reflexive circumfix *k(a)-...-ti* (i.e., slot C) and the verb root (slot D).

(5.36) *Ne^A-ka^C-akwa-tsuru^D-ti^G!*
HORT.DL-REF-chest-meet-REF
‘Let’s (dl) sit facing each other (lit. let’s meet each other’s chests)
(rather than sitting on the same side of the table).’ n4.0522

4 — The *e-* prefix of a compounded *e*-noun is obligatorily omitted (as expected when *e*-nouns enter derivational processes; see §12.3.1).

I have not treated noun incorporation as part of the productive verbal morphology (and have not assigned a slot to it in the predicate structure) for the following reasons:

1 — Inflecting verbs derived by noun incorporation are very scarcely used in texts. The majority of the forms given in (5.33) were obtained through elicitation;

2 — The forms of a noun used independently and the same noun used incorporated are different in a number of cases. Examples are *bawe* ‘custom’ incorporated as *bawi*; *kasa* ‘strength’ incorporated as *kasa* in *kasa-seka-* ‘weaken’, but *kas* in *kas-tiry-* ‘tire’; and *-metuku* ‘hand’ incorporated as *metuku* in some verbs (e.g., *metuku-tubu-* ‘cut finger’), but *me* in others (e.g., *me-deke-* ‘help O with arm’);

3 — The meaning of the derived verb is not always fully transparent. Examples are *ijaka-baka-* ‘listen carefully to O’ (from *ijaka* ‘ear’ and *baka-* ‘hear O’), *akwa-tsuru-* ‘face O’ (from *-akwa* ‘chest’ and *tsuru-* ‘meet’), *bawi-tya-* ‘teach’ (from *bawe* ‘custom’ and *tya-* ‘give’) and *tsuje-baka-* ‘charge’ (from *-tsuje* ‘price’ and *baka-* ‘ask’).

It is quite likely that verbs derived by noun incorporation are remnants of a system that used to be more productive in the past. In keeping with Mithun’s (1984) description of type II incorporation in various languages, the function of noun incorporation in Cavineña was probably to promote highly affected ‘possessors’ from oblique genitive function — slot C of the NP structure; see §12.1 and §13.4 — to core O function, and demote the ‘possessed’ part from core O function to being part of the predicate. The way present day Cavineña speakers promote a ‘possessor’ from a genitive phrase in slot C to core O function is by placing the ‘possessor’ in an oblique locative phrase (§14.2.3). Note that this could be a calque from Spanish. The phenomenon is illustrated in (5.37).

- (5.37) a. [*Y-atsanaka*_O *kisha-tsu*] =*tu-ra*_A = \emptyset _O
 NPF-mouth open-SS =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM)

karu-jeri-kware *e-wachi=ju.*
 bite-ALMOST-REM.PAST NPF-foot=LOC

‘He (a caiman) opened its mouth and almost bit my foot (lit. almost bit me on the foot).’ lg013

- b. *Ji-da=kwita* =*tu*_A *awada*_O
 good-ASF=RESTR =3SG(-ERG) tapir
 [*e-tima* *tsau=ju*] *tekwa-kware.*
 NPF-lower.back bone=LOC shoot-REM.PAST

‘He shot the tapir right on the lower back bone.’ ma021

At least two intransitive verbs appear to have undergone noun incorporation and would therefore qualify as Mithun’s (1984) type I incorporation:

— The intransitive verb *kas-tere-* ‘become tired’ is clearly composed of the independent noun *kasa* ‘strength’ (reduced to *kas*) and the intransitive verb *tere-* ‘finish’. (Note that *kasa* is also found incorporated within the transitive verb *tirya-* ‘finish O’ where it is also reduced to *kas*; see (5.33).)

— The transitive verb *ena-pa-* ‘cry for O’ is quite possibly composed of the *e*-noun *-na*, with its *e-* prefix retained, and the intransitive verb *pa-* ‘cry’.

5.2.6. Formatives

There is a formative suffix *-a* which can be identified as a causative derivational morpheme. This suffix is synchronically non-productive: it is only found in a handful of transitive verbs which end with the vowel *a*. I will refer to these as *a*-verbs.

The five *a*-verbs given in (5.38) below are derived from intransitive verbs.

(5.38)	<i>butya-</i>	‘lower’	<i>bute-</i>	‘go down’
	<i>nitya-</i>	‘make stand, stop, leave’	<i>neti-</i>	‘stand’
	<i>nudya-</i>	‘make enter’	<i>nubi-</i>	‘enter’
	<i>tiry-</i>	‘finish’	<i>tere-</i>	‘finish’
	<i>peya-</i>	‘make cry’	<i>pa-</i>	‘cry’

Note that the derivation is quite irregular, in part reflecting the fact that it is no longer a productive process. In the first four pairs, the addition of the suffix *-a* triggers palatalization + desyllabification of a preceding front vowel (*e* or *i*). We also have unpredictable vowel modification (e.g., *nitya* ~ *neti*) and consonant modification (e.g., *nudya/nubi*). As for the fifth pair, *peya* ~ *pa*, it is not clear what process turned the second form into the first one.

One *a*-verb, *muya-* ‘scare away’, appears derived from another transitive verb, *mui-* ‘respect, fear’.

The three *a*-verbs listed in (5.39) appear to be derived from nouns:

(5.39)	<i>miwa-</i>	‘feed’	<i>emiwe</i> ¹⁶	‘manioc flour’ (independent noun)
	<i>uda-</i>	‘light up’	<i>ude</i>	‘light’ (independent noun)
	<i>wanya-</i>	‘marry’	<i>wane</i>	‘wife’ (kinship noun)

For a few more *a*-verbs, the original base is not clearly recoverable but appears as a formative in other words which are semantically close. This is the case for *warya-* ‘make turn’, where the form *ware* occurs as the base of the final syllable reduplicated verb *warere-* ‘turn’, and for *karya-* ‘hook’ where the form *kare* is found within the verb *kareta-* ‘run aground’.

Many other transitive verbs end with an *a* vowel (*adya* ‘contaminate’, *mutya* ‘dip in water’, etc.). However, it is not clear to what extent this *a* is the causative suffix or not. More work is needed, including comparison with other Tacanan languages.

¹⁶ Note that the word initial *e* vowel found in the independent noun *emiwe* is not found in the putative derived verb *miwa-*. If the proposed derivation is correct, this could indicate that *emiwe* was in the past an *e*-noun with a segmentable *e-* prefix.

The transitive verbs *buiji-* ‘swallow O’ and *sijji-* ‘absorb O’ are most likely related to *iji-* ‘drink O’ but the formatives *bu* and *si* do not occur as independent morphemes in Cavineña.¹⁷

The transitive verb *isaani-* ‘ride O, sit on top of O (e.g., horse)’ seems to be related to the verb *ani-* ‘sit’ (or its corresponding postural suffix *-ani* ‘SIT’; §9.1.1) but the formative *isa* does not occur as an independent morpheme in the language.

A formative prefix *i-* is found in (at least) the three transitive verbs listed in (5.40); the meaning of this prefix is unknown.

(5.40)	<i>i-be-</i>	‘keep O’	<i>be-</i>	‘bring O’
	<i>i-kwaya-</i>	‘release O’	<i>kwa-</i>	‘go’
	<i>i-tinu-</i>	‘stretch/tighten O’	<i>tinu-</i>	‘pull O’

The intransitive verb *amiku-* ‘bleed’ is clearly related to the independent noun *ami* ‘blood’; the meaning of the formative *ku* is unknown.

5.3. Non-inflecting verbs

Like inflecting verbs, non-inflecting verbs also head the predicate (slot D). Unlike inflecting verbs, however, they cannot take any verbal affixes. These are carried by an auxiliary, which occurs in slot E. Intransitive non-inflecting verbs take the intransitive auxiliary *ju-* ‘be’, while transitive non-inflecting verbs take the transitive auxiliary *a-* ‘affect’.

This class is less well defined than the inflecting one. The boundary between non-inflecting verbs and independent adjectives is not clear cut. The intransitive auxiliary and the copula verb are homophonous (*ju-* ‘be’). An intransitive non-inflecting verb is not significantly different from an adjective as the copula complement of the copula verb.

To date, I have found about 100 non-inflecting verbs. Unlike inflecting verbs, non-inflecting verbs are an open class. The class of non-inflecting verbs is probably growing very fast as new items from Spanish keep entering the language.

5.3.1. Basic non-inflecting verbs

There are forms for which I cannot find an origin and which I can call basic non-inflecting verbs. They are listed exhaustively in (5.41).

¹⁷ Note that *bu* is found within *bute-* ‘go down’.

(5.41) a. Basic intransitive non-inflecting verbs

<i>bewai ju-</i>	‘be cursed’
<i>jakacha ju-</i>	‘be absent’
<i>katewa ju-</i>	‘hide’
<i>kuji ju-</i>	‘be lost’
<i>tarepe ju-</i>	‘visit’
<i>yuneri ju-</i>	‘be right’

b. Basic transitive non-inflecting verbs

<i>endya a-</i>	‘say yes to O’
<i>eshu a-</i>	‘cut hair of O’
<i>ijawe a-</i>	‘play with O’
<i>pusha a-</i>	‘lie to O’

The great majority of non-inflecting verbs, however, appear to have come from somewhere else, with different degrees of transparency. These can be called non-basic non-inflecting verbs. Attested origins are borrowing (§5.3.2), direct conversion from another word class (especially nouns; §5.3.3), inherent reduplication (§5.3.4) or the lexicalization of an auxiliary-triggering modifier (slots B, I and J; §5.3.5).

5.3.2. Borrowings

A very important number of non-inflecting verbs have their origin in recent loans from Spanish, and most are not integrated into the Cavineña phonological system. Note that lexical loans, irrespective of what their word class is in the source language, cannot take any verbal suffixes.

The full list of non-inflecting verbs which have been identified as having a lexical loan origin are given in (5.42) (intransitive) and (5.43) (transitive), with an indication of the word class, the form and the meaning of the borrowed term in the source language. Nouns in (a.) and verbs in (b.)

(5.42) a. Intransitive non-inflecting verbs borrowed from nouns

<i>biaje ju-</i>	(Span. N <i>viaje</i> ‘trip’)
‘travel’	

<i>defile ju-</i> 'to march'	(Span. N <i>defile</i> 'march, parade')
<i>despedida ju-</i> 'say goodbye'	(Span. N <i>despedida</i> 'goodbye')
<i>escuela ju-</i> 'teach'	(Span. N <i>escuela</i> 'school')
<i>kultu ju-</i> 'have a service'	(Span. N <i>culto</i> '(church) service')
<i>lucha ju-</i> 'fight'	(Span. N/V <i>lucha/luchar</i> 'fight, to fight')
<i>reunion ju-</i> 'have a meeting'	(Span. N <i>reunion</i> 'meeting')
<i>tasi ju-</i> 'drive a taxi'	(Span. N <i>taxi</i> 'taxi')
b. Intransitive non-inflecting verbs borrowed from verbs	
<i>aluja ju-</i> 'put oneself up'	(Span. V <i>alojar</i> 'to put O up')
<i>aterisa ju-</i> 'land'	(Span. V <i>aterisar</i> 'to land')
<i>gana ju-</i> 'receive (money)'	(Span. V <i>ganar</i> 'to receive (money)')
<i>pasa ju-</i> 'happen'	(Span. V <i>pasar</i> 'to happen')
<i>salva ju-</i> 'save oneself'	(Span. V <i>salvar</i> O 'to save O, to rescue O')

(5.43) a. Transitive non-inflecting verbs borrowed from nouns

caso a- (Span. N *caso* ‘case’)
‘take O into account’

engaño a- (Span. N *engaño* ‘deceit’)
‘deceive O’

jucha a- (Aymara/Quechua N *jucha* ‘sin’)
‘have sex with O’

yusurupai a- (Span. *Dios se lo pague!* ‘thanks’)¹⁸
‘thank O’

b. Transitive non-inflecting verbs borrowed from verbs

acepta a- (Span. V *aceptar* ‘to accept O’)
‘accept O’

aprovecha a- (Span. V *aprovechar* ‘to take advantage of O’)
‘take advantage of O’

ayuda a- (Span. N/V *ayuda/ayudar* ‘to help, to help O’)
‘help O’

contagia a- (Span. V *contagiar* ‘to infect O’)
‘infect O’

convida a- (Span. V *convidar* ‘to invite O politely’)
‘invite O politely’

ordeña a- (Span. V *ordeñar* ‘to milk O’)
‘to milk O’

prepara a- (Span. V *preparar* ‘to prepare O’)
‘prepare O’

presta a- (Span. V *prestar* ‘to lend O to O’)
‘lend O to O’

¹⁸ Literally ‘God may pay you for it!’.

recibi a- (Span. V *recibir* ‘to receive O’)
‘receive O’

sigue a- (Span. V *seguir* ‘to follow O’)
‘continue doing O’

The intransitive non-inflecting verb *aterisa ju-* ‘land’ and the transitive non-inflecting verb *ordeña a-* are illustrated in (5.44).

- (5.44) a. *Lanueve* =*tu*_S *avioneta*_S *re-wa*
at.nine.o’clock =3SG(-FM) plane here-LOC

aterisa ju-*ya.*
land be-IMPFV

‘At nine o’clock the plane will land here.’ ri054

- b. *E-ra*_A ***ordeña*** *a-kware* *amena* *waka*_O.
1SG-ERG milk affect-REM.PAST BM cow

‘I milked the cow.’ vc027

Typically, for a given concept, if a noun is available in the source language (essentially Spanish), then the noun is borrowed, even if there is also a corresponding verb. For the concept ‘march’, for example, Spanish has both the noun *desfile* and the verb *desfilear*. But as we can see, it is the noun *desfile* that is borrowed. Note that there are exceptions, as with *aterisa ju-* ‘land’, from the verb *aterrizar* and not from the noun *aterrizaje*, or *prepara a-* ‘prepare O’, from the verb *preparar* and not from the noun *preparación*; the reason why the verb was chosen in these cases rather than the noun might have to do with word length, or word internal complexity; this needs more study. If there is only a verb for a concept, then the verb is borrowed. This is the case of *ordeña a-* ‘milk O’ (from *ordeñar*). Normally, the infinitive form of the verb is taken and the final *r* is dropped, in order to conform to Cavineña (C)V syllable structure. This can be seen in *defila ju-*, *aterisa ju-* and *prepara a-*. But again, there are exceptions, as with *sigue a-* ‘continue doing O’, where it is the third person form in the present tense, or the imperative form, that has been borrowed.

5.3.3. Direct conversion

A number of non-inflecting verbs have a corresponding noun. These are listed exhaustively in (5.45) (intransitive) and (5.46) (transitive). The list also shows the corresponding nouns. Note the interrogative verb *a(i) ju-* ‘do what’.

(5.45) a. Intransitive non-inflecting verbs with a corresponding *e*-noun

<i>ekari ju-</i> 'make a track'	<i>-kari</i> 'track'
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<i>etsa ju-</i> 'blossom'	<i>-tsa</i> 'flower'
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b. Intransitive non-inflecting verbs with a corresponding independent noun

<i>a(i) ju-</i> 'do what'	<i>ai</i> 'INT'
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<i>atsa ju-</i> 'fish with barbasco'	<i>atsa</i> 'barbasco (poison)'
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<i>chine ju-</i> 'have a fiesta'	<i>chine</i> 'fiesta'
-------------------------------------	--------------------------

<i>emiwe ju-</i> 'make manioc flour'	<i>emiwe</i> 'manioc flour'
---	--------------------------------

<i>jae ju-</i> 'fish with arrow'	<i>jae</i> 'fish'
-------------------------------------	----------------------

<i>kwati ju-</i> 'fetch firewood'	<i>kwati</i> 'firewood'
--------------------------------------	----------------------------

<i>tee ju-</i> 'make a garden'	<i>tee</i> 'garden'
-----------------------------------	------------------------

<i>ujeje ju-</i> 'be sick'	<i>ujeje</i> 'disease'
-------------------------------	---------------------------

<i>bawe ju-</i> 'know E', ¹⁹	<i>bawe</i> 'custom'
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¹⁹ *Bawe ju-* and *Baekwa ju-* are extended intransitive verbs, with two core arguments S and E (see §5.3.6).

<i>baekwa ju-</i> 'not know E'	<i>bawe</i> 'custom'
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- (5.46) a. Transitive non-inflecting verb with a corresponding *e*-noun

<i>yana</i> 'obey O'	<i>-ana</i> 'tongue, language'
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- b. Transitive non-inflecting verbs with a corresponding *e*-noun

<i>kwatsabiji a-</i> 'tell O a story, chat with O'	<i>kwatsabiji</i> 'story'
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<i>earaki a-</i> 'to cook O'	<i>earaki</i> 'food'
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<i>emiwaki a-</i> 'put O as a bait'	<i>emiwaki</i> 'bait'
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In (5.47), I illustrate the intransitive non-inflecting verbs *etsa ju-* 'blossom' (in a.), *jae ju-* 'fish with arrow' (in b.), *a(i) ju-* 'do what' (in c.), and *ujeje ju-* 'be sick' (in d.).

- (5.47) a. *Bakwakwis* =*tu*_S *etsa* *ju-ya*
cherepequi.tree =3SG(-FM) blossom be-IMPV

[*nei mara=ju*].
rain time=LOC

'The cherepequi tree blossoms during the rainy season.' di0184

- b. *Tume ekanas* [*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *wekaka*] *jae*
then 3PL there=LIG day fish.with.arrow

ju-kware.
be-REM.PAST

'That day they (went) fishing.' cc005

- c. *Ai* =*mi*_S *ju-ya* *Kana?*
do.what =2SG(-FM) be-IMPV Kana

'(When the Cavineña saw Kana, the traitor, back near the Cavineña village, he asked him:) "What are you doing, Kana?"' hm196

- d. [*E-kwe tata-chi=ekatse*]_S =*tu*_S *ujeje=dya*
 1SG-GEN father-AFFTN=DL =3SG(-FM) be.sick=FOC
ju-kware.
 be-REM.PAST

‘My parents (lit. my daddy and associated person) were sick.’
 s1004

In (5.48), I illustrate the transitive non-inflecting verbs *emiwaki a-* ‘put O as a bait’ (in a.) and *kwatsabiji a-* ‘tell story to O’ (in b.).

- (5.48) a. *Tu=dya*_O =*datse* =*tuna*_A *emiwaki* *a-ya.*
 3SG(-FM)=FOC =FRUST =3PL(-ERG) put.as.bait affect-IMPV

‘They were putting him as a bait, but that did not work.’ hm134

- b. *E-ra*_A =*mi*_O *kwatsabiji* *a-ya* *Antuku...*
 1SG-ERG =2SG(-FM) tell.story.to affect-IMPV Antuku

‘I will tell you a story, Antuku...’ av001

A few non-inflecting verbs have a corresponding inflecting verb. This is the case with *tawi ju-* ‘dream’ (*tawi-* ‘sleep’), illustrated in (5.49a), *tsuru ju-* ‘meet (intransitive with reciprocal meaning)’ (*tsuru-* ‘meet O’), illustrated in (5.49b), *mere ju-* ‘work’ (*mere-* ‘work for O, serve O’) and *babi ju-* ‘hunt’ (*babi-* ‘hunt O’).

- (5.49) a. *Tawi* =*mi*_S *ju-ya?*
 dream =2SG(-FM) be-IMPV

“‘Are you having a dream?’” (the man asked his nephew, who was doing weird noises while sleeping).’ hm056

- b. *Tuekedy*_A *ekana*_S *tsuru* *ju-ya.*
 then 3PL meet be-IMPV

‘Then they would meet.’ ct033

The non-inflecting verb *ejebucha a-* ‘harm O’ is likely to be related to the interrogative word *ejebucha* ‘INT:SIMLR’ (§4.5.4).

The non-inflecting verb *jechiu ju-* ‘sneeze’ is likely to have an onomatopoeic origin.

5.3.4. Inherent reduplication

A number of non-inflecting verbs have a fully reduplicated shape out of which no independent base can be identified. (As we will see, there is also in Cavineña a productive process of full reduplication deriving non-inflecting verbs; cf. §5.5 and §10.6.) These inherently reduplicated forms are again likely to have an onomatopoeic origin: note how all the forms listed in (5.50) denote reiterated actions, involve rhythm, and often have sonorous components.

(5.50) a. Inherently reduplicated intransitive non-inflecting verbs

<i>pedepede ju-</i>	‘twitch’
<i>pejupeju ju-/taataa ju-</i>	‘cut with axe’
<i>ubuubu ju-</i>	‘forage’
<i>tikiritikiri ju-</i>	‘gallop’
<i>ujuuju ju-</i>	‘cough’

b. Inherently reduplicated transitive non-inflecting verbs

<i>shukwishukwi a-</i>	‘giggle at O’
<i>bidubidu a-</i>	‘wag O (e.g., tail)’

The inherently reduplicated transitive non-inflecting verb *bibubibu a-* ‘wag O (e.g., tail)’ is illustrated in (5.5b) (repeated).

- (5.5b) *Iwa*_O =*tuna*_A ***bidubidu*** *a-ya...*
 tail =3PL(-ERG) wag affect-IMPFV
 ‘They (my dogs) were wagging their tails....’ wa095

5.3.5. Lexicalization

A number of non-inflecting verbs are transparently the result of lexicalization following an auxiliary-triggering process. One good example is *wikamutya ju-* ‘fish with line and hook’. This intransitive non-inflecting verb quite transparently comes from the noun *wika* ‘hook’ and the transitive inflecting verb *mutya-* ‘dip O’. It is likely that *mutya-* ‘dip (any) O’ was first turned into the non-inflecting verb *mutya a-* ‘dip (any) O’ (by the Ø-marked auxiliary-triggering process; see §10.5) and then detransitivized by auxiliary alternation (see §8.3.2) together with *wika* ‘hook’ as its underlying O, giving the intransitive non-inflecting verb *wika mutya- ju-* ‘dip hook’. Finally, this complex non-inflecting verb has become lexicalized as *wikamutya ju-* ‘fish’ (not ‘dip a/the hook’).

5.3.6. Transitivity

As with inflecting verbs, non-inflecting verbs have strict transitivity values, and there appear to be no ambitransitive non-inflecting verbs. Changing transitivity requires specific valency-changing mechanisms (passivization, causativization, etc.). The ratio of intransitive to transitive verbs is more balanced than with inflecting verbs, such that there are as many intransitive non-inflecting verbs as transitive non-inflecting verbs. Only one ditransitive verb has been found, *presta a-* ‘lend O to O’ (from Spanish *prestar* ‘lend O to O’). An example of this verb is given in (5.51).

- (5.51) *Jutakiju* =*mi-ke*_O = \emptyset _A [*peadya eskupeta*]_O ***presta***
 therefore =2SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) one shotgun lend
a-ya.
 affect-IMPFV

‘I will lend you a shotgun (the priest said to me when I told him that I was going alone to visit my family).’ mj030

There are two extended intransitive non-inflecting verbs: *bawe ju-* ‘know E’ and its negative counterpart *baekwa ju-* ‘not know E’. These two verbs have two core arguments, an S and an E, and are most likely related; *baekwa ju-* is probably composed of *bawe* plus a suffix *kwa*, with idiosyncratic deletion of *w* from *bawe*. Note however that *kwa* is not found as a suffix outside of this word in Cavineña. The extended intransitive verb *bawe ju-* ‘know’ is illustrated in (5.52a), where it occurs within a conditional clause (§19.5), and in (5.52b), where it is further modified by the auxiliary-triggering suffix *-kara* ‘DESID’.

- (5.52) a. ... [*esamaki*_E *ekwana*_S ***bawe***=*ke* *juatsu*]
 medicine 1PL know=CONDIT CONDIT
ka-sama-ti-taki=dya *ju-kware*...
 REF-cure-REF-ABIL=FOC be-REM.PAST

‘(At the time when we caught tuberculosis,) if we had known medicines, we could have cured ourselves...’ nk085

- b. *A=ishu* =*mi*_S ***bawe*** *ju-kara* *ju-ya*
 do.what=PURP.GNL =2SG(-FM) know be-DESID be-IMPFV
*[ike*_S *eju* *kwa-ya=ke*]_E.
 1SG INT:LOC go-IMPFV=LIG

‘Why do you want to know where I go?’ du014

The extended intransitive verb *baekwa ju-* ‘know E’ is illustrated in (5.53):

- (5.53) [Tume_{CC}=ke bawityabawityapuji²⁰]_S =tu_S **baekwa**
 there=LIG teacher =3SG(-FM) not.know
- ju-kware*
 be-REM.PAST
- [[ekwana-ja y-ana=eke] ai kuyukuyu_{CC}=ke]_E.
 1PL-GEN NPF-tongue=PERL INT granulated.catfish=LIG
- ‘That teacher didn’t know what “kuyukuyu” (granulated catfish) means in our language.’ ap041

One could analyze the E argument as an O since, similarly to O arguments, it is not case-marked and does not have any rigid order. This does not appear to be a satisfactory analysis for (at least) the following two reasons:

- 1 — the clause is intransitive: the subject is unmarked for case, as an S;
- 2 — the E argument cannot be expressed by a bound pronoun, whereas an O argument can.

Note that non-inflecting verbs derived from transitive verbs by the (related) suffixes *-bawe* ‘ALWS’ and *-baekwa* ‘ALWS.NEG’ (§10.1.4), as well as verbs derived by the reflexive circumfix *k(a)-...-ti* ‘REF’ in its benefactive meaning (§8.2.2), have the same extended intransitive frame.

5.4. Analytical issues

Although the auxiliary obligatorily follows a non-inflecting verb (the order can never be reversed), they form separate constituents. This is first shown by the fact that when a non-inflecting verb comes first in a main clause, second position clitics, if present, are always attached to the non-inflecting verb, and never to the auxiliary. This can be seen in (5.54), where the second position bound pronoun =tu is attached to *kwatsabiji*, not to *ju-ya* — *kwatsabiji ju-ya =tu* would be ungrammatical.

- (5.54) **Kwatsabiji** =tu_S **ju-ya** *ekwita=tsewe*.
 tell.story.to =3SG(-FM) be-IMPV person=ASSOC
- ‘He is talking with the man.’ di0619

²⁰ Derived as follows: *bawitya-bawitya-puji* (teach-REDUP-ONE.THAT); see §12.7.1.

See also =*mi* in *tawi =mi ju-ya* ‘are you having a dream?’ in (5.49a).

In addition, the verb and the auxiliary can always be separated by any clausal constituent. In (5.55), for example, the non-inflecting verb *kuji* ‘be lost’ is separated from its auxiliary *ju-* by the independent particle *riyabarepa* and the postpositional phrase *chine=ju* ‘at night’ (and the second position clitic =*mi*).

- (5.55) ***Kuji*** =*mis* *riyabarepa* *chine=ju* ***ju-chine***.
 be.lost =2SG(-FM) yesterday night=LOC be-REC.PAST
 ‘Yesterday night you were lost.’ n5.0589

Additional examples of derived non-inflecting verbs separated from their auxiliary by various types of elements are given in (5.56), with intransitive non-inflecting verbs, and (5.57), with a transitive non-inflecting verb.

- (5.56) a. ***Kwa-kara*** =*mis*
 go-DESID =2SG(-FM)
 [*mi-kwe* *familia=kwana*_O *isara=ra*] ***ju-ya...?***
 2SG-GEN family=PL talk.to=PURP.MOT be-IMPFV
 ‘Do you want to go and talk to your family (or not)? mj024

- b. ***Pa-kara***=*dya* = \emptyset _S [*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *e-majaka=ju*]
 cry-DESID=FOC (=1SG-FM) there=LIG NPF-space=LOC
 ju-ya *amena*.
 be-IMPFV BM

‘I wanted to cry, as we were in that place (were my mother had died).’ ka087

- (5.57) [***Jadya*** ***yuamatura-e***] =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O *arusu*_O
 MAN damage-MAN =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) rice
 a-ya.
 affect-IMPFV

‘This is how they (the birds) damage the rice (they eat it when it is getting ripe).’ pn006

Although discontinuous complex predicates are attested cross-linguistically (as in, for e.g., the Australian language Jaminjung; see Schultze-Bernt 2000: 118f.), we need to consider possible alternative analyses.

A first possible alternative analysis could be in terms of a structure of the type complement-to-a-copula-predicate. This is suggested by the fact that the

intransitive auxiliary and the copula verb are homophonous. In both cases, the sole argument is encoded in the same way. Both the copula verb and the auxiliary have the same morphological possibilities. In addition, the verb in a complex predicate must precede the auxiliary (although not necessarily immediately), the same way the copula complement must precede the copula predicate (see §4.6.3). One might thus suggest that complex predicates should be analyzed as copula clauses. There are two reasons why this analysis is not adopted:

- 1 — the copula predicate of a copula clause is very frequently omitted while this tends to be quite rare with the auxiliary of a complex predicate;
- 2 — in a complex predicate, the intransitive auxiliary *ju-* alternates with a transitive; auxiliary *a-*, a phenomenon that is not found in a copula clause.

A second alternative analysis could consist of analyzing non-inflecting verbs as adjuncts and the auxiliaries, *ju-* and *a-*, as simple predicate. This is suggested by the fact that these two forms are both also used as independent verbs with generic meanings; let us remember that *ju-* is also a copula verb. The independent verb *ju-* is intransitive and means ‘be, exist, happen’ as illustrated in (5.58).

(5.58) a. **Ju-kware** =*tu*_S [peadya ekwita]_S.
 be-REM.PAST =3SG(-FM) one person
 ‘There was a man (lit. a man was).’ cd002

b. **Metajudya** =*tu*_S nei_S **ju-ya**.
 tomorrow =3SG(-FM) rain be-IMPV
 ‘Tomorrow, it is going to rain (lit. the rain will be).’ di1649

The independent verb *a-* has a very broad range of meanings, all referring to highly transitive events with a volitional/controlling A and an affected O argument, such as ‘kill’, ‘beat’, ‘bite’, ‘sting’, ‘catch (e.g., a fish while fishing)’, ‘build (e.g., a house)’, ‘cook’, etc. Note that most of these actions can otherwise be expressed by a more specific verb such as, for example, *iyē-* ‘kill’, *katsa-* ‘beat’, *karu-* ‘bite’, *kemi-* ‘take out, catch’, *tekwa-* ‘shoot’, etc. In this work, this central meaning is captured by the uniformly applied gloss ‘affect’. In (5.59) below, I illustrate the independent verb *a-* ‘affect’ used by itself.

(5.59) a. ... *i-ke*_O buna=*ra*_A **a-chine**.
 1SG-FM bullet.ant=ERG affect-REC.PAST
 ‘(While I was collecting leaves,) a bullet ant stung me.’ di0354

- b. *Tu-wa* =*tu-ja* =*tu*_O *sawa*_O *a-chine...*
 there-LOC =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) trahira affect-REC.PAST
 ‘There he caught a trahira (fish)...’ ft026

What this shows is that there is no crucial difference in meaning between auxiliaries and corresponding independent verbs. All these forms have a strict transitivity value and are very generic semantically. In addition, morphological possibilities are basically the same for all the forms. This could thus suggest that in both cases, there would just be a simple predicate, *ju-* or *a-*, and an adjunct modifier to it consisting of the non-inflecting component. This alternative is not adopted for two reasons. First, non-inflecting verbs are restricted to occurring with only *ju-* or *a-*, and not with other verbs. Adjunct type constituents in Cavineña, such as independent particles, postpositional phrases, and adverbial clauses, can occur with any verb. Secondly, a non-inflecting verb obligatorily precedes its auxiliary, whereas an adjunct has free word order.

A third possible analysis could be in terms of complementation, with the non-inflecting component filling the O slot of the simple predicates *ju-* or *a-*. This, however, is clearly not the case. We saw that there is a copula *ju-* with a CC slot but none attested with an O argument. The independent verb *a-* does have a slot for an O argument. However, the non-inflecting component clearly fills a different slot, always preceding *a-*, whereas the O argument is not restricted to a particular position vis-à-vis its controlling verb, and both slots can be independently filled (e.g., (5.5b)).

5.5. Reduplication

There are five processes of reduplication associated with verbs in Cavineña. First, there is a verbalization derivational process of full or final syllable reduplication that applies to various word classes, such as verbs, adjectives, and nouns (§5.2.4). This process is not productive, and many verbs are inherently reduplicated.

Second, there is an auxiliary-triggering process of full reduplication that applies equally to intransitive and transitive verbs, and to inflecting and non-inflecting verbs. It derives a non-inflecting verb of equal transitivity and with the semantics of multiple occurrence of the verb event, as in, for e.g., *tsajaja* ‘run’ and *tsajaja-tsajaja ju-* ‘run many times’, *katsa-* ‘beat’ and *katsa-katsa a-* ‘beat many times’. This process is discussed in §10.6.

A third process is an antipassive derivation. It involves the full reduplication of inflecting transitive (and ditransitive) verbs and derives intransitive verbs which are still inflecting, i.e., the derived forms can still take verbal inflections. Syntactically, the reassignment of grammatical functions has an antipassive

effect. Semantically, the reduplicated verb denotes an activity, for example changing *ara-* ‘eat O’ to *ara-ara-* ‘eat, have a meal’. A complete account of full verb reduplication with antipassive effect is provided in §8.3.1;

A fourth process involves a complex verbal morpheme which combines final syllable reduplication of a transitive verb root and the intransitive causativizer suffix *-sha* (§5.1.3 and §8.4.1). This process encodes the fact that the verb event is reiterated many times, as in *katsa-* ‘beat, whip’ and *katsa-tsa+sha-* ‘beat up, batter’. A full discussion of this complex morpheme is provided in §7.1.9.

Finally, reduplication is involved in a complex verbal morpheme which consists of the full reduplication of a verb and the *-ni* allomorph of the Aktionsart suffix *-(ne)ni* ‘RANDOM’. This process expresses the multiple reiteration of the verb event. It is discussed in §7.1.8, together with the suffix *-(ne)ni*.

Chapter 6

Predicate structure — inflectional morphology

In this chapter I discuss the affixes that go into slot A/K of the predicate. These consist of Tense-Aspect-Modality (TAM) affixes and command affixes: imperative, hortative and jussive. There is an additional suffix that goes into slot K, the clause linker *-tsu*, but this suffix is discussed in §18.2. Slot A/K must be filled by one (and only one) of these markers in any single finite clause (but see some exceptions in §6.1.6). Since slot A/K affixes are obligatory, they are referred to as inflections.

TAM inflections are used in both statements and questions. They are discussed in §6.1. They consist of six affixes: *-kware* ‘REM.PAST’ and *-chine* ‘REC.PAST’ (§6.1.1), *-buke* ‘REM.FUT’ (§6.1.2), *-ya* ‘IMPFV’ (§6.1.3), *-wa* ‘PERF’ (§6.1.4) and *e-...-u* ‘POT’ (§6.1.5). These suffixes form a temporal system with three degrees of remoteness in the past (remote vs. recent vs. immediate) and (possibly) two degrees of remoteness in the future (present/near future vs. remote future). The two suffixes *-ya* ‘IMPFV’ and *-wa* ‘PERF’ have additional aspectual meanings, in addition to their temporal meanings. The circumfix *e-...-u* ‘POT’, in addition to a temporal (future) meaning, brings a contrast of modality to the system. A verb cannot normally be used without an inflectional marker, except for stylistic effect, in which case the inflectional marker can be left out. This is discussed in §6.1.6.

Verbs used for commands require different affixes (§6.2). First, there are affixes for imperative commands, i.e., commands addressed to a second person: *-kwe/-ume* ‘IMP.SG/IMP.SG.NEG’, *ne-...-kwe/ne-...-ume* ‘IMP.NSG/IMP.NSG.NEG’. They are discussed in §6.2.1. Second, there are affixes for hortative commands, i.e., commands addressed to a first person: *pa-* ‘HORT.SG’, *ne-* ‘HORT.DL’ and *ne-...-ra* ‘HORT.PL’. They are discussed in §6.2.2. Finally, there is one prefix for jussive commands, i.e., commands addressed to a third person: *pa-* ‘JUSS’. This prefix is discussed in §6.2.3. After discussing these affixes, I address the following topics: negation of verbs with hortative and jussive affixes (§6.2.4), non-command uses of imperative and hortative affixes (§6.2.5), and markedness and historical considerations (§6.2.6).

6.1. TAM inflections

There are six TAM affixes, consisting of five suffixes and one circumfix. The forms are given in Table 6.1 and discussed in the following sections.

Table 6.1. TAM inflections

-ya	‘IMPFV’	-kware	‘REM.PAST’
-wa	‘PERF’	-buke	‘REM.FUT’
-chine	‘REC.PAST’	e-...-u	‘POT’

6.1.1. -kware ‘REM.PAST’ and -chine ‘REC.PAST’

The suffix *-kware* ‘REMote PAST’ is used to encode events that have occurred at a time earlier than a year in the past, as illustrated in (6.1).

(6.1) a. 1 year ago

Junio=ju =Ø_S e-diji=ju mere ju-kware.
 June=LOC (=1SG-FM) NPF-path=LOC work be-REM.PAST

‘In June (2002) I was working on the road.’ (Said by Alfredo Tavo on 3rd June 2003.) n5.0116

b. 50 years ago

[*I-ke_{CS} ashasha_{CC}=ju=piji*] [*e-kwe tata-chi*]_S
 1SG-FM small=DS=DIM 1SG-GEN father-AFFTN

maju-kware.
 die-REM.PAST

‘When I was little my father died.’ (Recorded from Teresa Rutani, a 60 year old woman.) nk008

c. 2 centuries ago

Mil.siete.cientos.sesenta.y.cuatro=ju =pa =tu_S pae_S
 seventeen.hundred.sixty.four=LOC =REP =3SG(-FM) priest

ju-na-kware
 be-COME.TEMP-REM.PAST

[*ekwana-ja e-baba=ekana=keja*]...
 1PL-GEN 1-grandfather=PL=LOC.GNL

‘In the year 1764, a priest came to our grandfathers...’ hs005

d. Earth creation time

*Baba=kwana*_S =*tu*_S *ani-kware*
 grandfather=PL =3SG(-FM) sit-REM.PAST

[*yawa nana-da*_{CC=ju}].
 ground young-ASF(=LIG)=LOC

‘The grandfathers lived (lit. sat) in the young world.’ di0162

The suffix *-chine* ‘RECent PAST’ is used to encode events that have taken place at any time from the day before as far back as twelve months before, as illustrated in (6.2).

(6.2) a. previous day

[*Malili=ja e-bakujuna=ke=ra*]_A = \emptyset _O
 Malili=GEN 3-daughter=3=ERG (=1SG-FM)

kweja-ti-chine *riyabarepa las.siete.y.media*.
 inform-GO.TEMP-REC.PAST yesterday seven.thirty

‘Yesterday at 7:30 (pm) Malili’s daughter went to tell me (that I was invited by my brother for a drink).’ ju001

b. one month ago

Ka-kweja-ti-chine =*yatse*_S *biaje=ishu*.
 REF-inform-REF-REC.PAST =1DL travel=PURP.GNL

‘(During the second week of July 1997) we (dl) discussed the trip (lit. informed each other for the travel).’ (The trip took place between the 18th and 26th of July and its recollection was recorded on 7 August 1997.) vb003

c. 11 months ago

Julio=ju Reye=ju [*kirika mere*] *ju-chine*.
 July=LOC Reyes=LOC paper work be-REC.PAST

‘In July (2002) I was in Reyes working on (writing) a book.’ (Said by Alfredo Tavo on 3 June 2003.) n5.0109

Note that (6.1a) and (6.2c), which show the temporal boundary between the use of *-kware* and *-chine*, were obtained through elicitation. Informants report that

there are variations from speaker to speaker. Apparently some speakers are reported to set the boundary between *-kware* and *-chine* at one week's time (as opposed to one year's time). The division between *-chine* and *-kware* needs more testing and confirmation through text examples.

6.1.2. *-buke* 'REM.FUT'

The remote future marker *-buke* 'REMote FUTure' is used to encode events that could take place in the remote future. It can also be used to encode a less remote event when the speaker is very uncertain that this event will take place.

The remote future suffix is typically used for very remote events such as those that may occur during one's afterlife, as with (6.3), an excerpt from a recorded conversation between Antonio Yubanera (A) and Ventura Mayo (V). After having talked about half an hour about traditional practices, they comment on the outcome of these recordings for future generations. Note that Ventura's utterance overlaps with Antonio's utterance.

(6.3) A: ... *e-bakwa=kwana_S* *bawe* *ju-buke* ...
 1-child=PL know be-REM.FUT

'(If this linguist does a good job recording and transcribing our conversation,) our children will know (about our traditions).'

ab001

V: *Ju-buke* =*tuna_S*!
 be-REM.FUT =3PL

'(Yes) they will!' ab002

A: ... [*ekwana_S* *maju-wa=ju*].
 1PL die-PERF=DS

'... after we are dead.' ab003

V: *Maju-wa=ju* =*tuna-ja* =*tu_O* *a-dadi-buke*.
 die-PERF=DS =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) affect-GO(O)-REM.FUT

'(Yes,) after we are dead, they (our children) will understand them (our traditions).'

ab004

Bible prophecies are translated using *-buke* as in (6.4a) (Joel 2:28-32) and (6.4b) (Luke 3:1-17). Note that these two examples come from Camp and Liccardi's (1989) dictionary.

- (6.4) a. *Badi*_S =*tu*_S *pudena-buke* *ami*_{CC}=*bucha*.
 moon =3SG(-FM) become.very.red/brown-REM.FUT blood=SIMLR
 ‘The moon will turn red/brown as (if it was) blood.’ di2274
- b. [*E-diji* *benubenu=kwana=ke*]_S =*tu*_S
 NPF-path with.many.bends=PL=LIG =3SG(-FM)
tuyune-tana-buke.
 straighten-PASS-REM.FUT
 ‘The crooked roads shall become straight.’ di2782

The remote future *-buke* need not necessarily refer to such extremely remote events. It can as well be used for more recent events, as long as there is uncertainty about their realization. Example (6.5), which shows an event set in eight months time, was given as a possible use of this suffix.

- (6.5) *I-kes* [*muke* *mere=ra*] *kwa-buke*
 1SG-FM brazil.nut work=PURP.MOT go-REM.FUT
 [*peya* *mara*] *enero=ju*.
 other year January=LOC
 ‘I will go collecting brazil nut next year in January.’ (Said 3rd June 2003.) n5.0123

The dictionary example (6.6a) with *-buke* was double-checked and discussed with consultants. It means that the speaker does not really think he will give the thing to the hearer (because the speaker knows that the hearer most probably does not have the money). But in the same situation, if the speaker has more reason to believe that he will give the thing, he can use *-ya*, as shown by (6.6b):¹

- (6.6) a. *Tya-buke=dya* =*mi-ke*_O =*e-ra*_A
 give-REM.FUT=FOC =2SG-FM =1SG-ERG
 [*mi-ra*_A *etsujeki*_O *be-wa=ju*].
 2SG-ERG money bring-PERF=DS
 ‘I will give it to you when you bring me the money.’ di2854

¹ Examples such as those in (6.6) could suggest that the distinction between *-buke* and *-ya* is not as much one of temporal distance as one of degree of certainty. More work is needed on this issue.

- b. *Tya-ya=dya* =*mi-ke*_O =*e-ra*_A
 give-IMPV=FOC =2SG-FM =1SG-ERG
 [*mi-ra*_A *etsujeki*_O *be-wa=ju*].
 2SG-ERG money bring-PERF=DS

‘I will give it to you when you bring me the money.’ n5.0125

6.1.3. -ya ‘IMPV’

The suffix -ya ‘IMPerFectiVe’ is used to encode the following meanings:

- 1 — present;
- 2 — near future;
- 3 — generic;
- 4 — habitual;
- 5 — past imperfective/overlapping/on-going/progressive.

In fast speech, -ya ‘IMPV’ is sometimes realized phonetically as [e] when it is followed by the phrasal focus particle =*dya* ‘FOC’. This always happens when the stem has more than 2 syllables, as in (6.7a). This occasionally happens when the stem has 2 syllables, as shown in (6.7b).² However, this never happens when the stem has one syllable, as in (6.7c).

- (6.7) a. [K-iye-ti-**e**=dya] (3 syll) T1.8
 REF-kill-REF-IMPV=FOC
- [ka-rikwa-ti-aje-**e**=dya] (6 syll) tg037
 REF-bark.at-REF-IMPV=FOC
- b. [Ani-**e**=dya] (2 syll) T1.40
 sit-IMPV=FOC
- [Ani-**ya**=dya] (2 syll) ba002
 sit-IMPV=FOC

² Here, whether -ya is realized as [e] or [ya] perhaps depends on the speed of speech. This needs more work.

c. [kwa- ya =dya] go-IMPV=FOC	(1 syll)	T1.41
[pa- ya =dya] cry-IMPV=FOC	(1 syll)	mj163
[a- ya =dya] affect-IMPV=FOC	(1 syll)	sl082

Note that speakers are not aware of this variation. When asked to repeat these forms slowly and carefully, they invariably pronounce [ya]. This suggests that the variation [ya] ~ [e] may be on the way to creating allomorphs but has still not reached this point yet.

The five different meanings of *-ya* are illustrated in turn below.

1— present meaning. Examples showing the present meaning of *-ya* ‘IMPV’ are given in (6.8).

- (6.8) a. [*Jee ebakwapiji=ra*]_A *ina-ya*
 here small.child=ERG grab-IMPV
*[make wiri=kwana e-tutsu_{CC}=ke]*_O...
 piranha tiny=PL RES-sew=LIG
 ‘This small child (here in the picture) is holding (lit. grabbing) tiny piranhas attached (lit. sewn) (on a string)...’ ft030
- b. *Iyakwa re-wa i-kes neti-ya.*
 now here-LOC 1SG-FM stand-IMPV
 ‘Now, I live (lit. stand) here (in the city of Riberalta) (as opposed to before when I lived in the outback).’ sa012-013

2 — near future. Examples showing the future meaning of *-ya*, with different degrees of remoteness, are given in (6.9).

- (6.9) a. ‘same day’ few minutes future
Jadya =tu_O e-ra_A a-tsa-ya.
 thus =3SG(-FM) 1SG-ERG affect-COME(O)-IMPV
 ‘(Brother Antonio can help us.) Thus I will tell him (in a few seconds, when he arrives).’ ka340

- b. ‘same day’ several hours future

Tumi=dya =mi-ke_O =∅_A kueti-ya=ra_A
 there=FOC =2SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) pass-IMPV(=LIG)=ERG

wesa-eti-nuka-ya.
 lift-COME.PERM-REITR-IMPV

“‘I’ll give you a lift on my way back (lit. as I pass) (later today),”
 (the pilot said to me).’ T1.28

- c. ‘following day’ future

Metajudya =tu-ke_O =∅_A a-ya e-tare_O.
 tomorrow =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) affect-IMPV NPF-house

“‘Tomorrow I will make (lit. affect) my nest (lit. a house),” (the
 nightjar bird says when it rains).’ pr004

- d. ‘three weeks time’ future

Veintitres.de.Marso Banzer_S je-ya re-wa.
 23.of.march Banzer come-IMPV here-LOC

‘On 23 March (2001), Banzer (the president of Bolivia) is coming
 here.’ (Recorded from Vidal Mayo on 1st March 2001.) tb045

- e. ‘ten years time’ future

[Peadya tunka mara ju-atsu] =∅_S
 one ten year be-SS (=1SG-FM)

je-nuka-ya.
 come-REITR-IMPV

‘I’ll come back in ten years time.’ di2198

3 — the generic meaning of *-ya* is illustrated in (6.10) where it is used for describing birds.

- (6.10) a. [*Pi pi pi pi” jadya*] =*tu_S pa-ya.*
 ONOM ONOM ONOM ONOM thus =3SG(-FM) cry-IMPV

“‘Pi, pi, pi, pi,” thus it (the smooth-billed ani) cries (foretelling that
 something bad is about to happen to someone).’ mi010

- b. *Bira=tsewe=dya =tuna-ja =tu_O ebakwa_O*
 wasp=ASSOC=FOC =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) child
miwa-ya.
 feed-IMPFV

‘They (the caciques) feed their babies with wasps.’ am003

4 — the past habitual meaning of *-ya* is illustrated in (6.11). Here an elderly woman relates how Cavineña women used to prepare corn beer in the olden days (they now make it differently). Although the time frame is the remote past, she uses *-ya*, and not *-kware* ‘REM.PAST’, to encode the habitual nature of the corn beer preparation.

- (6.11) a. *Yawa=ju =shana ekana_S ani-ya.*
 ground=LOC =PITY 3PL sit-IMPFV

‘They would sit (directly) on the ground, the poor women.’ ci079

- b. *E-kare =tuna_A e-na_O a-ya. Ruke-ya.*
 NPF-half =3PL NPF-water affect-IMPFV stir-IMPFV

Uma-u-si=kwita =tu_A kwati_O
 many-ASF-AUGM=RESTR =3SG firewood

sare-wana-ya.
 look.for-ADVERS-IMPFV

‘They would fill half (of the pot) with water. They would stir (the fire). It’s a tremendous amount of firewood that they had to fetch.’ ci084

- c. *Jina-sha-ya=dya amena ijike_O.*
 cook-CAUS-IMPFV=FOC BM corn

‘(When the water was hot, they would pour the corn,) and then they would leave the corn to cook.’ ci088

5 — the past imperfective/overlapping/on-going/progressive meaning of *-ya* is first illustrated with (6.12). Here, Ventura Mayo relates a dreadful journey through a highly flooded area during the rainy season, which he undertook when he was young; the time frame is therefore the remote past. At some point, he had to build a raft in order to cross a river. When the raft was ready, Ventura comments:

- (6.12) a. *Amena tume jara-bute-kware i-kes.*
 BM then lie-GO.DOWN-REM.PAST 1SG-FM
 ‘Then, I lay down (on the raft).’ mj060
- b. *Jara-bute-tsu =Ø_S betsa-kware.*
 lie-GO.DOWN-SS (=1SG-FM) swim-REM.PAST
 ‘Having lain down, I swam (i.e., I paddled the water with my arms
 on both sides of the raft).’ mj061
- c. *Aikwana [pere dyake=dya=jutidya] ju-jara-ya.*
 FILL raft ON=FOC=DISEMPH be-LIE-IMPFV
 ‘I was lying on top of the raft.’ mj062
- d. *Kwa-kware i-kes.*
 go-REM.PAST 1SG-FM
 ‘(Then) I went.’ mj063

Ventura uses the remote past *-kware* in the main verbs of a. (‘I lay down’), of b. (‘I swam’), and of d. (‘I went’) because each of these events occurs one after the other (i.e., in a sequence). However, Ventura uses *-ya* in (c.), presumably because the event ‘I was lying’ overlaps with ‘I swam’ (from b.) and ‘I went’ (from d.).

Following (6.12) we have (6.13). After having left the river banks and swum some distance, Ventura relates:

- (6.13) a. *Nereka-da kwinana-kware ekwi=ju...*
 miserable-ASF emerge-REM.PAST middle.of.river=LOC
 ‘Miserably, I reached (lit. emerged on) the middle of the river.’
 mj064
- b. *Mu-dacc =tu_{CS} matuja=kwanacs.*
 scary-ASF =3SG(-FM) caiman=PL
 ‘There were scary caimans.’ mj065
- c. *Jetiama e-ra_A ba-ya.*
 many 1SG-ERG see-IMPFV
 ‘I could see many (of them).’ mj065

Ventura uses the remote past *-kware* in (a.) because the event of ‘reaching the middle of the river’ occurs in a sequence with the preceding event (‘I went’, in (6.12d)). However, Ventura switches to *-ya* in (c.), presumably because the event ‘I could see many caimans’ overlaps with the preceding event (‘reaching the middle of the river’). In other words, Ventura started to see the caimans before he had reached the middle of the river (and kept seeing them until he finally reached the other banks of the river).

The example in (6.14) is taken from a text in which Alfredo Tavo relates a journey in which he nearly died of thirst. At some point, he found a palm grove. Hoping that he could find water under the ground, he relates:

- (6.14) ... *puru-kware*. *Tume* *uyuuuyu=kamadya_s* *ani-ya=dya*.
 dig-REM.PAST then mud=ONLY sit-IMPFV=FOC
 ‘I dug (the length of my arm). But there was only mud (no water).’
 sd024

Alfredo uses the remote past *-kware* when he relates the event ‘I dug’ because this event occurs in a sequence with what he has related before, i.e., ‘I arrived at a palm grove’. However, Alfredo uses *-ya* in the next sentence, presumably because the event ‘there was only mud’ overlaps with the event of ‘digging’.

Verbs in citation form are always given with an inflectional affix, which is usually *-ya* ‘IMPFV’ (e.g., *tawi-ya* ‘to sleep’ but not **tawi*). Note also that *-ya* can be used as a strategy to express very strong orders (see §6.2.1).

6.1.4. *-wa* ‘PERF’

The suffix *-wa* ‘PERFect’ is used to express the following meanings:

- 1 — immediate past;
- 2 — perfect/anterior;

Each meaning is illustrated below.

1 — immediate past. An event that has taken place the same day and prior to the time of speech, or during the preceding night requires *-wa*, as illustrated in (6.15) and (6.16).

- (6.15) a. A: *Ai_O* =*tu-ke_O* =*mi_A* *mare-wa?*
 INT =3SG-FM =2SG(-ERG) shoot.at-PERF

“‘What did you (just) shoot at?’” (my wife’s uncle asked me when

he heard the report of my rifle).’ lg019

B: *Iye-wa* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *matuja*_O.
kill-PERF =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) caiman

“‘I (just shot and) killed a caiman,” (I told him).’ lg020

b. *Shudiritana-wa* *i-ke*_S *warasha=eke*.
slip-PERF 1SG-FM bridge=PERL

‘(I’m soaking wet because) I slipped off the bridge (and fell into the ditch).’ ca008

An example showing the used of *-wa* for coding an event that has taken place very early in the morning is shown in (6.16a). An example showing the used of *-wa* for coding an event that has taken place during the preceding night’s sleep, is shown in (6.16b).

(6.16) a. *Tume jadi=ke=dya*_S = \emptyset _S *apudajudya*
then thus=LIG=FOC (=1SG-FM) early.morning

kwa-nuka-wa...
go-REITR-PERF

‘So, early morning (today), I went back (looking for my stolen duck)...’ (recorded around noon) ju019

b. *Are* =*pa* =*mi*_S *ji-da=kwita=ama*
QUEST =REP =2SG(-FM) good-ASF=RESTR=NEG

tawi-nuka-wa, *Hermano?*
sleep-REITR-PERF brother

‘I’ve heard that once again you haven’t slept very well (last night), is it right, Brother?’ (recorded around 9-10 am) ci013

2 — perfect/anterior meaning is first illustrated with (6.17). This example comes from a story that was recorded in 1998 from Griselda Cartagena, who relates a trip she undertook with her family in the light plane of the missionaries (the story is therefore set in the remote past — SIL missionaries were in Bolivia in the 1960’s and 1970’s). Griselda uses the remote past *-kware* to relate the landing of the plane. Then, switching to *-wa*, she says:

- (6.17) [E-*kwe ebakwa=kwana*]_S =*bakwe tawi-wa*.
 1SG-GEN child=PL =CONTR sleep-PERF
 ‘My children had slept (during the trip).’ av032

In the story time line, the children’s ‘sleeping’ event has occurred before the family gets down from the plane and is thus reported out of sequence. If Griselda had used *-kware*, it would have meant that the children went to sleep after they got down from the plane.

Sentence (6.18) is taken from a story by Alfredo Tavo about how, in the olden days, a group of Cavineñas were ambushed by enemies. The Cavineñas hear a suspicious noise (*-kware*), they realize that an attack has been launched against them (*-kware*), they run to their weapons (*-kware*), but it is too late because:

- (6.18) *Dutya_S ekana_S tibarirya-tana-wa*.
 all 3PL go.around-PASS-PERF
 ‘They were (already) all encircled (by the enemies).’ fd029

The event of ‘encircling’, even though narrated after the events of ‘hearing a noise’, ‘realizing’, and ‘running’, is not in sequence with them in the story time line. It has occurred before the protagonists ‘hear’, ‘realize’ and ‘run’. If Alfredo had used *-kware*, it would have meant that they were encircled after ‘running’.

Example (6.19) comes at the end of a story by Antonio Yubanera of a hunter who once (generously) saved a caiman (that was lost in the middle of the forest). Ten years later, the same caiman tries to trick him, ungratefully. Fortunately, the hunter is saved from the caiman by a cunning dog. At the end of the story, the narrator concludes, referring to the two events of ‘saving’:

- (6.19) *Tu-ra_A ikwene matuja_O chachane-wa*.
 3SG-ERG first caiman cure-PERF

Amena tume =tu_O chapa=ra_A tu-ke_O
 BM then =3SG(-FM) dog=ERG 3SG-FM

chachane-nuka-kware.
 cure-REITR-REM.PAST

‘He_i (the hunter) had first saved (lit. cured) a caiman (about 10 years earlier). Then, (this time,) a dog saved him_i.’ cd049

The stretch of text where the hunter is described saving the caiman occurs about 40 sentences earlier than (6.19). Here, it is referred to again, to contrast with the

‘dog’s saving of the hunter’. Although the two events strictly speaking occur on after another, they are not in sequence.

6.1.5. *e-...-u* ‘POT’

The circumfix *e-...-u* ‘POTential’ is used to encode future events which are contingent to the occurrence of another event. The potential circumfix is first illustrated in (6.20).

- (6.20) a. *E-ra*_A =*mi*_O *e-bawitya-u*
 1SG-ERG =2SG(-FM) POT-teach-POT
 [*i-ke* *bawe=kwana=ke*]_O.
 1SG-FM know=PL=LIG

‘I could teach you what I know (if you come with me).’ cp017

- b. *Ebakwa=kwana*_O =*mikwana*_A *Biata=ju*
 child=PL =2PL(-ERG) Biata.river=LOC
 e-iye-diru-u.
 POT-kill-GO.PERM-POT

‘You (pl) could lose (lit. kill) your children in the Biata river (if you try to cross).’ ri060

The potential circumfix can be used to refer to events which could take place at any time in the future. For example, it has a near future reading (a few days) in (6.20a) and (6.20b). In (6.21a) below, it has an immediate future reading (the protagonists are about to cross the bridge). And it has a remote future reading in (6.21b). This example immediately follows (6.3), a conversation between Ventura Mayo and Antonio Yubanera about Cavineña children reading the recorded and transcribed texts, following a series of verbs inflected with *-buke* ‘REM.FUT’.

- (6.21) a. *Deka* =*yatse*_S *e-pakaka-u*.
 POTENTIALLY =1DL POT-fall-POT

‘(Get down from the motorcycle and cross the bridge first! Otherwise,) we (dl) might fall down.’ mo018

- b. *Isara-tsu* *ekana*_S *bawe=dya* *e-ju-dadi-u*.
 read-SS 3PL know=FOC POT-be-GO(O)-POT

‘If they (our children) read it (the transcription of our discussion), they might be able to know (about our traditions).’ (said by Antonio Yubanera) ab005

Note that the first position particle *deka* ‘POTENTIALLY’ (§16.2.4) is reinforcing the potential reading in (6.21a).

The potential marker is often used in questions to express soft and polite requests, as in (6.22) (see further discussion in §6.2.1):

(6.22) *E-iya-ti-u* *e-ra_A* *tu-wa* *uwa=ju?*
 POT-put-REF-POT 1SG-ERG there-LOC solid.ground=LOC

‘Shall I take him there to the shore (lit. solid ground) (the caiman, who was carrying a man on his back, asked the ox)?’ cd030

6.1.6. Verb with no inflectional marking

There are occasions when the verb of a main clause occurs as a bare stem; that is, the verb does not take the otherwise obligatory inflectional morphology. When this happens, the speaker often (but not always) raises the pitch of the overall clause and lowers his voice. This phenomenon is not fully understood yet and requires further study.

Monosyllabic verbs which do not take any further (non-inflectional) morphology receive a (dummy) suffix *-u* ‘EPEN’ (§2.6.6). This is exemplified with the auxiliary *ju-* ‘be’ in (6.23); see also the auxiliaries *a-u* in (6.25c) and *ju-u* in (6.26b), and the verb *ba-u* in (6.26a).

(6.23) *Datse* =*ekwana_S* *ani-bute-kara* *ju-u.*
 FRUST =1PL sit-GO.DOWN-DESID be-EPEN

‘We wanted to land (but didn’t succeed because there was too much water on the airstrip).’ av024

Bare stem verbs appear to be used in (at least) the following two contexts:

- 1 — highly predictable events;
- 2 — repeated events.

I discuss and illustrate each of these two contexts in turn below.

1 — highly predictable events. It was noted that (some) speakers often leave out the inflection of a verb which refers to the target of a motion event. For exam-

ple, one sentence has an inflected verb meaning ‘go’, or ‘come’, and the next sentence has a non-inflected verb coding the arrival at the targeted destination. This is shown by (6.24).

- (6.24) a. *Amena i-ke_S =bakwe kwa-kware. Yachi=ju*
 BM 1SG-FM =CONTR go-REM.PAST pampa=LOC

kwinana-nati.
 emerge-GO.TEMP

‘So I went. Then I emerged (from the forest) on the pampa.’ mj126

- b. [*Japa-dama_{CC} =pa =ri-ke_{CS}” jadya ju-atsu]*
 far-NEG =REP =3PROX.SG-FM thus be-SS
diru-kware. Amena ju-diru=dya makana-kini.
 go-REM.PAST BM be-GO.PERM=FOC gravel-PLACE

‘‘It (that place where people live) is said not to be far,’’ I said (to myself) and I went. Then I arrived at a place with gravel.’
 sd104

2 — repetition. It was noted that (some) speakers often use bare stem verbs when they repeat the verb of the preceding sentence, for discourse coherence or for providing additional specifications, as in (6.25).

- (6.25) a. *Yachi=ju kwinana-kware. Yachi=ju kwinana.*
 pampa=LOC emerge-REM.PAST pampa=LOC emerge

Tuekedyā kwa-nuka-kware...
 then go-REITR-REM.PAST

‘I reached the pampa. I reached the pampa. Then I kept going...’
 mj085-086

- b. *Wekaka-ma_{CC}=ju =pa =tu_A*
 be.at.dawn-RES.NEG(=LIG)=DS =REP =3SG(-ERG)

ba-ti-kware.
 see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

Ba-ti=dya =pa =tu_A aikira e-wiru.
 see-GO.TEMP=FOC =REP =3SG(-ERG) FILL RES-scatter

‘Before the sunrise (lit. when it was not dawn yet), some (Cavineñas) went to see (the place where they had heard strange

noises the night before). They went and saw that there were many traces (lit. saw that it was scattered).’ cc031

- c. *Tachi-kware e-ra_A.* [*Pana tachi*] = \emptyset _A
 block-REM.PAST 1SG-ERG PROPERLY block (=1SG-ERG)

a-u.
 affect-EPEN

‘I blocked it (the hole where the peccary was hiding so he wouldn’t escape). I blocked it properly (with lianas).’ wa025

Yet in some examples such as (6.26), the reasons why the speaker chooses to use uninflected verbs are not understood; that is, the verb event is neither predictable nor repeated. It might be just a question of style.

- (6.26) a. ... *ani-tsura-eti-kware.* *Ka-ba-ti i-ke_S.*
 sit-GO.UP-COME.PERM-REM.PAST REF-see-REF 1SG-FM
Ba-u jamani_O... *tu-wa=dya [akwi dyake].*
 see-EPEN vulture there-LOC=FOC tree ON

‘(Still half sleeping,) I sat up. I recovered consciousness (lit. saw myself). I saw a vulture there on top of a tree.’ sd054

- b. ... *aputa=ju=dya =yatse_S jadya warere-ti ju-u.*
 shade=LOC=FOC =1DL thus turn-GO.TEMP be-EPEN

Neti.
 stand

‘We (with the cart pulled by a pair of oxen) turned to the shade and stopped (lit. stood).’ ka497

The existence of uninflected verbs could suggest that slot A/K affixes are not obligatory in Cavineña. It is known that some languages do not have obligatory TAM categories. In Tariana (Arawak), for example, tense-aspect is established at the beginning of a paragraph by an inflected verb — setting the scene — and the verbs of the following main clauses are unmarked (Aikhenvald, p.c.). Note that in the Cavineña examples above, a clause with a marked verb often precedes a clause without an unmarked one.

In this study, I will nevertheless maintain that slot A/K affixes are obligatory (and inflectional) for the following two reasons:

1 — a verb in citation form is never given uninflected; as we saw in §6.1.3, it is given with *-ya* ‘IMPV’;

2 — there is a great deal of variation between speakers on how often they drop the verbal TAM inflections. The women recorded, such as Griselda Cartagena in (6.23), or Victoria Tavo in (6.26b), tend to drop more than men. Some men, like Ventura Mayo in (6.24a) and (6.25a), or his brother Cosme Mayo in (6.25c), tend to drop inflections quite often too. Alfredo Tavo, on the other hand, drops inflections only occasionally. In some texts like T1, which is quite long, he does not leave off the inflections from a single verb. This is also the case with Gregorio Yubanera in T2.

6.2. Imperative, hortative and jussive inflections

6.2.1. Imperative inflections

A verb inflected with imperative morphology has a second person subject (S/CS or A). Imperative morphology is sensitive to (1) a singular vs. non-singular number distinction and (2) a positive vs. negative polarity distinction. The paradigm of imperative inflections is reproduced in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2. Imperative inflections

	Positive	Negative
Singular	<i>-kwe</i>	<i>-ume</i>
Non-singular	<i>ne-...-kwe</i>	<i>ne-...-ume</i>

Starting with positive imperatives, I illustrate the distinction between singular and non-singular in (6.27). In (6.27a), the command is addressed to a singular second person subject and the suffix *-kwe* is used. In (6.27b) and (6.27c) the commands are addressed to dual and plural second person subjects respectively and both commands use the same circumfix *ne-...-kwe*.

- (6.27) a. *Bute-kwe!* *Mi-ke_S* *ikwene* *kueti-kwe!*
 go.down-IMP.SG 2SG-FM first pass-IMP.SG

‘You (sg) go down (from the motorcycle)! You (sg) pass (on the bridge) first! (And I will follow with the motorcycle.)’ mo017

- b. *Tudya* =*yatse_O* *señora=ra_A* *a-tsa-chine*,
 then =1DL lady=ERG affect-COME(O)-REC.PAST

“*Ne-je-nuka-kwe* *lasiete* *chine=ju!*”
 IMP.NSG-come-REITR-IMP.NSG at.seven night=LOC

‘Then the lady told (lit. affected) us (dl): “(you (dl)) come again at seven in the evening!’ vb005

c. *Ne-kwinana-wisha-kwe!* *Ne-kemi-kwe*
 IMP.NSG-emerge-FAST-IMP.NSG IMP.NSG-take.out-IMP.NSG

[*mikwana-ja* *carga=kwana*]o!
 2PL-GEN load=PL

‘(You (pl)) go out (of the plane)! (You (pl)) take your (pl) luggage out!’ av031

Negative imperatives are illustrated in (6.28). A negative singular imperative is shown in (6.28a) and a negative non-singular (plural) imperative is shown in (6.28b).

(6.28) a. *Mi-ke_S* *ani-kwe!* *Mi-ke_S* *je-ume!*
 2SG-FM sit-IMP.SG 2SG-FM come-IMP.SG.NEG

‘You (sg) stay (lit. sit)! You (sg) don’t come!’ n1.0167

b. *Mikwana=kama_{CC}* *mikwana_{CS}*.
 2PL=ONLY 2PL

Ne-k-iyē-ti-ume!
 IMP.NSG.NEG-REF-kill-REF-IMP.NSG.NEG

‘You (pl) are on your own (lit. you are only you). (So) don’t kill each other!’ T1.55

Imperative clauses are used very frequently. The same marking is used for a wide range of situations, from mild requests to fairly strong orders, regardless of social status. In (6.29a), for example, a grandfather uses an imperative to address his grandson, while in (6.29b) an imperative is used by a sacristan addressing a bishop.

(6.29) a. *Tudya =tu_O* *e-baba=ke=ra_A* *y-utsekwa=ke_O*
 then =3SG(-FM) 3-grandfather=3=ERG 3-grandchild=3

a-kware: “*Ebajarara* *tu-eke* *kwaba_O*
 tell-REM.PAST quickly there-PERL canoe

pisu-kwe!”
 untie-IMP.SG

‘Then the grandfather told his grandson: “There, untie the canoe, hurry up!” ps024

b. *Ba-ti-kwe* =*pa* *ekatse*_O!
 see-GO.TEMP-IMP.SG =REP 3DL

‘(When I and my brother arrived at the bishop’s house, to ask for his protection, the sacristan announced us to him saying, “Father, there are two Cavineñas here who want to talk to you,) go and see them (dl)!” gu027

The main way to express various overtones of commands can first be achieved by using various types of modifiers, in addition to the imperative morphology. (Another way is to not use imperative morphology but use TAM inflections instead; see below.)

Varying the degree of a command can be achieved by verbal affixes other than inflectional affixes, such as the Aktionsart *-wisha* ‘FAST’, which implies an order to be carried out immediately; an example can be seen in (6.27c).

It can also be achieved by using particles such as second position particles =*bakwe* ‘CONTR’ (§16.3.8) or =*ni* ‘MAYBE’ (§16.3.2), as in (6.30). Here, we have a conversation between a group of Cavineña men (C) who are making fun of Francisco Vaca (F), a newcomer to their community, during his first fishing expedition. Francisco has killed a caiman, an animal that he had never seen before. The men tell him that caimans are good to eat (although Cavineñas do not eat caiman) and that he should take it home. When Francisco refuses to do so, they become insistent and use =*bakwe* to strengthen their request (first clause). Then Francisco refuses again (second clause). He then tell them politely that they themselves can take the dead caiman if they want, using the particle =*ni* ‘MAYBE’ (third clause).

(6.30) C: *Duju-kwe* =*bakwe*!
 take-IMP.SG =CONTR

‘Come on! Take it (a dead caiman)! (Don’t leave it!’ lg028

F: *Aijama!* *E-ra*_A =*tu*_O *duju-ya=ama.*
 not.exist.at.all 1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) take-IMPV=NEG

‘No way! I’m not taking it.’ lg029

Ne-duju-kwe =*ni* *mikwana-ra_A!*
 IMP.NSG-take-IMP.NSG =MAYBE 2PL-ERG

‘You guys take it if you want!’ lg033

The second position reportative particle =*pa* ‘REP’ (§16.3.4) can also be used to soften an imperative command, as in (6.31).

(6.31) *Jeti-kwe* =*pa!* *Ba-diru-kwe* =*pa!*
 come-IMP.SG =REP see-GO.PERM-IMP.SG =REP

‘(Daddy,) come over, he says! Go see him, he says!’ me012

An imperative command can also be strengthened by phrasal particles such as =*kwita* ‘RESTR’ (§17.2.4) and =*dya* ‘FOC’ (§17.2.3). Alternatively, an imperative command can be softened by using the phrasal particle =*pji* DIM’ (§17.2.11).

Orders can also be achieved with other means than imperative morphology, using various imperative ‘strategies’.

In a way very similar to English, a statement with the imperfective inflection -*ya* in its future meaning can mean a very strong order which cannot be disobeyed, as in (6.32), a sequence of three clauses (with the last two having the imperative sense) uttered by a missionary lady to a Cavineña family on the penultimate day of their visit at the mission center.

(6.32) *Re-wa* =*ekwana_S* *kultu* *ju-ya.*
 here-LOC =1PL have.service be-IMPFV

Irisha=ju =*mikwana_S* *je-ya!*
 church=LOC =2PL come-IMPFV

Despedida =*mikwana_S* *ju-na-ya!*
 say.goodbye =2PL be-COME.TEMP-IMPFV

‘(Tomorrow) we’ll have a service here. You’ll come to the church!
 (And) you’ll say goodbye!’ ri050

Using the regular imperative morphology here would have left open the final decision of ‘coming to the church’ and ‘saying goodbye’ up to the addressee (the Cavineña family), an alternative that is not left with the imperfective -*ya*.

A very soft and polite request can be achieved by using a polar question with the potential inflection and the negation particle, as in (6.33); another similar example can be seen in (6.22).

- (6.33) *E-tya-u=ama* =*mi-ra*_A =*ekwana*_O?
 POT-give-POT=NEG =2SG-ERG =1PL
 ‘Couldn’t you give one (radio transmitter) to us (pl)?’ tb066

This request was made to me by a group of Cavineña men. They knew that a short-wave radio transmitter is very expensive and that I could probably not afford it, and they expressed their request in a very soft way.

Another very polite way to formulate a command to a second person can be achieved by making the command as if it was addressed to a third person, using jussive marking (see §6.2.3). This is shown in (6.34). This example comes from the same conversation as (6.33). Cavineñas cannot afford gold rings. When Vidal Mayo saw my gold ring he said:

- (6.34) *E-kwe* *pa-ju* *metara*_S!
 1SG-DAT JUSS-be ring
 ‘Let the ring be mine!’ (i.e., I would like to have the ring) tb030

Finally, Cavineña has one interjection that has a clear imperative meaning, *kwii*, illustrated in (6.35).

- (6.35) *Kwii*, *Kana!* *Duju-kwe* *ekwana*_O!
 go.first Kana take-IMP.SG 1PL
 ‘(You) go first Kana! (You) take us (there).’ hm105

6.2.2. Hortative inflections

A verb inflected with hortative morphology has a first person subject (S/CS or A). Hortative morphology is sensitive to a singular vs. dual vs. plural distinction. Unlike imperative morphology, there are no special negative hortative morphemes. Negating a hortative verbs is realized by the regular negative particle =*ama* (see negation of hortative verbs in §6.2.4.)

The paradigm of hortative inflections is reproduced in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3. Hortative inflections

Singular	<i>pa-</i>
Dual	<i>ne-</i>
Plural	<i>ne-...-ra</i>

The three number distinctions are illustrated in (6.36). The command is addressed to a first person singular in (6.36a), to a first person dual in (6.36b) and to a first person plural in (6.36c).

- (6.36) a. *Ikwene e-ra_A e-kwe rimu_O pa-ke_{ti}!*
 first 1SG-ERG 1SG-DAT lemon HORT.SG-fetch

‘Let me first fetch a lemon for myself!’ bc026

- b. *Chine=keja je-ya salon=tsewe.*
 night=LOC.GNL come-IMPV rifle=ASSOC

Ne-iyе chai=kwana_O!
 HORT.DL-kill bird=PL

‘I will come late afternoon with my rifle. Let us (dl) hunt (lit. kill) birds!’ tb174

- c. *Jutakiju gobierno_O ne-baka-ra*
 therefore government HORT.PL-ask-HORT.PL

[ekwana_O tsawa=ishu]!
 1PL help=PURP

‘Therefore, let’s (pl) ask the government to help us!’ T1.14

The singular hortative marker is an interesting feature of Cavineña since cross-linguistically, hortative commands tend to be restricted to non-singular S/A (Aikhenvald 2003b: 6). It is used when the speaker expresses his will/intentions to himself; very often, as in (6.19a), the speaker is simply alone and ‘talks to himself’. On the contrary, when the speaker communicates his will/intentions to an addressee, we typically have imperfective (declarative) marking (with future reading). This can be seen in the first sentence of (6.19b).

6.2.3. Jussive inflection

A verb inflected with the jussive prefix has a third person subject (S/CS or A). Here, there is only one morpheme, *pa-*, which is used for any number. There are no special markers for negative jussive; similarly to the hortative, negation is marked by the particle =*ama*.

Note that the jussive marker is homophonous with the singular hortative marker, suggesting that the two morphemes are historically related (see discussion in §6.2.6 below).

I illustrate the jussive marker with the three number values: singular in (6.37a), dual in (6.37b) and plural in (6.37c).

- (6.37) a. *Esiri=ke_S pa-diru! Mi-ke_S ani-kwe!*
 old=LIG JUSS-go 2SG-FM sit-IMP.SG
 ‘Let the old one (man) leave! You (sg) stay (lit. sit)!’ mu044
- b. *Pa-kastere=jari ekatse_S!*
 JUSS-become.tired=STILL 3DL
 ‘Let these (two monkeys) get tired (quarrelling) (and then I will kill them easily)!’ to007
- c. *Tuna-ra_A pa-isara-ti!*
 3PL-ERG JUSS-talk.to-GO.TEMP
 ‘Let them (the people from the CIRABO organization) go and talk to them (the Araona people who are fighting with each other)!’ T1.20

6.2.4. Negating verbs with hortative and jussive inflections

Unlike for imperative, there is no special negative morphology for hortative and jussive commands. Verbs inflected with hortative or jussive affixes are negated similarly to verbs inflected with TAM affixes, i.e., with the negation enclitic particle =*ama* ‘NEG’ (§17.2.10). This is illustrated in (6.38) for hortative (singular and plural) and (6.39) for jussive (plural).

- (6.38) Negative hortative
- a. *Re-keja i-ke_S pa-maju=ama!*
 here-LOC.GNL 1SG-FM HORT.SG-die=NEG
 ‘(I prayed God and I told him:) let me not die here!’ sd057
- b. *Jadya ne-a-ra=ama!*
 thus HORT.PL-affect-HORT.PL=NEG
 ‘Let’s (pl) not do it that way.’ T1.19

(6.39) Negative jussive

Tumebae=dya [*mikwana-ja* *bakwa=kwana*]_s
 also=FOC 2PL-GEN child=PL
jakacha *pa-ju=ama* *escuela=ju!*
 be.absent JUSS-be=NEG school=LOC

‘Also, your children should not miss (lit. be absent at) school.’
 di1648

6.2.5. Non-command meanings

Imperative and hortative markers can have non-command meanings. This is found in replies to a wish expressed by a first person, with a verb inflected with either hortative or imperfective. Unless the addressee has an objection, s/he normally replies by repeating the same verb with the appropriate command inflection, in addition to the emphatic particle =*taa*.

In (6.40), we have a conversational turn between Elio Tavo (E) and his wife, Mirta (M). Elio informs her that he is going hunting:

(6.40) E: *I-ke_s* *babi=ra* *kwa-ya*.
 1SG-FM hunt=PURP.MOT go-IMPFV

‘I’m going hunting.’

M: A, *kwa-kwe* =*taa!*
 INTERJ go-IMP.SG =EMPH

‘Alright, see you later then! (lit. you go!).’ mp006

In (6.41), a grandfather (A) communicates to his grandchild (B) his wish to go back home (after a fruitless fishing night). He uses dual hortative morphology because this wish includes the grandchild too.

(6.41) A: *Ne-diru-nuka* *Utsekwa!*
 HORT.DL-go-REITR grandchild

‘Let’s go back, Grandchild!’ ps014

B: *Ne-diru* =*taa* *Baba-chi!*
 HORT-go =EMPH grandfather-AFFTN

‘Alright, let’s go then, Grandpa!’ ps016

6.2.6. Markedness and historical considerations

Cavineña has overt marking for commands addressed to the three persons (second, first and third). It is worth reflecting on the Cavineña system from a broader typological perspective. Cross-linguistic studies have shown that systems used to express commands typically follow an implicational hierarchy of person distinctions, as follows (from Aikhenvald 2003b: 6):³

$$2^{\text{nd}} > 1^{\text{st}} \text{ NSG} > 3^{\text{rd}} > 1^{\text{st}} \text{ SG}$$

The scale reads as follows. If a language has any marking for commands, it is expected that it will be a command addressed to a second person. If more complex, the language will also have first person non-singular command marking, then third person and finally first person singular.

The Cavineña system fits the scale quite nicely. First, it encodes all these distinctions, without any gap. Second, it is of note that that first person singular command and third person command have the same form (*pa-*) and that they look quite different from the rest of the markers. This sets them both separately from the rest, as they are on the implicational hierarchy scale above. This can be better seen from the three paradigm reproduced below in a slightly different arrangement:

IMPERATIVE (2 nd)		HORTATIVE (1 st)		JUSSIVE (3 rd)	
<i>-kwe</i>	SG				
<i>ne-...-kwe</i>	NSG	<i>ne-</i>	DL		
		<i>ne-...-ra</i>	PL		
		<i>pa-</i>	SG	<i>pa-</i>	SG/DL/PL

Note the ‘family resemblance’ that goes across imperative and hortative non-singular with *-kwe* and *ne-* being both shared by two or more markers. On the other hand, the *pa-* shape of singular hortative and jussive looks very different.

According to the predictions of the implicational hierarchy, singular hortative and jussive markers should have developed later than the rest. Their origin remains unclear however. They are homophonous with the reportative second position enclitic particle =*pa* (see §16.3.4) but it seems unlikely that a prefix would develop from an enclitic.

³ I have slightly simplified the scale, omitting inclusive/exclusive distinctions which are not relevant to the Cavineña situation.

Chapter 7

Predicate structure — Aktionsart suffixes

Aktionsart suffixes, which occupy slot H of the predicate, are semantically very rich and complex. Their function is to modify the predicate, a function often fulfilled by adverbs in other languages. They encode a wide range of notions having to do with aspect, manner, modality, space and time. According to their semantics, they can be sorted into 4 major classes: (i) aspect/manner (§7.1), (ii) motion (§7.2), (iii) time of day (§7.3) and (iv) emotion (§7.4).

Similarly to adverbs in many languages, some Aktionsart suffixes are event-related while others are argument-related. Event-related suffixes modify the verb event only; e.g., *-wisha* encodes the fact that the verb event is performed rapidly. Argument-related suffixes modify both the verb event and a particular argument of the verb; e.g., *-bare* which encodes the fact that the verb event is distributed over S/O arguments.

A number of suffixes are sensitive to the transitivity of the verb stem. They have one variant for intransitive verbs and another variant for transitive verbs. This is the case, for example, with the completive suffix *-tere/-tirya*, where *-tere* is used with intransitive verbs and *-tirya* with transitive verbs.

Up to three Aktionsart suffixes can co-occur in a single predicate (in slot H), provided they are semantically compatible. A full discussion of the distribution of Aktionsart suffixes is given in §7.5.

About half of the Aktionsart suffixes have a corresponding independent verb; e.g., the suffix *-diru* ‘GO.PERM’ corresponds to the independent verb *diru* ‘go (permanently)’. This raises the question of whether the suffixes should rather be analyzed as serialized or compounded verbs. This issue is addressed in §7.6, where I show that the suffix analysis is a better one because of the lack of productivity of the putative serialization/compounding analysis.

7.1. Aktionsart suffixes of aspect/manner

7.1.1. *-tere/-tirya* ‘COMP’ vs. *-bisha* ‘INCOMP’

The suffixes *-tere/-tirya* ‘COMPLETIVE’ and *-bisha* ‘INCOMPLETIVE’ are argument-related. They encode the fact the S/O argument is completely vs. incompletely affected by the verb event.

The suffix *-tere/-tirya* has the peculiarity that a different form is used depending on the transitivity of the verb stem it occurs with: *-tere* only occurs

with intransitive stems, as in (7.1a) (elicited), whereas *-tirya* only occurs with transitive stems, as in (7.1b).

- (7.1) a. *Tiru-tere-wa* [e-kwe budari]_S.
burn-COMP-PERF 1SG-GEN banana

‘My banana burned completely.’ n2.0196

- b. [*Iyuka biti*]_O =tu_A yupu-*tirya-kware*
head skin =3SG(-ERG) take.off-COMP-REM.PAST

*iba=ra*_A.
jaguar=ERG

‘The jaguar tore off his whole scalp.’ ts031

- c. ... =tu_S amena beta=*ishu* yawa_S
=3SG(-FM) BM two=PURP.GNL ground

huri-tere-nuka-kware.
crack-COMP-REITR-REM.PAST

‘(When we arrived there,) the whole ground cracked for the second time.’ tr038

The suffix *-bisha* is very scarce in the available corpus. It only appears in a few examples in Camp and Liccardi’s (1989) dictionary and in some of my own elicited examples. As an illustration, consider (7.2) (intransitive) and (7.3) (transitive).

- (7.2) *Tiru-bisha-chine=kwana=ke*_O ekwana-*ja*
burn-INCOMP-REC.PAST=PL=LIG 1PL-DAT

ne-sare-kwe...!
IMP.NSG-look.for-IMP.NSG

‘(Go) get us live coal (lit. what has incompletely burned) (so that we can start the fire).’ di2710

- (7.3) a. *Ara-bisha-ya* =ni =tu-*ke*_O =mi_A earaki_O.
eat-INCOMP-IMPV =MAYBE =3SG-FM =2SG(-ERG) food

‘I think there is going to be some leftovers (lit. You might not eat all the food).’ di0123

- b. [*E-ra*_A *arusu*_O *taka-bisha-wa=ke*]_O *taka-kwe!*
 1SG-ERG rice peel-INCOMP-PERF=LIG peel-IMP.SG

‘Could you finish peeling the rice (lit. peel the rice that I haven’t finished peeling!).’ n5.0403

The suffix *-tere/-tirya* can have two different interpretations, depending on the number of the S/O referent. If the S/O argument is singular, as in (7.1) above,¹ the suffix means that the verb event affects its referent as a whole. But if the S/O argument is plural, as in the examples in (7.4) below, the meaning is that the verb event affects exhaustively all its referents:²

- (7.4) a. [*Jadya a-ya=ju* *=pa =tuna*]_S
 thus affect-IMPV=DS =REP =3PL

neti-tsura-tere-kware.
 stand-GO.UP-COMP-REM.PAST

‘(The man who had heard the noise said: “Get up everybody, someone wants to kill us!”). When he said that to them, they all stood up.’ cc019

- b. *Shana-tirya-kware =tuna*_A
 leave-COMP-REM.PAST =3PL(-ERG)

[*piya=kwana*_O *mariku=kwana*_O *jadya*].
 arrow=PL bag=PL and

‘(They ran away and) left all their arrows and bags behind.’ (Camp and Liccardi 1989: 314)

- c. *Iji=ra =e-kwe maju-tere-jeri-kware*
 drink=CAUSE =1SG-DAT die-COMP-ALMOST-REM.PAST

*kawayu=kwana*_S.
 horse=PL

‘(Because of the drought,) my horses have almost all died from thirst.’ en003

¹ Note that plural marking is not obligatory in Cavineña (see §13.3.1). In other words *budari* ‘banana’ in (7.1) could have a plural meaning even though it is not marked by *=kwana* ‘PL’. However, Francisco Vaca, who proposed this example, made it clear from his translation that he intended a singular referent.

² I do not have examples with dual referents. It is thus unclear which meaning of the suffixes would obtain in that situation.

Whether *-bisha* can display these alternative interpretations or not remains to be investigated.

The suffix *-tere* ‘COMP’ can be used with speech verbs such as *kike-/keke-* ‘shout’ and *mari-* ‘roar’ and express a distressing/painful situation. This is illustrated in (7.5).

- (7.5) a. *Tudya diru-baka-tsu kike-tere-aje-kware*
 then go-SHORT.TIME-SS shout-COMP-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST
maju-diru=ishu.
 die-GO.PERM=PURP.GNL

‘Then, he (the jaguar I had shot) went away a short distance, screaming of pain (lit. screaming completely) intermittently before he died.’ mt012

- b. *Tawi-ya=ke=dya_S =pa =tu_S mari-tere-kware.*
 sleep-IMPV=LIG=FOC =REP =3SG(-FM) roar-COMPL-REM.PAST

‘While they were sleeping (lit. they, who were sleeping), they moaned (lit. roared completely).’ hm052

Both *-tere* and *-tirya* have a corresponding independent verb, *tere-* ‘finish (itr.)’ and *tirya-* ‘finish (tr.)’, respectively.³ These verbs are illustrated in (7.6).

- (7.6) a. *Arusus =e-kwe amena tere-ya.*
 rice =1SG-DAT BM finish-IMPV

‘I am about to run out of rice (lit. the rice is going to finish to me).’ di2667

- b. *Tirya-wa =tu-ke_O =e-kwe arusu_O [juje=kwana=ra]_A.*
 finish-PERF =3SG-FM =1SG-DAT rice duck=PL=ERG

‘The ducks ate (lit. finished) all my rice.’ di2687

It is also worth noting the existence of the phrasal particle *=tere* ‘ONLY’ (§17.2.6).

³ One might have remarked on the similarity between the two verbs/suffixes. Indeed, historically, *tirya-* is a causativized form of *tere-* via an old causative suffix *-a* (see §5.2.6). This suffix is found in a few transitive verbs such as *butya-* ‘lower’ (from *bute-* ‘go down’), *nudya-* ‘make enter’ (from *nubi-* ‘enter’), etc.

7.1.2. *-jaka* ‘STOP’ vs. *-tibile* ‘START’

The suffix *-jaka* encodes the fact that the verb event is interrupted. It is illustrated in (7.7) (intransitive) and (7.8) (transitive).

- (7.7) ... *amena nei_S =dyadi ju-jaka-chine.*
 BM rain =STRG.EMPH be-STOP-REC.PAST
 ‘... the rain stopped (lit. stopped to be).’ rb070

- (7.8) a. *Tudya =∅_O [e-kwe profeso=ra]_A amena*
 then (=1SG-FM) 1SG-GEN professor=ERG BM
katsa-jaka-kware
 beat-STOP-REM.PAST
 ‘Then, my teacher (lit. professor) stopped beating me (when he saw that I knew how to read).’ es052

- b. ... *bei=ju ina-jaka-diru-kware matuja_O.*
 lake=LOC grab-STOP-GO.PERM-REM.PAST caiman
 ‘He let go (lit. stopped grabbing) of the caiman in the lake.’ cd007

In the corpus, *-jaka* also occurs with the intransitive verb *bukuku* ‘move’, as *bukuku-jaka* ‘stop moving’, the transitive verbs *a-* ‘affect O’, as *a-jaka* ‘stop calling O a certain way’,⁴ *ejene* ‘believe O’, as *ejene-jaka* ‘stop believing O’, and *muba* ‘fear O’, as *muba-jaka* ‘stop fearing O’.

This suffix corresponds to the independent transitive verb *jaka* ‘abandon, move away from’, as illustrated in (7.9).

- (7.9) a. [*E-kari_O a-aje-ya=ke*]_O =tu_A *jaka-wa.*
 NPF-path affect-GO.DISTR-IMPV=LIG =3SG(-ERG) abandon-PERF
 ‘He moved away from the path he was cutting (through the forest) (and as a result he lost his way).’ se014b
- b. *Beru =tu-ke_O =ekwana_A [ekwana-ja e-tare=kwana]_O*
 before =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) 1PL-GEN NPF-house=PL
jaka-kware.
 abandon-REM.PAST

⁴ Coming from an example where *a-* has the semantics of a transitive quotative verb. See §5.4 for a discussion of the semantics of *a-*.

‘It has been a long time since we abandoned our houses.’ mj158

Note that there is a related auxiliary-triggering suffix *-jakama* ‘CEASELESSLY’ (§10.1.3).

The suffix *-tibune* carries the meaning that the event expressed by the verb stem is performed for the first time with the implication that it will be performed again in the future. As an illustration, consider (7.10) (elicited intransitive example) and (7.11) (transitive).

- (7.10) *Amena ara-ara-tibune-ya ebakwapiji_S*
 BM eat-REDUP-START-IMPV small.child

‘The child started to eat (i.e., he does not take milk anymore).’
 n3.0387

- (7.11) a. *Amena tuekedyā =tu_O e-ra_A isara-tibune-kware.*
 BM then =3SG(-FM) 1SG-ERG talk.to-START-REM.PAST

‘(In order to break the silence) I started talking to them.’ pa057

- b. *Tuekedyā [pae=kwana_S mision=ju ju-eti-wa=ju]*
 then priest=PL mission=LOC be-COME.PERM-PERF=DS

=*tuna-ja =tu_O amena eskupeta_O*
 =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) BM shotgun

ina-tibune-kware.
 grab-START-REM.PAST

‘Then, after the priests had arrived at the mission, they (our Cavineña ancestors) started to use (lit. grab) shotguns.’ di2677

The suffix *-tibune* has a corresponding independent verb, *tibune-* ‘start’, which is transitive. This verb takes as its O argument either a noun, as in (7.12a), or a \emptyset -nominalized verb, as in (7.12b).

- (7.12) a. *E-ra_A =tu_O tibune-ya e-tare_O.*
 1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) start-IMPV NPF-house

‘I will start (building) the house.’ n2.0948

- b. *Laocho = \emptyset _A tibune-chine ara-ara_O.*
 at.eight (=1SG-ERG) start-REC.PAST eat-REDUP

‘I started eating at 8 o’clock.’ n2.0952

The semantic difference between suffix *-tibune* and the verb *tibune-* is not altogether clear. Possibly the suffix is used when the verb event is started for the first time, whereas the construction with a complement is used when just focusing on the beginning of one particular instance of the action referred to by the verb stem.

7.1.3. *-jeri/-neri* ‘ALMOST’

The suffix *-jeri/-neri* encodes the fact that the verb event is unsuccessfully realized. It can roughly be glossed by the adverb ‘almost’ in English.⁵

The form *-jeri* is used when the predicate is affirmative. The form *-neri* occurs when the predicate is negative. As an illustration, we have *-jeri* in the affirmative intransitive predicate in (7.13a) and *-neri* in the negative intransitive predicate in (7.13b).

- (7.13) a. ... [*i-ke*_O *ekwita=ra*_A *benu-kere-ya=ju*] *i-ke*_S
 1SG-FM person=ERG turn-APPL-IMPV=DS 1SG-FM
 pajaka-jeri-chine.
 fall-ALMOST-REC.PAST

‘When the man (my motorcycle-taxi driver) and I turned, I almost fell (from the motorcycle).’ br008

- b. [*Umae* *esiri-esiri*_{CC=kwana=ke}]_S =*pa* *ekana*_S
 few old-REDUP=PL=LIG =REP 3PL
 tawi-neri-ya=ama=dya.
 sleep-ALMOST-IMPV=NEG=FOC

‘A few of the very old (people) almost did not sleep.’ cc013

Speakers have confirmed that the forms **pakaka-neri-chine* and **tawi-jeri-ya=ama=dya* are ungrammatical.

Examples with affirmative transitive predicates are given in (7.14).

- (7.14) a. *Karu-jeri-tsa-kware=kwita* =*pa* =*tu-ra*_A.
 bite-ALMOST-COME(O)-REM.PAST=RESTR =REP =3SG-ERG

‘(There was a rattlesnake at the edge of the forest. When Tata Crisanto got there,) it almost bit him.’ vi011

⁵ See Kuteva (1998) for a discussion of this category cross-linguistically, under the term “action narrowly averted”.

- b. *Jadya =ekwana_O nei=ra_A iye-jeri-chine.*
 thus =1PL rain=ERG kill-ALMOST-REC.PAST

‘This is how the rain almost killed us (filling the boat and threatening to overturn us).’ rb056

- c. *Tudya jeti-nuka-baka-tsu =∅_O amena*
 then come-REITR-SHORT.TIME-SS (=1SG-FM) BM

[*e-kike patya iba=ra_A*
 NPF-forest IN.MIDDLE.OF jaguar=ERG

ina-jeri-kware.
 grab-ALMOST-REM.PAST

‘As we kept coming for a little while through the forest, a jaguar tried to catch me (lit. almost caught me).’ mt008

Finally, we should note that there are no verbs corresponding to the suffixes *-jeri/-neri*.

7.1.4. *-nuka* ‘REITR’

The suffix *-nuka* ‘REITeRative’ encodes the fact that a verb event is reiterated. It can be roughly translated into English by the constructions ‘V again’, ‘keep V-ing’ or ‘V back’. As an illustration, consider (7.15) (intransitive) and (7.16) (transitive):

- (7.15) a. *Mil.siete.cientos.sesenta.y.cuatro=ju =pa =tu_S paes*
 seventeen.sixty.four=LOC =REP =3SG(-FM) priest

ju-na-kware [...] [
 be-COME.TEMP-REM.PAST

[*Sesenta setenta mara=kwana ju-atsu*
 sixty seventy year=UNCERT be-SS⁶

=ni =tu_S amena *ju-na-nuka-kware...*
 =MAYBE =3SG(-FM) BM be-COME.TEMP-REITR-REM.PAST

‘In the year 1764, a priest came (to our grandfathers and then went back). [4 sentences later]. After about 60 or 70 years later, he came again....’ hs005-008

⁶ A discussion of why we have a same subject marker here is in §18.2.2.

- b. [*Peadya tunka mara=kwana ju-atsu*] =*tu*_S *ekwita*_S
 one ten year=APPROX be-SS =3SG(-FM) person
kwa-nuka-kware *babi=ra...*
 go-REITR-REM.PAST hunt=PURP.MOT

‘After about ten years or so, the man went hunting again.’ cd009

- c. *Tuekedyā* =*ekwana*_S *Wichiki=ju*_{CC}=*kes* *kwa-nuka-chine*
 then =1PL Wichiki=LOC=LIG go-REITR-REC.PAST

‘Then, we, from Wichiki, kept going.’ ft041

- (7.16) a. ... = \emptyset _A *mare-nuka-kware*.
 (=1SG-ERG) shoot.at-REITR-REM.PAST

‘(After loading my gun), I shot at it (a deer) again.’ sl043

- b. *Tume* =*tu-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A *e-spere*_O *bare-nuka-chine*
 then =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) NPF-stream pass-REITR-REC.PAST
*peya*_O.
 other

‘Then, we passed another stream.’ ft046

The suffix *-nuka* encodes the reoccurrence of an action but not its distribution. In this sense, *-nuka* differs significantly from suffixes and devices such as *-bare* ‘DISTR’ (§7.1.7), *-(ne)ni* ‘RANDOM’ (§7.1.8), *-aje* ‘GO.DISTR’, *-be* ‘COME.TEMP.DISTR’ and *-etibe* ‘COME.PERM.DISTR’ (§7.2.2), or (the auxiliary-triggering process of) full verb stem reduplication (§10.6). With the suffix *-nuka*, the verb event is repeated ‘externally’. That is, it is repeated with reference to some other instance of a similar event that occurred earlier in the discourse. With distributive suffixes, on the other hand, the verb event is repeated ‘internally’. That is, it is as if one global event is viewed from the inside and is made up of the repetition of small subevents. This is reflected in that with *-nuka*, the two (or more) events that make the repetition do not need to be exactly similar. For example, they can have different arguments. This is the case in (7.16b), for example, where only the A argument has the same referent. The O argument of *bare-* ‘pass’ has a different referent from the O argument of the previous instance of the verb (i.e., a different stream), a fact which is made explicit by the presence of the discontinuous quantifier *peya* ‘other’. Now, with distributive suffixes/devices, the repeated events are exactly similar in nature and argument structure.

There is a verbal equivalent to the suffix *-nuka*, namely the transitive verb *nuka-* ‘fold, wrap’, as illustrated in (7.17).

- (7.17) *E-ra*_A =*tu*_O ***nuka***-*ya* *kunu*_O.
 1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) fold-IMPV liana
 ‘I am going wrap a liana (around some logs to tie them together).’
 n3.0461

There is also a phrasal particle =*nuka* ‘REITR’ (see §17.2.2).

7.1.5. *-baka* ‘SHORT.TIME’ vs. *-siri* ‘LONG.TIME’

The suffix *-baka* encodes the fact that the verb event is performed for a relatively short time. It is illustrated in (7.18) (intransitive) and (7.19) (elicited transitive).

- (7.18) a. *Ne-tawi-baka-kwe!*
 IMP.NSG-sleep-SHORT.TIME-IMP.NSG
 ‘Sleep a little bit (lit. a short time)!’ n2.0798
- b. *Jadya =ekwana*_S *kwatsabiji* *ju-baka-wa=piji*
 thus =1PL tell.story.to be-SHORT.TIME-PERF=DIM
Hermano.
 brother
 ‘Thus we have talked a little bit (lit. a short time), Brother.’ ct165
- c. *Kwa-baka-nuka-tsu* =*pa* =*tu*_A *ba-aje-kware*
 go-SHORT.TIME-REITR-SS =REP =3SG(-ERG) see-GO.DISTR-PAST
 [*kwanubi=kwana=ja e-mekware*]_O.
 animal=PL=GEN NPF-tracks
 ‘He kept going and (because he was close to a saltlick) soon started to see tracks of animals.’ se029
- (7.19) a. *Iwa-baka-wa* =*mi-ke*_O =*e-ra*_A.
 wait.for-SHORT.TIME-PERF =2SG-FM =1SG-ERG
 ‘I’ve waited for you a little bit.’ n3.0152

- b. *Jadyaatsu* =*pa* =*tu-ra*_A =*mi*_O
 later.today =REP =3SG-ERG =2SG(-FM)

kwaji-ti-baka-ya.

visit-GO.TEMP-SHORT.TIME-IMPFV

‘He will go and pay you a short visit later.’ n5.0443

Even though *-baka* most often best translates into English with the adverbial phrase ‘a little bit’, I should emphasize the fact that the sense is essentially about the duration of the event, not about the lack of completeness. Lack of completeness would rather be encoded by *-bisha* ‘INCOMP’ (§7.1.1). It is not about lack of intensity either. Lack of intensity is encoded by phrasal particles such as =*piji* ‘DIM’ (§17.2.11) or =*jipenee* ‘ALMOST’ (§17.2.14).

The suffix *-siri* ‘LONG.TIME’ has only been obtained in elicitation, while searching for a possible antonym of *-baka*, and only a few examples are available. Its meaning appears to be the opposite of *-baka*, namely that the time span of the action is particularly long (possibly forever). It is illustrated in (7.20) (intransitive) and (7.21) (transitive).

- (7.20) a. *Ani-tsurasiri-wa* [ekwana-ja e-tata Yusu]
 sit-GO.UP-LONG.TIME-PERF 1PL-GEN 1-father God

barepa=ju.

sky=LOC

‘Our God went to (lit. sat up in) heaven (lit. sky) forever.’ n3.0147

- b. *Pa-siri-jara-ya=dya* =*tu-ke*_S.
 cry-LONG.TIME-ADVERS-IMPFV=FOC =3SG-FM

‘It has been months that she keeps crying (because of the death of her child).’ n5.0445

- c. *Tiru-siri-ya=jari=dya* *e-kike*_S.
 burn-LONG.TIME-IMPFV=STILL=FOC NPF-forest

‘The forest has been burning for months.’ n5.0447

- (7.21) *Naru-siri-kware* =*tu*_O *e-ra*_A
 take.care.of-LONG.TIME-REM.PAST =3SG(-FM) 1SG-ERG

[*mi-kwe metara*]_O.

2SG-GEN ring

‘I took care of your ring all that time.’ n3.0156

There are two independent verbs in Cavineña with the forms *baka* and *siri*, namely the transitive *baka*- ‘hear, listen to, understand, ask’ and the transitive *siri*- ‘break, tear’. One might wonder, however, due to the rather striking semantics differences, if these are really the source of the two suffixes. Comparative evidence is needed to clarify this issue.

7.1.6. *-wisha* ‘FAST’

The suffix *-wisha* encodes the fact that the verb event is performed at a very fast pace. I have very few examples of it; it occurs only once in my texts (example (7.22a)); it is also found in one example in Camp and Liccardi’s (1989) dictionary (example (7.22b)). For the rest, most examples come from elicitation.

The following examples illustrate *-wisha* with intransitive verbs (in (7.22)) and transitive verbs (in (7.23)).

- (7.22) a. *Ne-kwinana-wisha-kwe!* [...] *Nei_{CS} =tu_{CS}*
 IMP.NSG-emerge-FAST-IMP.NSG rain =3SG(-FM)

kasa-da_{CC} ju-ya.
 strong-ASF be-IMPFV

‘“Get out (of the plane and go home)! Hurry up! [...] It is going to rain heavily (lit. strong),” (the pilot told us, after landing).’ av031

- b. [*Wija-ya=ke_O rake-wa=ju*] =tu_S
 sprout-IMPFV=LIG break-PERF=DS =3SG(-FM)

dane-wisha-ya=ama.
 grow-FAST-IMPFV=NEG

‘When one pulls up (lit. break) young shoots (lit. what is sprouting), (the grass) doesn’t grow rapidly.’ di1445

- (7.23) a. *Iji-wisha-kwe e-na_O!*
 drink-FAST-IMP.SG NPF-water
 ‘Drink your water quickly (and let’s go)!’ n3.0392

- b. *Wika-wisha-kware=ama=jari e-ra_A*
 extract-FAST-REM.PAST=NEG=STILL 1SG-ERG

[*wika [[jae e-kwatsa]=ju_{CC}=ke]*]_O.
 hook fish NPF-mouth=LOC=LIG

‘I still haven’t extracted the hook from the fish’s mouth.’ n2.0956

Possibly corresponding to the suffix *-wisha* is the independent transitive verb *wisha-* ‘shake’ as in (7.24).

- (7.24) ***Wisha***-*ya=ju* =*tu*_S *e-kaka*_S *pakaka*-*ya*.
shake-IMPFV=DS =3SG(-FM) NPF-fruit fall-IMPFV

‘When he shook (the tree), the fruit fell.’ di1461

7.1.7. *-bare* ‘DISTR’

The suffix *-bare* ‘DISTRibutive’ has an S/O argument scope. It expresses the fact that the verb stem event affects each referent of a plural S/O argument individually. It cannot be used with singular or dual S/O arguments.

Illustrations with intransitive and transitive verbs are provided in (7.25) and (7.26) respectively.

- (7.25) a. *Peyainime*_{CC} *ekana*_{CS} *ju-bare*-*kware*
sad 3PL be-DISTR-REM.PAST

‘Everyone was very sad (when they learned that their beddings had burned).’ fg030

- b. *Tudya* =*ekwana*_S *amena* *bute-bare*-*kware*
then =1PL BM go.down-DISTR-REM.PAST

‘We all got down (from the bus) (one after another).’ ga031

- (7.26) a. *Tudya* =*tu*_O [*e-kwe* *e-awe=ra*]_A
then =3SG(-FM) 1SG-GEN 1-husband=ERG

mepe-ti-bare-*kware*
pick-GO.TEMP-DISTR-REM.PAST

[*e-na=ju* *jeta-jeta-ni-ya=kwana=ke*]_O.
NPF-water=LOC float-REDUP-RANDOM-IMPFV=PL=LIG

‘Then my husband went and picked up all our things that were floating around in the water.’ ri017

- b. *Tudya e-ra_A chine=ishu iwara-bare-kware*
 then 1SG-ERG fiesta=PURP.GNL call-DISTR-REM.PAST
padre.de.familia=kwana_O.
 parents=PL

‘Then I invited (lit. called) all the (students’) parents for the fiesta (in all the surrounding communities).’ fg003

- c. ... =tu_O kwejiji=ra_A e-kike=kwana_O, akwi=kwana_O
 =3SG(-FM) wind=ERG NPF-forest=PL tree=PL
riwi-sha-bare-aje-kware.
 fall-CAUS-DISTR-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST

‘... the wind destroyed (lit. made fall down all over little by little) the forest, the trees (over a distance of about 50 meters).’ hu023

Note that in English, *-bare* is most often best translated by the quantifier ‘all’ because of the fact that the event distributes evenly to all participants. At first glance, the meaning of *-bare* could then appear to be very similar to the meaning of *-tere/-tirya* ‘COMP’ (§7.1.1 above). However, the suffixes *-bare* and *-tere/-tirya* are not synonymous. The suffixes *-tere/-tirya*, in the case of a plural S/O argument, emphasize the fact that the totality of S/O referents are affected. The suffix *-bare*, on the other hand, emphasizes the fact that each S/O referent is individually affected, even though this often implies that all the referents are affected. We can compare the use of *-tere* in (7.4a) (repeated) with the use of *-bare* in (7.27). In (7.4a), what is emphasized is that the news of an imminent attack is making the whole group of S referents react (i.e., stand up). In contrast, in (7.27), what is emphasized is the fact that each S referent has been strongly affected by the fight with the anteater and, as a result, lies down for a rest.

- (7.4a) [*Jadya a-ya=ju*] =pa =tuna_S
 thus affect-IMPV=DS =REP =3PL
neti-tsura-tere-kware.
 stand-GO.UP-COMP-REM.PAST

‘(The man who had heard the noise said: “Get up everybody, someone wants to kill us!”). When he said that to them, they all stood up.’ cc019

- (7.27) *Yu-wa=kwita=dya* *chapa=kwanas*
 over.there-LOC=RESTR=FOC dog=PL
jara-bare-kware *ekanas*.
 lie-DISTR-REM.PAST 3PL
 ‘(When I finally managed to kill that damned anteater,) all my
 dogs immediately lay down (to rest).’ ba147

Interestingly, I noted that the speakers occasionally reinforce the distributive and individuation meaning of *-bare* by a gesture pointing to various directions.

This difference between *-tere/-tirya* and *-bare* is also reflected in their respective morpho-syntax. For example, *-bare* cannot be used if the S/O argument does not have plural reference, as was possible with *-tere/-tirya*. Thus compare (7.1a) (repeated) with (7.28a) and the ungrammatical (7.28b):⁷

- (7.1a) a. *Tiru-tere-wa* [*e-kwe budari*]_S.
 burn-COMP-PERF 1SG-GEN banana
 ‘My banana completely burned.’ n2.0196
- (7.28) a. *Tiru-bare-wa* [*e-kwe budari=kwana*]_S.
 burn-DISTR-PERF 1SG-GEN banana=PL
 ‘My bananas all burned.’ n2.0199
- b. **Tiru-bare-wa* [*e-kwe budari*]_S.

Finally, corresponding to the suffix *-bare*, there is an independent transitive verb *bare-* meaning ‘pass, overtake’, as illustrated in (7.29). Another example of this verb can be seen (7.16b).

- (7.29) *Tudya amena* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *bare-kware*
 then BM =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) pass-REM.PAST
 [*ebakwapiji tsura-ya=ke*]_O.
 small.child go.up-IMPV=LIG
 ‘Then, I passed the child who was climbing (and I reached the fruit
 at the top of the tree first).’ mg011

⁷ Although plurality is not obligatorily marked in an NP (see §13.3.1), it was clear from Francisco Vaca, who volunteered these examples (and gave a translation), that there was only one single banana involved in both (7.1a) and (7.28b).

Note that the meaning difference between the suffix and the verb is quite important. Nevertheless, the fact that both have to do with spatial notions suggests that a historical link between them is not impossible.

7.1.8. *-(ne)ni* ‘RANDOM’

The suffix *-(ne)ni* encodes the fact that the verb event is randomly distributed either over many different places or at many different times (often with habitual sense). The full form of the suffix, *-neni*, is used with monosyllabic roots, as in *ju-neni-* ‘roam’ in (7.30b), *je-neni-* ‘always come’ in (7.31b), etc. By contrast, the short form of the suffix, *-ni*, occurs with polysyllabic root/stems, as in *tsajaja-ni-* ‘run everywhere’ in (7.30a), *ju-diru-ni-* ‘always return’ in (7.31a), etc.

In (7.30), I illustrate the spatial sense of *-(ne)ni* with two intransitive verbs. Note that no examples of spatial meaning have been found with transitive verbs.

- (7.30) a. *Tsajaja-ni-kware* =*shana*
 run-RANDOM-REM.PAST =PITY
 [*e-tata=ke* [*e-bakwa=ke*_O *dadi-ya=ke=ama*]]_S.
 3-father=3 3-child=3 find-IMPV=LIG=NEG

‘The poor father searched for his child everywhere (lit. ran in many different places), unable to find him.’ eb032

- b. [*Babi=ra* *kwa-atsu*] = \emptyset _S
 hunt=PURP.MOT go-SS (=1SG-FM)
ju-neni-ti-kware *yachi=ju.*
 be-RANDOM-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST pampa=LOC

‘Going hunting, I roamed (lit. was in many different places) the pampa.’ cz002

The temporal sense of *-(ne)ni* is illustrated with intransitive verbs in (7.31) and with transitive verbs in (7.32).

- (7.31) a. *Barepatya* =*ekwana*_S *escuela=ju*_{CC}=*ke*_S
 at.midday =1PL school=LOC=LIG
ju-diru-ni-kware *e-tare=ju.*
 be-GO.PERM-RANDOM-REM.PAST NPF-house=LOC

‘At midday we would always return home from the school (lit. we, who where at school, would always...).’ lv006

- b. *Je-neni-ya* =*mi-keš!*
 come-RANDOM-IMPV =2SG-FM

‘You always come to Riberalta!’ (This was said to me by Francisco Vaca, when I arrived for my third fieldwork trip.)’
 n3.0151

- (7.32) a. *Tumepatya* =*ekwana*_O *misionero*=*kwana*=*ra*_A
 at.that.time =1PL missionary=PL=ERG

Tumichucua=*ju iwara-ni-kware*
 Tumichucua=LOC call-RANDOM-REM.PAST

[*noviembre badi=eke=diane*].
 november month=PERL=APPROX

‘At that time, in Tumichucua, the missionaries would call us (every year) from around the end of November (to participate in their annual workshop).’ lv002

- b. *Wekaka-ya*=*ju* [*takure*_S [*kike pidya*]=*ju*]
 be.at.dawn-IMPV=DS chicken shout ONCE=DS

=*pa* =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O *e-bakwa*=*kwana*=*ke*_O
 =REP =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) 1-child=PL=3

nawi-sha-ni-kware.
 bathe-CAUS-RANDOM-REM.PAST

‘(In old times,) at dawn, at the first song of the rooster, they (our Cavineña ancestors) would force their children to bathe (every day).’ bn004

- c. *Tume* =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O *e-wija*=*dya*_O
 then =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) NPF-shoot=FOC

a-neni-nuka-kware.
 affect-RANDOM-REITR-REM.PAST

‘(In old times,) they (our Cavineña grandmothers) would also prepare beer with (corn) shoots (in addition to other types of beer).’ ci182

We can contrast *-(ne)ni* with *-bare* ‘DISTR’ (§7.1.7 above), which also has a component of ‘distribution’ in its meaning. The main difference is one of scope: the suffix *-bare* is argument-related — the distributed sense is about the S/O participants —, whereas *-(ne)ni* is event-related — the distributed sense is about

the event itself. The two suffixes can actually co-occur, each bringing its own specifications to the verb event, as in (7.33). For a discussion of ordering of Aktionsart suffixes, see §7.5.

- (7.33) *Tuna=dya_S =di =bakwe*
 3PL=FOC =STRG.EMPH =CONTR
tsajaja-ni-bare-kware=dya.
 run-RANDOM-DISTR-REM.PAST=FOC
 ‘They (the cattle, the sheep, the pigs, etc.) were all running all over (frightened by the hurricane).’ hu022b

There is a curious phenomenon that involves the full reduplication of a verb plus the *-ni* variant of the Aktionsart suffix *-(ne)ni* ‘RANDOM’. The meaning of this morpheme is apparently the same as the random suffix in its spatial meaning; that is, it encodes the fact that the verb event is randomly distributed over many different times (often with habitual sense). No significant differences have been found between the two. I illustrate the complex reduplication+random morpheme in (7.34) (with intransitive verbs) and (7.35) (with transitive verbs).

- (7.34) a. *Apu-apu_{CC}=ju =tuna_S kwa-kwa+ni-kware.*
 dark-REDUP=LOC =3PL go-REDUP+RANDOM-REM.PAST
 ‘(Traditionally) they (our Cavineña ancestors) used to go (hunting) when it was still dark.’ ct081
- b. ... *e-puna_{CS} peyainime_{CC}. Pa-pa+ni-kware*
 NPF-female sad cry-REDUP+RANDOM-REM.PAST
 [tu-ke jeteke].
 3SG-FM LOOKING.FOR
 ‘(After her husband had left,) the woman was very sad. She kept crying all the time longing for him.’ mu022
- (7.35) a. *Jiru-jiru+ni-kware=dya*
 smell-REDUP+RANDOM-REM.PAST=FOC
 =pa =tuna-ja =tu_O [peya=kwana=ja wani]_O.
 =REP =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) other=PL=GEN smoke
 ‘They (our Cavineña ancestors) would perceive the smell (lit. smoke) of others (such as the smell of their enemies).’ vz022

- b. *Ari-da=ke=kamadya*_O =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O
 big-ASF=LIG=ONLY =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM)

duju-duju+ni-kware.

take-REDUP+RANDOM-REM.PAST

‘They would only bring the big (fish) (home) (the little ones, they would eat them on the spot).’ ct125

In one example, shown in (7.36), the complex reduplication+random morpheme involves reduplication of an (Aktionsart) suffix in addition to the verb root.

- (7.36) *Ari-da*_{CC}=*ke=kamadya*_O =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O
 big-ASF=LIG=ONLY =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM)

be-ti-be-ti+ni-kware.

bring-GO.TEMP-REDUP+REDUP+RANDOM-REM.PAST

‘(When our Cavineña grandfathers would go fishing,) they would go and bring only the big fish (home) (while they would eat the little ones on the spot).’ ct126

Note that although *be-* ‘bring’ and *-ti* ‘GO.TEMP’ exist independently in the language, it is possible that their combination (i.e., *be-ti-*) has undergone lexicalization, in which case the whole root is reduplicated. More work is needed to refine the status of *be-ti-* and to see whether other roots and suffixes can enter the reduplication+random process.

One might want to analyze the reduplication+random morpheme as being two different processes, in which the random suffix would apply after reduplication of the verb. The problem with that analysis is that a fully reduplicated verb root normally either yields an intransitive inflecting verb (with antipassive effect; §8.3.1) or a non-inflecting verb (taking an auxiliary; §10.6). None of these effects occur with the REDUP+RANDOM morpheme. Also, full reduplication normally produces two different phonological words. One consequence is that when monosyllabic elements are reduplicated, they are given an epenthetic vowel *u* (e.g., *je-u-je-u ju-* ‘come many times’, from *je-* ‘come’). This however does not happen with the REDUP+RANDOM morpheme as can be seen with *kwa-kwa+ni-* (**kwa-u-kwa-u-ni-*) in (7.34a) and *pa-pa+ni-* (**pa-u-pa-u-ni-*) in (7.34b). The best analysis appears thus to consider reduplication together with *ni* as part of one unique morpheme.

Finally, there is no verb corresponding to either *-ni* or *-neni*.

7.1.9. Final syllable reduplication + causative

There is a complex morpheme which combines final syllable reduplication of a verb root and (presumably) the intransitive causativizer suffix *-sha* (i.e., the causativizer which only applies to intransitive verbs; see §8.4.1). This derivation process expresses the fact that the verb event is reiterated many times over the space or over the O argument referent. For example *katsa-* ‘beat, whip’ becomes *katsa-tsa+sha-* ‘beat up, batter’, *jikwi-* ‘cut off’ becomes *jikwi-kwi+sha-* ‘cut up’, and *sabu-* ‘grasp with findernails’ becomes *sabu-bu+sha-* ‘mix by squeezing’. Textual examples are provided below.

In (7.37), the O argument has singular reference. Here, the reduplication+causative suffix means that the verb event is distributed over many parts of the O referent.

- (7.37) *Tedi-di+sha-kware* =*tuna-ra*_A =*i-ke*_O.
 rub-REDUP+CAUS-REM.PAST =3PL-ERG =1SG-FM

‘They rubbed me all over (trying to revive me, who had fallen down from a tree).’ mg026

In example (7.38), we have the narration of the Cavineña people’s destruction of the plantations of their enemies. The destructive acts (cut, pierce, etc.) are performed all over the plantations.

- (7.38) ... [[*budari=kwana*_O *kwere-re+sha*]
 banana=PL cut-REDUP+CAUS
 [[*tama=kwana* *e-uwa*_{CC}=*kwana=ke*]_O *sakwa-kwa+sha*]
 calabash=PL RES-plant=PL=LIG pierce-REDUP+CAUS
 [*shita=kwana*_O *tubu-bu+sha*]
 sugarcane=PL cut-REDUP+CAUS
 [*kunukaji=kwana*_O *jimimisha*⁸ *jadya*] =*tuna*_A
 sweet.potato=PL pull.out and =3PL(-ERG)
a-ti-kware...
 affect-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

‘... they (our Cavineña ancestors) cut the (enemies;_i) bananas, punched their_i planted calabashes, cut their_i sugarcane plants, and pulled out their_i sweet potatoes.’ mk011

⁸ I have not analyzed *jimimisha* as *jimi-mi+sha* because the form *jimi* is not attested independently in the available corpus. This requires more work.

In the available texts, the reduplication+causative derivation is only found with transitive verbs. In elicitation, however, Emeranciano Sepa provided me with three examples involving the intransitive verbs *ani-* ‘sit’, *nubi-* ‘enter’, and *tsura-* ‘go up’.

- (7.39) *Tsura-ra+sha-na-kwe* =*taa mi-kwe!*
 go.up-REDUP+CAUS-COME.TEMP-IMP.SG =EMPH 2SG-DAT

‘(Before you travel,) come over (to my house) and put it (all your belongings) up (in the loft).’ n5.1045

It is important to note that, synchronically, there is no productive process of derivation via final syllable reduplication (§5.2.4 and §5.5); none of the reduplicated forms exist on their own, i.e., without the causative marker (e.g., **tedi-di*, **tsura-ra*). It is thus best to think of a synchronically unique but internally complex suffix ‘REDUP+CAUS’.

It is not altogether clear how productive the reduplication+causative derivation is. In the data, it is found with about 30 verbs. In the texts, only transitive verbs are involved, and, I should add, only highly transitive ones, such as *jikwi-* ‘cut off’, *katsa-* ‘beat’, *karu-* ‘bite’, *bere-* ‘pierce’, *mare-* ‘shoot at’, etc. Through elicitation, Emeranciano Sepa gave me one example with the transitive ‘motion’ verb *duju-* ‘take’ and one with the perception verb *peta-* ‘look at’. In addition, as we saw, he also provided a handful of examples with intransitive verbs. More work is needed to refine the extent of the use of this process.

The internal shape of the transitive verbs listed in (7.40) reminds us of the reduplication+causative morpheme: they have a reduplicated syllable followed by a syllable *sha*. Nevertheless, the base to which the putative reduplication+causative morpheme could have been applied cannot be clearly identified (at least as an independent verb) in the corpus.

- (7.40) *jimimisha-* ‘pull out O’
jirurusha- ‘go along the edge of O (e.g., river)’⁹
jukukusha- ‘loosen O’¹⁰
kwarurusha- ‘entangle O’

⁹ Note that there is an *e*-noun *-jiruru* ‘edge, banks (e.g., of a river)’ suggesting that the origin of the verb *jirurusha-* could have involved a verbalization process; see §8.4.1 for a few more examples where *-sha* is used to verbalize a noun.

¹⁰ Note that there is a *da*-adjective *juku-* ‘loose’ that could have been at the origin of *jukukusha-*.

7.2. Aktionsart suffixes of motion

The motion suffixes are probably the most noteworthy of all Aktionsart suffixes. They make a paradigm of eleven forms which are (normally) mutually exclusive and which have the function of associating a motion component to the event expressed by the verb stem they are attached to. In (7.41), for example, the suffixes *-ti* and *-na* convey the meaning that the subject of the verb *ba-* ‘see’ has changed its spatial location in order to realize the verb event of ‘seeing’.

- (7.41) a. *Tudya =ekwana_A ba-ti-kware takure_O.*
 then =1PL see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST chicken
 ‘So we went to see the chicken (in the back of the bus).’ ga034
- b. *Jadya=tibu=dya =mikwana_O ba-na-wa...*
 thus=REASON=FOC =2PL see-COME.TEMP-PERF
 ‘This is why I have come to see you (pl) (here in your village).’
 T1.69

The topic of motion suffixes in Cavineña is a fascinating one which immediately draws the attention of the investigator. A first article was published by Camp (1982), and I have myself written three more (Guillaume 2000b, 2006b, forthcoming-a). Nevertheless, I must admit that they are not yet fully understood. The following discussion, which summarizes my present understanding of the system, should therefore be taken as a work in progress.

The morphemes that I will be discussing here correspond to what has been identified in the literature on Australian languages as “associated motion” (Koch 1984; Tunbridge 1988; Wilkins 1991, 2006; Nordlinger 2001). They should not be confused with the better known category of directionals as found, for example, in Mayan languages (see Robertson 1980; Haviland 1991, 1993; Craig 1994; Zavala 1994), or Papua New Guinea languages (see Foley 1986: 148-52), and also expressed by English particles (e.g., in, out, away, up, down, etc.). “Associated motion” markers encode motion and path while directionals only encode path.¹¹ The function of “associated motion” markers is to associate a motion component to a verb stem event, regardless of whether this event al-

¹¹ The terms motion and path are used in the sense of Talmy (1985, 2000), as follows. Motion (here “translational” motion, as opposed to “self-contained” motion) refers to the spatiotemporal displacement of an entity (or figure) vis-à-vis a ground object, from a source (origin) to a target (goal, endpoint). Path concerns the specification of the course followed by the figure during its displacement with regards to different landmarks, e.g., vis-à-vis the deictic center (towards vs. away from), vis-à-vis an enclosure (in vs. out), vis-à-vis the vertical axis (up vs. down), etc.

ready involves motion or not. As such, they can be attached to all sorts of verbs, whether of motion (e.g., go and enter, go and turn, go and insert O, go and push O, go and lift O, etc.)¹² or not (e.g., go and bathe, go and pee, go and sleep, go and see O, go and greet O, go and eat O, go and kill O, etc.). By contrast, directional markers can only specify the path of a motion that is already present in the verb stem event they are attached to. As such, they are restricted to motion verbs (e.g., move out, run away, push O in, throw O away, etc.). Note that Cavineña also has directional markers; however, they belong to a distinct paradigm/slot in the predicate structure (see Chapter 9).

“Associated motion” markers are rarely discussed in the typological literature. Yet they are very frequent in Amerindian languages. I have found them reported in at least the following languages (under various names, including the misleading term “directional”): Asheninca (Arawak, Peru, J. Payne 1982), Atsugewi (Hokan, California, Talmy 1985), Matses (Panoan, Peru, Fleck 2003: 364), Olutec (Mixe-Zoquean, Mexico, Zavala 2000), Oaxaca Chontal (Isolate, Mexico, O’Connor 2007) and Yagua (Peba-Yagua, Peru, T. Payne 1984).”associated motion.

The system formed by the eleven motion suffixes in Cavineña is semantically particularly complex. According to my present understanding, the suffixes are distinguished according to:

- 1 — the figure (moving entity): S/A or O argument;
- 2 — the manner of realization of the verb stem event: punctual or distributed;
- 3 — the orientation of the motion : ‘towards’ or ‘away from’ a reference point;
- 4 — the “stability” of the motion target: temporary or permanent;
- 5 — the location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the target or the source of the motion: ‘move and V’ or ‘V while moving’ or ‘V and move’

The full paradigm, organized according to these distinctions, is provided in Figure 7.1.

The first opposition distinguishes suffixes that involve the motion of the subject (S/A-related); from those that involve the motion of the object (O-related). S/A-related suffixes can be further subdivided between those that imply that the verb stem event is realized in a punctual way — they are discussed in §7.2.1 — from those that imply that the verb stem event is realized in a distributed way — they are discussed in §7.2.2. O-related motion suffixes are discussed in §7.2.3.

¹² There is a restriction, however: motion suffixes cannot (normally) be attached to the deictic verbs *kwa-* ‘go (temporarily)’, *je-* ‘come (temporarily)’, *diru-* ‘go (permanently)’ and *jeti-* ‘come (permanently)’.

Moving argument	Manner of realization of verb stem event	Orientation of motion	"Stability" of motion target	Location of verb stem event vis-à-vis source (S) and/or target (T) of motion	Motion suffixes
S/A	punctual	away from DC	temporary	at T	<i>-ti</i> 'GO.TEMP'
			permanent	between S and T	<i>-nati</i> 'GO.TEMP'
	distributed	towards DC	temporary	at T or between S and T	<i>-diru</i> 'GO.PERM'
			permanent	at T or between S and T	<i>-na</i> 'COME.TEMP'
O	punctual	(unspecif.)	(unspecif.)	at T or between S and T	<i>-eti</i> 'COME.PERM'
			(unspecif.)	at S	<i>-kena</i> 'LEAVE'
	distributed	away from DC	(unspecif.)	between S and T	<i>-aje</i> 'GO.TEMP.DISTR'
			permanent	between S and T	<i>-be</i> 'COME.TEMP.DISTR'
punctual	away from A argument	towards DC	temporary	between S and T	<i>-etibe</i> 'COME.PERM.DISTR'
			permanent	between S and T	<i>-fisa</i> 'COME.PERM.DISTR'
punctual	towards A argument	(unspecif.)	(unspecif.)	at T or between S and T	<i>-fadi</i> 'COME(O)'
			(unspecif.)	at T or between S and T	<i>-dadi</i> 'GO(O)'

Figure 7.1. Semantic oppositions characterizing the Cavineña motion suffixes

7.2.1. S/A-related motion suffixes - punctual verb stem event

The six motion suffixes listed in Table 7.1 have in common that they all encode a motion that applies to the S/A argument; and imply that the verb event is realized punctually (i.e., it only happens once).

Table 7.1. S/A-related motion suffixes - punctual realization

<i>-ti/-nati</i>	‘GO.TEMP’
<i>-diru</i>	‘GO.PERM’
<i>-na</i>	‘COME.TEMP’
<i>-eti</i>	‘COME.PERM’
<i>-kena</i>	‘LEAVE’

These suffixes contrast with one another according to three features: (1) the orientation of the motion (§7.2.1.1), (2) the “stability” of the location that is targeted by the motion (§7.2.1.2), and (3) the location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the target or the source of the motion (§7.2.1.3).

7.2.1.1. Orientation of the motion

The first five suffixes of Table 7.1 specify a motion that is deictically oriented, i.e., directed either away from or towards the deictic center (DC). By default, the DC is the location of the speaker at the time of speech. With the three suffixes *-ti*, *-nati* and *-diru*, the motion is directed away from the DC. With the two suffixes *-na* and *-eti*, the motion is directed towards the DC.

The pair of examples in (7.42) illustrate the deictic contrast between *-ti* and *-na*.

- (7.42) a. *Kwa-kwe* *AltoIvón=ju!* *Ba-ti-kwe* *tu-wa*
 go-IMP.SG Alto.Ivón=LOC see-GO.TEMP-IMP.SG there-LOC

Chakubu=kwanao!
 Chácobo.person=PL

‘(One day the missionary sent Alfredo to the Chácobo village. He said to him:) “Go to Alto Ivón! Go and meet (lit. see) the Chácobo people there!”’ pa002

- b. *Ita* [*jecc=ke* *bicho*]_o *ba-na-kwe!*
 ATT.GETTER here=LIG beast see-COME.TEMP-IMP.SG

‘(One night, in Mision Cavinás, Alfredo Tavo and I were woken up by a strange noise inside the house where we were sleeping. Al-

fredo got up and searched for it. When he found out that it is
was porcupine. He called me:) come and see that beast!’ ij012

7.2.1.2. “Stability” of the targeted location

The first five suffixes of Table 7.1 specify a motion that targets different kinds of locations in terms of their “stability”. With the three suffixes *-ti*, *-nati* and *-na* the motion leads to “unstable” (temporary) locations. This means that the S/A argument will perform the verb stem event at the location indicated by the suffix but will not stay there; the next event the S/A argument will be involved in should take place at some other location (often, although not always, the original location). By contrast, with the two suffixes *-diru* and *-eti*, the motion leads to “stable” (permanent) locations. This means that the S/A argument will remain at the location indicated by the suffix, and the next event(s) the S/A argument will be involved in (if any) will take place at that location.

The two examples (7.42a) and (7.42b) above illustrate motions that target “unstable” locations. In (7.42a), with *-ti*, the request for the addressee to move to the Chácobo people’s village only implies a short visit; the addressee will soon return to his home base. Similarly, in (7.42b), with *-na*, the addressee is not expected to stay much longer at the place he is requested to move; after having seen the porcupine, he will go back to sleep.

By contrast, the motion encoded by the suffixes *-diru* in (7.43a) and *-eti* in (7.43b) lead to “stable” locations.

- (7.43) a. *Jadya=eke =tunas tu-wa ani-diru-wa*
 thus=PERL =3PL there-LOC sit-GO.PERM-PERF
 [ekwana-ja iyakwa epu=ju].
 1PL-GEN now village=LOC

‘This is why they (our Cavineña ancestors) have settled (lit. gone to sit) there, where our village is now (because in the previous place, they were constantly at war with the neighboring Ese Ejja people).’ hs047

- b. *Ba-eti-kware =tu-ra_A =Ø_O amena*
 see-COME.PERM-REM.PAST =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) BM
i-ke_O ari-ari.
 1SG-FM big-REDUP

‘(When my older brother returned back home, after many years),
he saw me much bigger (than at the time he had left).’ nk054

In (7.43a), *ani-diru-wa* depicts the event of settling into a new and long-lasting location — the place refers to Mision Cavinás, which is still nowadays a Cavineña community. In (7.43b), the motion expressed by *-eti* leads the narrator's older brother back to his home, again with the idea that this is for him a location of long duration.

7.2.1.3. Location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the source and/or the target of the motion

A further semantic distinction runs through part of the system of motion suffixes. It has to do with specifying where the verb stem event takes place vis-à-vis the source and/or the target of the motion. This feature allows us to distinguish *-ti* from *-nati*, on the one hand, and *-kena* from the rest of the suffixes, on the other hand, as follows:

1 — the suffix *-ti* requires the verb stem event to take place at the target of the motion; this is generally translatable in English by 'go and/to V, arrive and V, V while arriving';

2 — the suffix *-nati* requires the verb stem event to take place between the source and the target of the motion; this is generally translatable by 'V while going, V on the way';

3 — the suffix *-kena* requires the verb stem event to take place at the source of the motion; this is generally translatable in English by 'V and move, V while leaving'.

I will start by discussing the distinction between *-ti* and *-nati*. The difference can be seen by comparing the verb 'see' with *-ti* in (7.44a), and with *-nati* in (7.44b).

(7.44) a. Verb stem event at target of motion

...	<i>kwa-kware</i>	<i>i-kes</i>	<i>bei=ju</i>	<i>wikamutya=ra.</i>
	go-REM.PAST	1SG-FM	lake=LOC	fish=PURP.MOT
	<i>Tu-wa</i>	= <i>tu-ke</i> _O	= \emptyset _A	<i>ba-ti-kware</i>
	there-LOC	=3SG-FM	(=1SG-ERG)	see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST
	[<i>peadya</i>	<i>rau</i>] _O ...		
	one	egret		

'... I went fishing at the lake. Arriving there, I saw an egret...'
sl012-013

b. Verb stem event between source and target of motion

[*Jukuri turu ebari*]_O =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A
 coati big.male big =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)

mee=ju ba-nati-kware.
 saltlick=LOC see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

‘While I was going (to see my family,) I saw a big male coati in a saltlick.’ mj119

In (7.44a), the verb event of ‘seeing (an egret)’ occurs once the protagonist (first person singular in A function) has arrived at the place he intended to reach, namely a fishing spot at the lake. By contrast, in (7.44b), when the protagonist (also a first person singular in A function) realizes the event of ‘seeing (a coati in a saltlick)’, he has not reached its intended destination, namely the settlement where his family lives.

Other examples illustrating verb stem events taking place at the target of the motion are provided below.

(7.45) Verb stem event at target of motion

a. *Nawi-ti-wa=jari* =*pa.*
 bathe-GO.TEMP-PERF=STILL =REP

‘He has gone bathing (and is still there; but he will soon be back here).’ n4.0349

b. ... *wira-ti-kware* [*e-tare tsuku*].
 urinate-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST NPF-house AT.CORNER.OF

‘...I went to urinate at the corner of the house.’ bc004

c. *Iyakwa ekana_O iya-ti-kwe!*
 now 3PL put-GO.TEMP-IMP.SG

‘(At the end of the workshop, the missionary lady asked the pilot:) now take (lit. go and put) them (to their community)!’ ri068

See also (7.41a) above, in which the back of the bus, where the event of ‘seeing’ takes place, is the ultimate target of the motion.

Additional examples illustrating verb stem events that take place between the source and the target of the motion are given below.

(7.46) Verb stem event between source and target of motion

- a. *Tudya* =*tus* [e-*kwe* *mama-chi*]_S
 then =3SG(-FM) 1SG-GEN mother-AFFTN

neti-nati-kware
 stand-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

‘(When she saw that weird animal in the distance,) on her way (to the plantation) my mother stopped (lit. stood).’ bo005

- b. [*Tume*_{CC}=*ke* *mejiji=ju*] =*pa* =*tuna*_S
 there=LIG beach=LOC =REP =3PL

tawi-nati-kware.
 sleep-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

‘They (our Cavineña ancestors) slept on that beach on the way (to fetch chonta palm bark in the pampa).’ hm044

- c. *Tudya amena aje-nuka-tsu amena ji-da=kwita*
 then BM walk-REITR-SS BM good-ASF=RESTR

*matuja*_O *e-bebakwa=ju* *tapa-nati-kware.*
 caiman NPF-back=LOC step.on-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

‘Then, as I was walking (in the water, approaching a fish that I wanted to shoot,) I stepped right on the back of a caiman.’ lg009-011

The difference in location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the motion target is the only difference that I could find between *-ti* and *-nati*. Except for this feature, these two suffixes are semantically identical — they both imply a punctual verb stem event, a motion involving the S/A argument, directed away from the DC, and targeting an “unstable” location. In addition to their semantic similarity, *-nati* and *-ti* are also quite similar formally: the last syllable of *-nati* is identical in shape to the suffix *-ti*. Since the first syllable of *-nati* is formally identical to the independent motion suffix *-na* ‘COME.TEMP’, one wonders whether *-nati* could not be analyzed as the combination of the two suffixes *-na* and *-ti*. Although tempting, I will refrain from such an interpretation, at least from a synchronic perspective, on the basis that *-na* and *-ti* have diametrically opposed semantic values in terms of deixis: *-na* manifests a motion directed towards the DC while *-ti* manifests a motion directed away from the DC. As such, it is hard to see how their combination could yield the meaning of *-nati*.

With the other motion suffixes *-na*, *-diru* and *-eti*, the verb stem event can occur either at the target of the motion or between the source and the target of the motion. In other words, the distinction is neutralized — the exact reading is disambiguated from the context. Illustrative examples are given below, for each suffix. Examples illustrating the suffix *-na* ‘COME.TEMP’ in situations where the verb stem event takes place at the target of the motion are given in (7.47) (see also (7.41b)). Examples showing the same suffix in situations where the verb stem event takes place between the source and the target of the motion are shown in (7.48).

(7.47) Verb stem event at target of motion

- a. *Je-kwe=dya.* *Nubi-na-kwe=dya* =*di!*
 come-IMP.SG=FOC enter-COME.TEMP-IMP.SG=FOC = STRG.EMPH
 ‘But come! Do come in (lit. come and enter)!’ ct078

- b. *Ija_O* *iye-na-kwe!* *Yume* *ju-ani-ya.*
 porcupine kill-COME.TEMP-IMP.SG over.there sit-SIT-IMPV
 ‘Come kill the porcupine! It is sitting over there (on a beam in our house).’ ij016

(7.48) Verb stem event between source and target of motion

- a. *Tu-wa* =*tukwe* *ekana_S*
 there-LOC =CONT.EVID 3PL

ka-shana-ti-na-kware *etawiki=kwana_E.*
 REF-leave-REF-COME.TEMP-REM.PAST bed=PL
 ‘There (at the tip of a wood), they left their beddings, on their way (to our village fiesta, thinking they would find their beddings back when returning to their community).’ fg008
- b. [*Tee=ju* *je-ya=ke*]_A *e-ra_A* *ba-na-wa*
 garden=LOC come-IMPV=LIG 1SG-ERG see-COME.TEMP-PERF

chai_O.
 small.bird
 ‘Coming from the garden, I saw a small bird.’ di0993

Examples illustrating the suffix *-diru* ‘GO.PERM’ in situations where the verb stem event takes place at the target of the motion are given in (7.49) (see

also (7.43a) above). Examples showing the same suffix in situations where the verb stem event takes place between the source and the target of the motion are shown in (7.50).

(7.49) Verb stem event at target of motion

- a. [“*Yu-wa ani-diru-kwe waku=ju!*” *jadya*]
 over.there-LOC sit-GO.PERM-IMP.SG bench=LOC thus
 =*tu-ra*_A = \emptyset _O *a-kware*.
 =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) affect-REM.PAST

“‘Go and sit (and stay) over there on that bench!’ he (the teacher) told me.’ es025

- b. *Ju-diru-kware*. [*E-kwe ea-tseweki=ke*]_O
 be-GO.PERM-REM.PAST 1SG-GEN 1SG-sibling=LIG
 =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *ba-diru-kware*.
 =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) see-GO.PERM-REM.PAST

‘I arrived (home). Arriving I saw my sister.’ aj050

(7.50) Verb stem event between source and target of motion

- a. *Amena kwinana-diru-kware* = \emptyset _S
 BM emerge-GO.PERM-REM.PAST (=1SG-FM)

[*karetu diji=ju*].
 cart path=LOC

‘On my way back (home, trying desperately to find my way through the forest,) I (finally) reached (lit. emerged on) the cart path.’ pe038

- b. *Mercedeo =ekwana*_A *ba-diru-kware*.
 Las.Mercedes =1PL(-ERG) see-GO.PERM-REM.PAST

‘On our way back (home, flying towards our community Bolivar,) we saw the community of Las Mercedes.’ av022

Finally, I provide some examples illustrating the suffix *-eti* ‘COME.PERM’ in situations where the verb stem event takes place at the target of the motion in (7.51) (see also (7.43b) above), and in situations where the verb stem event takes place between the source and the target of the motion, in (7.52).

(7.51) Verb stem event at target of motion

- a. [[*I-ke*_{CS} *e-maju*_{CC}=*bucha*] *ba-atsu*] =*ni* *jamani*_S *amena*
 1SG-FM RES-die=SIMLR see-SS =MAYBE vulture BM

ani-eti-wa *tu-wa*.
 sit-COME.PERM-PERF there-LOC

‘(I think that) seeing me as if I was dead, the vulture came and sat there (in order to eat me).’ sd055

- b. ... [*bakwa*=*ja* *kapana*]_O [*armario* *dyake*]
 viper=GEN bell cupboard ON

iya-eti-kware...
 put-COME.PERM-REM.PAST

‘... arriving (home,) he put the rattle (lit. bell) of the rattlesnake (lit. viper) on top of a cupboard.’ vi030

(7.52) Verb stem event between source and target of motion

- a. *Tudya* *ekatse*_S *tawi-eti-kware*
 then 3DL sleep-COME.PERM-REM.PAST

[*e-diji* *patyapatya*].
 NPF-path IN.MIDDLE.OF

‘They slept midway along the path.’ ts007

- b. *Tudya* =*tu*_A *jeti-nuka-ya*=*ke*_A
 then =3SG(-ERG) come-REITR-IMPV=LIG

ba-eti-kware *e-kike*=*ju*
 see-COME.PERM-REM.PAST NPF-forest=LOC

[*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *bakwa* *cascabe*]_O.
 there=LIG viper rattlesnake

‘Then, as he was coming back home (from delivering goods to his nephews at the school center), he saw that rattlesnake (lit. viper) in the forest.’ vi005

Let us now turn to the suffix *-kena*, which requires the verb stem even to take place at the source of the motion. It is illustrated with intransitive verbs in (7.53).

- (7.53) a. [*Jadya ju-atsu*] =*tu*_S *neti-tsura-kena-kware*
 thus be-SS =3SG(-FM) stand-GO.UP-LEAVE-REM.PAST

*ebadeki=ju=ke*_S.
 hammock=LOC=LIG

Ina-ti-kware =*tu-ja* =*tu*_O *eskupeta*_O.
 grab-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) shotgun

‘After saying that, he got out of (lit. stood up and moved away from) his hammock. (Then) he went to grab his shotgun.’
 sn020-021

- b. *Pa-kena-kware*
 cry-LEAVE-REM.PAST

[*Rosa* [[*tu-ja familia*]_O *shana-ya=ke*]]_S.
 Rosa 3SG-GEN family leave-IMPV=LIG

‘Rosa cried as she was leaving her family.’ n2.0887

Examples of *-kena* on transitive verbs are provided in (7.54).

- (7.54) a. *E-ra*_A =*tu*_O *peta-kena-chine* *e-puna*_O.
 1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) look.at-LEAVE-REC.PAST NPF-female

‘I watched the woman as I left.’ n3.0370

- b. [*Refresco=kamadya*]_O =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *iji-kena-wa*.
 soft.drink=RESTR =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) drink-LEAVE-PERF

‘I just had a soft-drink as I was leaving (my house) (I told my friends when they asked me what I had drunk, because of my swollen belly).’ lv033

- c. ... =*tatse*_S [*etununu*_O *piya=kwana*_O *ina-kena* *jadya ju-atsu*]
 =3DL bow arrow=PL grab-LEAVE thus be-SS

kwa-kware *babi=ra*.
 go-REM.PAST hunt=PURP.MOT

‘... they (dl) grabbed their bows and arrows and went hunting.’
 tu006

The way to ‘say goodbye’ in Cavineña makes use of the verb *isara-* ‘talk to’ and the suffix *-kena*, i.e., literally ‘talk to and leave’.

- (7.55) *Isara-kena-ya=dya* =*tu-ke*_O =*e-ra*_A.
 talk.to-LEAVE-IMPV=FOC =3SG-FM =1SG-ERG
 ‘I am going to say goodbye to him (lit. talked to him and then leave).’ di1598

Note that with *-kena*, the distinctions that hold for (at least some of) the other motion suffixes are neutralized: the motion is not deictically anchored and the target of the motion is not specified for its “stability”. This is suggested by the pair of (elicited) examples in (7.56).

(7.56) Subsequent motion

- a. [*Bolsa*_O *abu-kena-tsu*] =*tu*_S *Antuku*_S *diru-wa*.
 bag carry-LEAVE-SS =3SG(-FM) Antuku go-PERF
 ‘Antuku took (lit. carried) the bag and went away.’ n3.0085
- b. [*Bolsa*_O *abu-kena-tsu*] =*tu*_S *Antuku*_S *je-ya*.
 bag carry-LEAVE-SS =3SG(-FM) Antuku come-PERF
 ‘Antuku takes (lit. carries) the bag and will come over.’ n3.0088

In (7.56a), we can see *-kena* used in the situation of a motion directed away from the DC and towards a “stable” target, as shown by the main verb *diru-* ‘go (permanently)’ in the following clause. In (7.56b), *-kena* is used in the situation of a motion directed towards the DC, and towards an “unstable” target, as shown by the use of the main verb *je-* ‘come (temporarily)’ in the following clause.

7.2.1.4. Expression of ‘arrive’ and ‘leave’

The Cavineña lexicon does not have any specific verb for expressing the concepts of ‘arrive, reach’ and ‘leave, depart’. The way these meanings are expressed involves the motion suffixes. The way the meaning ‘arrive, reach’ is rendered is with a motion suffix and the verb *ju-* ‘be’. We therefore have as many ways to express the concept of ‘arriving, reach’ as there are semantic distinctions made by motion suffixes, as illustrated below.

- (7.57) a. *Tudya ekana_S ju-ti-kware=dya* *amena Bolivar=ju*.
 then 3PL be-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST=FOC BM Bolivar=LOC
 ‘Then they arrived at Bolivar (to spend the fiesta with us).’ fg011

- b. [*Kimisha ura ju-atsu*] = \emptyset _S *ju-nati-kware*
 three hour be-SS (=1SG-FM) be-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

e-kike=ju.
 NPF-forest=LOC

‘After (traveling) three hours, I reached the forest, on my way (hunting).’ ch003

- c. *Ju-diru-kware* *kumunida=ju,*
 be-GO.PERM-REM.PAST community=LOC

[*ekwana_S ani-ya=ju*].
 1PL sit-IMPV(=LIG)=LOC

‘He (the new schoolteacher) arrived in the community, where we were living (at that time).’ ap033

- d. *Ju-na-wa* =*ri_S* *CIRABO=ju_{CC}=ke_S.*
 be-COME.TEMP-PERF =3PROX.SG(-FM) CIRABO=LOC=LIG

Ne-ba-na-kwe!
 IMP.NSG-see-COME.TEMP-IMP.NSG

‘Someone from CIRABO (Indigenous Organization) has arrived (lit. come and is here). Come over here to see him!’ T1.45

- e. *Tudya ju-eti-kware* *Mision.Cavina=ju*
 then be-COME.PERM-REM.PAST Mission.Cavinas=LOC

epu=ju.
 village=LOC

‘I arrived at Mission Cavinas, at my community.’ cv034

There is no intransitive verb ‘leave, depart’ in Cavineña.¹³ In order to express this meaning specifically, the suffix *-kena* is attached to an intransitive motion verb such as *aje-* ‘walk, go slowly’, *tsajaja-* ‘run’, or the deictic verbs *kwa-* ‘go (temporarily)’, *je-* ‘come (temporarily)’, *diru-* ‘go (permanently)’ or *jeti-* ‘come (permanently)’, as illustrated in (7.58).

¹³ There is a verb *kwinana-* ‘to emerge’ but it has a more specific meaning of motion out of an enclosed place (such as a house, a forest, a path, etc.)

- (7.58) a. ... *tsajaja-kena-kware* [*tuna_S ka-shura-ti-nati-wa=ju*].
run-LEAVE-REM.PAST 3PL REF-hang-REF-GO.TEMP-PERF=DS

‘(After realizing that the Ese Ejjas had set up an ambush), they (our Cavineña ancestors_i) ran (lit. left and ran) to the place where they_i had hanged (their_i weapons).’ fd028

- b. [[*Tume_{CC}=kwana=ke*]_O *iya-tsura jadya a-atsu*] =*ekwana_S*
there=PL=LIG put-GO.UP thus affect-SS =1PL
amena aje-kena-chine
BM walk-LEAVE-REC.PAST

‘After loading all these things (luggage, in the truck), we left slowly.’ vb019

- c. [*Yatse_O ba-tsa-tsu*] *diru-kena-chine*.
1DL see-COME(O)-SS go-LEAVE-REC.PAST

‘When he saw us moving to (dl), he escaped (lit. left and went away).’ n2.0891

7.2.1.5. Origin

Only two of the motion suffixes discussed above have a possible corresponding independent verb: *-diru*, which corresponds to the intransitive verb *diru-* ‘go (permanently)’, and *-eti*, which corresponds to the intransitive verb *-jeti* ‘come (permanently)’, minus the glottal fricative *j*. No corresponding forms have been identified for *-ti*, *-nati* and *-na* and *-kena*. The two verbs are illustrated in (7.59).

- (7.59) a. ... *diru-kware* [*e-kwe e-tare=ju*].
go(permanently)-REM.PAST 1SG-GEN NPF-house=LOC

‘(After killing that monkey,) I went back home.’ aj048

- b. *E-tare=keja jeti-kware*.
NPF-house=LOC.GNL come(permanently)-REM.PAST

‘(After killing two peccaries and one tortoise) I came back home.’ ch017

7.2.2. S/A-related motion suffixes - distributed verb stem event

The suffixes that I have been discussing thus far imply that the verb stem event is punctual; that is, it takes place only once in a particular location somewhere along a motion path, either at the source, or at the target, or in between. By contrast, the three suffixes listed in Table 7.2 imply that the verb stem event is distributed or realized continuously between the source and the target of the motion.

Table 7.2. S/A-related motion suffixes - distributed realization

<i>-aje</i>	‘GO.DISTR’
<i>-be</i>	‘COME.TEMP.DISTR’
<i>-etibe</i>	‘COME.PERM.DISTR’

The difference between these three suffixes and those discussed above can be illustrated with the pair of examples in (7.60). These two examples come from the same narrative and are separated by two intervening sentences. Here, a hunter is walking along a path in the forest in search of some game animal. At some point, he spots some animal traces on the ground and follows them. The action of the hunter’s progressive discovering of the traces, as he moves ahead, is rendered, as we can see in (7.60a), by the verb *ba-* and the motion suffix *-aje* (lit. to see many times while going). Three sentences later, we learn that, after having followed those traces for a while, the hunter comes across a bunch of animal bones in a clearing. As we can see in (7.60b), this is rendered by the narrator with the same verb *ba-*; however, here he uses the motion suffix *-nati*, in order to indicate that he sees/discovers all the bones at the same time.

- (7.60) a. *Kwa-baka-nuka-tsu* =*pa* =*tu*_A *ba-aje-kware*
 go-SHORT.TIME-RETR-SS =REP =3SG(-ERG) see-GO.DISTR-PAST

[*kwanubi=kwana=ja e-mekware*]_O.
 animal=PL=GEN NPF-tracks

‘He kept going and soon started to see tracks of animals.’ se029

- b. [*Yawa pupi-da=ju*] =*pa*
 ground clean-ASF(=LIG)=LOC =REP

[*kwanubi=kwana=ja e-tsau=kwana*]_O *ba-nati-wa*.
 animal=PL=GEN NPF-bone=PL see-GO.TEMP-PERF

‘(Then, after going a bit further, he ended up in a clearing and there,) on the clean ground, he saw the bones of animals.’ se030c

We can say that in (7.60a), *-aje* expresses the fact that the A argument (the hunter) repeats the event of ‘seeing’ in multiple places located along a motion path before the intended target is reached. As such we can also say that with the suffixes *-aje*, *-be* and *-etibe*, like with the suffix *-nati*, the motion and the verb stem event are temporally simultaneous, the difference being that with the first three suffixes, the verb event is broken up into multiple instances which implies many locations for its realization.

In (7.61), from a different story, the narrator uses *ba-aje* ‘see-GO.DISTR’ to describe the situation of spying birds in the forest (in order to kill them).

- (7.61) *Witisi=kwana_O pa-ba-aje!*
 curassow=PL HORT.SG-see-GO.DISTR
 ‘I am going to spy (lit. see little by little, with a lot of care) curassows!’ ba020

The example in (7.62), made up by Francisco Vaca, with *-be* marking the verb *neti-* ‘stand’, depicts the action of stopping many times along a motion path.

- (7.62) [*I-ke_S mia-keja je-ya=ke*]_S
 1SG-FM 2SG-ALL come-IMPV=LIG

neti-be-wa.
 stand-COME.TEMP.DISTR-PERF

Jadya=tibu=dya =Ø_S tsunuta-wa.
 thus=REASON=FOC (=1SG-FM) take.time-PERF

 ‘As I was coming to you (lit. I, who was coming to you), I had to stop (lit. stand) many times on the way (to do various things). This is why I am late.’ n3.0497

In some examples involving the suffixes *-aje*, *-be* and *-etibe*, the verb stem event is not, strictly speaking, repeated, but rather realized continuously or progressively along the motion path. In (7.63), the narrator tells us how two fishermen in a frail canoe were once dragged by an enormous fish that had caught their line. This is rendered by using the verb *tinu-* ‘pull’ and the suffix *-aje*, in order to express the fact that the pulling action is realized continuously.

- (7.63) *Tudya =tu_O jae=ra_A wiatsura=keja*
 then =3SG(-FM) fish=ERG upriver=LOC.GNL

duju-kware. Tinu-aje-kware kwaba_O.
 take-REM.PAST pull-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST canoe

‘Then the fish took them upriver. He pulled the canoe away, little by little.’ ps027

In (7.64), the narrator relates how he once walked in the forest gnawing motacú nuts along the way. He uses the suffix *-be* to express the fact that the actions of eating and moving are simultaneous.

- (7.64) *Jadya* =*tu*_O *amena* *ara-be-kware*
 thus =3SG(-FM) BM eat-COME.TEMP.DISTR-REM.PAST
 *e-ra*_A
 1SG-ERG

‘So I was coming and eating (motacú nuts) along the way.’ mp029

In (7.65a) and (7.65b), *-aje* and *-be* are used on the verb *nubi-* ‘enter’. They express the fact that the S argument’s action of ‘entering’ is realized progressively.

- (7.65) a. ... *amena* [*e-kwe* *pere*]_S *nubi-aje-kware* *amena*
 BM 1SG-GEN raft enter-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST BM

‘(As I was moving farther towards the middle of the river,) my raft was sinking (lit. entering) little by little.’ mj059

- b. *Tudya* =*ekwana*_S [*wani* *misi-da*_{CC}=*duku*]
 then =1PL smoke thick-ASF=INSIDE

nubi-be-chine.
 enter-COME.TEMP.DISTR-REC.PAST

‘Then we (in a plane) progressively entered very thick clouds (lit. smoke).’ di0758

The three suffixes *-aje*, *-be* and *-etibe*, similar to those that imply a punctual verb stem event, are sensitive to the orientation of the motion (§7.2.2.1) as well as the “stability” of the targeted location (§7.2.2.2).

7.2.2.1. Orientation of the motion

The motion associated to a (distributed) verb stem event is oriented away from the DC with *-aje* and towards the DC with *-be* and *-etibe*, as illustrated the pair of examples (7.5a) (repeated) and (7.66).

- (7.5a) a. *Tudya diru-baka-tsu kike-tere-aje-kware*
 then go-SHORT.TIME-SS shout-COMP-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST
maju-diru=ishu.
 die-GO.PERM=PURP.GNL

‘Then, he (the jaguar I had shot) went away a short distance, screaming with pain intermittently before he died.’ mt012

- (7.66) *Nereka-da [e-kwe e-bakujuna]*
 miserable-ASF 1SG-GEN 1-daughter
tsajaja-be-ya.
 run-COME.TEMP.DISTR-IMPFV

‘My daughter was coming back to me, running now and then, miserably (through the terrible pampa path, in order to meet me back).’ ka018

In both examples, the narrator is a protagonist of the story and the DC corresponds to his location in the scenes depicted here. In (7.5a), *-aje* manifests the fact that the S argument (the jaguar) is moving away from the narrator (who shot him), therefore away from the DC. In (7.66), *-be* encodes the fact that the S argument (the narrators’ daughter) is moving towards the narrator, therefore towards the DC.

7.2.2.2. “Stability” of the targeted location

The motion associated to a (distributed) verb stem event is targeting an “unstable” (temporary) location with *-be* and a “stable” (permanent) location with *-etibe*; with *-aje* the “stability” distinction is neutralized. The contrast between *-be* and *-etibe* can be illustrated by comparing (7.66) and (7.67). In (7.66), the narrator uses *-be* because the daughter, after having met with her mother, i.e., after having reached the target of the motion encoded by *-be*, will resume the trip (with her mother), in other words immediately move to a different place. On the other hand, in (7.67), where the targeted location is the narrator’s home, the suffix *-etibe* is used to manifest the fact that this is the ultimate destination of the narrator.

- (7.67) *E-diji=ju i-kes jara-etibe-chine.*
 NPF-path=LOC 1SG-FM lie-COME.PERM.DISTR-REC.PAST

‘I lay on the path many times on my way back home (because I had a strong fever).’ pf079

Similarly, in (7.68), the motion associated with the verb stem event target the home (S/A argument) protagonist.

- (7.68) a. *I-ke_S bisu-etibe-ya e-tare=ju*
 1SG-FM be.ashamed-COME.PERM.DISTR-IMPV NPF-house=LOC

[*e-kwe e-wane=keja*].
 1SG-GEN 1-wife=LOC.GNL

‘I was shyly coming back home ashamed in front of my wife.’
 lg045

- b. [“...” *jadya ju-atsu*] = \emptyset _S *jeti-nuka-kware*.
 thus be-SS (=1SG-FM) come-REITR-REM.PAST

Tudya e-ra_A datse e-kari_O
 then 1SG-ERG FRUST NPF-path

sare-etibe-kware.
 look.for-COME.PERM.DISTR-REM.PAST

“(‘Here is the path!’) I said and I decided to come (lit. I came) back. So I came back searching for the path but couldn’t find it.’ pe031-032

In (7.69), the motion associated to the verb stem event ‘be beaten / beat oneself’ is one of falling to the ground, which is, by definition, a very “stable” location.

- (7.69) [*Manga ina-tsu=ke*]_S = \emptyset _S *y-aa=kwana=ju*
 mango grab-SS=LIG (=1SG-FM) NPF-branch=PL=LOC

katsa-tana-etibe-kware.
 beat-PASS-COME.PERM.DISTR-REM.PAST

‘(Falling from the tree) with the mango that I was holding (in my hand), I beat myself on the branches one after another.’ mg017

One will have noted that, formally, *-etibe* is made of *eti*, that is formally identical to the motion suffix *-eti* ‘COME.PERM’, and *-be*, that is formally identical to the motion suffix *-be* ‘COME.TEMP.DISTR’. This could suggest interpreting *-etibe* as a combination of these two suffixes. Here again, I have opted for a unitary synchronic analysis, since it is hard to see how the meaning of *-etibe* could be generated from the independent meaning of *-eti* and *-be* taken separately, since they differ in two crucial respects: the “stability” of the motion target — “stable” with *-eti*; “unstable” with *-na* — and the manner of realiza-

tion or the verb stem event — distributed with *-eti*; punctual with *-na*.

As I said, the distinction between a motion that leads to a “stable” and an “unstable” location is neutralized with the suffix *-aje*: the targeted location is “unstable” in (7.60a), since the hunter will not stay much longer at the place where he found the bones, and “stable” in (7.66a), since the jaguar is about to die, in which case he will not be involved in any further events and/or locations.

7.2.2.3. Grammaticalization

In some examples, the suffix *-aje* has uses and meanings that do not fully conform to those of other motion suffixes. Here I will analyze these instances as evidence for grammaticalization towards a pure aspectual (distributive) marker or manner marker, meaning something like “slowly”.

Normally, as I said above (footnote ¹²), motion suffixes cannot be attached to deictic verbs. In (7.70), however, *-aje* is found with the deictic verb *diru-* ‘go (permanently)’.

- (7.70) *Tudya i-ke_S diru-aje-kware amena*
 then 1SG-FM go-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST BM
taraka=keja.
 corral=LOC.GNL

‘Then I went back slowly (lit. little by little) to the corral (unaware that a nasty cow wanted to gore me).’ vc030

Motion suffixes normally form a paradigm of mutually exclusive members. Yet, in (7.71), the same *-aje* is found in combination with the motion suffix *-na* ‘COME.TEMP’.

- (7.71) *Mama, riya ai=ra=kwana_A =Ø_O*
 mother, here INT=ERG=UNCERT (=1SG-FM)
isara-na-aje-ya?
 talk.to-COME.TEMP-GO.DISTR-IMPV

‘(I was trying to talk to my wife secretly because I had deserted the army. But she didn’t recognize me so she asked her mother:) mother, who is it that came talking secretly to me?’ gul 13

Finally, there are examples where neither the verb stem event nor the “motion” suffix *-aje* express any motion, as in (7.72a) and (7.72b).

- (7.72) a. *Tuekedyā* =*pa* =*tu*_S *arina-aje-kware*
 then =REP =3SG(-FM) become.big-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST
dii=kwanas.
 mosquito=PL

‘The mosquitoes were getting bigger and bigger (until they reached the size of small birds).’ T2.7

- b. *Mi-ra_A* [*e-ra_A* *kweja-ya=ke*]_O *kweja-aje-kwe!*
 2SG-ERG 1SG-ERG inform-IMPV=LIG inform-GO.DISTR-IMP.SG

‘(Then I said to Tsimi:) “You translate for them (lit. inform them little by little) what I will say (lit. what I will inform you)!”’
 T1.50

7.2.2.4. Origin

The suffix *-aje* corresponds to the independent intransitive verb *aje-* ‘walk, go slowly’, illustrated in (7.73a), whereas the suffix *-be* corresponds to the independent transitive verb *be-* ‘bring’, illustrated in (7.73).

- (7.73) a. *Duju-kware* =*tu-ra_A* =*i-ke*_O. [*Peadyā ura=dya*] =*yatse*_S
 take-REM.PAST =3SG-ERG =1SG-FM one hour=FOC =1DL
aje-kware.
 walk-REM.PAST

‘He took me (there) and we walked about a whole hour.’ pa028

- b. *Jae*_O =*tu_A* *be-kware*, [*pishika jae=dya_{ne}*]_O.
 fish =3SG(-ERG) bring-REM.PAST five fish=APPROX

‘She brought (us) fish, something like five fish.’ pa091

As for the suffix *-etibe*, there is no identifiable independent verb. Rather, this suffix appears to be made of a frozen combination of two suffixes: *-eti* ‘come (permanently)’ (§7.2) and *-be* ‘COME.TEMP.DISTR’.

7.2.3. O-related motion suffixes

The last two motion suffixes, *-tsa* and *-dadi*, contrast with all the others by specifying that the motion is that of the O argument of a transitive verb.

Table 7.3. O-related motion suffixes

<i>-tsa</i>	'COME(O)'
<i>-dadi</i>	'GO(O)'

These two suffixes have the following semantic and distributional characteristics:

- 1 — they are only used with transitive verbs;
- 2 — the orientation of the motion is not deictic: the reference point is the location of the A argument, regardless of the location of the speaker;
- 3 — the verb stem event is realized punctually;
- 4 — there is no distinction in terms of the “stability” of the targeted location nor in terms of the location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the source or the target of the motion.

The suffix *-tsa* encodes the fact that the A argument is acting over an O argument that is moving towards it. By contrast, *-dadi* manifests the fact that the A argument is acting over an O argument that is moving away from it. The semantic difference between *-tsa* and *-dadi* is illustrated in (7.74).

- (7.74) a. *Tume =pa =taa =tu-ja =tu_O*
 then =REP =EMPH =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM)
ba-tsa-ya ekwita_O...
 see-COME(O)-IMPFV person
 ‘Then he_i saw a man coming towards him_i.’ cp013a
- b. [*Peadya ekwita*]_O =*tu-ke_O* = \emptyset _A *ba-dadi-wa...*
 one person =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) see-GO(O)-PERF
 ‘I saw a man going away from me (with the duck he had stolen).’
 ju008

With *-tsa* in (7.74a), the meaning is that the O argument (the entity that is seen) has moved some distance towards the A argument (the entity that sees). On the other hand, with (7.74b), the meaning is that the O argument has moved away from the A argument.

In other words, *-tsa* encodes the fact that during the time that the A argument realizes the event expressed by the verb stem, the O argument has changed its spatial location in such a way that it is closer to the A argument than it was at the preceding time. In contrast, *-dadi* expresses the fact that, as the A argument realizes the event expressed by the verb stem, the O argument has changed its

spatial location in such a way that it is now farther away from A argument than it was at the preceding time.

The fact that we are dealing with the motion of the O and not that of the A argument permits the use of *-tsa* or *-dadi* in events where the A argument is necessarily motionless, as (7.75a) and (7.75b).

- (7.75) a. *Kunu=ra_A =∅_O ina-tsa-kware.*
 liana=ERG (=1SG-FM) grab-COME(O)-REM.PAST
 ‘I got stuck in the middle of the lianas (lit. the lianas_i grabbed me as I moved towards them_i.)’ ba089
- b. *Isara-tsa-ya=piji=kamadya =pa =tu_A*
 talk.to-COME(O)-IMPFV=DIM=RESTR =REP =3SG(-ERG)
e-kuku=ke_O.
 3-uncle.MB=3
 ‘He_i (the nephew, lying half-dead on the ground) could hardly talk to his uncle_j; when he_j leant over towards him_i.’ hm165

In (7.75a), *-tsa* encodes the fact that in order for the A argument (a motionless liana) to realized the verb stem event (grabbing), the O argument (the narrator) has changed its location so as to be in contact with the A argument. Similarly, in (7.75b), *-tsa* expresses the fact that in order for the A argument (the motionless nephew) to realize the verb stem event (greet), the O argument (the uncle) has changed its location so as to be closer to the A argument than the preceding time.

Note that with *-tsa* and *-dadi*, the verb stem event takes place either at the target of the notion, as in (7.75a,b), or between the source and the target of the motion, as in (7.74a,b).

Additional examples of *-tsa* can be found in various examples throughout this study; e.g., *karu-jeri-tsa-kware* ‘(the rattlesnake) almost bit (Tata Crisanto, as he reached it)’ in (7.14a), *a-tsa-ya* ‘(I) will tell (brother Antonio when he arrives)’ in (6.9a), *dunu-tsa-chine* ‘(my daughters) surrounded (me, when I arrived home)’ in (13.49c), *tya-tsa-kware* ‘(the Chácobo people) gave (us a place to sleep, as we arrived at their village)’ in (15.20a), *baka-tsa-kware* ‘(our Cavineña ancestors) heard something (walking in their direction)’ in (19.21b), *ina-tsa-chine* ‘(I) received (the package that you sent me)’ in (20.24b).

Additional examples with *-dadi* are provided in (7.76).

- (7.76) a. *Kawaiti-tsu aaje-tsu iye-dadi-ya.*
 get.angry-SS chase-SS kill-GO(O)-IMPFV

‘(When the Ese Ejja people_i came to kill the Cavineñas_j) they_j would get (very) upset, they_j would chase them_i, then (reach them_i and) kill them_i.’ hs021

b. *Tudya* = \emptyset _O [e-kwe mama-chi=ra]_A
then (=1SG-FM) 1SG-GEN mother-AFFTN=ERG

kike-dadi-kware: “Chenu, je-kwe!”
shout.at-GO(O)-REM.PAST daughter come-IMP.SG

‘Then my mother yelled at me (from behind as I was walking first): “Daughter! Come over here!”’ bo006

c. *Tume* =tu-ja =tu_O [e-ra_A ba-ya=ju=kwita]
then =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) 1SG-ERG see-IMPV=DS=RESTR

tyuwi=ju buka=ra_A mada_O karu-dadi-kware.
nape=LOC tayra=ERG agouti bite-GO(O)-REM.PAST

‘(From the top of a tree, I was observing a tayra chasing an agouti.) Then, as I was looking at them, the tayra bit the agouti on the nape.’ ms020

See also *ina-dadi=ra* ‘to grab (my daughter) from behind’ in (18.29).

Finally, there is one transitive verb, *dadi-* ‘find’, which could be the source for the suffix *-dadi*, illustrated in (7.77). Note that no source could be found for *-tsa*.

(7.77) *Chamakama=dya* = \emptyset _A [akwi paji-da_{CC}=ke]_O
finally=FOC (=1SG-ERG) tree hard-ASF=LIG

dadi-kware.
find-REM.PAST

‘Finally, I found a hard stick (to finish killing a deer that I had shot).’ sl057

7.3. Aktionsart suffixes of time of day

Four verbal suffixes encode the fact that the verb event is performed at, or is somehow associated with, a particular time of the day. The suffixes differ according to two dimensions: (1) time of day: dawn (*-wekaka*) vs. dusk (*-apuna*) vs. day (*-chinepe*) vs. night (*-sisa*) and (2) aspect: punctual (*-wekaka* and *-apuna*) vs. prolonged (*-sisa* and *-chinepe*). This is summarized in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4. Semantics of time of day Aktionsart suffixes

	Punctual	Prolonged
Dawn	<i>-wekaka</i>	
Dusk	<i>-apuna</i>	
Day		<i>-chinepe</i>
Night		<i>-sisa</i>

The suffix *-wekaka* encodes the fact the verb event occurs at (or is somehow associated with) dawn. It is illustrated in (7.78), with intransitive verbs, and (7.79), with transitive verbs.

- (7.78) a. *Metajudya=piisi =ekwana_S kwa-**wekaka**-nuka-ya.*
tomorrow=JUST =1PL go-AT.DAWN-REITR-IMPV
‘(It is getting late now so we will stop the trip.) Tomorrow (at sunrise), we will keep going (and finish the trip).’ vb031
- b. *Metajudya =∅_S earaki ju-**wekaka**-ya.*
tomorrow (=1SG-FM) cook be-AT.DAWN-IMPV
‘I will cook early tomorrow.’ n5.0437
- (7.79) a. ... *wekaka-tsu y-awi=ke=ra_A ba-**wekaka**-kware*
be.at.dawn-SS 3-husband=3=ERG see-AT.DAWN-REM.PAST
e-biti=kamadya_O ju-jara-ya=ju.
NPF-skin=ONLY be-LIE-IMPV=DS
‘... so when the husband woke up, all he saw was the skin (of his wife, who had been eaten up by giant mosquitoes) lying (on the ground).’ T2.13
- b. *Metajudya =tu-ke_O =∅_A [una siri=kwana]_O*
tomorrow =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) clothe old=PL
*utsa-**wekaka**-ya.*
wash-AT.DAWN-IMPV
‘Tomorrow I will wash the clothes early in the morning.’ n5.0439

Note that reference to dawn is made twice in sentence (7.79a). It is made by the suffix *-wekaka* as well as by the independent verb *wekaka-* ‘be at dawn’¹⁴ in a periphrastic adverbial clause. This is typical of many examples. One might wonder what is the rationale for such redundancy. The reason for this is that in addition to specifying dawn-time, the suffix *-wekaka* appears to have the sense of ‘first thing in the morning’. In (7.79a), it would mean something like ‘the first thing he saw was the skin of this wife’. In other words, he did not see anything else before seeing the skin of his wife. And, probably, this also conveys an emotional effect for depicting the horrible vision of seeing one’s spouse reduced to a skin on the ground.

The use of *-wekaka* with *kwa-* ‘go’, as in (7.78a), could also have the ‘first thing in the morning’ effect; having personally taken part in the journey related in the text from which this example comes from, I clearly remember that the crew resumed the trip right after waking up, without taking any breakfast or anything.

We can compare (7.78a) with (7.80), below, where we have a similar periphrastic mention of dawn-time but where we do not have the *-wekaka* suffix on the verb *kwa-*. In (7.80), unlike in (7.78a), some time and some activities, such as taking a bath, having breakfast, etc. could have taken place between the waking up of the protagonist and the departure for a hunting excursion.

- (7.80) *Amena* ***wekaka-tsu*** = \emptyset _S *kwa-kware* *yachi=ju*
 BM be.at.dawn-SS (=1SG-FM) go-REM.PAST pampa=LOC
 babi=ra.
 hunt=PURP.MOT

‘After waking up (lit. being at dawn), I went hunting in the pampa.’ cz001

An interesting semantic effect is found with *tawi-* ‘sleep’ where *tawi-wekaka-* means ‘oversleep’. Note that Cavineña people tend to wake up before dawn so that it makes sense that ‘waking at dawn’ means having slept more than is normally expected.

The suffix *-apuna* encodes the fact that the verb event occurs at or is somehow associated with dusk. I unfortunately only have very few examples of this suffix. It is illustrated in (7.81) (with intransitive verbs) and (7.82) (with a transitive verb).

¹⁴ The verb *wekaka-* ‘be at dawn’, which can also mean ‘wake up’, is most likely the source of the suffix *-wekaka*, see below.

- (7.81) a. *Jadi*_{CC}=*ke* *tawi-apuna-kware* *ekwana*_S.
 thus=LIG sleep-AT.DUSK-REM.PAST 1PL
Wekaka-kware.
 be.at.dawn-REM.PAST
 ‘Thus we went to sleep at dusk. And we got up at dawn.’ ba008
- b. *Chine*=*ju* =*pa* =*tuna*_S *wikamutya*=*ra* *kwa-apuna-ya*.
 night=LOC =REP =3PL fish=PURP.MOT go-AT.DUSK-IMPFV
 ‘They say that they will go fishing tonight.’ n5.0432
- (7.82) *Iyakwa* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *Luca*_O
 now =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) Luca
kwaji-apuna-ti-ya.
 visit-AT.DUSK-GO.TEMP-IMPFV
 ‘I’ll visit Luca tonight.’ n5.0441

The suffix *-chinepe* encodes the fact that the verb event occurs all day long, as illustrated in (7.83).

- (7.83) a. *Weka-da*_{CC}=*ju* =*tu*_S *tawi-chinepe-ya*.
 bright-ASF=LOC =3SG(-FM) sleep-ALL.DAY-IMPFV
 ‘It (the scissor-tailed nightjar) sleeps all day long (lit. in the bright one).’ cy002
- b. *Tu-wa*=*dya* [*peadya serwieju*=*ra*]_A
 there-LOC=FOC one elder=ERG
 [*e-kwe e-usi*]_O *naru-chinepe-kware*.
 1SG-GEN 1-older.brother take.care.of-ALL.DAY-REM.PAST
 ‘There, an elder looked after my older brother all day long.’ qu076

The suffix *-sisa*, finally, is the mirror image of *-chinepe*, encoding the fact that the verb event occurs all night long, as illustrated in (7.84).

- (7.84) a. *Meta* =*tu*_S *nei*_S *ju-sisa-kware*.
 at.night =3SG(-FM) rain be-ALL.NIGHT-REM.PAST
 ‘It rained all night long.’ co017

- b. *Apuna-wa=ju* =*tuna_A* *katsa-sisa-ya*
 be.at.dusk-PERF=DS =3PL(-ERG) beat-ALL.NIGHT-IMPV
 [*tume_{CC}=ke kunu wenenu [jae_O iye=ishu_{CC}=ke]*]_O.
 there=LIG liana venom fish kill=PURP.GNL=LIG

‘After dusk had fallen, they pounded (lit. beat) all night long that poisonous liana which is used to kill fish.’ bb014

Note that there is redundant reference to night-time in (7.84a) with the time of day particle *meta* ‘at night’. But again, in addition to night-time, the morpheme *-sisa* specifies that the verb event occurs all night long and not just at some point during the night. The particle *meta*, on the other hand, only specifies night-time and nothing else, as in (7.85) below where there is no suffix *-sisa*. In this example, nothing implies whether ‘I’ hunted all night or for just a few hours.

- (7.85) [*Chacha_{CC} ju-atsu*] = \emptyset _S [*meta babi=ra*]
 alive be-SS (=1SG-FM) at.night hunt=PURP.MOT
kwa-kware...
 go-REM.PAST

‘I felt better (lit. I was alive) so I went night-hunting (lit. hunting at night)...’ ms007

As already mentioned (see footnote ¹⁴), the suffix *-wekaka* corresponds to the intransitive verb *wekaka-* ‘be at dawn’. This verb accepts either an impersonal subject (‘it was dawn, dawn broke’) or a personal one (‘we were at dawn, we woke up at dawn’). As for the suffix *-apuna* it corresponds to the intransitive verb *apuna-* ‘be at dusk, become dark’ (itself a verbalised adjective, *apu-* ‘dark’ + *-na* ‘VBLZ’; §5.2.3). Both independent verbs are illustrated in (7.86).

- (7.86) a. *Apu-apu* =*ri_S* *wekaka-wa.*
 dark-REDUP =3PROX.SG(-FM) be.at.dawn-PERF

‘Dawn broke cloudy (lit. a bit dark).’ ib003

- b. *Amena* [*i-ke_{CS} tu-wa_{CC}=ju=piji=dya*] =*tu_S*
 BM 1SG-FM there-LOC(=LIG)=DS=DIM=FOC =3SG(-FM)
apuna-kware.
 be.at.dusk-REM.PAST

‘When I was almost there, dusk was falling.’ sd068

There are no obvious verbs corresponding directly to either *-chinepe* ‘ALL.DAY’ or *-sisa* ‘ALL.NIGHT’. Possibly, *-chinepe* comes from the intransitive verb *chine-*, a synonym of *apuna-*, meaning ‘be at dusk’ with a formative ending *pe* ‘different from’ (see §12.7.8).

7.4. Aktionsart suffix of emotion

The suffix *-jara/-wana* ‘ADVERSative’ expresses a wide range of emotions, mostly negative, that the speaker has concerning the verb event or the non-A argument referent (the S argument referent of an intransitive verb, or the O argument referent of a transitive verb). The form *-jara* is used with intransitive verbs while the form *-wana* is used with transitive verbs.

The most common emotion expressed by *-jara/-wana* is anger, as illustrated in (7.87) (intransitive verbs).

- (7.87) a. *Maju-jara-wa*
die-ADVERS-PERF
‘Someone whom I don’t like died.’ n3.0102a
- b. *Pae_S kawaiti-jara-kware.*
priest get.angry-ADVERS-REM.PAST
‘That priest (whom I hate) got very angry (when he knew that I had committed adultery).’ cv030
- c. *Tume =tukwe estaca_S jupu-tana-jara-nuka.*
there =CONT.EVID peg extract-PASS-ADVERS-REITR
‘The damn peg dropped (lit. was extracted) from the axle (of the ox-cart) once again (but we didn’t notice it).’ ka478

The suffix *-wana* expressing anger is illustrated in (7.88) (transitive verbs).

- (7.88) a. *Tume =pa =tu_O epu=ju*
then =REP =3SG(-FM) village=LOC
[ekwana-ja epu=ju_{CC}=ra]_A
1PL-GEN village=LOC(=LIG)=ERG
ba-wana-nuka-kware.
see-ADVERS-REITR-REM.PAST
‘Then, in the village, someone from the village saw him again, that

damn traitor (returning to beg for food, even after all the bad things he had done to them)!' hm184

- b. *Ne-kware-wana-ra* [ekwana-ja ata]o!
 HORT.PL-avenge-ADVERS-HORT.PL 1PL-GEN relative

'Let us avenge our relative (who was killed by the enemies).'
 vz058

- c. *Ita tsa-kwe! Iyaja=kwita=dya*
 ATT.GETTER laugh-IMP.SG now=RESTR=FOC
 =mi-ke_O =∅_A *katsa-wana-ya!*
 =2SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) beat-ADVERS-IMPV

'Keep laughing and I will whip you right away, damn it! (my father told my mother, who was laughing at him because he came home soaking wet, having fallen in a stream).' ca012

Note that *-wana* is external to the situation related. Unless the speaker is an argument of the verb event himself (as in (7.88b,c), for example), the emotional content expressed by *-wana* is not experienced by the protagonists but by the speaker only. This is shown by (7.88a), where the A argument (someone from the village) still does not know who the O argument is (a dangerous traitor) at the time of the story. As a consequence, it cannot be said that the feeling of anger is felt by the A argument referent. The narrator, on the other hand, does know who the O argument is and he uses the suffix *-wana* on the verb *ba-* 'see' to express his emotion.

In the following, I illustrate *-jara/-wana* expressing various nuances of discontent (other than anger): disgust in (7.89), regret in (7.90), pity in (7.91), disappointment in (7.92), confusion in (7.93) and distrust in (7.94).

(7.89) disgust

- E-ra_A =ri_O iji-wana-ya.*
 1SG-ERG =3PROX.SG(-FM) drink-ADVERS-IMPV

'I am going to drink it (that disgusting cod oil).' bc024

(7.90) regret

- a. *Jadya=tibu=dya =ni =tu-ke_S =ekwana-ja*
 thus=REASON=FOC =MAYBE =3SG-FM =1PL-DAT

kasa-kasa=ama *ju-jara-ya.*
 strong-REDUP=NEG be-ADVERS-IMPFV

‘(Nowadays we don’t take that much trouble to prepare manioc beer). Maybe this is why it is not that strong.’ ci172

- b. *Aa, jadya =e-kwe =tu_S*
 well thus =1SG-DAT =3SG(-FM)

ba-wana-ma=kwita.
 see-ADVERS-RES.NEG=RESTR

‘Well, me, I’ve never seen that (the construction of a traditional canoe), unfortunately.’ ab207

(7.91) pity (see also (7.20b))

- a. *Uma-u-si=kwita* =*tu_A* *kwati_O*
 many-ASF-AUGM=RESTR =3SG(-ERG) firewood

sare-wana-ya.
 look.for-ADVERS-IMPFV

‘It’s a tremendous amount of firewood that they had to fetch (our poor grandmas, in old times, when preparing corn beer).’ ci084

- b. [*Pasensha ari-da_{CC}=tsewe*]
 patience big-ASF(=LIG)=ASSOC

ne-muya-wana-aje!
 HORT.DL-scare.away-ADVERS-GO.DISTR

‘Let us (dl) guide (lit. scare away) them (the poor oxen that pull the cart) with a lot of patience!’ ka275

(7.92) disappointment

Pureama_{CC}=tsewe = \emptyset _A *ba-ti-kware.*
 happy(=LIG)=ASSOC (=1SG-ERG) see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

Ba-wana-ti =*taa* = \emptyset _A *ushuri,*
 see-ADVERS-GO.TEMP =EMPH (=1SG-ERG) skinny

[*dyake ushuri*].
 very skinny

‘I went to see it (a deer I had shot), happy (lit. with a happy one).

But he was damn skinny, very skinny (lit. I saw him skinny, very skinny).’ ms011

(7.93) confusion

Ai=tsewe =*dyadi* =*ri-ke*_O = \emptyset _A
INT=ASSOC =STRG.EMPH =3PROX.SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)

e-iye-wana-u?
POT-kill-ADVERS-POT

‘What am I going to kill it (a dangerous viper) with, damn it?’
ce036

(7.94) distrust

... =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *mutsu-tsu*
=3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) pull-SS

be-ti-wana-ya.
bring-GO.TEMP-ADVERS-IMPFV

‘(It’s to make it easier to cook that) I plucked (lit. pulled) it (a partridge) and brought it here (although I can see that you don’t believe me).’ hm082

The suffix *-wana* is most likely part of the non-segmentable verb *ijirya-wana* ‘make fun of O’ although the *ijirya* part of the word cannot be identified outside of this verb.

The origin of *-jari/-wana* is a rather surprising one. It comes from the intransitive/transitive pair of postural verbs *jara* ‘lie’ and *wana* ‘lay O’ illustrated in (7.95).

(7.95) a. *Apuna-wa=ju* *ekana*_S *ka-bajeje-ti-tsu*
be.at.dusk-PERF=DS 3PL REF-prepare-REF-SS

jara-kware=dya.
lie-REM.PAST=FOC

‘When dusk had fallen, they got ready and went to sleep (lit. lay).’
cc007

b. *Catre=ju* =*tuna-ra*_A = \emptyset _O *wana-ti-kware.*
bed=LOC =3PL-ERG (=1SG-ERG) lay-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

‘They laid me on the bed.’ di1002

7.5. Distribution

Aktionsart suffixes occupy slot H of the predicate. It is quite common for two (or even three) Aktionsart suffixes to co-occur in a single verb. In (7.96), I illustrate various combinations of the suffixes *-tere* ‘COMP’, *-aje* ‘GO.DISTR’, *-bare* ‘DISTR’, *-eti* ‘COME.PERM’ and *-nuka* ‘REITR’.

- (7.96) a. *Amena* [i-ke_S riwi-wa=ju] *jukuri=kwana_S* *ea-keja*
 BM 1SG-FM fall-PERF=DS *coati=PL* 1SG-LOC.GNL

kike-tere-aje-bare-kware.
 shout-COMP-GO.DISTR-DISTR-REM.PAST

‘I fell down and the coatis were all around me screaming (and trying to bite me).’ te014

- b. *Amena* *ejutuki=kwana_O* =*ekwana_O* *señorita=ra_A*
 BM cloth=PL =1PL lady=ERG

kemi-mere-bare-eti-chine.
 buy-CAUS-DISTR-COME.PERM-REC.PAST

‘Then the (missionary) lady_i made us buy (with her_i money) cloth in various places on our way back.’ br058

- c. [*Tu-wa* *kwa-atsu*] =*ekwana_S* *mesa=ju*
 there-LOC go-SS =1PL table=LOC

ani-eti-bare-nuka-chine.
 sit-COME.PERM-DISTR-REITR-REC.PAST

‘After going there (to the toilets), we sat back around the table (at the market).’ br046

There do not appear to be strict ordering restrictions. For example, we have the order *-bare-eti* in (7.96b) and the reverse order *-eti-bare* in (7.96c). A difference in order tends to correlate with a meaning difference. In (7.96b) where *-eti* ‘COME.PERM’ has scope over *-bare* ‘DISTR’, the ‘coming’ motion is not distributed; the missionary lady and the two Cavineña women are on their way back home. In (7.96c), on the other hand, where *-bare* has scope over *-eti*, the coming motion is distributed; each person moves to one side of the table and sits.

Some suffixes encode different values of a system. These (normally) never co-occur. This is the case with motion suffixes. For example, the verb *peta-* ‘look at O’ can take the motion suffix *-diru* ‘GO.PERM’ (*peta-diru-* ‘go and look

at O’). It can also take the motion suffix *-tsa* ‘GO(O)’ (*peta-tsa-* ‘look at O while O is going away’). However, *peta-* cannot take both suffixes at the same time (**peta-diru-tsa-* or **peta-tsa-diru-*).

There are at least five paradigms of mutually exclusive suffixes, as follows:

— (in)completive suffixes (§7.1.1):

-tere/-tirya ‘COMpletive’
-bisha ‘INCOMpletive’

— ‘start’ vs. ‘stop’ suffixes (§7.1.2):

-jaka ‘STOP’
-tibune ‘START’

— ‘short time’ vs. ‘long time’ suffixes (§7.1.5):

-baka ‘SHORT.TIME’
-siri ‘LONG.TIME’

— motion suffixes (§7.2):

<i>-nati/-ti</i> ‘GO.TEMP(orarily)’	<i>-be</i> ‘COME.TEMP.DISTR’
<i>-diru</i> ‘GO.PERM(anently)’	<i>-etibe</i> ‘COME.PERM.DISTR’
<i>-na</i> ‘COME.TEMP(orarily)’	<i>-kena</i> ‘LEAVE’
<i>-eti</i> ‘COME.PERM(anently)’	<i>-tsa</i> ‘COME(O)’
<i>-aje</i> ‘GO.DISTR’	<i>-dadi</i> ‘GO(O)’

— time of day suffixes (§7.3):

<i>-wekaka</i> ‘AT.DAWN’	<i>-chinepe</i> ‘ALL.DAY’
<i>-apuna</i> ‘AT.DUSK’	<i>-sisa</i> ‘ALL.NIGHT’

More work is required to find out whether the remaining suffixes, e.g., *-jeri/-neri* ‘ALMOST’, *-nuka* ‘REITR’, *-wisha* ‘FAST’, *-bare* ‘DISTR’, etc., belong to one of these paradigms, form additional paradigms, or simply form a paradigm by themselves (i.e., one suffix = one ‘paradigm’).

Table 7.5 shows all attested combinations of two Aktionsart suffixes (from different paradigms) found in texts and supplemented by some combinations obtained through elicitation (the full list of elicited combinations is given in (7.97) — note that no systematic attempt was made to investigate all possible

Table 7.5. Attested combinations of two Aktionsart suffixes/

	-tere -bisha	Time of day	-wisha	-jaka -tibune	-baka -siri	-(ne)ni	-jara -wana	-jeri	-bare	Motion	-nuka
-tere / -bisha	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(7.4c)	(7.97f)	(7.5a)	(7.1c)
Time of day	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(7.82)	(7.78a)
-wisha	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(7.97e)	?
-jaka / -tibune	?	?	?	?	?	?	(7.97j)	(7.97g)	?	(7.8b)	(7.97d)
-baka / -siri	?	?	?	?	?	?	(7.20b)	?	?	(7.97c)	(7.18c)
-(ne)ni	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(7.33)	(7.97b)	(7.32c)
-jara / -wana	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(7.92)	(7.88a)
-jeri	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(7.14a)	(7.113)
-bare	(7.97f)	?	?	(7.97g)	?	?	?	?	?	(7.96b)	(7.96c)
Motion	?	?	(7.97e)	?	(7.19b)	?	(7.97b)	(7.97i)	(7.26a)	?	(7.96c)
-nuka	?	(7.97a)	?	(7.97d)	(7.14c)	?	?	(7.97h)	?	?	?

Notes:

-tere / (-tirya) / -bisha '(IN)COMP' (§7.1.1)

Time of day (suffixes) (§7.3):

-wekaka 'AT.DAWN'

-apuna 'AT.DUSK'

-chinepe 'ALL.DAY'

-sisa 'ALL.NIGHT'

-wisha 'FAST' (§7.1.6)

-jaka/-tibune 'STOP/START' (§7.1.2)

-baka/-siri 'SHORT/LONG.TIME' (§7.1.5)

-(ne)ni 'RANDOM' (§7.1.8)

-jara / -wana 'ADVERS' (§7.4)

-jeri (-neri) 'ALMOST' (§7.1.3)

-bare 'DISTR' (§7.1.7)

Motion (suffixes) (§7.2)

-nati/-ti 'GO.TEMP'

-diru 'GO.PERM'

-na 'COME.TEMP'

-eti 'COME.PERM'

-aje 'GO.DISTR'

-nuka 'RETR' (§7.1.4)

-be 'COME.TEMP.DISTR'

-etibe 'COME.PERM.DISTR'

-kena 'LEAVE'

-tsa 'COME(O)'

-dadi 'GO(O)'

orders. Each attested combination is cross-referenced to an illustrative example to be found in this chapter. Combinations which are attested in either order are coded by cells with borders. Combinations not found are coded with a question mark ‘?’. Note that an Aktionsart suffix never occurs more than once within a verb/predicate (as coded by a shaded cell). The glosses that correspond to the suffixes are reproduced below the table. Note that the complex suffix RE-DUP+CAUS discussed in §7.1.9 is only attested co-occurring with the motion suffix *-na*, in (7.39); this is not repeated here.

Combinations of Aktionsart suffixes elicited (i.e., not found in texts) are given in (7.97).

- (7.97) a. *iwara-nuka-wekaka-*
(call-REITR-AT.DAWN-) (n3.0314)
- b. *iwara-bare-ni-ti-*
(call-DISTR-RANDOM-GO.TEMP-) (n3.0309)
- c. *ani-tsura-baka-ti-*
(sit-GO.UP-SHORT.TIME-GO.TEMP-) (n3.0141)
- d. *iwara-jaka-nuka-*
(call-STOP-REITR-) (n3.0300)
- iwara-nuka-jaka-*
(call-REITR-STOP-) (n3.0299)
- e. *jipetana-aje-wisha-*
(approach-GO.DISTR-FAST-) (n3.0467)
- jipetana-wisha-aje-*
(approach-FAST-GO.DISTR-) (n3.0468)
- f. *wira-tere-bare-*
(urinate-COMP-DISTR-) (n2.0169)
- wira-bare-tere-*
(urinate-DISTR-COMP-) (n2.0170)

- g. *iwara-jeri-jaka-nuka-*
 (call-ALMOST-STOP-REITR-) (n3.0304)
- iwara-jaka-jeri-nuka-*
 (call-STOP-ALMOST-REITR-) (n3.0303)
- h. *iwara-nuka-jeri-*
 (call-REITR-ALMOST-) (n3.0302)
- i. *iwara-ti-jeri-*
 (call-GO.TEMP-ALMOST-) (n3.0311)
- karu-tsa-jeri-*
 (bite-COME(O)-ALMOST-) (n3.0316)
- j. *ina-jaka-wana-*
 (grab-STOP-ADVERS-) (n2.0462)

The table shows that the suffixes to the right of the table, notably the motion suffixes and the suffix *-nuka* ‘REITR’, can apparently be combined with all other suffixes. They also tend to have scope over (i.e., follow) the other suffixes. They will be called high-scope suffixes. By contrast the suffixes to the left of the table, such as *-tere/-tirya/-bisha* ‘(IN)COMP’, time of day suffixes, or *-wisha* ‘FAST’, are hardly ever found in combination with any other suffixes. They also tend to fall under the scope of (i.e., precede) the other suffixes. They will be called low-scope suffixes. When low-scope suffixes can follow (i.e., have scope over) high-scope suffixes the reverse order is always attested.

Note that the table does not take into account suffixes occurring on the copula/auxiliary verb *ju-* ‘be’, as this verb tends to have idiosyncratic properties and is not representative of regular verbs of the language. For example *ju-* allows motion suffixes to be followed by *-tere* ‘COMP’, as in *ju-eti-tere-* (be-COME.PERM-COMP-), or by *-(ne)ni* ‘RANDOM’, as in *ju-diru-ni-* (be-GO.PERM-RANDOM-) (see (7.31a)), whereas these sequences are never attested with other verbs.

Aktionsart suffixes can also combine with other verbal suffixes, presumably with semantic restrictions. Combinations with postural/directional suffixes (slot F) illustrated in this chapter are reported in (7.98). For additional examples, see §9.3.

(7.98) *neti-tsura-tere-*
(stand-GO.UP-COMP-) (7.4a)

ani-tsura-siri-
(sit-GO.UP-LONG.TIME-) (7.20a)

Combinations with valency-changing mechanisms (slot C/G) illustrated in this chapter are reported in (7.99). For additional examples, see §8.5.

(7.99) a. passive

katsa-tana-etibe-
(beat-PASS-COME.PERM.DISTR-) (7.69)

jupu-tana-jara-nuka-
(extract-PASS-ADVERS-REITR-) (7.87c)

b. reflexive

ka-shura-ti-nati-
(REF-hang-REF-GO.TEMP-) (7.58a)

c. reduplication antipassive

ara-ara-tibune-
(eat-REDUP-START-) (7.10)

d. causative

nawi-sha-ni-
(bathe-CAUS-RANDOM-) (7.32b)

The copula/auxiliary verb is irregular in showing the possibility of having an Aktionsart suffix (slot H) followed by a valency-modifying suffix (slot C/G).

(7.100) *Chamakama=tsewe* =*tuna-ja* =*tu_O* *Cavina=ju*
finally=ASSOC =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) *Cavinas=LOC*

ju-nati-kere-kware.
be-GO.TEMP-CAUS.INVLT-REM.PAST

‘They (the oxen) finally managed to get it (a very heavy cart) to Cavinas (Misión Cavinas).’ co004b

Combinations with auxiliary-changing processes are illustrated in §10.8.

7.6. Suffixes vs. compounded/serialized verbs?

As we have seen, many suffixes have a corresponding independent verb. This brings up the question of whether the Aktionsart morphemes should rather be analyzed as compounded/serialized verbs instead of suffixes. According to the typological literature on verb serialization (see, for example, Aikhenvald 1999, 2006), they could be analyzed as asymmetrical serial verbs since one verb comes from a large and open class — any verb can be the first verb in Cavineña — and the other from a restricted class — we only have about 30 Aktionsart suffixes. Semantically, the verb from the non-restricted class denotes the event and provides the transitivity value for the whole construction, whereas the verb from the closed class only provides a modification.

This analysis is however not retained here, for the main reason that such a process is not productive in Cavineña. First, we lack an equivalent verb for many suffixes (roughly half of them), as shown in Table 7.6, which summarizes the suffixes and their corresponding verbs (when available). Often we miss forms within a single paradigm. If we look at the paradigm of eleven motion suffixes (S/A- and O-related), for example, we only have corresponding verbs for five of them (*-diru*, *-jeti*, *-aje*, *-be* and *-dadi*). For the rest (*-nati*, *-ti*, *-na*, *-kena*, *-etibe* and *-tsa*), no independent verbs are attested. If we had true serialization, we should expect other deictic verbs such as *je-* ‘come (temporarily)’ or *kwa-* ‘go (temporarily)’ to form part of the paradigm. And, crucially, these two verbs would be expected instead of *-na* and *-nati/-ti* respectively since they have the exact same semantics (motion directed away from the DC and targeting a temporary location).

Second, at least one suffix (*-eti* ‘COME.PERM’) shows phonological erosion from its corresponding verb (*jeti-* ‘come (permanently)’), a fact that we would not expect if we had productive serialization.

Third, in addition to the fact that no corresponding forms are attested for many Aktionsart suffixes, when we do have some possible forms, they very often have quite different semantics. Thus note the difference between the verb *dadi-* ‘find’ and the suffix *-dadi* ‘action performed while O is moving away from A’, the verb *baka-* ‘listen, hear, ask, understand’ and the suffix *-baka* ‘a short time’, the verb *wisha-* ‘shake’ and the corresponding suffix *-wisha* ‘action performed rapidly’, the verb *bare-* ‘pass’ and the corresponding suffix *-bare* ‘verb event distributed over S/O referent’, etc.

Table 7.6. Aktionsart suffixes with corresponding verbs

Semantic classes	Suffixes	Corresponding verbs	
Aspect/Manner	<i>-tere/-tirya</i>	<i>tere/-tirya-</i>	'finish, finish O'
	<i>-bisha</i>	—	'abandon O, move away from O'
	<i>-jaka</i>	<i>jaka-</i>	'start O'
	<i>-tibune</i>	<i>tibune-</i>	'fold O, wrap O'
	<i>-jeri /-neri</i>	—	'listen, hear, ask, understand O'
	<i>-nuka</i>	<i>nuka-</i>	'break O'
	<i>-baka</i>	<i>baka-</i>	'shake O'
	<i>-siri</i>	<i>siri-</i>	'pass O, overtake O'
	<i>-wisha</i>	<i>wisha-</i>	—
	<i>-bare</i>	<i>bare-</i>	—
	<i>-(ne)ni</i>	—	—
	<i>-nati/-ti</i>	—	—
	<i>-eti</i>	<i>jeti-</i>	'come (permanently)'
	<i>-diru</i>	<i>diru-</i>	'go (permanently)'
	<i>-na</i>	—	—
	<i>-kena</i>	—	—
	Motion	<i>-aje</i>	<i>aje-</i>
<i>-be</i>		<i>be-</i>	'bring O'
<i>-etibe</i>		—	—
<i>-tsa</i>		—	—
<i>-dadi</i>		<i>dadi-</i>	'find O'
<i>-wekaka</i>		<i>wekaka-</i>	'be at dawn'
<i>-apuna</i>		<i>apuna-</i>	'be at dusk, become dark'
<i>-chinepe</i>		—	—
<i>-sisa</i>		—	—
<i>-jara/-wana</i>		<i>jara/-wana-</i>	'lie, lay O'
Time of day			
Emotion			

For all these reasons, an analysis in terms of suffixes is preferred and adopted here, even though it is highly possible that verb serialization is a very likely scenario for the diachronic origin of such forms, and what we see is an advanced stage of grammaticalization.¹⁵ Comparative and historical work is however needed to confirm this hypothesis.

¹⁵ A similar phenomenon appears to have occurred with Japanese where the verbal suffixes, according to some scholars (e.g., Quinn 1990) originated as serial verbs.

Chapter 8

Predicate structure — valency-changing mechanisms

The range of devices that have valency-modifying effects in Cavineña are morphological — verbal affixes in slot C/G of the predicate, or reduplication of a verb root — as well as syntactic — the exchange of auxiliaries.

There are three valency-reducing mechanisms, passive, reflexive/reciprocal and antipassive, and one valency-increasing mechanism, causative, as shown in Table 8.1. There is no applicative mechanism.

Table 8.1. Valency-changing mechanisms

	Valency-reducing		Valency-increasing ¹
Passive	<i>-ta(na)</i>	Causative	<i>-shal/-mere/-kere</i>
Refl./recip.	<i>k(a)-...-ti</i>		
Antipassive	1) reduplication 2) exchange of auxiliaries		

Valency-reducing mechanisms are discussed first: passive in §8.1, reflexive in §8.2 and antipassive in §8.3. The valency-increasing mechanism, causative, is discussed in §8.4.

Both inflecting verbs and non-inflecting verbs behave similarly with respect to passive, reflexive and causative. With respect to antipassive, however, inflecting verbs and non-inflecting verbs behave differently: the antipassive of an inflecting verb is realized by reduplication, while the antipassive of a non-inflecting verb is realized by exchanging the transitive auxiliary (*a-* ‘affect’) for the intransitive auxiliary (*ju-* ‘be’).

It is possible to have a combination of two valency-changing mechanisms. This is discussed in §8.5.

¹ Note that an *a* ending has been identified as a causative formative in a few transitive verbs (e.g., *nitya-* ‘stand O’ from *neti-* ‘stand’; see §5.2.6). This formative, which appears to have been a causativizer of intransitive verbs, is totally unproductive synchronically and is not further discussed in this chapter.

8.1. Passive *-ta(na)*

The suffix *-ta(na)* applies almost exclusively to transitive (or ditransitive) verbs.² It can be called a passive marker since it turns a transitive verb into an intransitive one with the original O argument becoming the S argument of the derived verb and the original A argument being obligatorily omitted. The basic syntax of the passive derivation is illustrated with a pair of elicited examples in (5.1).

- (5.1) a. *Roberto=ra_A kashi_O ara-ya.*
 Roberto=ERG sweet.banana eat-IMPV
 ‘Roberto eats sweet banana.’ n2.0510
- b. *Kashi_S ara-tana-ya.*
 sweet.banana eat-PASS-IMPV
 ‘Sweet bananas are eaten.’ n2.0511

The difference between the *-tana* and *-ta* variants is not clear. They both occur in the same phonological environments and with the same meaning (see below). All I can say at this stage is that the form *-tana* is used much more frequently than *-ta*. In this work, they are treated as free variants of the same morpheme.

The suffix *-ta(na)* has two major functions, which partly depend on the semantic type of the verb it applies to. These are, in terms of Dixon and Aikhenvald’s (2000) terminology, an agentless function and an anticausative function:³

1 — agentless function: the passive encodes the fact that the identity of the agent in a transitive event is left unexpressed, even though its action over the patient is still part of the meaning of the event;

2 — anticausative function: the passive encodes the fact that the event is not carried out by any agent (original A) but instead by the patient itself (original O) spontaneously.

The two types of functions are illustrated in turn below.

² A handful of exceptions are discussed at the end of the section.

³ Note that when compared with passives in other languages, the range of functions of the Cavineña passive is quite restricted. Unlike other languages, there is no particular emphasis on the resulting state. Such a function is encoded by (derived) resultative adjectives (§11.3.4). Also, the Cavineña passive does not strictly speaking focus on the O argument, since there is no specific agent to contrast it with, and it does not have any particular discourse function, such as topicalization functions.

8.1.1. Agentless passive

The agentless function of the Cavineña passive can be seen in example (8.2) below, which comes from a description of a traditional Cavineña cart (in a photo). In this sentence, the cart is used as the underlying O of the transitive verb *tsume-* ‘use’. An agent is still semantically implied to perform such an event, since a cart cannot perform the event of ‘using’ by itself. However, it does not refer to any particular referent; the agent is any person owning such a cart.

- (8.2) *Jadya=tibu* =*tu*_S [*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *e-majaka=ju*]
 thus=REASON =3SG(-FM) there=LIG NPF-space=LOC
 [*jee*_{CC}=*ke* *karetu*]_S *tsume-tana-ya...*
 here=LIG cart use-PASS-IMPFV

‘For that reason (that in Cavineña communities, there aren’t any motorized vehicles), this (rudimentary) cart is used in these places.’ ft023

Example (8.3) below comes from a procedural text on how to make a traditional canoe. In the two sentences here, the canoe is the underlying O of the two transitive verbs *rure-* ‘carve’ and *a-* ‘affect’. Here again, an agent is semantically implied to perform such actions; a canoe cannot ‘carve’ or ‘make’ by itself. However, since the narrator is talking about a technique or procedure, the agent can be anybody involved in these activities, in which case the passive is used in order to leave the agent’s identity unexpressed.

- (8.3) a. *Ikwene=dya* =*tu*_S *e-duku=ju* *rure-tana-ya*.
 first=FOC =3SG(-FM) NPF-inside=LOC carve-PASS-IMPFV

‘First, it (the canoe) is carved on the inside.’ ab152

- b. *Amena* *tuekedya* =*tu*_S *chamakama* *e-peres*
 BM then =3SG(-FM) finally NPF-side
 a-tana-ya *amena*.
 affect-PASS-IMPFV BM

‘And then finally its (the canoe’s) side is made.’ ab179

The examples in (8.4) below come from a story which relates how one day (in the olden days) a group of Cavineñas were ambushed by wild enemies and were all killed, and how the remaining Cavineñas decided, as a result, to settle in a different place. In this story, the enemies are never explicitly mentioned,

probably because their true identity was never known. In clauses where the Cavineñas are the underlying O of transitive verbs and where the enemies are the agent, a passive form of the verb is used.

- (8.4) a. *Dutya_S ekana_S tibarirya-tana-wa.*⁴
 all 3PL go.around-PASS-PERF
 ‘They (a group of Cavineñas that had gone working in their gardens) were all encircled (by enemies).’ fd029
- b. *Dutya_S ekana_S iye-tana-tere-wa.*
 all 3PL kill-PASS-COMP-PERF
 ‘They were all killed, to the last one.’ fd037
- c. [*Jadya tiryta-ta-wa=ju*] =*tuna_A chacha_{CC}=kwana=ra_A*
 thus finish-PASS-PERF=DS =3PL(-ERG) alive(=LIG)=PL=ERG
inimetupu-kware: “Peya=keja ne-diru-ra!”
 think-REM.PAST other=LOC.GNL HORT.PL-go-HORT.PL
 ‘After they (the group of Cavineñas) had been killed (lit. finished), the ones that were still alive started to think: “let’s go to (and live in) some other place!”’ fd039-040
- d. *Ne-diru-ra=dya!* *Tiryta-tana-ya=dya* =*ekwana_S.*
 HORT.PL-go-HORT.PL=FOC finish-PASS-IMPV=FOC =1PL
 ‘Let’s go (and live somewhere else)! (Otherwise) we will all be killed.’ fd043

There are rather few examples with passivized non-inflecting verbs. In all the examples available, the passive derivation is combined with other morphological processes. In (8.5) we have the passivization of *jucha a-* ‘have sex with O’ — which becomes *jucha a-ta-* ‘have sex’ — followed by the suffixation of the auxiliary-triggering negative desiderative marker *-karama* ‘DESID.NEG’ (§10.1.1) — resulting in *jucha a-ta-karama ju-* ‘refuse to have sex’.⁵

⁴ *Tibarirya-* ‘go around’ is transitive in Cavineña.

⁵ Note that the translation of *jucha a-* with the English intransitive verb ‘have sex with’ somehow blurs the derivation that is occurring in this example. A more precise and more revealing — although ruder — translation would be ‘fuck O’. As such, *jucha a-ta-* means ‘be fucked’ and *jucha a-ta-karama ju-* means ‘refuse to be fucked’.

- (8.5) *Tume* =pa =tu_S *tawi-ya=ke*_S *jucha*
 then =REP =3SG(-FM) sleep-IMPV=LIG have.sex.with
a-ta-karama *ju-kware.*
 affect-PASS-DESID.NEG be-REM.PAST

‘When they (the woman and her husband) were sleeping (in the mosquito net), she refused to have sex.’ T2.2

In (8.6) the verb *katsa-* ‘beat O’ is first fully reduplicated, giving *katsa-katsa a-* ‘beat O repeatedly’, i.e., a non-inflecting derived verb — see §10.6 on the auxiliary-triggering process of full reduplication. It is then passivized into *katsa-katsa a-tana-* ‘be beaten repeatedly’.

- (8.6) ... *ekana*_S *katsa-katsa* *a-tana-kware.*
 3PL beat-REDUP affect-PASS-REM.PAST

‘When they (our ancestors in Misión Cavinás) didn’t want to work, they would be beaten repeatedly.’ mn002

In addition to *tsume-* ‘use’, *rure-* ‘carve’, *a-* ‘affect’, *tibarirya-* ‘go around’, *iyé-* ‘kill’, *tirya-* ‘finish’, *jucha a-* ‘have sex with’ and *katsa-* ‘beat’, which have already been discussed, the passive suffix is also found with an agentless meaning in the verbs given in (8.7).

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|----------------|------------------|------------|
| (8.7) | <i>siri-</i> | ‘break’ | <i>iji-</i> | ‘drink’ |
| | <i>chaja-</i> | ‘tear’ | <i>iya-</i> | ‘put’ |
| | <i>paka-</i> | ‘cut with axe’ | <i>dadu-</i> | ‘move’ |
| | <i>tekwa-</i> | ‘shoot’ | <i>kwadisha-</i> | ‘send’ |
| | <i>pika-</i> | ‘braid’ | <i>jaba-</i> | ‘touch’ |
| | <i>teri-</i> | ‘close’ | <i>sare-</i> | ‘look for’ |
| | <i>murya-</i> | ‘soak’ | <i>baka-</i> | ‘hear’ |
| | <i>ara-</i> | ‘eat’ | | |

8.1.2. Anticausative passive

The anticausative function of the Cavineña passive is illustrated in the following examples. In (8.8a), the speaker relates an event when he fell from a tree and hit the branches on his way down. He uses the verb *katsa-* ‘beat, whip’ with the passive suffix. In (8.8b), quite similarly, the speaker relates the event of bumping into and getting caught in lianas, which is described by using the transitive verb *karya-* ‘hook’ with the passive suffix. In both examples, the protago-

nist is the underlying O of the verb and is also the instigator of the ‘hitting’ event, not the branches or the lianas.⁶ In other words, there is no agent involved, either formally or semantically.

- (8.8) a. ... *y-aa=kwana=ju katsa-tana-etibe-kware.*
 NPF-branch=PL=LOC beat-PASS-COME.PERM.DISTR-REM.PAST
 ‘(I fell from the tree,) beating the branches one after another.’⁷
 mg017
- b. ... *kunu=ju [e-kwe e-wachi=ekatse]_S karya-tana-tsu*
 liana=LOC 1SG-GEN NPF-foot=DL hook-PASS-SS
i-ke_S riwi-kware.
 1SG-FM fall-REM.PAST
 ‘(As I was running after the coati,) my feet got caught (lit. hooked)
 into lianas and I fell down.’ te013

Examples (8.9a), volunteered by Francisco Vaca, and (8.9b) below further illustrate underlyingly transitive events that happen spontaneously without the intervention of an agent.

- (8.9) a. [[*E-kwe karusune iyakwa_{CC}=ke]_S utsa-wa=ju]*
 1SG-GEN pants now=LIG wash-PERF=DS
dyuru-tana-chine.
 shorten-PASS-REC.PAST
 ‘They (the women) washed my new pants and they shrunk.’
 n1.0446
- b. *Kware-tana-ya =tu_S badi_S.*
 change-PASS-IMPV =3SG(-FM) month
 ‘The month is changing (to another month).’ di0614

⁶ Neither ‘the branches’ nor the ‘the lianas’ (both in locative case) can be agents (either formally or semantically) because the verbs *katsa-* ‘beat’ and *karya-* ‘hook’ obligatorily require animate agentive subjects.

⁷ The choice of the verb *katsa-* ‘beat’ to depict this situation is an interesting one. The speaker could have chosen a more direct way with a different ‘hitting’ verb which does not require an agentive (i.e., acting with intention) subject (such as *chika-* ‘bump into’) and would not have required passive morphology. The choice of *katsa-* suggests that the event of ‘hitting the branches’ is like being ‘beaten/whipped’ as a punishment (in this story he was not supposed to climb that tree).

See also *dadu-tana-* ‘move’ in (8.14b) below.

In addition to *rake-* ‘break’, *karya-* ‘hook’, *dyuru-* ‘shorten’, *kware-* ‘change’ and *dadu-* ‘move’, which have already been discussed, the passive suffix is found with an anticausative function with the verbs listed in (8.10).

(8.10)	<i>bere-</i>	‘pierce’	<i>shikwi-</i>	‘scrub’
	<i>dudu-</i>	‘knock on’	<i>tachi-</i>	‘close’
	<i>mare-</i>	‘shoot at’	<i>tasha-</i>	‘burst’
	<i>nuka-</i>	‘fold’	<i>tibi-</i>	‘detach’
	<i>puku-</i>	‘crack’	<i>tsape-</i>	‘spread’
	<i>rake-</i>	‘break (hard material)’	<i>wesa-</i>	‘lift’
	<i>rumu-</i>	‘overturn’	<i>wika-</i>	‘extract’
	<i>sami-</i>	‘flatten’	<i>wiru-</i>	‘scatter’

It is unclear to what extent the distinction between agentless or anticausative meaning is linked to the semantic type of verbs. I have not found any clear examples of verbs taking the passive with one meaning in one case and the other meaning in the other. Now we would also expect all the verbs listed under (8.10) above (anticausative meaning) to allow for an agentless meaning since they are all transitive and allow for an agent when non-derived. But we would not expect the reverse, i.e., for the verbs listed in (8.7) (agentless meaning) to allow an anticausative meaning. Anticausative meaning can normally only obtain with verbs denoting an event that can occur spontaneously. Thus for verbs such as *ara-* ‘eat’, *iji-* ‘drink’, *pika-* ‘braid’, etc., we would expect only an agentless meaning. But for some other verbs I do not see why they could not also have an anticausative meaning, such as *chaja-* ‘tear’, *siri-* ‘break’, *teri-* ‘close’, *murya-* ‘soak’. More work is needed on this topic.

8.1.3. *-tana* versus *-ta*

I said that both forms *-tana* and *-ta* are found in similar phonological environments and with the same meaning. Compare (8.4c) and (8.4d) above, for example, which both have the passivized verb *tiry-* ‘finish’. Even though the first uses *-ta* and the second *-tana*, there are no obvious semantic differences between the two. Another contrasting pair of text examples is presented in (8.11) below, from a similar story where two Cavineña brothers are killed by enemies. Both sentences express the same basic idea, namely ‘they/we got killed’, but the first makes use of *-tana* while the second *-ta*.

- (8.11) a. “*A-tana-wa* =*e-kwe* [*e-kwe e-bui=ekatsē*]_S!
 affect-PASS-PERF =1SG-DAT 1SG-GEN 1-nephew=DL

Ejebucha=dya =di ju-ya?” *jadya.*
 INT:SIMLR=FOC =STRG.EMPH be-IMPV thus

“‘My two nephews got killed! What am I going to do?’ thus (their uncle said).’ hm149

- b. “*A-ta-wa* =*taa =yatsēs!*”
 affect-PASS-PERF =EMPH =1DL

“‘So you see (Uncle), we (me and my brother) got killed!’ (the half dead nephew said to his uncle).’ hm167

In terms of their distribution in the texts, as I already said, *-tana* is used much more frequently than *-ta*. As a result, I have rather few good text examples with the suffix *-ta*, and the question of a semantic difference remains open.

8.1.4. Ditransitive verbs

What happens with ditransitive verbs (*baka-* ‘ask O for O’, *kweja-* ‘inform O of O’, *seka-* ‘take O away from O’ and *tya-* ‘give O to O’)? Can either O become the S of the derived verb? What happens to the O that has not become the S? I have unfortunately very few examples of passivized ditransitive verbs. As we will see in subsequent sections, there are very few examples of reflexivized, ‘antipassivized’ or causativized ditransitive verbs at all. Through elicitation, however, Francisco Vaca volunteered the two examples in (8.12) with *kweja-* ‘inform’ showing that either original O can become the S of a passivized ditransitive verb.

- (8.12) a. *Kweja-ta-ya* =*tu_S* *iyakwa barepatya=kwita*
 inform-PASS-IMPV =3SG(-FM) now at.midday=RESTR

noticia=kwana_S.
 news=PL

‘At noon sharp, news are given (on the shortwave radio).’ n3.0178

- b. *Ekwita=kwana_S* =*tu_S* *iyakwa kweja-ta-ya*
 person=PL =3SG(-FM) now inform-PASS-IMPV

biaje=ishu.
 travel=PURP.GNL

‘The men are informed about the trip (they are about to undertake).’ n3.0182

This pair of examples also shows that the other original O, i.e., the O that has not become the S, is not expressed when the ditransitive verb is passivized. Note however that no attempt has been made to check whether this is obligatory.

8.1.5. Idiosyncratic meanings

In a few cases, the suffix *-ta(na)* has idiosyncratic meanings, as when it is used with the pair of transitive verbs *jipe-* ‘approach O, move close to O’ and *jaka-* ‘abandon O, move away from O’. With these verbs, the suffix has an antipassive effect: the underlying A, rather than the O, becomes the S, and the underlying O is demoted to an optional ablative postpositional phrase. This is first illustrated in (8.13) with *jipe-* ‘approach, move close to’.

- (8.13) a. [*Tu-ra=kamadya_A ijeti_O jipe-kware=tibu*]
 3SG-ERG=ONLY sun approach-REM.PAST=REASON

=*pa* =*tu_{CS}* *pude-da_{CC}*.
 =REP =3SG(-FM) red/brown-ASF

‘Because he (the vermilion flycatcher bird) is the only one who approached the sun, he is red/brown.’ hi009

- b. *Wani_S =tu_S jipe-tana-aje-ya*
 smoke =3SG(-FM) approach-PASS-GO.DISTR-IMPV

ijeti=keja.
 sun=LOC.GNL

‘The cloud (lit. smoke) is progressively getting closer to the sun.’
 n3.0408

- c. *Jipe-tana-kwe=dya =di ekwana-keja amena!*
 approach-PASS-IMP.SG=FOC =STRG.EMPH 1PL-LOC.GNL BM

‘Come close to us!’ di1771

As we can see, unlike what we saw above, the S argument of the derived verbs does not come from the original O but from the original A: in (8.13b), if the S resulted from the original O, we would have expected either ‘the sun’ as the S, reading ‘the sun was approached’ or ‘something approached the sun’ with no

mention of ‘the clouds’; in (8.13c), if the S resulted from the original O, we should have the reading ‘be approached’.

When *jipe-* ‘approach, move close to’ is used in its non-derived form, the subject referent moves of its own will and intention; it can therefore be characterized as an agent. Thus in (8.13a) the vermilion flycatcher bird moves toward the sun of its own will. When it is used with the *-tana*, it does not move of its own will and intention anymore but under the control of an external agent; it can therefore be characterized as a patient. In (8.13b), the cloud does not choose to move closer to the sun but moves under the control of the wind. In (8.13c), the verb is in imperative mood which means that the subject is ordered to move and as a result does not move of its own will.

The antipassive-like effect of *-tana* with the verb *jaka-* ‘abandon, move away from’ is illustrated in (8.14), with (8.14a) showing the underived use of the verb and (8.14b) and (8.14c) showing this verb with *-tana*.

- (8.14) a. [*E-kari*_O *a-aje-ya=ke*]_O =*tu*_A *jaka-wa*.
NPF-path affect-GO.DISTR-IMPV=LIG =3SG(-ERG) abandon-PERF

‘He moved away from the path he was cutting (through the forest) (and as a result he got lost).’ se014b

- b. ... *re-keja* [*pere tronca*]_S *dadu-tana-kware*
here-LOC.GNL raft log move-PASS-REM.PAST
amena jaka-tana-kware mejiji=jucc=kes.
BM abandon-PASS-REM.PAST beach=LOC=LIG

‘... the log raft moved and then detached from the (river) beach (on which it was stuck).’ cu025

- c. *Jaka-tana-kwe riyapiji patyapatya=keja!*
abandon-PASS-IMP.SG a.little.bit IN.MIDDLE.OF=LOC.GNL

‘Move away (from the shore) a little bit to the middle (of the river)!’ n3.0464

Similarly to what we saw with *jipe-* above, if the S resulted from the original O, i.e., if we had a true passive derivation, we should have quite different readings for these examples. In (8.14b), we should have ‘the beach was left’ or ‘something moved away from the beach’, with no mention of the raft and in (8.14c), we should have ‘be abandoned’.

Quite similarly, when *jaka-* is used in its underived form, the subject is an agent, as in (8.14a) where the protagonist moves away from the path of its own will (to follow a group of monkeys in order to kill them). On the other hand,

when *jaka-* is used with *-tana*, the subject is a patient, as in (8.14b) and (8.14c). In (8.14b), the log raft, as an inanimate entity cannot move by itself but only under some external force. In (8.14c), similar to (8.13c) above, the verb is in the imperative mood, so that the subject has to move under an order by an external agent.

The antipassive effect of *-tana* is only attested with two verbs, *jipe-* ‘approach, move closer to’ and *jaka-* ‘abandon, move away from’. Even when used with verbs which are semantically similar to these two verbs, passive marking does not produce this meaning. For example, in (8.4a) above, the passive form of *tibarirya-* ‘go around’, a transitive motion verb with the subject as the moving figure, has an agentless function.⁸ This suggests that the antipassive effect discussed here is an idiosyncratic phenomenon; for this reason, *jipetana-* and *jakatana-* are treated as unitary roots in the rest of this study.

Turning now to the form *-ta*, it is found with an idiosyncratic meaning in the following verbs.

(8.15)	<i>sipi-ta-</i> ‘stick to’ (*be repaired)	←	<i>sipi-</i> ‘repair O’
	<i>apu-ta-</i> ‘disappear’ (*be covered)	←	<i>apu-</i> ‘cover O’
	<i>paja-ta-</i> ‘become white’ (*be palmed/slapped)	←	<i>paja-</i> ‘palm/slap O’

There is also a number of verbs which end with *tana* or *ta* but for which either the base is not a transitive (inflecting) verb but from a different word class, or is not synchronically identifiable any more. Starting with *-tana*, with the three verbs in (8.16), a predicative adjective can be (at least partly) identified as the origin of (at least part of) the base.

(8.16)	<i>abaka-tana-</i> ‘be silent’	←	<i>abaka-</i> ‘silent’
	<i>jie-tana-</i> ‘get better’	←	<i>ji-</i> ‘good’

⁸ Note however that I have not checked the behavior of other similar verbs, e.g., *sita-* ‘approach’, *bare-* ‘pass’, *dunu-* ‘surround’, *rike-* ‘cross’, *tsuru-* ‘meet’, *tupu-* ‘follow’, etc.

<i>saru-tana-</i> 'break'	←	<i>saru-</i> 'toasted'
------------------------------	---	---------------------------

The two (inflecting) *tana*-verbs in (8.17) are clearly related to non-inflecting verbs.

(8.17)	<i>bidu-tana-</i> 'wiggle (like a fish)'	←	<i>bidubidu a-</i> 'wag O'
	<i>tipiru-tana-</i> 'turn upside down'	←	<i>tipirutipiru ju-</i> 'turn upside down'

The verb *dyake-tana-* 'become worse' appears to be derived from the independent particle *dyake-* 'very'.

For the two verbs in (8.18), a noun can be identified as (at least part of) the base.

(8.18)	<i>akwase-tana-</i> 'turn downside up'	←	<i>-akwa</i> 'chest'
	<i>sapara-tana-</i> 'startle with arms up'	←	<i>sapara</i> 'small stick (?), finger (?)'

For the verbs in (8.19), I have no synchronically identifiable base.

(8.19)	<i>kwami-tana-</i> 'be crushed'		<i>shudiri-tana-</i> 'slip'
	<i>pakara-tana-</i> 'move away'		<i>tijeru-tana-</i> 'step back (?)'
	<i>peseke-tana-</i> 'turn on the side' ⁹		<i>tipuse-tana-</i> 'somersault'
	<i>pesi-tana-</i> 'flood'		<i>wapa-tana-</i> 'be pierced (?)'
	<i>raju-tana-</i> 'detach'		<i>wipuchi-tana-</i> 'bow'
	<i>rukwi-tana-</i> 'stretch'		

Similarly, the verbs in (8.20) do not have any identifiable base, apart from the fact that their base patterns with the causative *-sha* (§8.4.1).

⁹ Note that there is a verb *peke-* 'carry on one's side' to which *peseke-tana-* might be related.

(8.20)	<i>jeku-tana-</i>	‘be scared’		<i>jeku-sha-</i>	‘scare O’
	<i>rikwi-tana-</i>	‘startle, tremble’		<i>rikwi-sha-</i>	‘startle O’
	<i>puti-tana-</i>	‘get scared off’		<i>puti-sha-</i>	‘scare O off’
	<i>ruju-tana-</i>	‘emerge (?)’		<i>ruju-sha-</i>	‘go through O’

Turning now to the *-ta* variant of the passive marker, it is possibly found in some transitive verbs that appear to be derived from nouns (see §5.2.2.3). They are given in (8.21).

(8.21)	<i>naka-ta-</i>	‘get wet’	←	<i>-na</i>	‘water’
	<i>muru-ta-</i>	‘become ashes’	←	<i>muru</i>	‘dust, ashes’

The three verbs listed in (8.22) appear to be derived from adjectives *via -ta* (see §5.2.3.4).

(8.22)	<i>shabi-ta-</i>	‘get tender’	←	<i>shabi-</i>	‘tender’
	<i>tsunu-ta-</i>	‘be late’	←	<i>tsunu-</i>	‘long (time)’
	<i>ushu-ta-</i>	‘deflate’	←	<i>ushuri</i>	‘skinny’

In the verbs in (8.23), if the *ta* ending is indeed the passive suffix, I have no clue as to what the original base could be or could have been.

(8.23)	<i>iyuma-ta-</i>	‘roll oneself up’		<i>tada-ta-</i>	‘get solid’
	<i>kuju-ta-</i>	‘have blisters’		<i>weji-ta-</i>	‘fold and dangle’
	<i>putu-ta-</i>	‘explode’			

8.1.6. Possible origin

The origin of the passive suffix *-ta(na)* might be a third person (plural) bound pronoun, with *ta* marking third person and *na* marking plural number. This is suggested by the fact that the form *ta* marks third person in the present day dual pronouns (*ta-tse* ‘3-DL’) and *na* marks plural number in present day third person plural pronouns (*tu-na* ‘3-PL’ and *re-na* ‘3PROX-PL’; see §§15.1.2-2.2). Although, strictly speaking, the form that combines with *na* in the present day language is not *ta* but *tu*, the similarity is quite striking. In addition, the grammaticalization path from third person (at least plural) pronouns to impersonal markers and/or to passive markers is widely attested cross-linguistically (see examples in Heine and Kuteva 2002: 235-7).

8.2. Reflexive/reciprocal *k(a)-...-ti*

The circumfix *k(a)-...-ti*, similarly to the passive marker, only applies to transitive (or ditransitive) verbs. It turns a transitive verb into an intransitive one, with the underlying A becoming the S argument of the derived verb. The syntax of the underlying O depends on the function of the circumfix. As we will see, it can either be omitted or demoted to an extended core argument (E).

The full form *ka-...-ti* applies to verbs which begin with a consonant, as in *ka-peta-ti-*, *ka-sita-ti-*, *ka-yupu-ti-*, etc. The reduced form *k-...-ti* applies to verbs which begin with a vowel, as in *k-ina-ti-*, *k-utsa-ti-* ‘wash oneself’, etc. (see §2.6.2).¹⁰

The Cavineña circumfix *k(a)-...-ti* has a wide range of functions. It can be used productively with the following meanings:

- 1 — reflexive: the underlying A and O arguments represent the same referent;
- 2 — reciprocal: the underlying A and O referents are simultaneously agent and patient;
- 3 — benefactive reflexive: the underlying A and the O referents are distinct but have a special semantic bond (possession, benefaction, etc.). Syntactically, the O argument is demoted to an extended (core) argument (E);
- 4 — patientless antipassive: the underlying A and O referents are distinct but the focus is on the action itself. Syntactically, the underlying O is altogether omitted.

Table 8.2 below summarizes the four different functions of the Cavineña circumfix *k(a)-...-ti*.

Table 8.2. Summary of the different functions of the circumfix *k(a)-...-ti*¹¹

Reflexive		Reciprocal ¹²			Benefactive		Patientless	
Ref	Pat	Ref1	Ref2	Ref2	Ref1	Ref2	Ref1	Ref2
Agt	Pat	Agt1	Pat2	Agt2	Pat1	Agt	Ben	Pat
S			S			S	E	S
								Ø

¹⁰ Two exceptions were found in the corpus: *ka-adeba-ti-* ‘foretell’ from *adeba-* ‘know’, illustrated in (8.33b) below, and *ka-akwa-tsuru-ti-* ‘face each other’, from *akwa-tsuru-* (chest-meet-), illustrated in (5.36).

¹¹ Ref stands for referent; Agt, Pat and Agt Ben for semantic roles; and S and E for grammatical functions.

¹² Note that the simple coding given here does not capture the fact that there can be more than two participants in a reciprocal relation (i.e., Ag1/Pat2, Ag2/Pat3/, Ag3/Pat1, Ag2/Pat1, etc.)

The syntax of the four types of functions is illustrated with the verb *peta-* ‘look at’ in (8.24a-e).

(8.24) a. non-derived verb *peta-* ‘look at’

Señora=ra_A peta-wa espejo=eke [chapa ushuri_{CC}=ke]_O.
 lady=ERG look.at-PERF mirror=PERL dog skinny=LIG

‘The lady looked at the skinny dog in the mirror.’ n3.0204

b. reflexive function

Señora_S ka-peta-ti-wa espejo=ju.
 lady REF-look.at-REF-PERF mirror=LOC

‘The lady looked at herself in the mirror.’ n3.0205

c. reciprocal function

Ekwana_S =bakwe ka-peta-ti-bare-kware
 1PL =CONTR REF-look.at-REF-DISTR-REM.PAST

‘(When the wind started to shake the house,) we looked at each other (a little scared).’ hu008a

d. benefactive function

Señora_S ka-peta-ti-wa [tu-ja chapa ushuri_{CC}=ke]_E.
 lady REF-look.at-REF-PERF 3SG-GEN dog skinny=LIG

‘The lady examined her skinny dog carefully (concerned that he could be sick).’ n3.0209

e. patientless antipassive

Ka-peta-ti-ya =mi-kes?
 REF-look.at-REF-IMPV =2SG-FM

‘You are watching?’ (This was said to me in a greeting/phatic communion sense, while I was watching a soccer game.) n4.0511

Each function is further illustrated and discussed in the following sections.

8.2.1. Reflexive and reciprocal

The reflexive function of *k(a)-...-ti* is illustrated in (8.25).

- (8.25) a. ... =*pa* =*tu*_S *e-puna*_S ***ka-bajeje-ti-tsu***
 =REP =3SG(-FM) NPF-female REF-prepare-REF-SS
 *kadujuti-nuka-kware*¹³ *eyumataki=ju*.
 go-REITR-REM.PAST village=LOC
 ‘(When her husband told her to leave), the woman got ready (lit. prepared herself) and went back to the village.’ vz014
- b. *Re-wa* =*yatse*_S *e-spere=ju* ***k-utsa-ti-chine***.
 here-LOC =1DL NPF-stream=LOC REF-wash-REF-REC.PAST
 ‘Here in that stream we bathed (lit. washed ourselves).’ ft034
- c. ... [*tujuri* *siri=tsewe*] ***ka-rama-ti***.
 mosquito.net old=ASSOC REF-cover-REF
 ‘(I didn’t have any warm clothes so) I covered myself with my old mosquito net.’ ka245

The reciprocal function of the *k(a)-...-ti* is illustrated in (8.26).

- (8.26) a. *Kawaiti-tsu* =*tuna*_S ***ka-mare-ti-kware***
 get.angry-SS =3PL REF-shoot.at-REF-REM.PAST
 [*piya=tsewe* *salon=tsewe* *jadya*].
 arrow=ASSOC rifle=ASSOC and
 ‘They got angry and they shot at each other with arrows and rifles.’
 T1.2
- b. ... *patya* *ekatse*_S ***ka-bare-ti-ya...***
 IN.MIDDLE.OF 3DL REF-pass-REF-IMPV
 ‘... they (dl) would pass one another in the middle (of a big branch)...’ hm028

¹³ Note that *kadujuti*- ‘go’ is a lexicalized reflexive based on the verb *duju*- ‘take’ (lit. take oneself). See discussion below.

- c. *Tudya* =*yatses ka-peta-ti-kware*
 then =1DL REF-look.at-REF-REM.PAST
 [*e-kwe e-jakwi=tsewe*].
 1SG-GEN 1-brother.in.law=ASSOC

‘Then my brother-in-law and I looked at each other, (wondering who of us would know how to milk a cow).’ vc022

An example with *k(a)-...-ti* on a non-inflecting verb, *contagia a-* ‘infect O’, and with a reciprocal meaning, is given in (8.27).

- (8.27) *Contagia* =*ekwanaS k-a-ti-kware...*
 infect =1PL REF-affect-REF-REM.PAST

‘We infected each other (with tuberculosis) (because we were all living in the same house).’ nk100

8.2.2. Benefactive reflexive

The benefactive reflexive function of *k(a)-...-ti* display a range of slightly different semantic nuances. In (8.28), *k(a)-...-ti* is used on motion-like verbs, *shana-* ‘leave’, *iya-* ‘put’ and *shura-* ‘hang’, which results in the underlying O referent being separated from its underlying possessor A referent. The marker *k(a)-...-ti* emphasizes the fact that the bond still holds and that underlying A referent intends to recover their possession.

- (8.28) a. *Tu-wa* =*tukwe ekanas*
 there-LOC =CONT.EVID 3PL
ka-shana-ti-na-kware *etawiki=kwanaE*.
 REF-leave-REF-COME.TEMP-REM.PAST bed=PL

‘There (at the tip of a wood), they left their beddings, on their way (to our village fiesta) (thinking they would find their beddings back when returning to their community).’ fg008

- b. [*TunaS ju-diru-wa=ju*] =*yatses mochilaE karetu=ju*
 3PL be-GO.PERM-PERF=DS =1DL bag cart=LOC
k-iya-butya-ti-nuka-chine.
 REF-put-GO.DOWN-REF-REITR-REC.PAST

‘When they arrived, we (dl) put again our bags down in the cart (and went on foot). (And later we got our bags back).’ vb055

- c. ... =*pa* =*tuna*_S ***ka-shura-ti-nati-kware***
 ... =REP =3PL REF-hang-REF-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

[*tuna-ja piya*]_E.
 3PL-GEN arrow

‘... (when they arrived at their gardens), they left (lit. hung) their arrows (on the edge of the gardens, ready to use in case of an attack from enemies).’ fd019

In the examples in (8.29), *k(a)-...-ti* is used on the verbs *kemi-* ‘buy’, *duju-* ‘take’ and *tyana-* ‘cap’. It encodes the fact that these actions, which are performed over the underlying O referent, benefit the underlying A referent exclusively (and not anybody else).

- (8.29) a. *Makina=kwana*_E =*ekwana*_S ***ka-kemi-ti-ya*** ...
 machine=PL =1P REF-buy-REF-IMPFV

‘(Nowadays) we buy machines for ourselves (to grind corn) (and we unfortunately don’t use the traditional mortar and pestle anymore).’ ci107

- b. *Umae*_S =*pa* ***ka-duju-ti-kware***=*dya*
 few =REP REF-take-REF-REM.PAST=FOC

[*tuna-ja bawe=dya*] *kuru=ishu*_{CC}=*kwana=ke*_E.
 3PL-GEN customs=FOC chew=PURP.GNL=PL=LIG

‘A few (men) took coca leaves (lit. what is for chewing) for themselves, as always.’ cc010

- c. *Tudya* =*pa* =*tu*_A *tujuri*_O *tyana-kware*.
 then =REP =3SG(-ERG) mosquito.net cap-REM.PAST

Ji-da ***ka-tyana-ti-kware***.
 good-ASF REF-cap-REF-REM.PAST

‘(After having pushed his wife outside the mosquito net) he (the husband) adjusted (lit. capped) the mosquito net; he adjusted it very well for himself.’ T2.4

In (8.30), *k(a)-...-ti* is used with an O referent which is the body part of the underlying A referent.

- (8.30) *Jadi*_{CC=ke} =*pa* =*tu*_S *takwiri*_E ***ka-jikwi-ti-kware***.
 thus=LIG =REP =3SG(-FM) calf REF-cut.off-REF-REM.PAST
 ‘Thus he cut off his (own) calf.’ ho072

With the perception verbs *ba-* ‘see’ and *peta-* ‘look at’ the marker *k(a)-...-ti* can have the sense of ‘inspect’ or ‘examine’, i.e., ‘see’ or ‘look at’ with particular concern for the way the underlying O referent might affect the A. This is illustrated in (8.31) and (8.24d) (repeated).

- (8.31) [*Tuna-ja budari=kwana*]_E *ekana*_S ***ka-ba-ti-ti-wa***.
 3PL-GEN banana=PL 3PL REF-see-REF-GO.TEMP-PERF
 ‘They went to inspect their banana (plantation) (afraid the banana plants might have died).’ mj169

- (8.24d) *Señora*_S ***ka-peta-ti-wa*** [*tu-ja chapa ushuri*_{CC=ke}]_E.
 lady REF-look.at-REF-PERF 3SG-GEN dog skinny=LIG
 ‘The lady examined her skinny dog carefully (concerned that he could be sick).’ n3.0209

The syntactic nature of the E argument is an interesting question for which I do not have any clear answer at the present time. What is clear is that E is not an O argument, even though it is unmarked for case. Evidence for this is that, unlike an O argument, an E argument cannot be represented by a bound pronoun. This is illustrated in (8.29a’), elicited from the textual example (8.29a) (repeated). As we see, it is impossible to include a bound pronoun, such as =*tu-ke* ‘3SG-FM’, referring to the E argument, *makina=kwana* ‘machines’. As (8.29a’’) shows, =*tu-ke* ‘3SG-FM’ can only be used if *k(a)-...-ti* is removed from the verb, in which case *makina=kwana* ‘machines’ refers the O argument.¹⁴

- (8.29a) *Makina=kwana*_E =*ekwana* ***ka-kemi-ti-ya*** ...
 machine=PL =1PL REF-buy-REF-IMPV
 ‘(Nowadays) we buy machines for ourselves (to grind corn) (and we unfortunately don’t use the traditional mortar and pestle anymore).’ ci107

- (8.29a’) **Makina=kwana*_E =***tu-ke***_E =*ekwana*_S ***ka-kemi-ti-ya***.
 machine=PL =3SG-FM =1PL REF-buy-REF-IMPV
 n5.0368

¹⁴ See §15.2 for a detailed discussion of bound pronouns.

- (8.29a") *Makina*=*kwana*_O =*tu-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A *kemi-ya*.
 machine=PL =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) buy-IMPFV
 'We buy machines.' n5.0369

The same phenomenon happens in (8.29b'), elicited from the textual example (8.29b) (repeated): it is impossible to use the bound pronoun =*tu-ke* '3SG-FM' to refer to the E argument, *mochila* 'bags'; this bound pronoun is only possible if *k(a)-...-ti* is removed from the verb, as in (8.29b"), where *mochila* 'bags' is the O argument.

- (8.29b) [*Tuna*_S *ju-diru-wa=ju*] =*yatse*_S *mochila*_E *karetu=ju*
 3PL be-GO.PERM-PERF=DS =1DL bag cart=LOC
k-iya-butya-ti-nuka-chine.
 REF-put-GO.DOWN-REF-REITR-REC.PAST
 'When they arrived, we (dl) put again our bags down in the cart
 (and we went on foot). (And later we got our bags back.)'
 vb055

- (8.29b') *[*Tuna*_S *ju-diru-wa=ju*] =*tu-ke* =*yatse*
 3PL be-GO.PERM-PERF=DS =3SG-FM =1DL(-ERG)
*mochila*_E *karetu=ju k-iya-butya-ti-nuka-chine*.
 bag cart=LOC REF-put-GO.DOWN-REF-REITR-REC.PAST
 n5.0365

- (8.29b") [*Tuna*_S *ju-diru-wa=ju*] =*tu-ke*_O =*yatse*_A
 3PL be-GO.PERM-PERF=DS =3SG-FM =1DL(-ERG)
*mochila*_O *karetu=ju iya-butya-nuka-chine*.
 bag cart=LOC put-GO.DOWN-REITR-REC.PAST
 'When they arrived, we (dl) put again our bags down in the cart.'
 n5.0366

8.2.3. Patientless antipassive

In (8.32), *k(a)-...-ti* has a patientless antipassive function: the underlying O referent is left unspecified because the focus is on activities ('crossing', 'rowing', 'barking' and 'sweeping') as opposed to events that are performed on particular entities.

- (8.32) a. *Ju-nati-nuka Biata=ju. Tu-wa=dya =yatse_s*
 be-GO.TEMP-REITR Biata.river=LOC there-LOC=FOC =1DL
pere=eke ka-reke-ti-chine.
 raft=PERL REF-cross-REF-REC.PAST

‘We reached the Biata river. There, we crossed with a raft.’ vb051

- b. *Tuekedya =e-kwe nereka=tsewe*
 then =1SG-DAT suffering=ASSOC

[*e-kwe e-metuku=tsewe*]
 1SG-GEN NPF-hand=ASSOC

ka-taru-ti-aje-kware i-ke_s.
 REF-stir-REF-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST 1SG-FM

‘Then, painfully, I went rowing (lit. stirring) with my hand (in order to cross the river).’ mj073

- c. *Amena tume chapa=dya_s =di =pa*
 BM then dog=FOC =STRG.EMPH =REP

ka-rikwa-ti-aje-ya=dya.
 REF-bark.at-REF-GO.DISTR-IMPV=FOC

‘And the dog was barking too.’ tg037

- d. *Ai=dya =di =ri_s riya_{CC}=ke_s*
 do.what=FOC =STRG.EMPH =3PROX.SG(-FM) here=LIG

ju-ani-na-wa=dya =di!
 be-SIT-COME.TEMP-PERF=FOC =STRG.EMPH

Ka-jabu-ti-wa=ama.
 REF-sweep-REF-PERF=NEG

‘Why the hell did this (woman) come! She (my wife) has not swept (and the floor is still dirty).’ ci027

When *k(a)-...-ti* is used on the cognition verb *adeba-* ‘know’, and when the underlying O referent is not specified, we can have the meaning of ‘foretelling, suspecting’. It is as if the event of ‘knowing’ is only partially performed over the O argument. Thus compare the pair in (8.33).

- (8.33) a. *Dutya=ra_A =tu-ke_O =ekwana_A adeba-ya*
 all=ERG =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) know-IMPFV
[aja ari-da_{CC}=ke]_O...
 capuchin.monkey big-ASF=LIG
 ‘We all know the capuchin monkey which is big...’ aj046
- b. *Tu-wa =pa =tuna_S amena ka-adeba-ti-kware.*
 there-LOC =REP =3PL BM REF-know-REF-REM.PAST
 ‘There (in hearing imitations of birds) they suspected (that they were about to be attacked by enemies).’ fd027

Other examples of cognition verbs with *k(a)-...-ti* in my data are *k-isara-ti* ‘talk’, from *isara-* ‘talk to O’, and *ka-peta-ti-* ‘watch’, from *peta-* ‘look at O’.

8.2.4. Ditransitive verbs

What happens when ditransitive verbs take *k(a)-...-ti*? More specifically, which of the two non-subject arguments, the theme or the recipient, can be co-referential or enter into a reciprocal relation with the agent? Although I have very few examples of ditransitive verbs marked by *k(a)-...-ti*, the examples available suggest both theme and recipient can be the co-referential argument. This is illustrated with the verbs *tya-* ‘give’ in (8.34) and *kweja-* ‘inform’ in (8.35). In (8.34a), the agent of *tya-* ‘give’ is in a reflexive relation with the theme while in (8.34b), it is in a reciprocal relation with the recipient. And in (8.35), the agent of *kweja-* ‘inform’ is in a reciprocal relation with the recipient.

- (8.34) a. *[I-ke_{CS} iyakwa creyente_{CC}=tibu] Yusu=keja i-ke_S*
 1SG-FM now believer=REASON God=LOC.GNL 1SG-FM
ka-tya-ti-wa.
 REF-give-REF-PERF
 ‘Since I am a believer now, I have given myself to God.’ nk130
- b. *Ekwana_S =ekwana_S [jadya ka-tya-ti-e=ama=dya]*
 1PL =1PL MAN REF-give-REF-MAN=NEG=FOC
ju-ya...
 be-IMPFV
 ‘We (Cavineñas) don’t give presents to each other that way (bending forward, as the Pacahuaras do).’ pa093

- (8.35) ***Ka-kweja-ti-chine*** =yatse_s *biaje=ishu.*
 REF-inform-REF-REC.PAST =1DL travel=PURP.GNL

‘We (dl) discussed the trip (lit. we informed each other about the trip).’ vb003

Although they are rather scarce, these examples suggest that neither of the two non-subject arguments of ditransitive verbs is privileged within a reflexive or reciprocal derivation.

Examples (8.34b) and (8.35) also suggest that the non-subject argument that is not in a reflexive or reciprocal relation with the agent is not expressed. However, in (8.34a), the recipient, ‘God’, i.e., the non-subject argument that is not in a reflexive relation with the agent, is expressed by an oblique general locative phrase. This example could go against my impression that the two non-subject arguments of ditransitive verbs are left unexpressed within all types of valency-reducing mechanisms (see §8.1 and §8.3 below). However, it is quite possible that this is an idiosyncratic result of the fact that ‘giving oneself to God’, in the sense it has nowadays in Cavineña communities, is a recent idea introduced by Christian missionaries. Note that a similar phenomenon occurs with *baka-baka* ‘pray’, an antipassive derivation of ditransitive *baka-* ‘ask’ (see §8.3 and (8.46)).

8.2.5. Idiosyncratic meanings

There are a number of idiosyncratic meanings associated with the *k(a)-...-ti* circumfix. In (8.36), I provide some examples with lexicalized meanings; a-examples are semantically reflexive, b-examples reciprocal, and c-examples patientless.

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|----|------------------|---------------|---|--------------|--------------------|
| (8.36) | a. | <i>kadakati-</i> | ‘vomit’ | ← | <i>daka-</i> | ‘spill O’ |
| | | <i>kadujuti-</i> | ‘go’ | ← | <i>duju-</i> | ‘take/transport O’ |
| | | <i>kabeti-</i> | ‘come’ | ← | <i>be-</i> | ‘bring O’ |
| | b. | <i>kakemiti-</i> | ‘get married’ | ← | <i>kemi-</i> | ‘take O out’ |
| | c. | <i>kajiruti-</i> | ‘choke’ | ← | <i>jiru-</i> | ‘smell O’ |

Finally, a number of verbs show the *k(a)-...-ti* marker even though the base is synchronically unidentifiable (or only partially identifiable). As an illustra-

tion, I list a few of these verbs in (8.37):¹⁵

(8.37)	<i>kawaiti-</i>	‘get angry’	<i>kajikati-</i>	‘tangle up’
	<i>kueti-</i>	‘pass’	<i>katibuti-</i>	‘start E’
	<i>kakaditi-</i>	‘coagulate’	<i>kadeneti-</i>	‘transform oneself
	<i>kadyati-</i>	‘have an accident’		into E’

8.2.6. Possible origin

The historical origin of the circumfix *k(a)-...-ti* is quite unclear. One could speculate that the *-ti* part is related to the motion suffix *-ti* ‘GO.TEMP’ (§7.2.1). Synchronically, however, these are clearly distinct morphemes, as shown by the fact that they can co-occur in a single verb; see for example *ka-ba-ti-ti-* (REF-see-REF-GO.TEMP-) in (8.31). As for the *ka-* part, it does not have any equivalent in modern day Cavineña. Note that *ka* is a recurrent morpheme in many non-genetically-related South American languages where it often has a valency-changing function (Payne 1990: 79-80), suggesting that it might have evolved under influence from a neighboring language. Historical work is however required to clarify this issue.

8.3. Antipassives

There are two antipassive mechanisms in Cavineña. The first one applies to inflecting verbs and is achieved by full reduplication (§8.3.1). The second one applies only to non-inflecting verbs and is achieved by exchanging the transitive auxiliary for the intransitive auxiliary (§8.3.2).

8.3.1. Full reduplication

Full reduplication of an inflecting transitive (or ditransitive) verb root derives an inflecting verb which is intransitive. Syntactically, the reassignment of grammatical functions has an antipassive effect. The underlying A argument referent becomes the S of the derived verb and the underlying O argument referent is left unexpressed. Semantically, the reduplicated verb denotes a culturally identified activity, i.e., an activity that people or animals regularly repeat

¹⁵ Note that the circumfix *k(a)-...-ti* is also found with about 20 noun bases (e.g., *ka-kaka-ti-* ‘give fruit’ from the *e*-noun *-kaka* ‘fruit’), all intransitive. In this case, I analyze it as a verbalizer morpheme (see §5.2.2).

the same way, as opposed to denoting a particular event performed over a particular O when the verb is underived. This is illustrated with the verbs *ara-* ‘eat’ and *taru-* ‘stir’ in (8.38) and (8.39); a-examples are non-reduplicated and transitive while b-examples are reduplicated and intransitive.

- (8.38) a. *E-ra*_A *takure*_O *ara-ya*.
 1SG-ERG chicken eat-IMPV
 ‘I’m eating chicken.’ n2.0323
- b. *Ara-ara-ya* *i-ke*_S.
 eat-REDUP-IMPV 1SG-FM
 ‘I’m eating (i.e., I’m having a meal).’ n2.0134
- (8.39) a. *Roberto=ra*_A *e-na*_O *taru-ya*.
 Roberto=ERG NPF-water stir-IMPV
 ‘Roberto is stirring the water.’ n2.0505
- b. *I-ke*_S *taru-taru-aje-kware* *kwaba=eke*.
 1SG-FM stir-REDUP-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST canoe=PERL
 ‘I was rowing (lit. stirring) in (lit. through) my canoe.’ n2.0497

More examples from texts are given in (8.40):

- (8.40) a. *Amena tume =tuna*_S *ka-tsuru-ti-ya* *ekana*_S.
 BM then =3PL REF-meet-REF-IMPV 3PL
*Tu-wa ekana*_S *iji-iji-ya*.
 there-LOC 3PL drink-REDUP-IMPV
*Amena tupari*_O =*tuna*_A *iji-ya*.
 BM chicha =3PL(-ERG) drink-IMPV
 ‘So they (the hunters and their wives) would meet (lit. meet each other). There, they would have drinks (lit. they would drink). They would drink chicha.’ ct044
- b. *Tu-wa=dya* =*yatse*_S *iwa-iwa-chine*
 there-LOC=FOC =1DL wait.for-REDUP-REC.PAST
 [*tuna*_S *ju-diru-bare-ya=tupu*].
 3PL be-GO.PERM-DISTR-IMPV=UP.TO
 ‘(Having arrived) there (first), we waited until they arrived.’ vb054

Note that *iji-* ‘drink’ is used twice in (8.40a), once reduplicated, with one single S argument, and once non-reduplicated, with two A and O arguments.

The reduplicated verb *peta-* ‘look at’ in (8.41) was uttered to me one day while I was watching food distribution.

- (8.41) ***Peta-peta-ya*** =*mi-ke*_S?
 look.at-REDUP-IMPV =2SG-FM
 ‘You are watching?’ n4.0510

Here the speaker was commenting on my activity, i.e., not looking at anything in particular but just indulging in the activity of watching.

One evening, at my house in Misión Cavinás, I was hanging the clothes I had just washed in the nearby stream. Rosmeri Tavo, who was cooking for me, arrived. She saw the wet clothes and said (8.42).

- (8.42) ***Utsa-utsa-ti-wa*** =*mi-ke*_S?
 wash-REDUP-GO.TEMP-PERF =2SG-FM
 ‘Did you do the laundry?’ n5.0291

Additional elicited examples are given in (8.43).

- | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------------|----------------------------|---|--------------|-----------|
| (8.43) | <i>eri-eri-</i> | ‘grind (corn)’ | ← | <i>eri-</i> | ‘grind O’ |
| | <i>susu-susu-</i> | ‘suck (milk) (e.g., baby)’ | ← | <i>susu-</i> | ‘suck O’ |
| | <i>taka-taka-</i> | ‘peel (rice or corn)’ | ← | <i>taka-</i> | ‘peel O’ |
| | <i>uwa-uwa-</i> | ‘plant’ | ← | <i>uwa-</i> | ‘plant O’ |
| | <i>baju-baju-</i> | ‘toast’ | ← | <i>baju-</i> | ‘toast O’ |

One might want to ask what happens with ditransitive verbs. Can either of the two non-subject arguments, theme and recipient, be expressed by any means once a ditransitive verb has been reduplicated? The few examples of reduplicated ditransitive verbs available suggest that both theme and recipient must be left unspecified and unexpressed, similarly to the patient of a reduplicated monotransitive verb. This can first be seen with the ditransitive verb *kweja-* ‘inform’ reduplicated in (8.44), in an example volunteered by Francisco Vaca.

- (8.44) ***Kweja-kweja-ya*** =*tu* *ekwita*_S *radio=eke*.
 inform-REDUP-IMPV =3SG(-FM) person radio=PERL
 ‘A man is giving news on the radio.’ n3.0282

The same phenomenon is illustrated with the reduplication of *tya-* ‘give’ in

(8.45), volunteered by Alfredo Tavo. As explained by Alfredo, this can be used in the particular context of the construction of the roof of a traditional house, in which case *tya-u-tya-u* refers to the action of ‘handing the palm leaves’:¹⁶

(8.45) *Tya-u-tya-u-ya.*
give-EPEN-REDUP-REDUP-IMPFV

‘He is handing palm leaves (as they are making the roof of the house).’ n5.0343

Alfredo Tavo could not find any way to express either the thing handed (palm leaves) or the recipient, suggesting again that with ditransitive verbs, both Os are left unspecified and unexpressed.

However, with *baka-baka-* ‘pray’, reduplicated from *baka-* ‘ask O for O’ one of the underlying O (‘God’) is found expressed by an oblique general locative phrase. Example (8.46) shows the non-derived form in (a.), and the reduplicated form of *baka-* ‘ask’ in (b.)

(8.46) a. ... =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A [*Don Demetrio*]_O
=3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) Mr. Demetrio

baka-ti-chine *esamaki*_O.
ask.for-GO.TEMP-REC.PAST medicine

‘... I went to ask Mr. Demetrio for medicine.’ (Camp 1985: 54)

b. ... *amena* [*ekwana-ja Señor=keja*] *i-ke*_S
BM 1PL-GEN Lord=LOC.GNL 1SG-FM

baka-baka-kware...
ask.for-REDUP-REM.PAST

‘... so I prayed (lit. asked) God...’ es050

It is possible that *baka-* exhibits idiosyncratic behavior. The concept of ‘praying’ as it is nowadays understood in Cavineña communities, as well as the term *Señor* ‘Lord, God’, were introduced by Missionaries and are not traditional. This might have influenced the fact that ‘God’ is mentioned together with *baka-baka-* ‘pray’. Note that the last ditransitive verb, *seka-* ‘take O away from O’, has not been found taking part in the process of antipassive reduplication.

¹⁶ Note that a vowel *u* ‘EPEN’ is added to both reduplicated parts. This is the result of the fact that full reduplication results in grammatical words made of two different phonological words and that a phonological word must have a minimum of two syllables ; see §3.2.2.

The underlying O referent cannot be expressed but it is still understood as part of the semantics of the event. The events of ‘eating’, ‘stirring’, ‘drinking’, ‘waiting’, etc., illustrated in their reduplicated form above, still imply that they are performed over some O referent. But the identity of this referent is unimportant since they encode activities and can apply to any O referent that is semantically compatible. This type of antipassive would correspond to what is sometimes called patientless antipassive in the literature (see for example Dixon and Aikhenvald’s 2000).

The function of the antipassive reduplication, similarly to other valency-modifying devices in Cavineña, is essentially semantic: it is a means to focus on the activity. There is also a syntactic rearrangement of the argument structure, from an A/O frame to an S frame. But the antipassive reduplication does not have the other additional functions often found in languages with an antipassive, such as agent focusing or agent topicalizing, sometimes associated with the feeding of a pivot (see Dixon 1994). The Cavineña antipassive reduplication does not particularly focus on the A referent since there is no identifiable O referent to contrast it with.

One consequence of the strong semantic nature of the Cavineña antipassive is that it cannot apply to all types of verb. For example, the speakers rejected the antipassive derivation of *chiri-* ‘steal O’ (**chiri-chiri-*), *kwere-* ‘cut O (e.g., tree) down’, *be-* ‘bring O’ and *rikwa-* ‘bark at O’.¹⁷ (Note that a systematic investigation of which verbs can undergo the antipassive reduplication remains to be done.) Another consequence of the strong semantic nature of the antipassive reduplication is that the derived form can have very specific meanings, not always fully predictable from the original root. This is the case with *taru-taru-* ‘row’, in (8.39b) (from *taru-* ‘stir O’), and *susu-susu-* ‘suck milk’ in (8.43) (from *susu-* ‘suck O’). Another very unusual meaning obtains with the reduplication of *ba-* ‘see’, where *ba-u-ba-u-* refers hens in the activity of searching for a place to lay eggs. Example (8.47) was volunteered by Alfredo Tavo.

- (8.47) *Takure*_S =*tus* *ba-u-ba-u-ya*.
 chicken =3SG(-FM) ba-EPEN-REDUP-REDUP-IMPV
 ‘The hen is looking for a place to lay eggs.’ n5.0342

8.3.2. Exchange of auxiliaries

With transitive non-inflecting verbs, an antipassive derivation is achieved by exchanging the transitive auxiliary *a-* ‘affect’ for the intransitive auxiliary *ju-*

¹⁷ Note that these verbs can be reduplicated as long as they become non-inflecting. This is however a quite distinct process (see §10.6).

‘be’. Unlike what happens with the antipassive reduplication, the underlying O can be overtly expressed, although this is not obligatory. Typically, the O is incorporated in the non-inflecting verb, as in (8.51b) and (8.52a). In at least one example, (8.49b), the underlying O is not incorporated but is instead expressed as an oblique (associative) phrase. In many cases, however, the underlying O is simply left unexpressed, as in (8.48b), (8.50b) and (8.52b).

- (8.48) a. *E-puna=ra_A* **endya** *a-kware* [*peya ekwita*]_O.
 NPF-female=ERG say.yes affect-REM.PAST other person
 ‘The woman went (to live) with (lit. said yes to) another man.’
 n1.0576
- b. *Ekwana_S* =*bakwe* **endya** *ju-kware...*
 1PL =CONTR say.yes be(ANTIPASS)-REM.PAST
 ‘We agreed (because we wanted to eat the cow).’ di1090
- (8.49) a. *E-ra_A* =*mi_O* **kwatsabiji** *a-ya,* *Antuku...*
 1SG-ERG =2SG(-FM) tell.story affect-IMPV Antuku
 ‘I will tell you a story, Antuku...’ av001
- b. **Kwatsabiji** =*tu_S* **ju-ya** *ekwita=tsewe.*
 tell.story.to =3SG(-FM) be(ANTIPASS)-IMPV man=ASSOC
 ‘He is talking with the man.’ di0619

The two examples given in (8.50), with the non-inflecting transitive verb *sigue a-* ‘continue O’, a borrowing from the Spanish transitive verb *seguir* ‘continue O’, were volunteered by Alfredo Tavo. They refer to real events that were happening at Misión Cavinás at the time he said them.

- (8.50) a. *E-ra_A* =*tu_O* [*kumunida=ju_{CC}=ke mere*]_O *sigue*
 1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) community=LOC=LIG work continue

a-ya.
 affect-IMPV
 ‘I keep on working for (the Cavineña) communities (lit. I continue community work) (even though it is very difficult).’ n5.0396

- b. [*Nancho=ra_A taller_O nitya-dadi-chine=ke*]_S =*tu_S*
 Nancho=ERG workshop stand-GO(O)-REC.PAST=LIG =3SG(-FM)
sigue ju-ya.
 continue be(ANTIPASS)-IMPFV

‘The workshop that Nancho stopped (going to) (lit. stood) continues (without him).’ n5.0395

The antipassive derivation of transitive non-inflecting verbs derived by *-kara* ‘DESID’ (§10.1.1) is shown in (8.51).

- (8.51) a. *Takure_O iye-kwe! Ara-kara ju-ya.*
 chicken kill-IMP.SG eat-DESID be(ANTIPASS)-IMPFV

‘Kill a chicken! I am hungry (lit. I want to eat).’ na002

- b. ... [[*akwi kemi-kara*] *ju-atsu*] =*tuna_S*
 tree take.out-DESID be(ANTIPASS)-SS =3PL
nubi-chine [tuna-ja makina=kwana=tsewe].
 enter-REC.PAST 3PL-GEN machine=PL=ASSOC

‘... as they_i wanted to take trees out, they_i entered (the Araona territory) with their (logging) machines.’ T1.114

See also *iji-kara ju-* ‘(when) he wants to drink’ in (T1.107).

The antipassive derivation of transitive non-inflecting verbs derived by full reduplication (§10.6) is illustrated in (8.52).

- (8.52) a. *Iba_S =tu_S [terati=ju ju-ani-tsu]*
 jaguar =3SG(-FM) beam=LOC be-SIT-SS
[e-tse jibu-jibu] ju-ani-kware.
 NPF-tooth roll.up-REDUP be(ANTIPASS)-SIT-REM.PAST

‘The jaguar was sitting on the beam and he was snarling (rolling his teeth up and down).’ ht026

- b. *Ejebucha =tu_S yawa_S ju-ya?*
 INT:SIMLR =3SG(-FM) ground be-IMPFV
Daka-daka =tu_S ju-ya?
 spill-REDUP =3SG(-FM) be(ANTIPASS)-IMPFV

‘What is going on with the ground? It is falling apart (describing river shores falling down by pieces)?’ tr016

It is likely that the antipassive derivation through the exchange of auxiliaries is involved in the phenomenon of object ‘incorporation’ that accompanies the \emptyset -derivation of non-inflecting intransitive verbs from transitive inflecting verbs (§10.5), as in examples such as (8.53).

- (8.53) a. *E-ra*_A *earaki*_O *duju-kware*
 1SG-ERG food take-REM.PAST
- b. *I-kes* [*earaki* *duju*] *ju-kware*
 1SG-FM food take be(ANTIPASS)-REM.PAST
- Both: ‘I took food.’ n2.0417-0418

In §10.5, I provide a full discussion of the intransitive status of clauses such as (8.53b) as well as the ‘incorporated’ status of O in these clauses. I also suggest that clauses such as (8.53b) are derived from clauses such as (8.53a) through a two-step process, as follows. A transitive inflecting verb, such as *duju*- ‘take O’ in (8.53a), is first turned into a transitive non-inflecting verb, as *duju a-* ‘take O’, and secondly turned into an intransitive non-inflecting verb by exchanging the auxiliary, giving *earaki duju ju-* ‘take-O’ in (8.53b). Note that the postulated intermediate form, *duju a-* ‘take O’, in the case of (8.53) never occur.

In (at least) one case the combination of the (posited) process of \emptyset -derivation followed by antipassive auxiliary alternation has resulted in a lexicalized non-inflecting verb. This is found with *wikamutya ju-* ‘fish (with line and hook)’. This verb quite transparently comes from *wika* ‘hook’ and the transitive verb *mutya-* ‘dip O’. It is likely that *mutya-* ‘dip (any) O’ was first \emptyset -derived into *mutya a-* ‘dip (any) O’ and then detransitized by auxiliary alternation together with the noun *wika* ‘hook’ as its underlying O giving *wika mutya ju-* ‘dip hook’. Finally, this complex (non-inflecting) verb has become lexicalized as *wikamutya ju-* ‘fish (*‘dip hook’).

8.4. Causatives

A causative derivation increases the valency of the verb by adding an agentive argument, the causer, in A function.

Cavineña is noteworthy in having three causative markers. These markers are verbal suffixes; there are no analytic causatives in Cavineña. The differences between the three causative markers can be fruitfully captured by Dixon’s (2000) framework of analysis of causative Dixon mechanisms. As Dixon states, causative constructions in the languages of the world are characterized by nine semantic parameters. The nine parameters are reproduced in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3. Semantic parameters of causatives (from Dixon 2000: 62)

Relating to the verb	1. Stative <i>vs.</i> active 2. Intransitive <i>vs.</i> transitive <i>vs.</i> ditransitive
Relating to the causee	3. Having <i>vs.</i> lacking control 4. Acting willingly <i>vs.</i> unwillingly 5. Partially <i>vs.</i> completely affected
Relating to the causer	6. Acting directly <i>vs.</i> indirectly 7. Acting accidentally <i>vs.</i> intentionally 8. Acting naturally <i>vs.</i> with effort 9. Involved <i>vs.</i> not involved in the activity

The first two causative markers differ along parameter (2): *-sha* only applies to intransitive verbs while *-mere* only applies to transitive verbs. The third causative marker, *-kere*, differs from the previous two according to parameter (9): it encodes the fact that the causer is involved in the activity.

I discuss each causative marker in turn below.

8.4.1. Causativizer of intransitive verbs *-sha*

The suffix *-sha* is used to causativize intransitive verbs, turning them into transitive ones. Its syntactic effect is straightforward: it introduces a new agent (causer) in A function and puts the underlying S argument (causee) into O function. This can be seen in the pair of examples in (8.54), which have been constructed by myself by analogy to very similar examples.

- (8.54) a. *Ebakwa_S =tu_S pakaka-kware.*
 child =3SG(-FM) fall-REM.PAST
 ‘The child fell.’
- b. *Ekwita=ra_A =tu_O ebakwa_O pakaka-sha-kware.*
 person=ERG =3SG(-FM) child fall-CAUS-REM.PAST
 ‘The man made the child fall.’

The range of meanings of *-sha* is very broad, covering most parameters outlined in Dixon’s (2000) typology of causatives parameter, except parameter (9) of involvement; this becomes the domain of the causative marker *-kere*, see below. I discuss a few parameters below with examples drawn from texts.

The causee can be either non-controlling, as in (8.55), or controlling, as in (8.56); this is parameter (3).

(8.55) inanimate, non-controlling causee

- a. [*Pishika e-tare=kwana*]_O =*tu*_O *kwejiji=ra*_A
 five NPF-house=PL =3SG(-FM) wind=ERG

riwi-sha-bare-kware.
 fall-CAUS-DISTR-REM.PAST

‘The wind knocked (lit. made fall) five houses down.’ hu028

- b. *Tudya =ekwana_A carga=kwana_O*
 then =1PL(-ERG) load=PL

kwinana-sha-bare-kware amena...
 emerge-CAUS-DISTR-REM.PAST BM

‘Then we took (lit. made emerge) our loads out (of the plane)...’
 av032

- c. *Jeke-sha-nuka-kware* [*e-kwe litro*]_O.
 fill.up-CAUS-REITR-REM.PAST 1SG-GEN bottle

‘I filled my bottle (lit. made my bottle fill up) again.’ sd091

(8.56) inanimate, controlling causee, with change of state verb

- a. [*Jady_{CC}=kwana=ke*]_O =*tu-ke*_O =*ekwana_A*
 thus=PL=LIG =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG)

aputa-sha-kware amena.
 disappear-CAUS-REM.PAST BM

‘We have lost (lit. let disappear) all these (traditional ways of naming family members).’ fm024

- b. *Iwina-sha-chine* =*tu-ja* =*tu*_O *e-rami*_O.
 become.smelly¹⁸-CAUS-REC.PAST =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) NPF-flesh

‘He let the meat rot (lit. become smelly).’ di1492

¹⁸ From the adjective *iwi-* ‘smelly’ and verbalizer *-na*.

The causee can be acting either unwillingly, as in (8.57), or willingly, as in (8.58); this is parameter (4).

(8.57) animate, controlling causee acting unwillingly

- a. *Tume nubi-wa=ju =tuna-ja =tu_O*
 then enter-PERF=DS =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM)
 [[*piya=tsewe salon=tsewe jadya*] *mare-re+sha-tsu*]
 arrow=ASSOC rifle=ASSOC and shoot.at-REDUP+CAUS-SS
tsajaja-sha-chine.
 run-CAUS-REC.PAST

‘When they (the loggers) entered (the Araona territory), they (the Araona people) shot at them with arrows and rifles and scared them away (lit. made them run).’ T1.115

- b. *Wekaka-ya=ju [takure_S [kike pidya]=ju]*
 be.at.dawn-IMPFV=DS chicken shout ONCE=DS
 =*pa =tuna-ja =tu_O [e-bakwa=kwana=ke]_O*
 =REP =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) 3-child=PL=3
nawi-sha-ni-kware.
 bathe-CAUS-RANDOM-REM.PAST

‘(In olden times,) at dawn, at the first song of the rooster, they (our Cavineña ancestors) would force their children to bathe.’ bn004

(8.58) animate, controlling causee acting willingly

- a. *Kwinana-sha-kwe =taa [e-kwe e-bakwa]_{O!}*
 emerge-CAUS-IMP.SG =EMPH 1SG-GEN 1-child

‘(Begging the priest to release her son, the mother said:) “please, let my child go!” qu079

- b. [*Jadya ju-atsu*] =*pa =tuna_O ekwari=ra_A*
 thus be-SS =REP =3PL leader=ERG
ka-bajeje-ti-sha-kware.
 REF-prepare-REF-CAUS-REM.PAST

‘After that, the (Cavineña) leader told them (the Cavineña people) to get ready (lit. made them prepare themselves) (in order to take revenge on the enemies).’ vz069

As for the causer, it can act directly, as in (8.55) — the causee is inanimate and not controlling so that the causativized verb event requires direct action from the causer to be performed —, or indirectly as in (8.56) — the change of state events are controlled by the causee and result in the absence of appropriate intervention of the causer —; this is parameter (6). As we will see in the following section, directness of causation has a number of effects on the causativization of transitive verbs.

The causer can act naturally as in (8.58b) — the causees are eager to take revenge on the enemies so their chief does not have to force them to get ready —, or with a particular effort as in (8.57b) — children don't like to bathe so early so that their parents have to force them to do so —; this is parameter (8).

Finally, causative *-sha* can derive both active verbs, as in all the examples above, and stative verbs, as in (8.59); this is parameter (1).

- (8.59) *E-ra*_A =*tu*_O *ani-sha-ya=jari*.
1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) sit-CAUS-IMPV=STILL

'I will retain him (lit. make him sit) some more time.' n3.0092

Causativization of intransitive verbs shows a number of irregularities. Intransitive monosyllabic verbs are all irregular when causativized. Of the five verbs, *kwa-* 'go', *tsa-* 'laugh', *pa-* 'cry', *je-* 'come', and the copula/auxiliary verb *ju-* 'be', only the causativized form of *kwa-* 'go', namely *kwadisha-* 'send O', appears to contain *-sha*. However this term also includes an additional formative *di* whose origin unknown.

The verbs *tsa-* 'laugh' and *pa-* 'cry' are causativized differently, as follows.

- (8.60) *tsa-tura-* 'make laugh' (**tsa-sha-*)
 peya- 'make cry' (**pa-sha-*)

The formative *tura* in *tsa-tura-* is homophonous with the verbalizer *-tura* that turns adjectives into transitive verbs (§5.2.3). As for *peya-*, this verb appears to consist of the verb *pa-* 'cry' and an old causative formative *-a* which is no longer productive (see §5.2.6), preceded by the segment *y*.

The verb *je-* 'come' does not have any clear causativized equivalent; *be-'bring'* would be the closest candidate.

The copula/intransitive auxiliary verb *ju-* 'be', in its meaning 'exist, be located', does not have any clear causativized equivalent either; the closest candidates would be verbs like *iya-* 'put', *isha-* 'put in', *shana-* 'leave', etc. In its copula/auxiliary function, however, *ju-* 'be' has a suppletive causativized form *amere-* 'be+CAUS' (**ju-sha-*). As we will see, there is also a very similar suppletive form, *akere-* 'be+CAUS.INVLT', corresponding to the copula/intransitive auxiliary causativized by *-kere* 'CAUS.INVLT' (§8.4.3.)

A number of examples showing the suppletive form *amere-* are provided in (8.61).

- (8.61) a. *Diru-ya=ke_A kasa-da_{CC} [e-kwe e-niju]_O*
 go-IMPFV=LIG strong-ASF 1SG-GEN NPF-heart

pa-amere!
 HORT.SG-be+CAUS

‘As we go back, I will be strong (lit. make my heart be strong) (and I will talk to the foreigner).’ ka150

- b. *Luca=ra_A =tu_O e-bakwa=ke_O wikamutya*
 Luca=ERG =3SG(-FM) 3-child=3 fish

amere-kware.
 be+CAUS-REM.PAST

‘Luca sent his child fishing.’ n5.0374

- c. [*Jeti uke=ra_A =∅_O tawi-kara amere-ya.*]
 sun heat=ERG (=1SG-ERG) sleep-DESID be+CAUS-IMPFV

‘The heat of the sun makes me sleepy (makes me wanting to sleep).’ n5.0376

- d. *Piloto=ra_A =tu_O avioneta_O aterisa amere-ya.*
 pilot =ERG =3SG(-FM) light.plane land be+CAUS-IMPFV

‘The pilot is making the light plane land.’ n5.0375

The suppletive causativized form of the copula/intransitive auxiliary is an interesting morpheme. This morpheme first appears to be made of the combination of the transitive auxiliary *a-* ‘affect’ and the causativizer of transitive verbs *-mere* (§8.4.2), as if the copula/intransitive auxiliary *ju-* ‘be’ was first exchanged for the transitive auxiliary *a-* ‘affect’, and secondarily marked by the transitive causativizer *-mere* ‘CAUS’. Note that this is reminiscent of the auxiliary alternation found in the antipassive derivation of transitive non-inflecting verbs (§8.3.2). Alternatively, the *a* part of *amere-* could be related to the causative formative *-a* found as an ending in a few (mostly) transitive verbs (§5.2.6). Note that the suppletive form of the copula/intransitive auxiliary *akere-* ‘be+CAUS.INVLT’ (§8.4.3) probably had the same origin, whatever it may be, but more work is needed to clarify this issue.

In a few cases, the suffix *-sha* is found attached to other word classes in which case it acts as a verbalizer. The deriving verbs are all transitive. In the

five forms in (8.62), it applies to adjectives.

(8.62)	<i>jie-sha-</i>	‘make O better’	←	<i>ji-</i>	‘good’
	<i>kuji-sha-</i>	‘confound O’	←	<i>kuji</i>	‘be lost’
	<i>nijuki-sha-</i>	‘make O drunk’	←	<i>nijuki</i>	‘drunk’
	<i>temu-sha-</i>	‘raise O, breed O’	←	<i>temu-</i>	‘stiff’
	<i>weka-sha-</i>	‘make O remember’	←	<i>weka-</i>	‘bright’

We also have verbs derived by *-sha* attached to *e*-nouns:

(8.63)	<i>bakani-sha-</i>	‘name O’	←	<i>-bakani</i>	‘name’
	<i>kwatsa-sha-</i>	‘order O, send O’	←	<i>-kwatsa</i>	‘mouth’
	<i>jiruru-sha-</i>	‘go along the edge of O’	←	<i>-jiruru</i>	‘edge’

In the four words in (8.20) (repeated), the bases to which *-sha* is suffixed never occur as independent words on their own, although they can also take the passive marker *-tana* (§8.1).

(8.20)	<i>jeku-tana-</i>	‘be scared’		<i>jeku-sha-</i>	‘scare O’
	<i>rikwi-tana-</i>	‘startle, tremble’		<i>rikwi-sha-</i>	‘startle O’
	<i>puti-tana-</i>	‘get scared off’		<i>puti-sha-</i>	‘scare O off’
	<i>ruju-tana-</i>	‘emerge (?)’		<i>ruju-sha-</i>	‘go through O’

For the remaining forms in (8.64) below, it is not possible to state whether the formative *sha* is indeed the causative marker or not, as the bases are not found in any other contexts.

(8.64)	<i>bushusha-</i> /	‘wake O up’		<i>kisha-</i>	‘open O’
	<i>bushuisha</i>			<i>kwasha-</i>	‘chip O’
	<i>dusha-</i>	‘dilute O’		<i>pakasha-</i>	‘open O’
	<i>ishusha-</i>	‘help O’		<i>tasha-</i>	‘burst O’
	<i>itusha-</i>	‘push O’		<i>urisha-</i>	‘soften O’

The origin of the causativizer *-sha* is possibly the independent verb *isha* ‘put in’, illustrated in (8.65).

(8.65)	<i>Tudya i-ke_O</i>	[<i>e-kwe tata-chi=ra</i>] _A	<i>escuela=ju</i>
	then	1SG-FM 1SG-GEN father-AFFTN=ERG	school=LOC
	<i>isha-kware...</i>		
	put.in-REM.PAST		

‘So my father put me in the school...’ mg003

8.4.2. Causativizer of transitive verbs *-mere*

The suffix *-mere* causativizes transitive verbs. It introduces an agent (causer) in A function. The underlying O argument (patient) stays in O function. As for the underlying A (causee), there are two options, depending on semantic factors that have to do with the degree of integration of the event of causation (i.e., event of causer ordering causee) and the verb event (i.e., causee performing verb event). In direct causation, the causee becomes an additional core O argument (unmarked), in which case this yields a ditransitive verb. In indirect causation, the causee becomes an optional general locative oblique and the verb remains transitive; i.e., it does not become ditransitive.

The suffix *-mere* is fully productive: it can occur on potentially any transitive verb. This is unlike many languages where causativization is only available for intransitive verbs or available for only a few transitive verbs — sometimes only for the two verbs ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ — (Dixon 2000: 43 and p.c.).

The syntax of direct versus indirect causation is illustrated with elicited pairs of examples in (8.66) and (8.67). Note that the b-examples are causativized versions of the a-examples and that the suffix *-mere* and the causee argument are in boldface.

(8.66) Direct causation

- a. *Ebakwa=ra_A =tu_O misi_O ara-wa.*
 child=ERG =3SG(-FM) tamale eat-PERF

‘The child ate tamale.’

- b. *E-puna=ra_A =tu_O ara-**mere**-wa misi_O*
 NPF-female=ERG =3SG(-FM) eat-CAUS-PERF tamale
*[tu-**ja** ebakwa]_O.*
 3SG-GEN child

‘The woman fed the child with tamale (i.e., she herself put tamale in the child’s mouth).’ n3.0334

(8.67) Indirect causation

- a. *E-bakwa=ke=ra_A =tu_O duju-wa misi_O*
 3-child=3=ERG =3SG(-FM) take-PERF tamale

e-tare=ju.
 NPF-house=LOC

‘Her child took tamale to the house.’ n3.0335

- b. *E-puna=ra_A* =*tu_O* *duju-mere-wa*
 NPF-female=ERG =3SG(-FM) take-CAUS-PERF
e-bakwa=ke=keja *misi_O* *e-tare=ju.*
 3-child=3=LOC.GNL tamale NPF-house=LOC

‘The woman had tamale taken to the house by her child (i.e., only the child went, not the woman).’ n3.0335

The two options basically correlate with Dixon’s (2000) parameter (6) of directness (see Table 8.3 above). Textual examples of direct and indirect causation are provided in (8.68) and (8.69) respectively.

(8.68) Direct causation

- a. [*Tu-ja e-wane=ke*]_O =*tu*
 3SG-GEN 3-wife=3 =3SG(-FM)
ina-mere-diru-kware.
 grab-CAUS-GO.PERM-REM.PAST

‘He handed it (the fish he had just caught) (lit. made it grab) to his wife (so that she would cook it).’ ap013

- b. [*Jadya ju-atsu*] =*tu-ke_O* =*ekwana_A* *secretaria_O*
 thus be-SS =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) secretary
a-mere-kware *kirika_O* *gobierno=ja=ishu.*
 affect-CAUS-REM.PAST paper government=GEN=PURP.GNL

‘After saying that, we made our secretary (of the Indigenous organization) type (lit. affect) a letter for the government (to help us). (I.e., we dictated the letter to her while she typed.)’ ao016

Alfredo Tavo, who related the story from which (8.68b) is taken, commented that if the secretary had written the letter all by herself, he would have had to say (8.68b’); i.e., he would have marked the causee with the general locative postposition =*keja*.

(8.68b’) Indirect causation

- [*Jadya ju-atsu*] =*tu-ke_O* =*ekwana_A* *secretaria=keja*
 thus be-SS =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) secretary
a-mere-kware *kirika_O...*
 affect-CAUS-REM.PAST paper n5.0372

(8.69) Indirect causation

- a. [*Jadya a-atsu*] =*tu*_A [*e-kwe e-kwaa=keja*]
 thus affect-SS =3SG(-ERG) 1SG-GEN 1-mother=LOC.GNL

duju-mere-kware.
 take-CAUS-REM.PAST

‘(The priest, who was holding my mother’s son captive, said to her “alright, you can take him home”.) After saying that to her, he let my mother take him home.’ qu086

- b. ... *e-tata=ke=keja* =*tu*_A *iwara-mere-kware.*
 3-father=3=LOC.GNL =3SG(-ERG) call-CAUS-REM.PAST

‘... she (the girl) asked her father to call him (the young man she was in love with).’ mu008

In the preceding examples, the causee is overtly expressed, in which case we know whether we have direct or indirect causation. But in many cases, there is no overt causee. In that situation, we do not have any overt clue as to decide whether we have direct or indirect causation, but only contextual ones. In the following I provide a number of such examples.

Example (8.70) shows semantically direct causation. We have a specific/referential causee and events closely linked together; the causer causes the causee ‘to throw’ by the physical contact of hitting.

- (8.70) [*Eskupeta*_O *kuchiru*_O *jadya*] =*tu*_O *mapisi=ra*_A
 shotgun machete and =3SG(-FM) anaconda=ERG
ijewe-mere-kware e-na=ju.
 throw-CAUS-REM.PAST NPF-water=LOC

‘(Hitting the man,) the anaconda made him drop (lit. throw) his shotgun and machete in the water.’ si005

In example (8.71) we have semantic indirect causation. Here, the causee is non-specific — we do not know who did the ‘calling’ — and the events are largely independent from each other, both temporally and spatially.

- (8.71) *Amena* [*e-kwe mama-chi=ra*]_A *i-ke*_O
 BM 1SG-GEN mother-AFFTN=ERG 1SG-FM
iwara-mere-nuka-kware.
 call-CAUS-REITR-REM.PAST

‘Then my mum made someone call me once again (so that I would go back home).’ nk041

Example (8.72), however, is ambiguous between the two readings. We have a specific/referential causee which would suggest indirect causation. But the two events appear tightly knit together — the causer performs the verb event under direct fear of the causee —, which would suggest direct causation.

- (8.72) *Tume =tuna-ja =tu_O tractor=kwana_O tu-wa=dya*
 then =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) tractor=PL there-LOC=FOC
shana-mere-kware.
 leave-CAUS-REM.PAST

‘(The Araona people scared the intruding loggers away,) forcing them to abandon their tractors right there.’ T1.116

From these semantic and contextual interpretations, we would expect the causee in (8.70) to be marked as a core O argument, and in (8.71) as a general locative oblique argument. As for (8.72), both types of marking appear possible.

Causativized transitive non-inflecting verbs are shown in (8.73). Note that in (8.73a) the verb *katsa-* ‘beat O’ first undergoes the auxiliary-triggering process of distributive full reduplication (§10.6) — giving *katsa-katsa a-* ‘beat O repeatedly’ — and only secondarily takes the causative marker — resulting in *katsa-katsa a-mere-* ‘make O beat O repeatedly’.

- (8.73) a. ... =tu-ra_A =e-kwe e-usi_O katsa-katsa
 =3SG-ERG =1SG-DAT 1-older.brother beat-REDUP
a-mere-kware.
 affect-CAUS-REM.PAST

‘(In order to punish my brother_i, the chief of the village asked everybody to get inside the convent and then) made someone beat him_i many times.’ qu066

- b. *Tu-wa =tu-ke_O =ekwana_A presidente=keja kirika_O*
 there-LOC =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) president=LOC.GNL paper
firma a-mere-chine.
 sign affect-CAUS-REC.PAST

‘We asked the president (of the Cavineña community) to sign the letter.’ n5.0385

Note that *a-mere*- ‘affect-CAUS’ is homophonous with suppletive causativized copula/auxiliary *amere*- ‘be+CAUS’ (see (8.61)).

What happens when ditransitive verbs are causitized? Do they take three Os? In none of the examples available is there a third O (i.e., the causee) overtly expressed. In (8.74), for example, only the two Os (= *metse* ‘you (dl)’ and *cuatro kuchara mateka* ‘four spoons of margarine’) are overtly expressed.

- (8.74) [E-kwe e-bakujuna_O [ara-kara ju-ya] ba-atsu]
 1SG-GEN 1-daughter eat-DESID be+ANTIPASS-IMPFV see-SS
 = *metse*_O *baka-mere*-ya [cuatro kuchara mateka]_O.
 =2DL ask.for-CAUS-IMPFV four spoon margarine
 ‘Because my daughter is hungry, I am having someone ask you
 (dl) for four spoons of margarine.’ di1932

It is logically possible that the causee can be expressed by an oblique argument (as we saw in the case of indirect causation of transitive verbs). More work is needed on this topic before one can put forward any conclusive statement.

Unlike the preceding valency-changing morphemes (passive *-ta(na)*, reflexive *k(a)-...-ti* and intransitive causative *-sha*), the transitive causative suffix *-mere* is highly regular, highly productive, and shows very few idiosyncrasies:

- 1 — the base upon which *-mere* applies is always recoverable; i.e., it is always a synchronically independent transitive verb;
- 2 — *-mere* is only found on (transitive) verbs; recall that *-ta(na)*, *k(a)-...-ti* and *-sha* are also found with a variety of non-verbal word classes;
- 3 — the meanings that result from the application of *-mere* to a verb are in most cases predictable. The only irregularity observed in the data is an unusual semantic effect that obtains with the transitive verb *kuje*- ‘cheer on O (e.g., a dog when hunting)’, which becomes *kujemere*- ‘make O chase O’, and not ‘make O cheer on O’, as illustrated with the pair of examples in (8.75).

- (8.75) a. *Amena tuekedyā e-ra_A kuje-kware.*
 BM then 1SG-ERG cheer.on-REM.PAST
 ‘(When my hunting dogs found an animal), I cheered them on (i.e., I shouted at them “get it! get it!”).’ wa017
- b. *Jutakiju iba_O chapa=keja ne-kujemere!*
 therefore jaguar dog=LOC.GNL HORT.DL-make.chase
 ‘So, let’s (dl) make the dog chase the jaguar!’ tg029

As we can see, the original A remains the A argument, the original O (the dog) goes to the periphery, marked with the general locative postposition =*keja*, and a new O is introduced (the jaguar). The reassignment of the semantic roles is reminiscent of applicative derivations, except that the semantic nature of the underlying O remains unclear. Now, we should note that the verb *kuje-* is itself a rather strange verb in Cavineña. First, it is not a native verb but a borrowing from Spanish (from the transitive verb *coger* ‘catch’). Secondly, it is the only borrowed verb that takes verbal morphology — recall that borrowed verbs normally require an auxiliary for this purpose (§5.3.2). The peculiar status of *kuje-*, therefore, might well explain the unexpected effect of the causative with this verb.

The historical origin of the causativizer of transitive verbs *-mere* appears to be the independent transitive verb *mere-*, meaning ‘work for O, serve O’.

- (8.76) *Ijeti*_O =*pa* =*tu-ja* =*tu*_O *mere-kware*.
 sun =REP =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) work.for-REM.PAST

‘He_i (the vermilion flycatcher bird) was serving/working for the sun (so he_i would approach the sun very close and this is why is his_i color is red/brown).’ hi007

8.4.3. Causative of involvement *-kere*

The causative marker *-kere* ‘CAUSative of INVOLVment’ applies to both intransitive and transitive verbs. It is the most remarkable of the three causative markers in Cavineña because of its unusual specific semantics of involvement of the causer,¹⁹ corresponding to Dixon’s 2000 parameter (9) (see Table 8.3 above).

Syntactically, an intransitive verb becomes transitive. As with the causative marker *-sha*, the original S becomes the O of the derived verb. This is illustrated with a pair of (elicited) examples in (8.77).

- (8.77) a. [*E-kwe e-bakwa*]_S *tawi-ya*.
 1SG-GEN 1-child sleep-IMPFV
 ‘My child will sleep.’

¹⁹ This type of causative corresponds to what Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002) call sociative causative and Rodrigues (1953) comitative causative. Specific markers of causative of involvement, although highly unusual in other parts of the world, are widespread in South America. In a recent survey by Guillaume and Rose (forthcoming), such markers were found in 17 languages belonging to 7 distinct South American families.

- b. *E-ra*_A [e-*kwe* e-*bakwa*]_O *tawi-kere-ya*.
 1SG-ERG 1SG-GEN 1-child sleep-CAUS.INVLT-IMPV

‘I will make my child sleep with me.’ n3.0343

A transitive verb becomes ditransitive. The original A becomes the second O of the derived ditransitive verb. Unlike the situation with the causative marker *-mere*, this is the only option available; i.e., the original O cannot be marked as an oblique. This is illustrated with the pair of (elicited) examples in (8.78):

- (8.78) a. [*Don Francisco=ra*]_A =*tu*_O *ara-chine* *torta*_O.
 Mr. Francisco=ERG =3SG(-FM) eat-REC.PAST cake

‘Mr. Francisco ate a cake.’

- b. *E-ra*_A =*tu*_O *ara-kere-chine* *torta*_O
 1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) eat-CAUS.INVLT-REC.PAST cake

[*Don Francisco*]_O.

Mr. Francisco

‘I invited Mr. Francisco to eat a cake with me.’ n3.0337

Ditransitive verbs marked with *-kere* presumably remain ditransitive, as happens with ditransitive verbs marked with *-mere* (e.g., (8.74)) but I unfortunately have no example to confirm it.

The crucial distinction between the causative marker *-kere* and the other two causatives is the fact that with *-kere*, in addition to causing the causee to perform the action, the causer participates himself in the action in some way. In example (8.77b), the ‘child’ is caused to ‘sleep’ by a causer who also ‘sleeps’. This sentence can be used when there is only one mosquito net (in trip situations for example) and a child who normally sleeps in his own mosquito net is requested to sleep under the same mosquito net as his parents. Note that nobody sleep without a mosquito net in Cavineña territory due to the incredible number of mosquitoes. In example (8.78b), ‘Don Francisco’ is invited to ‘eat’ by a causer who will also eat.

A very similar example is given in (8.79a) below. One morning, when my consultant Emerenciano Sepa arrived at my house for a working session, I had not finished my breakfast. There was still some coffee left so I offered him a cup while he waited for me. The following day, he told me that he could say (8.79a) to his friends. Note that because of its very high cost, Cavineña people rarely drink coffee.

- (8.79) a. [*Hermano Antonio=ra*]_A = \emptyset _O
 brother Antonio=ERG (=1SG-FM)
iji-kere-chine *kape*_O.
 drink-CAUS.INVMT-REC.PAST coffee
 ‘(Yesterday) Brother Antonio shared coffee with me.’ n5.00003

Then he explained that if I had not drunk coffee myself, he would have to say (8.79b) instead — using the causativizer *-mere*.

- (8.79) b. [*Hermano Antonio=ra*]_A = \emptyset _O
 brother Antonio=ERG (=1SG-FM)
iji-mere-chine *kape*_O.
 drink-CAUS-REC.PAST coffee
 ‘(Yesterday) Brother Antonio offered me (a cup of) coffee.’
 n5.00003

In (8.80), a volunteered example provided by Emerenciano Sepa, the referent of the A argument does a favor to the referent of the O argument by showing a nice bathing place, i.e., a place with clean and fresh water.

- (8.80) *Nawi-kere-chine* =*tu-ra*_A =*i-ke*_O,
 bathe-CAUS.INVLT-REC.PAST =3SG-ERG =1SG-FM
 [*e-spere* *ji-da=piji*_{CC}=*ju*].
 NPF-stream good-ASF=DIM(=LIG)=LOC
 ‘He showed me a beautiful stream and we two bathed there.’
 n5.00013

This situation is notably different from the situation depicted by *nawi-sha-* in (8.57b). With *nawi-sha-*, the ‘children’ are forced to bathe and there is no implication that their parents bathe too.

I further illustrate *-kere* with text examples in (8.81) (intransitive) and (8.82) (transitive).

- (8.81) a. ... [*i-ke*_O *ekwita=ra*_A *benu-kere-ya=ju*] *i-ke*_S
 1SG-FM person=ERG turn-CAUS.INVLT-IMPV=DS 1SG-FM
pajaka-jeri-chine.
 fall-ALMOST-REC.PAST

‘... when the man (my motorcycle taxi driver) and I (sitting on the

back) turned, I almost fell (from the motorcycle).’ br008

- b. *Chamakama=tsewe =tuna-ja =tu_O Cavina=ju*
 difficulty=ASSOC =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) Cavin=LOC

ju-nati-kere-kware.

be-GO.TEMP-CAUS.INVLT-REM.PAST

‘They (the oxen) finally managed to get it (a very heavy cart) to Cavin= (Misión Cavin=).’ co004b

- c. *Tudya =tu-ra_A =∅_O [tujuri=ju isha-tsu]*
 then =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) mosquito.net=LOC put.in-SS

jadya =tu-ra_A =∅_O jara-kere-kware.
 thus =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) lie-CAUS.INVLT-REM.PAST

‘Then she (a woman who wanted to sleep with me) took me inside her mosquito net and made me lie down with her.’ cv016

- (8.82) a. *Aikwana maestro=ra_A =∅_O*
 FILL master=ERG (=1SG-FM)

a-kere-kware.

affect-CAUS.INVLT-REM.PAST

‘The master would make it (a canoe) with me (and teach me how to do it at the same time).’ ab127

- b. *Ne-duju-kere-kwe*
 IMP.NSG-take-CAUS.INVLT-IMP.NSG

[*tu-ja carga=kwana*]_O [*tu-ja tichira=kwana*]_O!
 3SG-GEN load=PL 3SG-GEN container=PL

‘You (pl) help him carry (lit. take) his loads and containers!’ tr003

The suffix *-kere* is fully productive and — except with one verb — fully regular. The exception is the copula/auxiliary *ju-* ‘be’ which becomes the suppletive *akere-* when causativized, and not the otherwise expected form **ju-kere-*. Note that this is parallel to the causativization of *ju-* by the causativizer of intransitive verbs *-sha*, which yields *amere-*, and not **ju-sha-* (§8.4.1). This is illustrated with two examples volunteered by Emerenciano Sepa in (8.83), with the causativized forms of *wikamutya ju-* ‘to fish’ and *babi ju-* ‘to hunt’, and with the text example in (8.84), with the causativized form of *warere-warere ju-* ‘to turn over and over again’.

- (8.83) a. *Wikamutya* =*tu-ra*_A = \emptyset _O
 fish =3SG-ERG (=1SG-ERG)

akere-ti-chine *bei=ju.*
 be+CAUS.INVLT-GO.TEMP-REC.PAST lake=LOC

‘He invited me to join him fishing at the lake (by telling me: “Let’s go fishing to the lake! There’s a lot of fish there!”) and we fished there.’ n5.0880

- b. *Babi* =*tu-ra*_A = \emptyset _O
 hunt =3SG-ERG (=1SG-ERG)

akere-ti-chine
 be+CAUS.INVLT-GO.TEMP-REC.PAST
 [*e-ra*_A *e-kike*_O *adeba-ya=ju=ama*].
 1SG-ERG NPF-forest know-IMPV (=LIG)=LOC=NEG

‘He showed me a forest that I didn’t know (and where there were many game animals) and we hunted there. (He made me a favor because I am his very good friend.)’ n5.00008

- (8.84) *Warere-warere* *chapa=ra*_A *akere-ya*
 turn-REDUP dog=ERG be+CAUS.INVLT-IMPV

*bari*_O.
 giant.anteater

‘(Hanging onto its_i tail,) the dogs and the (fierce) anteater_i were turning around, over and over again.’ ba100

The origin of *-kere* might be the transitive verb *kere-* ‘tie’, as illustrated in the elicited example (8.85).

- (8.85) *E-puna=ra*_A =*tu*_O *kere-ya* [*tu-ja* *kwati*]_O.
 NPF-female=ERG =3SG(-FM) tie-IMPV 3SG-GEN firewood

‘The woman ties her firewood (with a rope).’ n3.0338

8.5. Distribution

Combinations of two valency-modifying processes are rare but possible. The attested combinations are cross-referenced in Table 8.4. A valency-modifying process in the left column is applied before a valency-modifying process in the

top horizontal row; an unattested — but logically possible — combination is coded with a question mark ‘?’; a logically impossible combination is coded by a shaded cell.

Table 8.4. Combinations of two valency-changing processes

	PASS	REF	ANTIP1 (redup.)	ANTIP2 (auxil.)	CAUS (intr.)	CAUS (trans.)	CAUS. INVLT
PASS					?		?
REF					(8.58b)		?
ANTIP1					?		?
ANTIP2					?		(8.87)
CAUS (itr.)	?	(8.86a)		?		?	?
CAUS (tr.)	?	(8.86b)		?		?	?
CAUS.INVLT	?	?		?		?	?

In (8.86), we have the combination of the reflexive circumfix *k(a)-...-ti* with the causative suffix *-sha* (on an intransitive verb, in a.) and *-mere* (on a transitive verb, in b.).

- (8.86) a. [*E-bakwa=ke_E ka-nawi-sha-ti-jara-bakwa* *ju-atsu*]
3-child=3 REF-bathe-CAUS-REF-ADVERS-ALWS.NEG be-SS

e-bakwa=ke_{CS} kweja-wana-ma_{CC}...
3-child=3 inform-ADVERS-RES.NEG

‘When they (our Cavineña ancestors) would not (lit. never) force their children to bathe (very early morning), their children would be ignorant (lit. not informed).’ bn032

- b. ... [[*barepa kayuamati-wa=ke_S jietana-tsu*]
sky deteriorate-PERF=LIG get.better-SS

ijeti_S ka-ba-mere-ti-kware.
sun REF-see-CAUS-REF-REM.PAST

‘... the weather cleared up (lit. the sky that had deteriorated got better) and the sun was visible (lit. made itself visible).’ se019a

Note that co-occurring valency-changing affixes are strictly ordered according to their scope. In (8.86a), the *-ti* part of the reflexive circumfix can only be applied once *-sha* ‘CAUS’ has first been applied to the verb root because it requires a transitive stem. As a result, *-ti* follows *-sha*. In (8.86b), *-mere* can only be applied before the reflexive circumfix is applied because it requires a transitive stem and because the reflexive circumfix derives an intransitive verb.

In (8.87), the non-inflecting verb *kwatsabiji a-* ‘tell story to O’ — see an example in (8.49a) — has first undergone an antipassive derivation by exchanging the transitive auxiliary *a-* ‘affect’ for *ju-* ‘be’ (see §8.3.2), giving *kwatsabiji ju-* ‘talk’ — see an example in (8.49b). Then, *kwatsabiji ju-* has been retransitivized with the causative of involvement (suppletive form *akere-*; see §8.4.3).

(8.87) *Ita* =*pa* *kwatsabiji* *riyapiji=kwita*
ATT.GETTER =REP tell.story a.little.bit=RESTR

akere-kwe...!

be+CAUS.INVLT-IMP.SG

‘Let’s see, (Sister Teresa,) could you tell us (about the old traditions) and discuss it with us?’ ci029

Note that one could interpret *kwatsabiji akere-* as the causativization of *kwatsabiji a-*, i.e., without first going through an antipassive derivation. If this were the case, however, we should have a ditransitive verb, not the transitive verb that we have here. Moreover, the meaning of this verb should be ‘could you make someone tell us and ...’.

Logically impossible combinations (see shaded cells) correspond to the following situations:

- application of a valency-decreasing process (passive, reflexive, antipassive) to an intransitive base;
- application the intransitive causative *-sha* to a transitive base; application of the transitive causative *-mere* to an intransitive base;
- application of the ANTIP1 process to a polymorphemic base (ANTIP1 can only apply to roots).

Valency-changing affixes can co-occur with affixes from other slots. Combinations with postural/directional suffixes, as in (8.88), are not very common — no examples have been found of postural/directional suffixes co-occurring with passive *-ta(na)* or causative of involvement *-kere* — but this is likely to be the result of the fact that postural/directional suffixes are restricted to occurring with only a limited number of verb roots.

(8.88) a. *E-ra*_A =*tu*_O *ani-tsurashawa*
1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) sit-GO.UP-CAUS-PERF

*mishi*_O [*silla* *dyake*].
cat chair ON

‘I made the cat sit on the chair.’ n3.0095

- b. [*Tuna*_S *ju-diru-wa=ju*] =*yatse*_S *mochila*_E *karetu=ju*
 3PL be-GO.PERM-PERF=DS =1DL bag cart=LOC

k-iya-butya-ti-nuka-chine.

REF-put-GO.DOWN-REF-REITR-REC.PAST

‘When they arrived, we (dl) again put our bags down in the cart (and we went on foot).’ vb055

Combinations of valency-changing processes with Aktionsart suffixes are, on the other hand, extremely common. Verbs showing such combinations in this chapter are repeated in (8.89).

- (8.89) a. passive *-ta(na)*

iyē-tana-tere- (8.4b)
 (kill-PASS-COMP-)

katsa-tana-etibe- (8.8a)
 (beat-PASS-COME.PERM.DISTR-)

- b. reflexive *k(a)-...-ti*

ka-peta-ti-bare- (8.24c)
 (REF-look.at-REF-DISTR-)

ka-shana-ti-na- (8.28a)
 (REF-leave-REF-COME.TEMP-)

ka-ba-ti-ti- (8.31)
 (REF-see-REF-GO.TEMP-)

- c. antipassive redup

taru-taru-aje- (8.39b)
 (stir-REDUP-GO.DISTR-)

utsa-utsa-ti- (8.42)
 (wash-REDUP-GO.TEMP-)

d. intransitive causative *-sha*

riwi-sha-bare- (8.55a)
(fall-CAUS-DISTR-)

nawi-sha-ni- (8.57b)
(bathe-CAUS-RANDOM-)

e. transitive causative *-mere*

ina-mere-diru- (8.68a)
(grab-CAUS-GO.PERM-)

iwara-mere-nuka- (8.71)
(call-CAUS-REITR-)

f. causative of involvement *-kere*

wikamutya akere-ti- (8.83a)
(fish be+CAUS.INVLT-GO.TEMP-)

Combinations of valency-changing processes with auxiliary-triggering processes are illustrated in (8.90) (see more examples in §10.8).

(8.90) a. passive

jucha a-ta-karama ju- (8.5)
(have.sex.with affect-PASS-DESID be-)

katsa-katsa a-tana- (8.6)
(beat-REDUP affect-PASS-)

b. reflexive

jadya ka-tya-ti-e ju- (8.34b)
(MAN REF-give-REF-MAN be-)

c. antipassive by auxiliary alternation

e-tse jibu-jibu ju- (8.52a)
(NPF-tooth roll.up-REDUP be(ANTIPASS)-)

d. causative

tawi-kara amere-
(sleep-DESID be+CAUS-)

(8.61c)

Chapter 9

Predicate structure — postural and directional suffixes

Postural and directional suffixes form a paradigm of seven mutually exclusive members. They occur in slot F of the predicate structure (see §5.1).

The first four members express postural notions: *-ani* ‘SIT’ (§9.1.1), *-neti/-nitya* ‘STAND’ (§9.1.2), *-jara* ‘LIE’ (§9.1.3) and *-bade* ‘HANG’ (§9.1.4). The remaining three members of the paradigm express directional notions: *-tsura* ‘GO.UP’ (§9.2.1), *-bute/-butya* ‘GO.DOWN’ (§9.2.2) and *-sikwa* ‘GO.AWAY’ (§9.2.3). These last three suffixes are mostly found on (independent) posture verbs. Their role is essentially to specify the direction (‘up’ vs. ‘down’ vs. ‘away’) that accompanies a change in posture.

Postural suffixes are S/A-related, in that they normally specify the posture of the S or the A argument. Directionals are S/O-related, in that the direction specification is about the S or the O argument.

Two members of the postural/directional paradigm are sensitive to the transitivity of the verb they are attached to: *-neti/-nitya* ‘STAND’ (*-neti* on intransitive verbs, *-nitya* on transitive verbs) and *-bute/-butya* ‘GO.DOWN’ (*-bute* on intransitive verbs, *-butya* on transitive verbs).

Six (out of seven) suffixes of the postural/directional paradigm have a corresponding verb, to which they are without much doubt historically related.

9.1. Postural suffixes

Postural suffixes consist of four members which encode body posture. They are given in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1. Postural suffixes

<i>-jara</i>	‘LIE’
<i>-ani</i>	‘SIT’
<i>-neti/-nitya</i>	‘STAND’
<i>-bade</i>	‘HANG’

Postural suffixes — with one possible exception; see (9.5b) — are S/A-related. In other words, they specify the posture of the S/A argument of the clause.

Postural suffixes are most often found with the copula/auxiliary verb *ju-‘be’*. Occasionally, however, they are attested with other types of verbs.

9.1.1. *-ani* ‘SIT’

The suffix *-ani* expresses the fact that a core participant of the event, normally the S/A argument, is in a sitting posture.

The examples in (9.1) show *-ani* used to depict the sitting posture of the S argument of intransitive verbs.

- (9.1) a. *Ai =mi_S tu-wa tawi-ani-ya?*
 INT =2SG(-FM) there-LOC sleep-SIT-IMPV

‘What are you doing there sitting and sleeping?’ zo035

- b. *Ija_O iye-na-kwe! Yume ju-ani-ya.*
 porcupine kill-COME.TEMP-IMP.SG over.there be-SIT-IMPV

‘(Alfredo Tavo didn’t have any rifle to kill the porcupine that had entered our house in the middle of the night, so he went to ask our neighbour, Lucio Tavo, for help. He said to him:) Come kill the porcupine! It is sitting over there (on a beam in our house).’
 ij016

The examples in (9.2) show *-ani* used to describe the sitting posture of the A argument of transitive verbs.

- (9.2) a. *Tume =ni =taa =tu-ja =tu_O*
 then =MAYBE =EMPH =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM)

a-ani-ya=dya.
 affect-SIT-IMPV=FOC

‘So, maybe he was sitting and recording (lit. affecting) that (conversation) for himself?’ ct001

- b. *Tudya =tu-ke_O =∅_A ba-ti-chine*
 then =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) see-GO.TEMP-REC.PAST

[*tu-ra_A taka-ani-ya=ju.*]
 3SG-ERG peel-SIT-IMPV=DS

‘I went to see him (Leonardo), as he was skinning it (the puma he had killed) sitting.’ el023

In the data, *-ani* ‘SIT’ is also found on *ara-* ‘eat’, as *ara-ani-* ‘eat sitting’, and *iwa-* ‘wait for’, as *iwa-ani-* ‘wait for O sitting’.

The suffix *-ani* ‘SIT’ has a corresponding intransitive verb *ani-* ‘sit, be, live’:

- (9.3) *Yawa=ju =shana ekana_S ani-ya.*
 ground=LOC =PITY 3PL sit-IMPV

‘(When they were preparing corn beer,) they (our Cavineña grandmothers) would sit (directly) on the ground, the poor women.’ ci079

There is a transitive verb, *isaani-* ‘ride O, sit on top of O (e.g., horse)’, which possibly contains the suffix *-ani* ‘SIT’ or the related verb *ani-* ‘sit’. Note however that this is speculative since the *isa* part of the verb is not found anywhere else in the language.

9.1.2. *-neti/-nitya* ‘STAND’

The suffix *-neti/-nitya* expresses the fact that a core participant of the event, normally the S/A argument, is in a standing posture. The form *-neti* is used with intransitive verbs while the form *-nitya* is used with transitive verbs.

In the examples in (9.4), *-neti* describes the standing posture of the S argument of intransitive verbs.

- (9.4) a. *Juan_S ara-ara-neti-ya.* (**ara-ara-nitya-ya*)
 Juan eat-REDUP¹-STAND-IMPV
 ‘Juan is eating standing.’ n2.0729-0773
- b. *Ekwita_S e-kike=ju kawashiri-neti-kware.*
 person NPF-forest=LOC lie.in.ambush-STAND-REM.PAST
 ‘A man is hiding in ambush standing in the forest.’ n2.0718
- c. *Amena [jadya isara-ya=ju=dya] =tu_S*
 BM thus talk.to-IMPV-DS=FOC =3SG(-FM)
ju-neti-ya=dya=jutidya.
 be-STAND-IMPV=FOC=DISEMPH
 ‘As he (my Chácobo friend) was talking to him (a Pacahuara man we were visiting), he (the Pacahuara man) was just standing (and not saying anything).’ pa056

¹ In this example, the transitive verb root *ara-* ‘eat O’ undergoes antipassive reduplication (§8.3.1). This process derives an intransitive verb stem.

In the example in (9.5), *-nitya* is used with transitive verbs.

- (9.5) a. *Peta-nitya-diru-kware* =*pa* =*tu*_A *mada*_O.
 look.at-STAND-GO.PERM-REM.PAST =REP =3SG(-ERG) agouti
 ‘He stopped (lit. stood) to look at the agouti (that was being dragged by a snake).’ se002a
- b. ... =*tuna*_A *rada-nitya-ya* *umada*.
 =3PL(-ERG) gather-STAND-IMPV many
 ‘(They cut a lot of barbasco plants and) stood them in a group (lit. gathered them vertically).’ bb007

In (9.5a), *-nitya* denotes the (standing) posture of the A argument, i.e., ‘he’, not ‘agouti’. This is clear from the translation given by Alfredo Tavo of his own story. This is also clear from the fact that ‘the agouti’ is unlikely to be standing while trying to escape from the snake that is trying to eat him. In (9.5b), however, *-nitya* appears to specify the posture of the O argument, i.e., ‘barbasco plants’, not ‘they’. This could contradict the statement made earlier that postural suffixes are strictly S/A-related — postural suffixes could refer to both S/A and S/O arguments. Conversely, *rada-nitya-* found in (9.5b) is perhaps a lexicalized form in which case its exceptional status would not contradict the statement. More work is required to reach a more conclusive statement.

Both intransitive and transitive forms of the suffix *-neti/-nitya* have corresponding verbs: intransitive *neti-* ‘stand, ‘stop (itr.)’, shown in (9.6a), and the transitive *nitya-* ‘make stand, ‘stop (tr.)’, shown in (9.6b).

- (9.6) a. *Amena* [*tu-ke peke=dya*] *neti-diru*
 BM 3SG-FM AT.SIDE.OF=FOC stand-GO.PERM
Pakawaras.
 Pacahuara.person
 ‘The Pacahuara man went to stand next to them (a bunch of arrows in the corner of his house).’ pa052
- b. ... [*umada akwi rada-tsu*] =*tuna*_A *nitya-tsura-kware*
 many tree gather-SS =3PL(-ERG) stand-GO.UP-REM.PAST
*akwi*_O...
 tree
 ‘... after gathering a lot of trees, they stood them up in a group.’
 bp009

Note that the verbs *neti-* and *nitya-* are formally related, *nitya-* being made of *neti-* plus the (unproductive) causative suffix *-a* (§5.2.6).

9.1.3. *-jara* ‘LIE’

The suffix *-jara* indicates that a core participant of the event is in a lying posture.

The examples in (9.7) and (9.8) show *-jara* in reference to the lying posture of the S argument of intransitive verbs.

- (9.7) a. *Tawi-jara-ya bakwa_S.*
 sleep-LIE-IMPV viper
 ‘The viper was sleeping lying (under the cupboard).’ vi033
- b. *Tarara-jara-chine=kwita.*
 snore-LIE-REC.PAST=RESTR
 ‘(My friend was sleeping deeply and) snoring.’ Im015
- c. *Ejedyane? Yumi=dya ju-jara-ya.*
 QUEST over.there=FOC be-LIE-IMPV
 ‘(When I said to my friends that I had killed a caiman, they asked me: but) where is it? (I replied:) over there, it is lying.’ Ig021

In (9.8), the suffix *-jara* occurs twice, each time within a temporal adverbial clause (§19.2). In the first temporal adverbial clause, it is attached to *ju-* ‘be’ (similarly to (9.7c)). In the second temporal adverbial clause, it is attached to the transitive verb *iwa-* ‘wait for’. Note that this clause has undergone an antipassive derivation by auxiliary alternation (§8.3.2).

- (9.8) *Tudya =pa =tatse_A ba-nati-kware buka_O*
 then =REP =3DL(-ERG) see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST tayra
 [yawa=*ju* *ju-jara-ya=ju*]
 ground=LOC be-LIE-IMPV=DS
 [[*buka deka*] *iwa-jara ju-ya=ju*].
 tayra male wait.for-LIE be(ANTIPASS)-IMPV=DS
 ‘They saw a (female) tayra lying on the ground, lying and waiting for the male tayra (to come out of hole where he was searching for honey).’ mr010

In (9.9), *-jara* refers to the lying posture of the A argument of a transitive verb.

- (9.9) ... =*pa* =*tu*_A *ami*_O *iji-jara-ya*.
 =REP =3SG(-ERG) blood drink-LIE-IMPV
 ‘Lying (on the deer; and having cut its throat) it (a puma) was
 drinking its blood.’ lp027

The suffix *-jara* ‘LIE’ is homophonous with the Aktionsart suffix *-jara* ‘ADVERS’ (§7.5) and mostly likely historically related to it.

Corresponding to the suffix *-jara* ‘LIE’ is the intransitive verb *jara-* ‘lie’, shown in (9.10).

- (9.10) *Apuna-wa=ju* *ekana*_S *ka-bajeje-ti-tsu*
 be.at.dusk-PERF=DS 3PL REF-prepare-REF-SS
 jara-kware=dya.
 lie-REM.PAST=FOC
 ‘When dusk had fallen, they got ready and went to sleep (lit. lay).’
 cc007

9.1.4. *-bade* ‘HANG’

The suffix *-bade* indicates that a core participant of the event is in a hanging posture.

In (9.11), *-bade* refers to the hanging posture of the S argument of intransitive verbs.

- (9.11) a. *Juan*_S *ara-ara-bade-ya*.
 Juan eat-HANG-IMPV
 ‘Juan is eating while hanging (in a hammock).’ n2.0730
- b. *Tuekedy*_a [*tu-ja* *e-sere*]_s *wesiruru-bade-kware*.
 then 3SG-GEN NPF-intestine swing-HANG-REM.PAST
 ‘(The tapir had a big cut on the side.) Its intestines were hanging
 (outside) and swinging.’ aw021
- c. *Santiago*_S =*tu*_S *ju-bade-kware* *ebadeki=ju*.
 Santiago =3SG(-FM) be-HANG-REM.PAST hammock=LOC
 ‘Santiago was in his hammock.’ sn007

In (9.12) *-bade* refers to the hanging posture of the A argument of a transitive verb.

- (9.12) *Pirichuchiwa=ra_A ekwita_O iwa-bade-ya*
 snake(sp.)=ERG person wait.for-HANG-IMPFV
 [*akwi y-aa=ju*].
 tree NPF-branch=LOC

‘The Pirichuchiwa snake is lurking (lit. waiting while hanging) in a tree (lit. on a tree branch) waiting for someone (to bite).’
 n2.0721

Corresponding to the suffix *-bade* is the intransitive verb *bade-* ‘hang’ as shown in (9.13).

- (9.13) *Tudya i-ke_S taraka=ju bade-tsura-diru-kware.*
 then 1SG-FM corral=LOC hang-GO.UP-GO.PERM-REM.PAST
 ‘(The cow was going to gore me, so) I ran and jumped (lit. hung) up on the corral.’ vc034

9.2. Directional suffixes

Directional suffixes consist of three members, as repeated in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2. Directional suffixes

<i>-tsura</i>	‘GO.UP’
<i>-bute/butya</i>	‘GO.DOWN’
<i>-sikwa</i>	‘GO.AWAY’

Directional suffixes are mostly found on independent posture verbs. Unlike posture suffixes, directional suffixes are never attached to the copula/auxiliary verb *ju-* ‘be’.

Directional suffixes are strictly S/O-related. In other words, they encode the path² followed by the S or O argument during the change of posture expressed by the verb the suffix is attached to. They do not express motion; the motion is

² The terms path is used in the sense of Talmy (1985, 2000). It concerns the specification of the course followed by a figure during a displacement with regards to different landmarks, e.g., vis-à-vis the deictic center (towards vs. away from), vis-à-vis an enclosure (in vs. out), vis-à-vis the vertical axis (up vs. down), etc.

within the verb. The facts that these suffixes are S/O-related and encode path but not motion, in addition to their very low productivity and their distinct position in the predicate structure, distinguish them very clearly from the motion suffixes that we discussed in §7.2 — remember that motion suffixes are either S/A- or O-related, that they encode both motion and path, and that they are fully productive. From a typological perspective, they are very similar to the category of directionals found in Mayan languages (see among others Robertson 1980; Haviland 1991, 1993; Craig 1994; Grinevald forthcoming; Zavala 1994) and Papua New Guinea languages (Foley 1986: 148-52).

9.2.1. *-tsura* ‘GO.UP’

The suffix *-tsura* indicates that the verb event is associated with an upward path. This suffix, similarly to its antonym *-bute/-butya* ‘GO.DOWN’ (§9.2.2), is essentially found on one of the four posture verbs, *ani-* ‘sit’, *neti-* ‘stand’, *jara-* ‘lie’ and *bade-* ‘hang’, as shown in (9.14).

- (9.14) a. *Ani-tsura-kwe!*
sit-GO.UP-IMP.SG
‘Sit on the cart (so that you don’t have to walk)!’ ka229
- b. *Jara-tsura-eti-chine* =ekwana_S amena
lie-GO.UP-COME.PERM-REC.PAST =1PL BM
Wayara=ju...
Guayaramerín=LOC
‘We (in the boat, finally) moored at Guayaramerín.’ br079
- c. *Neti-tsura-tsu kwa-kware=dya i-ke_S.*
stand-GO.UP-SS go-REM.PAST=FOC 1SG-FM
‘I got up (on my feet) and left.’ sd092

See *-tsura* on *bade-* ‘hang’ in (9.13) above.

In the available data, *-tsura* is not attested on other intransitive verbs. With transitive verbs, *-tsura* is found with *nitya-* ‘make stand’, *wana-* ‘lay’, and *iya-* ‘put’, which all have to do with posture. They are illustrated in (9.15).

- (9.15) a. *Nitya-tsura-tsu nawi-sha-ni-kware...*
stand-GO.UP-SS bathe-CAUS-RANDOM-REM.PAST
‘(In old times, our Cavineña ancestors) would wake them (their

children) up (lit. stand them up) and force them to bathe (very early in the morning)...’ bn011

- b. *Amena tu-wa pere_O wana-tsura-ya.*
 BM there-LOC rack lay-GO.UP-IMPV

‘(In order to cook the meat, our ancestors would prepare a grill. They would first insert forked sticks onto the ground, and) there (on top of the forked sticks) they would lay a rack.’ ct130

- c. *Tudya amena kwaba=ju iya-tsura-kware*
 then BM canoe=LOC put-GO.UP-REM.PAST
 [waburu_O [beta dati]_O jadya].
 peccary two turtle and

‘Then I put the peccary and the two tortoises (I had caught) in my canoe (i.e., moved them up to the edge of the canoe and dropped them in).’ ch015

Note that with these transitive verbs, the upward path is associated with the O argument, i.e., ‘children’ in (9.15a), ‘tied sticks’ in (9.15b) and ‘peccary and two tortoises’ in (9.15c). In the case of intransitive verbs, the upward path is about the S argument, i.e., ‘you’ in (9.14a), ‘we’ in (9.14b) and ‘I’ in (9.14c).

In addition to these three transitive verbs, *-tsura* was accepted by Francisco Vaca on the transitive perception verbs *peta-* ‘look at’, as *peta-tsura-* ‘look up at something’, *ba-* ‘see’, as *ba-tsura-* ‘see something up’, and *bajiyu-* ‘turn head and see’, as *bajiyu-tsura-* ‘turn head and see something up’. Note however that Francisco did not accept *-tsura* on many other verbs, notably **baka-tsura-* (hear-GO.UP-), **kweja-tsura-* (inform-GO.UP) and *iwa-tsura-* (wait.for-GO.UP).

Corresponding to the suffix *-tsura* is the verb *tsura-* ‘go up, go upriver’:

- (9.16) *Kunu=eke =ni ekatse_S tsura-ya.*
 liana=PERL =MAYBE 3DL go.up-IMPV

‘They (the two legendary brothers) would probably climb (on top of the trees) along lianas.’ hm026

9.2.2. *-bute/-butya* ‘GO.DOWN’

The suffix *-bute/-butya* indicates that the verb event is associated with a downward path. The form *-bute* is used with intransitive verbs while the form *-butya* is used with transitive verbs.

Similarly to *-tsura*, *-bute* is essentially found with posture verbs, at least *ani-* ‘sit’ and *jara-* ‘lie’, as shown in (9.17). I have not found *-bute* on *neti-* ‘stand’ and *bute-* ‘hang’ in the data.

- (9.17) a. *Bandia Tata! Nubi-kwe! Ani-bute-kwe!*
 good.morning sir enter-IMP.SG sit-GO.DOWN-IMP.SG
 ‘Good morning Sir! Come in! Have a seat (lit. sit down)! (Said to me by Ventura Mayo once I visited him in his house.)’ ci003
- b. *Jara-bute-tsu =Ø_S betsa-kware.*
 lie-GO.DOWN-SS (=1SG-FM) swim-REM.PAST
 ‘I lay down (on my raft) and I swam.’ mj061

Note that *ani-bute-* (sit-GO.DOWN-) can also be used for describing a plane landing.

Three transitive verbs were found with *-butya*: *iya-* ‘put’, *ijewe-* ‘throw’ and *ba-* ‘see’, as shown in (9.18).

- (9.18) a. [*E-kwe e-nasi*]_O =*bakwe iya-butya-kware.*
 1SG-GEN 1-older.sister =CONTR put-GO.DOWN-REM.PAST
 ‘She (my mother) put my older sister down (from her shoulder).’
 ib053
- b. *Amena* [[*jiti*]_O *abu-tsu*] *diru-ya=ke*]_O
 BM basket carry-SS go-IMPV=LIG
tu-wa=dya =tuna_A ijewe-butya-wa.
 there-LOC=FOC =3PL(-ERG) throw-GO.DOWN-PERF
 ‘The one who was going carrying the basket, they killed him there
 (lit. threw him down).’ vz103
- c. *Amena* [*jadya ba-butya-nuka*] [*e-kwe e-tsuku*]_O
 BM thus see-GO.DOWN-REITR 1SG-GEN NPF-hip
a-chine.
 affect-REC.PAST
 ‘I looked down at my hip again (where I thought the viper had bit-
 ten me).’ ce038

Note that with *-butya*, similarly to *-tsura* (and to *-sikwa* ‘GO.AWAY’; see following section), the downward path is associated with the O argument, i.e., ‘older sister’ in (9.18a), ‘the one who was going carrying...’ in (9.18b) and ‘my hip’

in (9.18c). With intransitive verbs, the downward path is about the S argument, i.e., ‘you’ in (9.17a) and ‘I’ in (9.17b).

Similarly to *-tsura*, Francisco Vaca refused *-butya* on *baka-* ‘hear’ (**baka-butya-*) and *kweja-* ‘inform’ (**kweja-butya-*). Unfortunately I did not have the chance to ask for *peta-* ‘look at’ and *bajiyu-* ‘turn head and see’.

Both suffixes *-bute* and *-butya* have corresponding verbs, *bute-* ‘go down, go downriver’ and *butya-* ‘lower’, respectively, as illustrated in (9.19).

- (9.19) a. *Pa-bute* *i-kes.* *I-kes* *aje-tsu* *pa-diru.*
 HORT.SG-go.down 1SG-FM 1SG-FM walk-SS HORT.SG-go
 ‘I will go down (from the cart) and I will go walking.’ ka456
- b. *Butya-kwe* *yatse-ja* [*e-marikaka* *e-tiki=ju_{CC}=ke*]_{o!}
 lower-IMP.SG 1DL-DAT NPF-cooking.pot NPF-fire=LOC=LIG
 ‘Remove (lit. lower) the cooking pot from the fire!’ di0375

Note that the verbs *bute-* and *butya-* are formally related, *butya* being made of *bute-* plus the (unproductive) causative suffix *-a* (§5.2.6).

9.2.3. *-sikwa* ‘GO.AWAY’

The suffix *-sikwa* expresses the fact that the verb event is associated with a motion directed away from the reference point. Similarly to *-tsura* and *-bute*, the suffix *-sikwa* is essentially found with posture verbs as shown in (9.20).

- (9.20) a. *Re-wa_{CC}=kes* =*tu_S* *Jaime_S* *ani-sikwa-wa.*
 here-LOC=LIG =3SG(-FM) Jaime sit-GO.AWAY-PERF
 ‘Jaime went to sit somewhere else.’ n2.0856
- b. *Tu-wa_{CC}=kes* =*tu_S* *Jaime_S* *neti-sikwa-wa.*
 there-LOC=LIG =3SG(-FM) Jaime stand-GO.AWAY-PERF
 ‘Jaime went to stand somewhere else.’ n2.0855
- c. *Amena* *jara-sikwa-kware* *ekana_S* *peya=keja.*
 BM lie-GO.AWAY-REM.PAST 3PL other=LOC.GNL
 ‘(Our ancestors were lying down in an ambush to kill their enemies. But there were many bees at that place so) they went to lie a bit farther away.’ mk058

A textual example with *ani-* (with its meaning ‘live’) is (9.21).

- (9.21) [Tuna-ra_A tiryajeri-wa=ju] =tuna_S amena
 3PL-ERG finish-ALMOST-PERF=DS =3PL BM
ani-sikwa-kware [iyakwa ekwana-ja epu=ju].
 sit-GO.AWAY-REM.PAST now 1PL-GEN village=LOC

‘When they (the enemies) almost killed them (our Cavineña ancestors), they (our ancestors) moved away to live at the place where our village is nowadays.’ hs045

The suffix *-sikwa* ‘GO AWAY’ is only found in the corpus with the transitive verbs *iya-* ‘put’ and *nitya-* ‘make stand’, shown in (9.22).

- (9.22) a. E-ra_A =tu_O iya-sikwa-ya muke_O
 1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) put-GO.AWAY-IMPV brazil.nut
 [peya shitara=ju].
 other bag=LOC

‘I will move the brazil nuts to another bag.’ n3.0377

- b. [Tume_{CC}=ke wakaba]_O nitya-sikwa-kwe
 there=LIG hoe stand-GO.AWAY-IMP.SG
 peya=keja!
 other=LOC.GNL

‘Stand that plank aside!’ di2139

Note that with these transitive verbs, similarly to *-tsura* and *-butya*, *-sikwa* expresses the path of the O argument, i.e., ‘brazil nuts’ in (9.22a) and ‘plank’ in (9.22b). In the case of intransitive verbs, the ‘away from reference point’ path is about the S argument, i.e., ‘Jaime’ in (9.20a,b), ‘our ancestors’ in (9.20c) and (9.21).

The suffix *-sikwa* does not have a corresponding verb. All I can say at the present stage is that it is made of the formative *kwa* which is possibly historically related to the verb *kwa-* ‘go’.

9.3. Distribution

Postural and directional suffixes occupy slot F of the predicate. They form a single paradigm of mutually exclusive members. For example, the transitive verb *iwa-* ‘wait for O’ can take either *-jara* ‘LIE’, as in (9.8), or *-bade* ‘HANG’, as in (9.12), but it cannot take *-jara* and *-bade* at the same time (**iwa-jara-bade-* or **iwa-bade-jara-*). Similarly, the transitive verb *iya-* ‘put’ can be marked by *-tsura* ‘GO.UP’, as in (9.15c), or *-sikwa* ‘GO.AWAY’, as in (9.22a), but it cannot take both suffixes simultaneously (**iya-tsura-sikwa-* or **iya-sikwa-tsura-*). Note that no attempt was made to elicit the co-occurrence of a postural suffix and a directional suffix. However, this is never attested in the data.

In full reduplication with antipassive effect (§5.5 and §8.3.1), only the verb root can be reduplicated, never the verbal affixes. Postural/directional suffixes will therefore be attached to the reduplicated root, as with *-neti* ‘STAND’ in (9.4a) (*ara-ara-neti-ya* ‘eat-REDUP-STAND-IMPV’) and *-bade* ‘HANG’ in (9.11a) (*ara-ara-bade-ya* ‘eat-REDUP-STAND-IMPV’).

Examples of postural/directional suffixes in co-occurrence with valency-changing affixes (slot C/G) are given in (9.23).

- (9.23) a. *ani*^D-*tsura*^F-*sha*^G-*wa*^K (**ani-sha-tsura-wa*)
 sit-GO.UP-CAUS-PERF
 ‘(I) made (the cat) sit (on the chair)’ n3.0095
- b. *k*^C-*iya*^D-*butya*^F-*ti*^G-*nuka*^H-*chine*^K
 REF-put-GO.DOWN-REF-RETR-REC.PAST
 ‘(we) put again (our bags) down (in the cart)’ vb055

Examples that show postural/directional suffixes co-occurring with (optional) Aktionsart suffixes (slot H) are:

- (9.5a) and (9.13) showing postural *-nitya* ‘STAND’ and directional *-tsura* ‘GO.UP’ followed by the motion suffix *-diru* ‘GO.PERM’;
- (9.14b) showing directional *-tsura* ‘GO.UP’ followed by motion suffix *-eti* ‘COME.PERM’;
- (9.18c) showing directional *-butya* ‘GO.DOWN’ followed by *-nuka* ‘RETR’. Note that following the application of *-butya* and *-nuka* on *ba-* ‘see’, the verb undergoes a Ø-derivation auxiliary-triggering process (§10.5);
- (9.24) showing directional *-tsura* followed by the completive *-tere* ‘COMP’:

- (9.24) [Jadya a-ya=**ju**] =pa =tunas
 thus affect-IMPV=DS =REP =3PL
 neti^D-*tsura*^F-*tere*^H-*kware*^K.
 stand-GO.UP-COMP-REM.PAST

‘(The man who had heard the noise said: “Get up everybody, someone wants to kill us!”). When he said that to them, they all stood up.’ cc019

9.4. Suffixes vs. compounded/serialised verbs?

One might want to analyze postural and directional morphemes as compounded or serialized roots (rather than suffixes) since most of these also occur as independent verbs in the language. Recall that a similar issue is discussed for Aktionsart suffixes (see §7.7). As in that discussion, here again I will prefer an analysis in terms of suffixes because we are missing a corresponding verb for *-sikwa* ‘GO.AWAY’, a form that otherwise behaves grammatically exactly similarly to the remaining six morphemes. A unified analysis in terms of a single paradigm of suffixes appears thus a simpler option than treating six suffixes as compounded/serialized and one differently as a suffix.

Chapter 10

Predicate structure — auxiliary-triggering processes

Auxiliary-triggering processes constrain the application of suffixes to verbs. Once an auxiliary-triggering process has been applied to a verb, any additional verbal suffixes must be carried by an auxiliary.

Six auxiliary-triggering processes have been identified. First, there are five auxiliary-triggering suffixes: *-kara/-karama* ‘DESID’, *-metse* ‘FIRST’, *-jakama* ‘CEASELESSLY’, *-bawe/-baekwa* ‘ALWS’ and *-ki/-aki* ‘TYPICAL’. They will be called mode suffixes, and they fall into slot I of the predicate. They are discussed in §10.1.

Second, there are four phonologically independent markers which are preposed to the verb (in slot B): *nere* ‘VIGOROUSLY’, *yume* ‘IMMEDIATELY’, *riya* ‘STARTLING’ and *pana* ‘PROPERLY’. Preverbal modifiers are discussed in §10.2.

Third, there are two discontinuous markers, *jadya ...-e* ‘MAN’ and *ejebucha ...-e* ‘MAN.INT’. These morphemes consisting of the combination of a phonologically independent part (*jadya* or *ejebucha*), which fills slot B, and a suffix *-e*, which fills slot I. The discontinuous verb modifiers are discussed in §10.3.

Fourth, there is a series of phonologically independent markers which are postposed to the verb (in slot J): *pidya* ‘ONCE’, *beta* ‘TWICE’, and *kimisha* ‘THREE.TIMES’. Postverbal modifiers are discussed in §10.4.

The fifth auxiliary-triggering process consists of a \emptyset -marker. Here an auxiliary is required without any clear specific marker. Often, however, this process is accompanied by the ‘incorporation’ of an independent particle or a postpositional phrase. This is discussed in §10.5.

The sixth, and last, auxiliary-triggering process is full reduplication. This process has a distributive effect. It is discussed in §10.6.

An auxiliary-triggering process can be applied to a verb that already has an auxiliary — this can be a basic non-inflecting verb or a verb to which an auxiliary-triggering process has previously been applied. With some auxiliary-triggering processes (e.g., the suffixes *-kara/-karama* ‘DESID’) this has the effect of triggering an additional auxiliary. With some other auxiliary-triggering processes (e.g., preverbal modifiers), no additional auxiliary is required. A summary of attested combinations of two auxiliary-triggering processes is presented in §10.7.

Auxiliary-triggering processes can also combine with verbal categories from other slots. This is discussed in §10.8.

10.1. Auxiliary-triggering suffixes

Mode suffixes occupy slot I of the predicate.

10.1.1. *-kara/-karama* ‘DESID/DESID.NEG’

The suffixes *-kara* ‘DESIDerative’ and *-karama* ‘DESIDerative NEGative’ express the concepts ‘want to V’ and ‘not want to V’, respectively. The *ma* ending in *-karama* is a negative formative most likely related to the *ma* ending found in the *da*-adjective negative suffix *-dama* (§11.2.4) and/or the negative resultative adjectivizer suffix *-ma* (§11.3.4).

Examples with *-kara* on intransitive verbs are given in (10.1).

- (10.1) a. *Jutakiju eju =mi_s tawi-kara ju-ya?*
 therefore INT:LOC =2SG(-FM) sleep-DESID be-IMPFV
 ‘So, where do you want to sleep?’ zo093
- b. *I-ke_s cuartel=ju kwa-kara.*
 1SG-FM barracks=LOC go-DESID
 ‘I want to do the military service (lit. I want to go to the barracks).’
 sd002

In (10.2) and (10.3), *-kara* modifies intransitive non-inflecting verbs. This results in triggering another auxiliary. In (10.2), *-kara* modifies the non-inflecting verb *bawe ju-* ‘know E’.¹

- (10.2) *A=ishu =mi_s bawe ju-kara ju-ya*
 do.what=PURP.GNL =2SG(-FM) know be-DESID be-IMPFV
 [*i-ke_s eju kwa-ya=ke*]_E.
 1SG-FM INT:LOC go-IMPFV=LIG
 ‘Why do you want to know where I go?’ du014

In (10.3), *-kara* modifies the derived non-inflecting verb *ejubucha ju-neni-e ju-* ‘live this way’. Here the verb *ju-neni-* (be-RANDOM) ‘be in many places’, has taken the auxiliary-triggering discontinuous marker *jadya ... -e* ‘MAN’ (§10.3).

¹ Recall that this verb is ambitransitive; it takes either an S/E or an A/O frame (§5.3.6).

- (10.3) *Tume* =*mi*_S [e]jebucha *ju-neni-e* *ju-kara*
 then =2SG(-FM) INT.MAN be-RANDOM-MAN be-DESID
ju-ya?
 be-IMPFV
 ‘Why do you want to live (lit. be in different places) this way?’
 qu036

Examples with *-kara* on transitive verbs are given in (10.4).

- (10.4) a. *Tuna-ra*_A =*ekwana*_O *iye-kara* *a-ya*.
 3PL-ERG =1PL kill-DESID affect-IMPFV
 ‘They want to kill us.’ T1.10
- b. *Datse* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *ara-kara* *a-kware*.
 FRUST =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) eat-DESID affect-REM.PAST
*Kweji-da=kwita*_{CC}.
 smelly-ASF=RESTR
 ‘I wanted to eat it (a caiman) but couldn’t. It was too smelly.’
 lg053

Examples of the negative desiderative suffix *-karama* ‘DESID.NEG’ are given in (10.5).

- (10.5) a. *Jadya=tibu* *i-ke*_S *kwa-karama* *ju-chine*.
 thus=REASON 1SG-FM go-DESID.NEG be-REC.PAST
 ‘Because of this (because it is too far), I don’t want to go.’ pf008
- b. *Re-keja* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A [e-*kwe* e-*tsau*]_O
 here-LOC.GNL =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) 1SG-GEN NPF-bone
ijewe-karama *a-ya*.
 throw-DESID.NEG affect-IMPFV
 ‘I don’t want to die (lit. throw my bones) here.’ sd058

See also *nubi-kara ju-* ‘she wanted to go back inside’ in (T2.5), *kwa-karama ju-* ‘I didn’t want to go’ in (T1.23), *kueti-karama ju-* ‘they don’t want to cross’ in (T1.89), *k-iye-ti-kara ju-* ‘they were about to kill each other’ in (T1.111). In (10.6), *-karama* ‘DESID.NEG’ occurs on the transitive (but passivized) non-inflecting verb *jucha a-* ‘have sex with O’.

- (10.6) *Tume =pa =tu_S tawi-ya=ke_S jucha*
 then =REP =3SG(-FM) sleep-IMPV=LIG have.sex.with
a-ta-karama ju-kware.
 affect-PASS-DESID.NEG be-REM.PAST

‘When they (a woman and her husband) were sleeping (in the mosquito net), she refused to have sex (lit. she didn’t want to be fucked).’ T2.2

How does Cavineña express the idea of ‘want O to do V’, i.e., when the subject of V is different from the subject of ‘want’? The answer is “morphologically”. This is achieved by using a causative suffix in addition to the desiderative suffix. Literally, ‘want O to do V’ is expressed by ‘want to make O V’. As an illustration, consider (10.7a), with an intransitive verb, and (10.7b), with a transitive verb (an elicited example). Note that Cavineña has distinct causative markers for intransitive and transitive verbs (see §8.4).

- (10.7) a. *Datse e-na_O kwinana-sha-kara a-kware.*
 FRUST NPF-water emerge-CAUS-DESID affect-REM.PAST

‘I tried to find water (lit. I wanted to make water emerge (out of the ground)) but it did not work.’ sd025

- b. *E-ra_A =mi_O pude-mere-kara a-ya*
 1SG-ERG =2SG(-FM) paint-CAUS-DESID affect-IMPV

[e-kwe e-tare]_O.
 1SG-GEN NPF-house

‘I want you to paint my house (lit. I want to make you paint my house).’ n1.0409

10.1.2. *-metse* ‘FIRST’

The suffix *-metse* ‘FIRST’ is only found in very few examples from texts. It conveys the meaning that the subject participant performs the verb event before anybody else does: S ‘first’ is shown in (10.8), and A ‘first’ in (10.9a,b).

- (10.8) *Kwa-metse i-ke_S ju-wa [tumi jeteke].*
 go-FIRST 1SG-FM be-PERF motacú.palm LOOKING.FOR

‘I was the first one to go looking for motacú nuts (lit. motacú palms) (when the motacú nuts got ripe; then other people went

looking for motacú nuts too).’ n5.0941

- (10.9) a. *A-metse* = \emptyset _A *a-wa* *tee*_O.
 affect-FIRST (=1SG-ERG) affect-PERF garden
 ‘I cleared my garden and I was the first one to do it.’ di0156

- b. *Mi-ra*_A =*tu*_O *ba-metse* *a-wa* *awada*_O
 2SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) see-FIRST affect-PERF tapir
ka-reke-ti-ya=ju.
 REF-cross-REF-IMPFV=DS

‘You are the one who saw the tapir first when it crossed (the stream). (So why didn’t you shoot at it?)’ n5.0943

The suffix *-metse* can also refer to the fact that the verb event is performed over the O participant before it is performed over other O participants, as illustrated in (10.10) within a relative clause. Note that this is the only text example available.

- (10.10) [*Peya a-tsa-metse* *a-wa=ke*]_S *maju-wa*.
 other affect-COME(O)-FIRST affect-PERF=LIG die-PERF

‘(The enemies had attacked the two legendary brothers.) The one (brother) they had shot first was (already) dead. (The other one was still alive.)’ hm161

10.1.3. *-jakama* ‘CEASELESSLY’

The suffix *-jakama* is used to express the fact that an event/situation/activity keeps occurring or keeps being repeated.

Examples with *-jakama* on intransitive verbs are given in (10.11).

- (10.11) a. [*Dutya apuna*] =*tu*_S *kwa-jakama* *ju-kware*
 all night =3SG(-FM) go-CEASELESSLY be-REM.PAST
 [*meta babi=ra*]...
 at.night hunt=PURP.MOT

‘Every night he would keep going hunting (until he met an evil spirit).’ ve003

b. *Ejebuchajuatsu=dya =di =tuna_S tsaa-tsaa*
 INT:REASON=FOC =STRG.EMPH =3PL laugh-REDUP

ju-jakama ju-ya [riya_{CC}=ke ura]?
 be-CEASELESSLY be-IMPV here=LIG time

‘Why don’t they stop laughing now? (I don’t find it funny anymore.)’ di1014

Note that in (10.11b), *-jakama* is applied after the auxiliary-triggering reduplication process (§10.6) is applied. This triggers an auxiliary on which *-jakama* is attached.

Under the ‘bedroom’ of the house where I was living in Misión Cavinás, there was a space where a whole family of pigs was sleeping every night. While searching for an example with *tawi-jakama ju-* ‘sleep ceaselessly’, Emerenciano Sepa proposed (10.12).

(10.12) *Tu-wa=dya =tu_S kuchi=kwana_S*
 there-LOC=FOC =3SG(-FM) pig=PL

tawi-jakama ju-ya.
 sleep-CEASELESSLY be-IMPV

‘Right there (under the ‘bedroom’), the pigs always sleep.’ n5.0535

Cavineña people hardly ever fence in their domestic animals. One bad consequence of this is that the rice gardens are systematically damaged by the cattle. When I asked Emerenciano Sepa to give me an example with *ara-jakama a-* ‘eat ceaselessly’ (a transitive example), he proposed (10.13).

(10.13) *Ara-jakama =tu-ja =tu_O a-ya arusu_O*
 eat-CEASELESSLY =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) affect-IMPV rice

waka=kwana=ra_A.
 cow=PL=ERG

‘The cattle always eat the rice (in the gardens).’ n5.0536

Note that there is little doubt that *-jakama* ‘CEASELESSLY’ is historically related to the Aktionsart suffix *-jaka* ‘STOP’ (§7.1.2). In addition, it is likely that the syllable *ma* is the same as the one found in the desiderative negative suffix *-karama* (§10.1.1) and the *da*-adjectives negative suffix *-dama* ‘NEG’ (§11.2.4).

10.1.4. *-bawe* ‘ALWS’ and *-baekwa* ‘ALWS.NEG’

The suffix *-bawe* ‘ALWayS’ and its negative counterpart *-baekwa* ‘ALWayS NEGative’ convey the meanings ‘like to V’, ‘can V’, ‘always V’, ‘typically V’. These suffixes are quite transparently related to the extended intransitive non-inflecting verbs *bawe ju-* ‘know E’ and (its negative counterpart) *baekwa ju-* ‘not know E’ (see §5.3.6).

Intransitive non-inflecting verbs derived from intransitive inflecting verbs with *-bawe* are illustrated in (10.14) and with *-baekwa* in (10.15).

- (10.14) a. *E-kwatsa=ju* =*tu*_S *jae*_S *jara-bawe*.
NPF-mouth=LOC =3SG(-FM) fish lie-ALWS

‘Fish are (lit. lie) always at the (river) mouth.’ di0915

- b. [*Tume*_{CC}=*ke* *warasha=eke*] = \emptyset _S *kueti-bawe*.
there=LIG bridge=PERL (=1SG-FM) pass-ALWS

‘I would always pass through that bridge.’ wa071a

- (10.15) a. *Aama.* *Wekaka-baekwa* =*tuna*_S *ju-kware*.
not.exist be.at.dawn-ALWS.NEG =3PL be-REM.PAST

‘No. They (our Cavineña ancestors, when going hunting) would never wait for the sun to rise (lit. get awake at sunrise) (i.e., they would leave earlier).’ ct083

- b. *Eje=ke*_S =*ni* =*pa* *nawi-baekwa* *ju-ya*
INT=LIG =MAYBE =REP bathe-ALWS.NEG be-IMPFV

apudajudya...
early.morning

‘Maybe some would never bathe early morning.’ bn009

‘Always’ suffixes are very peculiar with respect to other auxiliary-triggering processes. First, the non-inflecting verbs derived from transitive inflecting verbs with these suffixes are S=O ambitransitive (i.e., either intransitive or transitive, with the O of the transitive corresponding to the S of the intransitive). Non-inflecting intransitive ‘always’ verbs have a single core argument S which corresponds to the original O (of the non-derived inflecting verb) and often — but not obligatorily — an oblique dative, which corresponds to the original A. This is illustrated with a minimal pair of (elicited) sentences in (10.16), with *-bawe*, and (10.17), with *-baekwa*; a-examples are intransitive, b-examples are transitive.

- (10.16) a. *Bina=ja* =*tu*_S *ami*_S *susu-bawe* *kuchi=ja*_{CC}=*ke*_S.
bat=DAT =3SG(-FM) blood suck-ALWS pig=DAT=LIG
‘Pigs very often have their blood (lit. the blood which is to the pigs is typically) sucked by bats.’ n5.0703
- b. *Bina=ra*_A =*tu*_O *ami*_O *susu-bawe* *kuchi=ja*_{CC}=*ke*_O.
bat=ERG =3SG(-FM) blood suck-ALWS pig=DAT=LIG
‘Bats really like to suck the blood of pigs (lit. the blood which is to the pigs).’ n5.0704
- (10.17) a. *E-kwe* [*jee*_{CC}=*ke* *nutsa*]_S *paru-wana-baekwa*
1SG-DAT here=LIG grass hoe-ADVERS-ALWS.NEG
paji-u-si=tibu.
hard-ASF-AUGM=REASON
‘This grass is never hoed by me because it is too hard.’ n5.0726
- b. *E-ra*_A [*jee*_{CC}=*ke* *nutsa*]_O *paru-wana-baekwa*
1SG-ERG here=LIG grass cut-ADVERS-ALWS.NEG
*paji-u-si*_{CC}=*tibu*.
hard-ASF-AUGM=REASON
‘I never hoe this grass because it is too hard.’ n5.0727

Additional examples are given in (10.18) (intransitive) and in (10.19) (transitive).

- (10.18) [*E-tare* *ebari=kwana*]_S =*tu*_S *kwejipa=ja*
NPF-house big=PL =3SG(-FM) hurricane=DAT
riwi-sha-bawe.
fall-CAUS-ALWS
‘A big house can be felled by a hurricane.’ di1240
- (10.19) *Tukwana=ra*_A =*yatse*_O [*babi=ra* *kwa-wa=ju*]
that.stuff.there=ERG =1DL hunt=PURP.MOT go-PERF=DS
karu-bawe.
bite-ALWS
‘Those things (ants and other types of insects) bite use when we go hunting.’ di2632

Second, the non-inflecting verbs derived with ‘always’ suffixes can only take the intransitive auxiliary *ju-* ‘be’, even if they are transitive. This is unexpected because transitive non-inflecting verbs derived by other auxiliary-triggering processes invariably take the transitive auxiliary *a-* ‘affect’. This is illustrated in (10.20) and (10.21).

(10.20) a. intransitive

[*Yawa nana-da_{CC}=ju*] *kwejipa=ja* *e-tare=kwana_S*
 ground young-ASF=DS hurricane=DAT NPF-house=PL
riwi-sha-bawe ***ju-wa.***
 fall-CAUS-ALWS be-PERF

‘When the world was young, the houses were always felled by hurricanes.’ n5.0708

b. transitive

[*Yawa nana-da_{CC}=ju*] *kwejipa=ra_A* *e-tare=kwana_O*
 ground young-ASF=DS hurricane=ERG NPF-house=PL
riwi-sha-bawe ***ju-wa.***
 fall-CAUS-ALWS be-PERF

‘When the world was young, hurricanes were always felling the houses.’ n5.0707

(10.21) transitive

Radio=eke =tuna-ra_A =∅_O *sare-bawe*
 radio=PERL =3PL-ERG (=1SG-FM) look.for-ALWS
ju-kware [*tuna_{CS} ujeje-da=kwana_{CC} ju-atsu*].
 be-REM.PAST 3PL sick-ASF=UNCERT be-SS

‘They (the Araona people) would always call me through the radio when they were sick or something.’ T1.110

The suffixes *-bawe* and *-baekwa* can only be attached to verbs (not to other word classes). They can be attached to the copula verb of a copula clause with an adjective in CC function (§11.1.1). This allows the adjective to be modified (albeit indirectly) by these suffixes. This is illustrated in (10.22).

- (10.22) a. ... *ujeje-da_{CC} ju-bawe ju-kware.*
 sick-ASF be-ALWS be-REM.PAST
 ‘(Before we believed in God) we were always sick.’ di2584
- b. [*Matuja akwa*]_S =*tu_S* *de-da_{CC} ju-bawe.*
 caiman chest =3SG(-FM) deep-ASF be-ALWS
 ‘The ditches (lit. caiman chest) are always deep.’ di1935

In (10.23), I show a complex example where a copula clause, containing the adjective *ujeje-* ‘sick’ as CC, is first marked by the auxiliary-triggering suffix *-jakama* ‘CEASELESSLY’ (§10.1.3) and secondly marked by *-bawe* ‘ALWS’.

- (10.23) [*E-kwita tsena-ki_{CC} ju-atsu=dya*] =*ekwana_S*
 NPF-body worm-WITH be-SS=FOC =1PL

ujeje-da_{CC} ju-jakama ju-bawe.
 sick-ASF be-CEASELESSLY be-ALWS
 ‘When we have worms in the body (lit. when the body is with worms), we are always sick.’ di1313

10.1.5. *-ki* / *-aki* ‘TYPICAL’

The suffixes *-ki* and *-aki* ‘TYPICAL’ only occur in a few examples in the available data. These suffixes are possibly related to the adjectivizer of nouns *-ki* ‘WITH’ (§11.3.1). They appear to have the meanings ‘be in the process of V-ing’, ‘can V’, ‘typically V’, ‘have the particular quality of V-ing’. No clear semantic differences could be found between *-ki* and *-aki*. In this study they will be treated as two variants of a single morpheme. They are briefly discussed here and require more investigation.

Examples showing *-ki* and *-aki* ‘TYPICAL’ are given in (10.24) (intransitive) and (10.25) (transitive).

- (10.24) a. *Jitsu-ki* =*tu_S* *misi=kwana_S.*
 grow.moldy-TYPICAL =3SG(-FM) tamale=PL
 ‘The tamale breads are growing moldy (and we cannot eat them any more).’ di1792
- b. *Biribiri_S* =*tu_S* *uwi-aki.*
 parakeet =3SG(-FM) whistle.at-TYPICAL

‘The parakeet whistles.’ di0325

- c. [*Tume*_{CC}=*ke* *kwati*]_S =*tu*_S *tiru-aki*.
 there=LIG firewood =3SG(-FM) burn-TYPICAL

‘That firewood burns very well.’ n5.0750

- (10.25) *Utsa-aki* [*mi-kwe* *tujuri*]_O *a-kwe!*
 wash-TYPICAL 2SG-GEN mosquito.net affect-IMP.SG
- Asika-da*_{CC} =*tu-ke*_{CS}.
 dirty-ASF =3SG-FM

‘You need to wash your mosquito net. It is dirty.’ n5.0764

Non-inflecting transitive verbs taking *-ki* have the original O occurring as a modifier proposed to the adjective, as shown in (10.26). Note that these have presumably undergone an antipassive derivation by auxiliary alternation with incorporation of the O (§8.3.2).

- (10.26) a. *Rapa*_S =*tu*_S [*kirika=kwana* *ara-ki*].
 termite =3SG(-FM) paper=PL eat-TYPICAL

‘The termites are eating papers.’ di2375

- b. [*Kweri*_S *pesitana-tsu*] =*tu*_S *ejuri*_S
 river flood-SS =3SG(-FM) flow
- [*tu-ja* *kasa=tsewe*] [*e-tare* *katsa-ki*]
 3SG-GEN strength=ASSOC NPF-house beat-TYPICAL
- ju-kware*.
 be(ANTIPASS)-REM.PAST

‘As the river was spreading, the flow was beating on the house with its strength.’ di2221

It is quite possible that, similarly to non-inflecting verbs derived from transitive verbs by ‘always’ suffixes *-bawe* and *-baekwa* (§10.1.4), non-inflecting verbs derived from transitive verbs by (at least) *-aki* are ambitransitive. This is suggested by the examples given in (10.27), which are intransitive. Note that the a-example displays S=O ambitransitivity while the b-example display S=A ambitransitivity.

(10.27) a. S=O

Tu-ja =*tu*_S *be-aki* *chariki=kwana*_S
 3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) bring-TYPICAL salted.meat=PL

katyati=ishu.
 sell=PURP.GLN

‘Salted meat is always brought (here) by him to sell.’ n5.0783

b. S=A

Bei=ju =*tu*_S *jae*_S *ara-aki.*
 lake=LOC =3SG(-FM) fish eat-TYPICAL

‘In the lake, the fish bite (lit. eat) quite a lot (so we can catch many of them).’ di0277

Some kinship relations are encoded by idiomatic expressions involving non-inflecting verbs derived by *-ki* (not *-aki*) such as father and mother, as in (10.28).

(10.28) a. [*Ekwana ba-ki=kwana=ke*]_O =*tu-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A
 1PL see-TYPICAL=PL=LIG =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG)

muiba-ya.
 worship-IMPFV

‘We respect our fathers (lit. the ones who are seeing/caring for us).’ di2021

b. ... [*i-ke susu-ki=ke*]_{CC} *baji-dac*_S *ju-kware.*
 1SG-FM suck-TYPICAL=LIG scared-ASF be-REM.PAST

‘... my mother (lit. the one who (made me) suck) got scared.’
 ht023

10.2. Preverbal modifiers

Preverbal modifiers consist of four members that go into slot B of the predicate. They are repeated in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1. Preverbal modifiers

<i>nere</i>	‘VIGOROUSLY’
<i>yume</i>	‘IMMEDIATELY’
<i>riya</i>	‘STARTLING’
<i>pana</i>	‘PROPERLY’

10.2.1. *nere* ‘VIGOROUSLY’

The marker *nere* expresses the fact that the verb event occurs in a very hard, fast, sudden, vigorous, brusque and unexpected fashion. Examples with intransitive verbs are given in (10.29):²

- (10.29) a. *Tudya* =*tu*_S *amena* [*nere* *ani-tsuru*]
 then =3SG(-FM) BM VIGOROUSLY sit-GO.UP
ju-kware.
 be-REM.PAST

‘(I was about to grab the capuchin monkey I had shot but) then, it suddenly sat up (and grabbed my leg).’ aj022

- b. *Tume* =*tu*_S *ibas* *kawaiti-ya=tibu*
 then =3SG(-FM) jaguar get.angry-IMPV=REASON
 [*nere* *tsajaja*] *ju-kware...*
 VIGOROUSLY run be-REM.PAST

‘The jaguar was very mad (at the tortoise) so he suddenly ran after it (trying to catch it).’ di2092

See also *nere kwinana ju-* ‘suddenly emerged’ in (10.32b).
 Examples with transitive verbs are given in (10.30).

- (10.30) a. [*Nere* *shaka*] *a-kware* *datse.*
 VIGOROUSLY pull.shaking affect-REM.PAST FRUST

‘(The grandfather grabbed the fishing line that was unwinding away and) pulled it, shaking it vigorously (but couldn’t get it to move).’ ps019

² Note that the auxiliary always forms a separate constituent from the non-inflecting verb (see discussion of this in §4.6.1 and §5.4). As a result, when a non-inflecting verb consists of more than one phonological word, the brackets only include the words that constitute the non-inflecting constituent, not the auxiliary.

- b. *Tudya* = \emptyset_A [*nere* *tyana-nati*]
 then (=1SG-ERG) VIGOROUSLY cap-GO.TEMP
a-kware.
 affect-REM.PAST

‘(I reached the monkey that was running away, struck it with my machete and) then grabbed (lit. capped) it with all my strength.’
 ji015

10.2.2. *yume* ‘IMMEDIATELY’

The marker *yume* expresses the fact that the verb event occurs immediately, as an instantaneous reaction/reflex to some other event.

Yume is illustrated with intransitive verbs in (10.31).

- (10.31) a. [*Jadya* *a-wa=ju*] =*pa* =*tuna_S* *amena*
 thus affect-PERF=DS =REP =3PL BM
 [*yume* *tsajaja-bare=dya*] *ju-kware.*
 IMMEDIATELY run-DISTR=FOC be-REM.PAST

‘(The man returned to his village and informed everybody that their enemies had killed a Cavineña woman.) As soon as they heard the news, the people got mad (lit. suddenly ran in every direction).’ vz043

- b. [*Yume* *ka-bajeje-ti=dya*] *ekana_S* *ju-kware.*
 IMMEDIATELY REF-prepare-REF=FOC 3PL be-REM.PAST

‘(2 sentences after (10.31a):) They immediately got ready (lit. prepared themselves) (to launch a revenge expedition against the enemies).’ vz046

Examples with transitive verbs are given in (10.32).

- (10.32) a. *Amena* *tuekedy* *neti-wa=ju* = \emptyset_A
 BM then stand-PERF=DS (=1SG-ERG)
 [*yume* *a-u=dya*]...
 IMMEDIATELY affect-EPEN=FOC

‘As soon as it (a peccary inside a hole) stopped moving (lit. stood), I shot it.’ wa037

- b. [**Riya** *ba-diru*] =*ni* =*tu*_A
 STARTLING see-GO.PERM =MAYBE =3SG(-ERG)
 a-kware *chapa=ra*_A *waburasa=kwana*_O.
 affect-REM.PAST dog=ERG peccary=PL

‘(I heard a tumult of barking but I could not figure out what was happening.) It seems like the dogs had come across a group of peccaries (which startled them).’ wa013

10.2.4. *pana* ‘PROPERLY’

The marker *pana* is semantically quite different from the previous three. It manifests the fact that an event is performed with a lot of care, attention, precision and thoroughness; recall that *nere*, *yume* and *riya* all express sudden events. In all the examples available but one (see (10.35)) *pana* occurs with transitive verbs, as shown in (10.34).

- (10.34) a. *Tachi-kware* *e-ra*_A. [**Pana** *tachi*] = \emptyset _A
 block-REM.PAST 1SG-ERG PROPERLY block (=1SG-ERG)
 a-u.
 affect-EPEN

‘I blocked it (the hole where the peccary was hiding so he wouldn’t escape). I blocked it properly (with lianas).’ wa025

- b. [**Pana** *peta*] *ne-a-kwe!*
 PROPERLY look.at IMP.NSG-affect-IMP.NSG

‘(Our Cavineña ancestors finally found the footsteps of their enemies. Before deciding to prepare an ambush someone said:) “you (pl) look at it (the path) carefully!”’ vz076

- c. *Amena* [**pana** *iyē*] *a-kware* *amena*.
 BM PROPERLY kill affect-REM.PAST BM

‘(I took the monkey by the tail, hit it with a stick and finally) managed to kill him (lit. I killed him properly).’ aj036

The marker *pana* is also found with *baka*- ‘hear’, as *pana baka a-* ‘hear carefully’, *adeba-* ‘know’, as *pana adeba a-* ‘know very well’, and *tirya-* ‘finish’, as *pana tirya a-* ‘finish completely’.

The only example found where *pana* modifies an intransitive verb is (10.35) (from the Camp and Liccardi's (1989) dictionary).

- (10.35) [**Pana** *jekutana*] = \emptyset _S *ju-chine*.
 PROPERLY get.scared (=1SG-FM) be-REC.PAST
 'I got very scared (by a partridge; on my way back).' di1707

10.2.5. Miscellaneous

Auxiliary-triggering preposed markers do not trigger an additional auxiliary when they are applied to (basic or derived) non-inflecting verbs.

In (10.36), the non-inflecting verb *katewa ju-* 'hide' takes *pana* 'PROPERLY', giving *pana katewa ju-* 'hide very well' (with no additional auxiliary).

- (10.36) [**Pana** *katewa*] = tu _S *ju-chine*. *Ni=ai=ja*
 PROPERLY hide =3SG(-FM) be-REC.PAST NEG=INT=DAT
 *dadi-taki*_{CC}.
 find-ABIL
 'He hid very well. Nobody can find him.' n5.0807

In (10.37), the transitive verb *peta-* 'look at O' first takes the preverbal modifier *pana* 'PROPERLY', giving *pana peta a-* 'look at O properly', and then takes the desiderative suffix *-kara* 'DESID', resulting in *pana peta a-kara a-* 'wanting to look at O properly' with a second auxiliary.

- (10.37) [*Tu-ra*_A [**pana** *peta*] *a-kara* *a-ya=ju*]
 3SG-ERG PROPERLY look.at affect-DESID affect-IMPFV=DS
 =*pa* = tu _S *a-puta-kware*.
 =REP =3SG(-FM) disappear-REM.PAST
 'When he (Chati) wanted to look at him (an imp) properly, he (the imp) disappeared.' du024

The markers *yume* 'IMMEDIATELY' and *riya* 'STARTLING' are likely to be historically related to the pointing demonstratives *riya* 'here' and *yume* 'over there' (see §15.8). I have no idea of the origin of *nere* 'VIGOROUSLY' and *pana* 'PROPERLY'.

10.3. Discontinuous verb modifiers

The discontinuous markers *jadya ...-e* ‘MANner’ and its interrogative counterpart *ejebucha ...-e* ‘MANner.INTerrogative’ occupy slots B and I of the predicate.

The meaning of the marker *jadya ...-e* is to refer back (i.e., anaphorically) to an event that has been performed in a particular, unusual or non-conventional way. As for the interrogative counterpart, it is used to question the particular way in which an event has occurred.

Examples of *jadya ...-e* with intransitive verbs are given in (10.38).

- (10.38) a. [**Jadya ani-e**] =*tu*_S [ekwana-ja e-baba=*ekana*]_S
 MAN sit-MAN =3SG(-FM) 1PL-GEN 1-grandfather=PL

ju-kware [tume_{CC}=ke yawa=*ju*].
 be-REM.PAST there=LIG ground=LOC

‘This is the particular way our grandfathers used to live (lit. sit) in that land (constantly at war with Ese Ejja people, not in peace as Cavineñas live nowadays).’ hs041

- b. *Ekwana*_S =*ekwana*_S [**jadya ka-tya-ti-e**=*ama=dya*]
 1PL =1PL MAN REF-give-REF-MAN=NEG=FOC

ju-ya...
 be-IMPFV

‘We (Cavineñas) don’t give presents to each other that way (bending forward, as the Pacahuaras do).’ pa093

- c. [**Jadya maju-jeri-e**] = \emptyset _S *ju-kware*
 MAN die-ALMOST-MAN (=1SG-FM) be-REM.PAST

[*manga=eke pakaka-tsu*].
 mango=PERL fall-SS

‘This is the particular way I almost died, falling from a mango tree.’ mg034

See also *jadya ani-e ne-ju-ume* (MAN sit-MAN IMP.NSG.NEG-be-IMP.NSG.NEG) ‘don’t live like that (getting angry at each other)!’ in (T1.66).

Examples of *jadya ...-e* ‘MAN’ with transitive verbs are at (10.39).

- (10.39) a. [**Jadya** *iyē-e*] =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *a-kware*.
 thus kill-MAN =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) affect-REM.PAST
 ‘This is how I killed it (a capuchin monkey) (I killed it with my fist, not with a gun, as one normally does).’ aj042
- b. [**Jadya** *situne-e*] =*tuna-ra*_A = \emptyset _O
 MAN make.friend-MAN =3PL-ERG (=1SG-ERG)
a-kware=dya =*di* *i-ke*_O.
 affect-REM.PAST=FOC =STRG.EMPH 1SG-FM
 ‘This is how they (the Araona people) made me their friend. (I showed them how to cure the flu).’ T1.109
- c. [**Jadya** *ba-ti-e*] =*tuna*_O *a-kware*
 thus see-GO.TEMP-MAN =3PL affect-REM.PAST
 [*tuna*_S *k-iyē-ti-kara* *ju-wa=ju*].
 3PL REF-kill-REF-DESID be-PERF=DS
 ‘This is how I went to see them (the Araona people) when they were about to kill each other.’ T1.111

Examples in (10.40) illustrate the interrogative manner *ejebucha ...e* ‘MAN.INT’.

- (10.40) a. *Pero* [**ejebucha** *kwa-e*] =*jatsu* =*mi*_S
 but MAN.INT go-MAN.INT =EXACTLY =2SG(-FM)
e-ju-u? *E-na*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *ari-da*_{CC}.
 POT-be-POT NPF-water =3SG(-FM) big-ASF
 ‘But how exactly are you going to go? The water is (very) high (in the paths) (because of the rainy season).’ mj026
- b. [**Ejebucha** *iyē-e*] =*ri-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *tume*
 MAN.INT kill-MAN.INT =3PROX.SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) there
a-ya?”
 affect-IMPV
 ‘How am I going to kill it there (a giant anteater, hidden inside tremendously thick vegetation)?’ ba058

There is a very strong tendency for verbs marked by *jadya* ...-e to occur in sentence initial position, as can be seen in most of the examples provided so far. This is not an absolute requirement, however, as shown by (10.38b) and (10.41) below, where the S independent pronoun *ekwana* ‘1PL’ comes first.

- (10.41) *Ekwana*_S =*ekwana*_S [*jadya ani-e=ama*] *ju-ya*.
 1PL =1PL MAN sit-MAN=NEG be-IMPFV
 ‘We (Cavineña people) do not live (lit. sit) like this (i.e., fighting each other).’ T1.57

Another observed tendency is for the marker *jadya* ...-e ‘MAN’ to be used towards the end of narratives, as a sort of anaphoric conclusion/recapitulation formula. See for example (T1.111), given in (10.40c) above. The reason for this is that any story is about an event that happened in a particular way (and is thus worth a story).

We should note that the *jadya* and *ejebucha* parts of manner markers also exist independently, as *jadya* ‘thus’ and *ejebucha* ‘how’ (see §19.4.2). As such, they do not form a constituent with the verb: they can occur anywhere in the clause, and they do not require an -e suffix on the verb, as can be seen in examples in (10.42).

- (10.42) a. *Jadya* =*yatse*_S *biaje=ju ka-bajeje-ti-ni-chine*.
 thus =1DL trip=LOC REF-prepare-REF-RANDOM-REC.PAST
 ‘This is how (on the floor) we (dl) slept (lit. prepared ourselves) during the trip.’ ft019
- b. *Ani-ya jadya wija-sha=ishu*.
 sit-IMPFV thus sprout-CAUS=PURP.GNL
 ‘(Corn seeds) would stay (lit. sit) this way (i.e., in water from 1 to 3 days) in order to make them sprout (while preparing corn beer).’ ci075

The meaning of these sentences is different from the meaning of sentences where *jadya* or *ejebucha* are parts of manner markers. In (10.42) ‘the ways’ the actions are performed have nothing particular and unusual: these sentences describe the normal ways for Cavineñas to ‘sleep during a trip’ or ‘prepare corn beer’.

The auxiliary-triggering marker *jadya/ejebucha* ...-e does not appear to trigger another auxiliary when applied on a (basic or derived) non-inflecting verb. It is found on one occasion on the transitive non-inflecting verb *kwatsabiji a-* ‘tell story to O’ detransitivized by the antipassive derivation (by auxiliary alter-

nation) as *kwatsabiji ju-* ‘chat’. The result is *ejebucha kwatsabiji ju-e ju-* ‘how to chat’ (pa086). Note that the original example is not fully reproduced here because of additional complexities.

10.4. Postverbal modifiers

There is a set of quantifier markers based on the numerals for ‘one’, ‘two’ and ‘three’ (see §4.4.5 and §13.5 for a discussion of numerals). These are used to specify the number of times an event is performed: *pidya* ‘ONCE’, based on *peadya* ‘one’ (with idiosyncratic phonological change *ea* → *i*), *beta* ‘TWICE’, based on *beta* ‘two’, and *kimisha* ‘THREE.TIMES’, based on *kimisha* ‘three’.³ It is unclear whether there are auxiliary-triggering quantifier markers corresponding to higher numbers such as *pushi* ‘four’, *pishika* ‘five’, etc.; this needs to be investigated.

Quantifier markers occupy slot J of the predicate. They form independent phonological words. If a quantifier marker is used with a monosyllabic verb stem, the monosyllabic verb cliticizes on the quantifier (as a proclitic), in order to comply with the requirement that an independent phonological word must have a minimum of two syllables (see §3.1.2). This can be seen with =*pidya* ‘ONCE’ modifying *kwa-* ‘go’ in (10.43a) and *kimisha* ‘THREE.TIMES’ modifying *ju-* ‘be’ in (10.43c).

Quantifier markers are illustrated with intransitive verbs in (10.43).

- (10.43) a. [*Kwa=pidya*] = \emptyset _S *ju-kware* *Tumichucua=ju.*
 go=ONCE (=1SG-FM) be-REM.PAST Tumichucua=LOC
 ‘I’ve been once in Tumichucua.’ di2235
- b. [*Kakemiti beta*] *ju-kware.*
 get.married TWICE be-REM.PAST
 ‘She got married twice.’ mu049
- c. *Tajita*_S =*tu*_S *ju=kimisha* *ju-ya.*
 lightning =3SG(-FM) be=THREE.TIMES be-IMPV
 ‘There were three bolts of lightning (lit. the lightning was three times).’ n2.0348

³ Note that the numerals for ‘one’, ‘two’ and ‘three’ have also given rise to a set of postpositions: *pidya* ‘ONE.WHOLE’, *beta* ‘TWO.WHOLE’ and *kimisha* ‘THREE.WHOLE’ (see §14.3.2).

Example with quantifier markers on transitive verbs are given in (10.44).

- (10.44) a. [*Katsa pidya*] =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *a-ya*.
 beat ONCE =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) affect-IMPV
 ‘I’m going to beat him once.’ n2.0043
- b. [*Kemi beta*] =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *a-kware*
 take.out TWICE =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) affect-REM.PAST
*nanata*_O.
 electric.eel
 ‘I caught an electric eel twice (in my life) (and each time it struck me with its electric power).’ nn019
- c. *Ejene-ya=ama*. *Amena jadi*_{CC}=*ke=dya* =*tuna-ra*_A
 believe-IMPV=NEG BM thus=LIG=FOC =3PL-ERG
 = \emptyset _O [*bakadura kimisha=kwana*]
 (=1SG-FM) ask THREE.TIMES=UNCERT
a-kware.
 affect-REM.PAST
 ‘They (my sisters-in-law) wouldn’t believe me (when I told them that I had killed a deer by myself). So they repeated the question at least three times.’ sl069

Auxiliary-triggering quantifier markers are not found applied to non-inflecting verbs and it is not known if they require an additional auxiliary.

10.5. Auxiliary-triggering \emptyset -marker

In the processes described above, the use of an auxiliary is always triggered by a specific overt marker. There is, however, a peculiar construction whereby an auxiliary is required without any specific marking. This phenomenon is not fully understood yet and, as a result, the following discussion remains tentative and provisional.

The \emptyset -marked auxiliary-triggering process can be illustrated with (10.45), showing the intransitive inflecting verb *kastere-* ‘become tired’ in (a.) and its corresponding \emptyset -marked intransitive non-inflecting verb *kastere ju-* ‘become tired’ in (b.).

- (10.45) a. *Chapa=kwanas* =*shana* ***kastere-wa***.
 dog=PL =PITY become.tired-PERF
 ‘My poor dogs were (very) tired (having fought so much with the anteater).’ ba146
- b. [*Yanakana kastere*] =*shana ekwitas* *ju-kware*.
 in.vain become.tired =PITY person be-REM.PAST
 ‘The poor man got tired (preparing for his wedding) for nothing (because his wife decided to marry someone else).’ mu048

The pair of examples in (10.46) shows the same Ø-marked auxiliary-triggering process with the transitive inflecting verb *tinu*- ‘pull O’ in (a.) and its transitive non-inflecting verb equivalent *tinu a-* ‘pull O’ in (b.).

- (10.46) a. ... *jae=ra_A* ***tinu-kware*** *amena* [*wika ari-da_{CC}=ke*]_O...
 fish=ERG pull-REM.PAST BM hook big-ASF=LIG
 ‘... the fish pulled the big hook...’ ps018
- b. *Tume* =*tu-ke_O* =*ekwana_A* [*ebarukwe=keja tinu*]
 then =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) top=LOC.GNL pull
a-ya [*ai shasha*]_O.
 affect-IMPV INT flower
 ‘We will pull whatever flower (tied to a liana) towards the top (of the forest canopy) (to distract the Cavineñas in order to attack them).’ hm109

In many cases, although not always, the Ø-marked non-inflecting verb has ‘incorporated’ an element (into slot B of the predicate), such as the independent particle *yanakana* ‘in vain’ in (10.45b) and the general locative postpositional phrase *ebarukwe=keja* ‘towards the top’ in (10.46b). This is shown by the square brackets in the examples. The main evidence that the element and the Ø-marked verb form a constituent is second position clitic placement. When the element and the non-inflecting verb come first in the sentence, second position clitics are attached to the last word of the sequence, as with =*shana* ‘PITY’ in (10.45b) and with =*tu* ‘3SG’ in (10.47).

- (10.47) [*Yanakana kemi*] =*tu_A* *a-kware*
 in.vain buy =3SG(-ERG) affect-REM.PAST

[*una=ishu_{CC}=kwana=ke_O ara=ishu_{CC}=kwana=ke_O jadya*].
 clothes=PURP.GNL=PL=LIG eat=PURP.GNL=PL=LIG and

‘He (the man who was supposed to get married) bought clothes and provisions for nothing (since the wedding did not take place).’
 mu047

One could argue that *yanakana* ‘in vain’ and *ebarukwe=keja* ‘towards the top’ that trigger the use of an auxiliary; note that *yanakana* is found in both (10.45b) and (10.47). This does not appear to be a satisfactory analysis, however, because *yanakana* ‘in vain’ and *ebarukwe=keja* have an existence on their own with the same meanings. In (10.48), for example, there is no non-inflecting verb and *yanakana* is clearly not ‘incorporated’.

(10.48) **Yanakana** =*tu-ke_O* =*mi_A* *jadya* *baka-kware*.
 in.vain =3SG-FM =2SG(-ERG) thus hear-REM.PAST

‘What you heard was a lie (lit. you heard it in vain).’ n1.0455

The exact same pattern can be observed with other types of ‘incorporated’ elements. For example, the independent particle *jadya* ‘thus’ can be ‘incorporated’ through a \emptyset -marked auxiliary-triggering process, as in (10.49a), with an intransitive verb, and (10.49b), with a transitive verb. Or it can be used independently, as in (10.42a,b) (repeated).

(10.49) a. *Amena* = \emptyset_S [*jadya* ***ju-diru=dya***] *ju-kware*.
 BM (=1SG-FM) thus be-GO.PERM=FOC be-REM.PAST

‘So I arrived.’ sd112

b. *Amena* [*jadya* ***ba-butya-nuka***] [*e-kwe e-tsuku*]_O
 BM thus see-GO.DOWN-REITR 1SG-GEN NPF-hip

a-chine.
 affect-REC.PAST

‘I looked down at my hip again (where I thought the viper had bitten me).’ ce038

(10.42) a. **Jadya** =*yatse_S* *biaje=ju* *ka-bajeje-ti-ni-chine*.
 thus =1DL trip=LOC REF-prepare-REF-RANDOM-REC.PAST

‘This is how (on the floor) we (dl) slept (lit. prepared ourselves) during the trip.’ ft019

- b. *Ani-ya jadya wija-sha=ishu.*
 sit-IMPV thus sprout-CAUS=PURP.GNL

‘(Corn seeds) would stay (lit. sit) this way (i.e., in water from 1 to 3 days) in order to make them sprout (while preparing corn beer).’ ci075

Similarly, the independent particle *yudijidya* ‘again’ is ‘incorporated’ in (10.50a) and used independently in (10.50b).

- (10.50) a. ... [*yudijidya tsura*] =*ekwana*_S *ju-nuka-kware.*
 again go.up =1PL be-REITR-REM.PAST

‘... so we (in the plane) went up again (in another attempt to locate our community in that terrible storm).’ av020

- b. *Iyakwa =mi-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A *duju-nuka-ya yudijidya.*
 now =2SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) take-REITR-IMPV again

‘Now we (pl) will take you again.’ di0036

An example showing an associative postpositional phrase ‘incorporated’ is shown in (10.51).

- (10.51) *Iyakwa =tu*_S [*avioneta=tsewe tsuru*] *ju-ya*
 now =3SG(-FM) light.plane=ASSOC meet be-IMPV
*turu*_S.
 bull

‘(The bull didn’t want to leave the airstrip. Someone said:) “the bull is going to bump into (lit. meet with) the plane.”’ at013

In (10.52), a ‘similarity’ adverbial clause (§19.4) is ‘incorporated’ within a Ø-marked non-inflecting verb.

- (10.52) [*E-nacc=bucha iji*] =*tu*_A *pa-a!*
 NPF-water=SIMLR drink =3SG(-ERG) JUSS-affect

‘He has to drink it with water (lit. as if it was water)!’ T1.107

In all the preceding examples, the ‘incorporated’ element precedes the verb (in slot B). But in some other examples, the ‘incorporated’ element follows the verb (in slot J). In (10.53) the adjective *ji-* ‘good’ is ‘incorporated’ and postposed to a Ø-marked non-inflecting verb.

- (10.53) [Tu-ke_S tawi-ya=tibu] =tu-ra_A =∅_O
 3SG-FM sleep-IMPV=REASON =3SG-ERG (=1SG-ERG)

[**baka** ji-dama] a-wa.
 hear good-NEG affect-PERF

‘He was sleeping so he didn’t hear me properly (lit. he heard me not well).’ ij013

In (10.54), we have postposed incorporated independent particles *jadya* ‘thus’ (also found preposed; see examples in (10.49)) and *amena* ‘BM’.

- (10.54) a. [Wikamutya=ra [**kwa-u** jadya] ju-atsu] =tu_A
 fishing=PURP.MOT go-EPEN thus be-SS =3SG(-ERG)

a-ti-kware juta_O.
 affect-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST leporinus

‘Going fishing, he caught a leporinus (fish).’ ap010

- b. [[**K-utsa-ti** amena] ju-atsu] =tu-ke_O =yatse_A
 REF-wash-REF BM be-SS =3SG-FM =1DL(-ERG)

[jutu=ishu_{CC}=kwana=ke utsa-wa=ke]_O
 dress=PURP.GNL=PL=LIG wash-PERF=LIG

petsa-chine rara=ishu.
 dry.in.sun-REC.PAST dry=PURP.GNL

‘After we (dl) had bathed (lit. washed ourselves), we put the clothes (lit. what is for dressing) that we had washed in the sun so that they would dry.’ ft035

What is more interesting, however, is that apparently there actually need not be any ‘incorporated’ argument. This is at least the case with intransitive verbs. Two examples are at (10.55).

- (10.55) a. Ne-diru-ra, Mamita!
 HORT.NSG-go-HORT.NSG mommy

Wana-diru ne-ju-ra!
 escape-GO.PERM HORT.NSG-be-HORT.NSG

‘Let us (pl) go, Mommy! Let us (pl) escape!’ cv042

- b. **Diru**=piisi ju-kwe, Baba-chi!
 go=JUST be-IMP.SG grandfather-AFFTN

‘(Stop saying that you are leaving and) just go, Grandpa!’ n3.0504

Transitive verbs always ‘incorporate’ an element when a Ø-marked auxiliary-triggering process is applied. Either they ‘incorporate’ a peripheral element and remain transitive, as in (10.46b), (10.47) and (10.49b), or they ‘incorporate’ their object and become intransitive, as in the various examples given under (10.56).

- (10.56) a. ... [Paraíso=*ju ka-reke-ti-tsu*] [*jae ara*]
 Paraíso=LOC REF-cross-REF-SS fish eat

ju-kware.

be(ANTIPASS)-REM.PAST

‘... we crossed (the river) at Paraíso and stopped to eat the fish ((lit. to fish-eat).’ co009

- b. [*Ai=kwana peta-aje*] =*ekwana_S*
 INT=PL look.at-GO.DISTR =1PL

ju-aje-chine.

be(ANTIPASS)-GO.DISTR-REC.PAST

‘We walked along the shops watching things.’ br048

- c. *I-ke_S amena* [[*beta ebakwapiji achacha_{CC}=ke*] *mapa*]
 1SG-FM BM two small.child small=LIG shoulder

ju-kware.

be(ANTIPASS)-REM.PAST

‘I was carrying two (of my) small childrens on my shoulders.’ ga023

- d. [[[*Brasil=ju kwa=ishu_{CC}=ke*] *pasaje*] *tsujetya*] =*ni*
 Brazil=LOC go=PURP.GNL=LIG ticket pay =MAYBE

ju-chine.

be(ANTIPASS)-REC.PAST

‘(We waited a long time for the missionary ladies to come back.) Maybe they were purchasing (lit. paying) tickets for the trip (lit. to go) to Brazil.’ br015

The first argument that suggests that the predicate is intransitive is that the A has become an S. In (10.56c) for example, where the subject is expressed, it is

the absolutive form *i-ke* that is used, and not the ergative form *e-ra*. The second argument is that the auxiliary is the intransitive *ju-* ‘be’, not the transitive *a-* ‘affect’.

Arguing that the object is ‘incorporated’ is not as straightforward. Note that the O is still unmarked for case (similarly to the O of a transitive predicate). Also note that the O can be a full NP with a head and with regular modifiers, such as plural =*kwana* in (10.56b), quantifier *beta* ‘two’ and (copula) relative clause (with omitted copula) *achacha=ke* ‘small’ in (10.56c), and relative clause *brasil=ju kwa=ishu=ke* ‘to go to Brazil’ in (10.56d). The evidence for ‘incorporation’ is that the original O and the verb form a constituent, exactly like the ‘incorporated’ particles or postpositional phrases discussed above. Note that a ‘regular’ O in a transitive clause has no ordering restrictions and never forms a constituent with the predicate. It is obligatorily placed immediately before the verb. If the O+V sequence is first in the sentence, second position particles are attached to the V (not the O), as with =*ekwana* ‘1PL’ in (10.56b) and =*ni* ‘MAYBE’ in (10.56d). It is not possible to have the original O at any other position in the clause. This can be seen in (10.57) with examples elicited from Francisco Vaca.

- (10.57) a. *I-ke_s* [*jae sare-aje*] *ju-kware*
 1SG-FM fish look.for-GO.DISTR be(ANTIPASS)-REM.PAST
 ‘I was searching for a fish (to shoot with my rifle).’ n2.0392
- b. [*Jae sare-aje*] *i-ke_s* *ju-kware.*
 fish look.for-GO.DISTR 1SG-FM be(ANTIPASS)-REM.PAST
 n2.0393
- c. **I-ke_s* *sare-aje* *ju-kware* *jae.*
 1SG-FM look.for-GO.DISTR be(ANTIPASS)-REM.PAST fish
 n2.0393
- d. **Ike_s* *sare-aje* *jae* *ju-kware.*
 1SG-FM look.for-GO.DISTR fish be(ANTIPASS)-REM.PAST
 n2.0394

The detransitivization process that accompanies the Ø-marked auxiliary-triggering process with transitive verbs is surprising. The most plausible explanation that I can give at the present time involves the antipassive derivation of non-inflecting transitive verbs by exchanging auxiliaries (see §8.3.2). This would be a two-step process. The transitive inflecting verb is first turned into a transitive non-inflecting verb (by Ø-marking), and secondly turned

transitive non-inflecting verb (by Ø-marking), and secondly turned into an intransitive non-inflecting verb by exchanging the transitive auxiliary for the intransitive auxiliary. For some reason, the output of the first step, i.e., a Ø-derived transitive non-inflecting verb, never shows up.

The function (as well as the productivity) of the Ø-marked auxiliary-triggering process is quite unclear and requires additional work. Speakers do not see semantic differences between a verb with or without the auxiliary-triggering Ø-marker. It might have discourse or stylistic functions. Note also that auxiliary-triggering Ø-marking is not very commonly used in texts and might not be productive.

Auxiliary-triggering Ø-marker is not found applied on non-inflecting verbs and it is not known whether this would or would not require an additional auxiliary.

10.6. Full reduplication

Full reduplication with distributive meaning applies to both intransitive and transitive (including ditransitive) verbs and to both inflecting and non-inflecting verbs.⁴ This process encodes multiple reiterations of the verb event within short and regular intervals, with exactly the same participants and in exactly the same spatiotemporal settings (location and time).

Full reduplication of intransitive verbs is shown in (10.58).

- (10.58) a. *Tudya keke-keke ju-kware.*
 then shout-REDUP be-REM.PAST
 ‘So he (the drunk young man) was yelling and yelling.’ ni024
- b. *Tsajaja-tsajaja =ekwana_S ju-kware...*
 run-REDUP =1PL be-REM.PAST
 ‘We (hurriedly) ran back and forth (to put all our luggage on the bus).’ ga019

Full reduplication of transitive verbs is illustrated in (10.59).

- (10.59) a. *Misionero=kwana=ra_A =ekwana_O iwara-iwara*
 missionary=PL=ERG =1PL call-REDUP

⁴ Recall that Cavineña has a distinct process of full reduplication which only applies to inflecting transitive verb roots and has an antipassive effect (§5.5 and §8.3.1).

a-kware
affect-REM.PAST

‘The missionaries kept calling us.’ n2.0155

- b. *Katemaru=ra_A =pa a-wa=ama.*
Katemaru=ERG =REP affect-PERF=NEG

Ikwaya-ikwaya=jutidya =pa =tu_A a-wa.
miss-REDUP=DISEMPH =REP =3SG(-ERG) affect-PERF

‘Katemaru did not kill any (peccary). He just kept missing them.’
tu017

Non-inflectional suffixes can be reduplicated together with the verb root. Examples showing this phenomenon with intransitive verbs are shown in (10.60a), involving the Aktionsart suffix *-baka* ‘SHORT.TIME’, and (10.60b), involving with Aktionsart suffix *-chinepe* ‘ALL.DAY’.

- (10.60) a. [[*Neti-baka-neti-baka*] *ju-ya majaka*]
stop-SHORT.TIME-REDUP-REDUP be-IMPV EVN.THOUGH

ekatse_s diru-chine.
3DL go-REC.PAST

‘Even though they (dl) (the pair of oxen pulling our cart) kept stopping (lit. standing) for short periods all along the way, at least they (dl) kept going.’ ka295

- b. *E-sewena-tere_{CC} =tuna_{CS} amena*
RES-become.black-COMP =3PL BM

[*ijeti=ju ju-chinepe-ju-chinepe ju-ya=tibu*].
sun=LOC be-ALL.DAY-REDUP-REDUP be-IMPV=REASON

‘They have become very dark because they work (lit. are) always all day long in the sun.’ di1210

Examples showing a suffix reduplicated together with a transitive verb root are given in (10.61a), involving the causative suffix *-sha*, and (10.61b), involving the Aktionsart *-jeri* ‘ALMOST’.

- (10.61) a. [*Jina-sha-jina-sha=kwana a-atsu*] =tuna_A
cook-CAUS-REDUP-REDUP=UNCERT affect-SS =3PL(-ERG)

butya-ya.
lower-IMPFV

‘They (our Cavineña grandmothers, when preparing manioc beer) would cook it (the corn) (lit. let it cook) a little and then put it (the cooking pot) down from the fire.’ ci192

- b. *Mada*_O =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *ba-tsa-kware* *amena*
agouti =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) see-COME(O)-REM.PAST BM
e-kastere [*buka=ra*_A *ina-jeri-ina-jeri*
RES-become.tired tayra=ERG grab-ALMOST-REDUP-REDUP
a-aje-ya=ju].
affect-GO.DISTR-IMPFV=DS

‘I saw the agouti coming towards me and it looked exhausted from the tayra that was chasing it and trying to catch it (lit. almost grabbing it many times).’ ms018

Note that it is not altogether clear what the distributive sense is in (10.61a). The translation given by Antonio Yubanera, while transcribing the conversation from which this sentence comes, is ‘a little bit’. This could mean that full reduplication can also have a de-intensifying meaning, as happens with full reduplication of adjectives (see §11.2.2). Alternatively, full reduplication here might refer to the back and forth motion of the cooking pot over the fire (performed in order to avoid burning the corn).

Full reduplication of a non-inflecting (basic or derived) verb does not require an additional auxiliary. One example of the full reduplication of a basic non-inflecting verb, *nereda a-* ‘scold O’, is presented in (10.62). The non-reduplicated version is given in (a.) while the reduplicated version is given in (b.).

- (10.62) a. *Nereda* =*tu-ra*_A = \emptyset _O *a-kware*
scold =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) affect-REM.PAST
[*e-ra*_A *jadya* *kwatsabi* *a-wa=ju*].
1SG-ERG thus tell.story.to affect-PERF=DS

‘She (my mother) scolded when I told her so (that my children nearly drowned when we crossed the river).’ ri061

- b. *E-ra*_A *peya*_O *nereda-nereda* *a-kware*.
1SG-ERG other scold-REDUP affect-REM.PAST

‘I was scolding the other one over and over again.’ cu020b

In (10.63), the verb *pakaka* ‘fall’ first takes *nere* ‘VIGOROUSLY’ (§10.2.1), giving *nere pakaka ju-* ‘fall vigorously’, and is then reduplicated.

- (10.63) ... [[*nere pakaka nere pakaka*] *karetus*
 VIGOROUSLY fall REDUP REDUP cart
ju-ya=ju *ba-chine*.
 be-IMPV=DS see-REC.PAST

‘I saw the cart suddenly falling down many times (as my daughter was trying to get the pair of oxen back in the path).’ ka381

As we can see, neither (10.62b) nor (10.63) requires an additional auxiliary. See also reduplication of *ijine-kara ju-* ‘want to stray’ as *ijine-kara-ijine-kara ju-* in (10.68).

10.7. Combination of two auxiliary-triggering processes

The combination of two auxiliary-triggering processes is rare, but possible. Table 10.2 below is a summary of all combinations attested in the data. The processes in the left column are applied before the processes from the top row. The processes which have not been found in combinations have not been included; this is the case with *-metse* ‘FIRST’, the quantifier markers and the \emptyset -marker. Note that the same process is never attested to occur twice; this is shown by shaded cells. The processes which could logically be combined, but are not attested, are shown by a question mark ‘?’. The combinations of two processes which have been attested are given a number that cross-references an illustrative example to be found earlier or later in this chapter.

Table 10.2. Attested combinations of two auxiliary-triggering processes

	<i>-kara</i>	<i>-jakama</i>	<i>-bawe</i>	<i>nere, etc.</i>	<i>jadya ...-e</i>	redup.
<i>-kara</i>		?	?	?	?	(10.68)
<i>-jakama</i>	?		(10.23)	?	?	?
<i>-bawe</i>	?	?		?	?	?
<i>nere, etc.</i>	(10.37)	?	?		?	(10.63)
<i>jadya ...-e</i>	(10.3)	?	?	?		?
redup.	?	(10.11b)	?	?	?	

Notes: *-kara* ‘DESID’ (§10.1.1), *nere* ‘VIGOROUSLY’ (§10.2), *jadya/ejebucha ...-e* ‘MAN’ (§10.3), *-bawe* ‘ALWS’ (§10.1.4)

10.8. Combinations with other verbal categories

Verbal suffixes, such as postural/directional suffixes, valency-changing affixes, and Aktionsart suffixes, are applied in a strict order: postural/directional suffixes (slot F) before valency-changing affixes (slots C/G) before Aktionsart suffixes (slot H). Auxiliary-triggering processes are normally, although not always, applied next, that is, after Aktionsart suffixes. They are therefore assigned to slots as well (slots B, I and J).

Auxiliary-triggering processes applied after postural/directional suffixes (slot F) are applied are cross-referenced in (10.64).

(10.64) *nere ani-tsura ju-* (10.29a)
(VIGOROUSLY sit-GO.UP be-)

jadya ba-butya-nuka a- (10.49b)
(thus see-GO.DOWN-REITR affect-) (Ø-marker)

Auxiliary combinations applied after valency-changing processes (slots C/G) are applied are cross-referenced in (10.65).

(10.65) a. Passive *-ta(na)*

jucha a-ta-karama ju- (10.6)
(have.sex.with affect-PASS-DESID.NEG be-)

b. Reflexive *k(a)-...-ti*

jadya ka-tya-ti-e ju- (10.38b)
(MAN REF-give-REF-MAN be-)

k-utsa-ti amena ju- (10.54b)
(REF-wash-REF BM be-) (Ø-marker)

c. Causative *-sha/-mere*

kwinana-sha-kara a- (10.7a)
(emerge-PASS-DESID affect-)

jina-sha-jina-sha a- (10.61a)
(cook-CAUS-REDUP-REDUP affect-)

pude-mere-kara a- (10.7b)
(paint-CAUS-DESID affect-)

Auxiliary-triggering processes applied after Aktionsart suffixes (slot H) are applied are cross-referenced in (10.66).

(10.66) *Jadya maju-jeri-e ju-* (10.38c)
(MAN die-ALMOST-MAN be-)

jadya ba-ti-e a- (10.39c)
(MAN see-GO.TEMP-MAN affect-)

a-tsa-metse a- (10.10)
(affect-GO(O)-FIRST affect-)

neti-baka-neti-baka ju- (10.60a)
(stand-SHORT.TIME-REDUP-REDUP be-)

ju-chinepe-ju-chinepe ju- (10.60b)
(be-ALL.DAY-REDUP-REDUP be-)

nere tyana-nati a- (10.30b)
(VIGOROUSLY cap-GO.TEMP be-)

wana-diru ju- (10.55a)
(escape-GO.PERM be- / Ø-marker)

In a few cases, however, we find that the order of application is reversed. In (10.67), for example, the postural suffix *-ani* ‘SIT’ is applied after the full reduplication auxiliary-triggering process is applied (combined with an auxiliary alternation antipassive derivation; see §8.3.2). Note that if *-ani* had been applied first, we should have *e-tse jibu-ani-jibu-ani ju-*.

(10.67) *Iba_S =tu_S [terati=ju ju-ani-tsu]*
jaguar =3SG(-FM) beam=LOC be-SIT-SS
[e-tse jibu-jibu] ju-ani-kware.
NPF-tooth roll.up-REDUP be-SIT-REM.PAST

‘The jaguar was sitting on the beam and was snarling (rolling his teeth up and down).’ ht026

In (10.56a), the verb *ara-* ‘eat O’ first undergoes the Ø-marked auxiliary-triggering process, giving *ara a-* ‘eat O’, and is secondly detransitivized by the auxiliary-alternation antipassive derivation (with incorporation of its O argument *jae* ‘fish’), giving by *jae ara ju-* (fish eat be(ANTIPASS)-).

Similarly, in (10.68), the Aktionsart motion suffixes *-etibe* and *-aje* are applied after the auxiliary-triggering suffix *-kara* ‘DESID’ is applied.

- (10.68) a. *Eje=kes* =*retses* [*ijine-kara-ijine-kara*]
 INT=LIG =3DL stray-DESID-REDUP-REDUP

ju-etibe-wa.
 be-COME.PERM.DISTR-PERF

‘(Now that the oxen know that we are about to arrive,) let’s see if they are going to keep wanting to stray out of the path (as they have done all the way).’ ka528

- b. ... [*tu-ra_A* *tupuju=dya* [*mare-kara-mare-kara*]
 3SG-ERG FOLLOWING=FOC shoot.at-DESID-REDUP-REDUP

a-aje-ya=ju]...
 affect-GO.DISTR-IMPV=DS

‘... as he (grandfather Navi) was chasing it (a big anteater) wanting to shoot at it, (the anteater suddenly turned around and attacked him).’ na008a

In (10.68a), *ijine-* ‘stray’ first takes *-kara* ‘DESID’, giving *ijine-kara ju-* ‘want to stray’. Full reduplication is then applied, giving *ijine-kara-ijine-kara ju-*.⁵ Finally, the Aktionsart *-etibe* ‘COME.PERM.DISTR’ is applied, giving *ijine-kare-ijine-kara ju-etibe-*. Similarly, in (10.68b), *mare-* ‘shoot at O’ first takes *-kara* ‘DESID’, giving *mare-kara a-* ‘wanting to shoot at O’. It is then reduplicated, giving *mare-kara-mare-kara a-* ‘wanting to shoot at O repeatedly’. Finally, the suffix *-aje* is applied, giving *mare-kara-mare-kara a-aje-*.

In both examples, the two Aktionsart suffixes are clearly applied after the suffix *-kara* ‘DESID’ is applied. If it were not the case, the Aktionsart suffixes should be attached to the verb stem; that is, we should have the forms *ijine-etibe-kara-ijine-etibe-kara ju-wa* and *mare-aje-kara-mare-aje-kara a-ya=ju*, respectively. However, it is not possible to state whether *-etibe* ‘COME.PERM.DISTR’ and *-aje* ‘GO.DISTR’ are applied before or after reduplication, since reduplication of a non-inflecting verb does not trigger an additional auxiliary (see §10.6).

⁵ Recall that full reduplication does not trigger the use of an additional auxiliary (§10.6).

In (10.69), the verb *iji-* ‘drink O’ first takes the auxiliary-triggering suffix *-kara* ‘DESID’, giving *iji-kara a-* ‘want to drink O’, then takes the Aktionsart suffix *-nuka* ‘REITR’ as *iji-kara a-nuka-* ‘want to drink again’. If *-nuka* had been applied first, we should have had *iji-nuka-iji-nuka a-*.

- (10.69) *Jutakiju =tu-ke_O =∅_A iyakwa=kwita iji-kara*
 therefore =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) now=RESTR drink-DESID
a-nuka-ya.
 affect-REITR-IMPV
 ‘(I drank a bottle of cod oil and found it good for my health so)
 now I want to drink another one (bottle).’ bc040

In (10.70), the transitive verb *sabu-* ‘grasp O with fingernails’ is first reduplicated, giving *sabu-sabu a-* ‘grasp O with fingernails repeatedly’, then takes the Aktionsart *-na* ‘COME.TEMP’, giving *sabu-sabu a-na-*. If *-na* had been applied first, we would have had *sabu-na-sabu-na a-*.

- (10.70) [*Wiwipa wiri=ra*]_A =*taa* =∅_O
 eagle tiny=ERG =EMPH (=1SG-FM)
sabu-sabu a-na-ya.
 grasp.with.fingernails-REDUP affect-COME.TEMP-IMPV
 ‘(In my dream,) the tiny eagles would come and scratch me over
 and over again.’ hm064

In (10.71) an Aktionsart suffix is applied before and after an auxiliary-triggering process is applied.

- (10.71) a. *ai=kwana peta-aje ju-aje-*
 INT=PL look.at-GO.DISTR be-GO.DISTR-
 (10.56b)
- b. *ina-jeri-ina-jeri a-aje-*
 grab-ALMOST-REDUP-REDUP affect-GO.DISTR-
 (10.61b)

Note that in the a-example, it is the same suffix *-aje* ‘GO.DISTR’ that is applied twice.

The combination of auxiliary-triggering processes with other verbal categories is a fascinating topic that needs more work.

Chapter 11

Predicative adjectives

A class of adjectives can be recognized in a language for underived words that (1) are different from verbs or nouns, (2) encode semantic notions such as DIMENSION, AGE, VALUE and COLOR, and (3) can fill any of the following syntactic slots: predicate of an intransitive clause, and/or copula complement within a copula clause, and/or modifier to a noun in an NP (Dixon 2004).

Cavineña has two different classes of adjectives: predicative adjectives, which only fill copula complement slots within copula clauses, and attributive adjectives, which can only be used as modifiers to a noun in an NP. Predicative adjectives are discussed at length in this chapter. Attributive adjectives are not discussed here but in §13.2.

In section 11.1, I discuss the syntactic properties of predicative adjectives. The copula complement function is presented in §11.1.1. The use of *dyake* ‘very’ as a modifier to predicative adjectives is discussed in §11.1.2. In §11.1.3, I show that in order to be used attributively, predicative adjectives must be used within a relative clause. The next three sections discuss two additional functions that predicative adjectives can have: adverbial function (§11.1.4) and secondary predicate function (§11.1.5).

We need to distinguish between two subclasses of predicative adjectives in Cavineña on morphological (but not syntactic or semantic) criteria:

- 1 — *da*-adjectives consist of a closed subclass of about 110 to 120 bound roots which must take an affix, typically the dummy suffix *-da*, or be reduplicated. They are listed exhaustively in Appendix 1 and are discussed in §11.2;
- 2 — independent adjectives consist of an open subclass of at least 40 to 50 basic roots which do not need to take an affix or be reduplicated. They are listed exhaustively in Appendix 2 and are discussed in §11.3.

11.1. Syntax

Predicative adjectives cannot head an NP, which is the main criterion that distinguishes them from nouns. They cannot directly modify an NP head, which is the main criterion that distinguishes them from all the NP modifiers (quantifiers, number markers and attributive adjectives). Finally, predicative adjectives cannot head the predicate which is the main criterion that distinguishes them from verbs.

11.1.1. Copula complement function

The main function of predicative adjectives is as copula complement of a copula clause. As already discussed in §4.6.3, copula clauses have the following properties:

1 — the copula subject (CS) is encoded identically to the subject of intransitive clauses (S) and has the same syntactic properties (e.g., control of co-reference). Note that for clarity I will keep coding copula subjects as CS;

2 — the copula verb (CP) is *ju-* ‘be’, which is homophonous with the intransitive auxiliary. The copula verb is not obligatory. Its main function is to carry verbal affixes. Speakers very often leave out the copula when they do not judge it necessary to express the verbal categories that are encoded by these affixes; see for example (11.1c,d). Copula clauses used within relative clauses almost always omit the copula verb (see §11.1.3);

3 — the copula complement (CC) almost always precedes the copula predicate when the copula predicate is present. The copula complement can be a predicative adjective, an NP, or a PP.

Examples of *da*-adjectives in CC function are presented in (11.1).

- (11.1) a. *Ari-da*_{CC} *ju-kware*_{CP} *aja*_{CS}.
big-ASF be-REM.PAST capuchin.monkey
‘The capuchin monkey was big.’ aj025
- b. *Baji-u-si=kwit*_{CC} =*tun*_{CS} *ju-wa*_{CP} [*iba ba-atsu*].
scared-ASF-AUGM=RESTR =3PL be-PERF jaguar see-SS
‘They were very scared when they saw the jaguar.’ di0213
- c. [*Make paja*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *atuka-pude-da*_{CC}.
piranha white =3SG(-FM) eye-red/brown-ASF
‘The white piranha is red/brown-eyed.’ di1906
- d. [*Biata jiruru*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *jika-dama*_{CC}.
Biata.river edge =3SG(-FM) lush-NEG
‘The banks of the Biata river are very clean (lit. not lush).’ ba022

Independent adjectives in CC function are illustrated in (11.2).

- (11.2) a. **Pureama**_{CC} =*ekwana*_{CS} *ju-kware*_{CP...}
 happy =1PL be-REM.PAST
 ‘We were happy...’ ga008
- b. **Peyainime**_{CC} *ekana*_{CS} *ju-bare-kware*_{CP.}
 sad 3PL be-DISTR-REM.PAST
 ‘Everyone was very sad.’ fg030
- c. **Aama**_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} *ju-kware*_{CP} *salon=kwana*_{CS...}
 not.exist =3SG(-FM) be-REM.PAST rifle=PL
 ‘(When I was young) there weren’t rifles (but only shotguns) (lit. rifles did not exist).’ wa032

Copula clauses with adjectives as CC often include a dative oblique which specifies an experiencer argument; that is, it refers to the entity that experiences the property ‘predicated’ over the S argument referent. This is illustrated with various types of adjectives in (11.3). Note that the dative obliques are in bold-face.

- (11.3) a. **Bari=ja** =*tu*_{CS} *rapa*_{CS} *biji-da*_{CC.}
 giant.anteater=DAT =3SG(-FM) termite desirable-ASF
 ‘Giant anteaters like termites (lit. termites are desirable to anteaters).’ di0246
- b. *E-na*_{CS} =***e-kwe*** *tupu=ama*_{CC} *ju-kware*_{CP.}
 NPF-water =1SG-DAT sufficient=NEG be-REM.PAST
 ‘I ran out of water (lit. water was not sufficient to me).’ sd013
- c. *Arusu*_{CS} =***mi-kwe*** *jikwi-ma*_{CC?}
 rice =2SG-DAT cut.off-RES.NEG
 ‘Have you never harvested rice? (lit. has rice never been cut off to you?)’ tb182

11.1.2. Modifier *dyake* ‘very’

Adjectives can be the head of an adjective phrase when modified by the independent particle *dyake* ‘very’ (§16.1), as illustrated in (11.4).

- (11.4) a. [**Dyake kasa-da**]_{CC} =*taa* *ekwita*_{CS}.
 very strong-ASF =EMPH person

‘The man is very strong.’ di0789

- b. [**Dyake iwi-da=kwita**]_{CC} =*tu*_{CS}
 very smelly-ASF=RESTR =3SG(-FM)

[*chapa maju-chine=ke*]_{CS}.
 dog die-REC.PAST=LIG

‘The dog that died (some days ago) smells really bad (lit. is very smelly).’ di1493

Note that *dyake* does not only modify adjectives. It can also modify a verb with the meaning ‘a lot’ (§16.1).

11.1.3. Attributive function strategies

Predicative adjectives, unlike attributive adjectives, cannot directly modify the head of an NP in Cavineña. For this purpose predicative adjectives must be used within a copula relative clause. A full discussion of relative clauses (RCs) in Cavineña is provided in §13.6 and Chapter 20. In a nutshell, RCs in Cavineña are marked by =*ke* ‘LIG’. They normally follow the NP head but can occasionally precede it, as in (11.6a). In copula RCs, the copula predicate is almost always omitted,¹ as shown in (11.5). Omitting the copula predicate in copula RCs is nevertheless not obligatory, as shown in (11.6).

- (11.5) a. ... *jae=ra_A tinu-kware amena* [*wika [ari-da_{CC}=ke]*]_{RC}]_O...
 fish=ERG pull-REM.PAST BM hook big-ASF=LIG

‘... the fish pulled the big hook (lit. the hook that is big)...’ ps018

- b. [*Chai [pude-da_{CC}=ke]*]_{RC} [*akwi dyake*] *ani-ya*.
 small.bird red/brown-ASF=LIG tree ON sit-IMPV

‘There is a red/brown small bird (lit. a small bird that is red/brown) on top of the tree.’ n3.0058a

¹ Note that this usual omission of the copula also applies if the CC is an NP, a postpositional phrase, etc. (see §20.1.2).

- (11.6) a. [[*Nreka-da*_{CC} *ju-kware*_{CP=ke}]_{RC} *ekwita*]_O
 miserable-ASF be-REM.PAST=LIG person

=*mi-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *kweja-ya*.
 =2SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) inform-IMPV

‘I am going to tell you about the man who was poor.’ n3.0107

- b. [*Ekwita* [*beru* *ujeje-da*_{CC} *ju-kware*_{CP=ke}]_{RC}]_O
 person before sick-ASF be-REM.PAST=LIG

=*tu-ja* =*tu*_O *chachane-wa*.
 =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) cure-PERF

‘He (the doctor) cured someone who had been sick for a long time.’ n5.0276

11.1.4. ‘Adverbial’ function

An important number of adjectives from both subclasses, i.e., *da*-adjectives and independent adjectives, can function as manner adverbs; note that the complete list has not been investigated. Formally, an adjective in adverbial function in Cavineña can be recognized in the following contexts:

- 1 — it is used with a verb different from the copula *ju*- ‘be’; this would otherwise mean that it is a copula complement (see §11.1.1);
- 2 — it is not marked by the ligature =*ke* ‘LIG’; this would otherwise mean that it is in attributive function (see §11.1.3);
- 3 — it is not used with the verb *ba*- ‘see, feel’; this would otherwise mean that it is in secondary predicate function (see §11.1.5 below).

Semantically, an adjective in adverbial function modifies a verb. Examples showing *da*-adjectives in adverbial function are given in (11.7), with intransitive verbs, and (11.8), with transitive verbs.

- (11.7) a. [*Misi-da* *tawi-tsu*] =*yatse*_S *tawi* *ju-ya*.
 thick-ASF sleep-SS =1DL dream be-IMPV

‘When we sleep deeply (lit. when we sleep thick) we dream.’
 di2006

- b. *Kwa-ya=ke_S* =*ekwana_S* *ji-da=dya* *kwa-kware.*
 go-IMPFV=LIG =1PL good-ASF=FOC go-REM.PAST
 ‘As we went, we went well (i.e., we did not have any accident on the road or anything).’ ga005

- c. *Iba_S* *ujeje-da* *jara-kware* *amena.*
 jaguar sick-ASF lie-REM.PAST BM
 ‘The jaguar lay sick.’ zo031

- d. *Weni-da=dya* =*ekwana_S* *kwa-chine.*
 vigorous-ASF=FOC =1PL go-REC.PAST
 ‘We went fast (lit. vigorous).’ vb024

- (11.8) a. *Ari-da* =*tu-ke_O* = \emptyset _A *e-na_O* *iji-kware.*
 big-ASF =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) NPF-water drink-REM.PAST
 ‘I drank a lot of water (lit. I drank water big).’ sd089

- b. *Tsunu-da* =*yatse_A* *iwa-kware.*
 long.time-ASF =1DL wait.for-REM.PAST
 ‘We two waited for it (a tapir) a long time.’ ma024

Examples with (derived) independent adjectives in adverbial functions are given in (11.9).

- (11.9) a. *Iyakwa* *barepa_S* *sisewani-ki* *wekaka-wa.*
 now sky fog-WITH be.at.dawn-PERF
 ‘Today dawn broke with a lot of fog (lit. the sky was at dawn foggy).’ n5.0540

- b. *Tawi-wa=ama* *ike_S* [*e-kike* *patya*]
 sleep-PERF=NEG 1SG NPF-forest IN.MIDDLE.OF
tujuri-ma.
 mosquito.net-WITHOUT

‘I could not sleep in the forest because I didn’t have a mosquito net (lit. I didn’t sleep without a mosquito net).’ di2608

Some adjectives from both subclasses cannot be used in adverbial function; note that the full list has not been investigated. In order to be used adverbially,

these adjective require a headless copula relative clause within an associative postpositional phrase (marked by *=tsewe* ‘ASSOC’; §14.2.1). This is illustrated with the *da*-adjective *dyai-* ‘lazy’ in (11.10). As (11.10a) shows, this adjective cannot be used adverbially. However, this becomes possible by taking *=tsewe* ‘ASSOC’, as in (11.10b). Since postpositions do not mark adjectives but only NPs, it should be the case that the adjective belongs to an NP, i.e., in CC function within a copula RC modifying an NP head. As normally happens, the head (‘manner’) of the RC is omitted, as well as the copula predicate (*ju-* ‘be’) and the RC marker *=ke*, since it occurs in the same clitic sequence with *=tsewe* and precedes *=tsewe*.

(11.10) a. **Ekwita=kwana*_S =*tu*_S *dyai-da* *mere* *ju-ya*.
 person=PL =3SG(-FM) lazy-ASF work be-IMPV

b. *Ekwita=kwana*_S =*tu*_S *dyai-da*_{CC}=*tsewe* *mere*
 person=PL =3SG(-FM) lazy-ASF(=LIG)=ASSOC work

ju-ya.
 be-IMPV

‘The men are working lazily (lit. with a lazy (manner)).’ n5.0196

Other adjectives requiring an RC strategy when used adverbially are illustrated in (11.11) (*da*-adjectives) and (11.12) (independent adjectives).

(11.11) a. [*Yatse-ja pere*]_S *jeti-kware*
 1DL-GEN raft come-REM.PAST

*kasa-da*_{CC}=*tsewe=kwita*.
 strong-ASF(=LIG)=ASSOC=RESTR

‘Our (dl) raft was coming very fast (lit. with a strong (manner)).’
 cu028

b. *Ita=dya* =*di* *mui-da*_{CC}=*tsewe*
 ATT.GETTER=FOC =STRG.EMPH serious-ASF(=LIG)=ASSOC

a-kwe!
 affect-imp.sg

‘Hey! Could you do (lit. affect) it seriously (lit. with a serious (manner)), damn it!’ ci051

- c. **Masa-da**_{CC}=*tsewe* =*ekwana*_S *ka-naru-ti-ya*
 hard-ASF(=LIG)=ASSOC =1PL REF-take.care.of-REF-IMPV

[*ekwana-ja uu=kwana ani-ya=ke*]_E.
 1PL-GEN domestic.animal=PL sit-IMPV=LIG

‘It is hard for us to raise domestic animals (lit. with difficult (manner) we take care of our domestic animals that sit).’ di1928

- (11.12) a. **Pureama**_{CC}=*tsewe* =*taa* *i-kes* *kwa-ya*
 happy(=LIG)=ASSOC =EMPH 1SG-FM go-IMPV

[*tu-ke jiteke*].
 3SG-FM LOOKING.FOR

‘I was going happily (lit. with a happy (manner)) to fetch him.’
 ka056

- b. ... **peyainime**_{CC}=*tsewe* *ekatse*_S *ani-kware*.
 sad(=LIG)=ASSOC 3DL sit-REM.PAST

‘(As they couldn’t find their lost child,) they (the child’s parents) lived (lit. sat) (the rest of their life) very sadly (lit. with a sad (manner)).’ eb033

Curiously, negated *da*-adjectives (§11.2.4) never appear to require the post-position =*tsewe* when used adverbially; whether this is also the case with negated independent adjectives remains to be investigated. This can be illustrated with the two *da*-adjectives *kasa-* ‘strong’ and *masa-* ‘hard’. As we saw in (11.11a) and (11.11c), they both require =*tsewe* when they are not negated. However, when they are negated, =*tsewe* is not used anymore, as shown in (11.13a) and (11.13b), respectively.

- (11.13) a. **Awadaijaka**²=*ra*_A =*tu*_O *tachi-bawe*
 water.hyacinth=ERG =3SG(-FM) block-ALWS

[*kweri kasa-dama juri-ya=kwana=ke*]_O.
 river strong-NEG flow-IMPV=PL=LIG

‘Water hyacinths cover (lit. block) the rivers that do not flow strongly.’ di0047

² This word is a compound of the nouns *awada* ‘tapir’ and *ijaka* ‘ear’.

- b. *Masa-dama* =*tuna*_S *kawaiti-ya*
 hard-NEG =3PL get.angry-IMPFV
 [*ejebucha a-ya=ju*].
 harm affect-IMPFV=DS

‘They get upset very easily when someone tells (lit. harms) them something.’ T1.91

It is not clear why all negative adjectives and only certain positive adjectives can be used adverbially. A full study of how adjectives are used adverbially remains to be undertaken.

11.1.5. Secondary predicate function

Predicative adjectives can also occur in a construction with the verb *ba-* ‘see, feel’ (and possibly other verbs; see below), a function that will be analyzed as secondary predication. In this construction, the adjective normally precedes *ba-* ‘see’. The adjective is unmarked and optional, similarly to the adverbial function. Semantically, however, the adjective does not modify the verb but the O argument, as follows: the adjective refers to property of the O argument referent, as seen, felt, or experienced by the A argument. In English, this construction is typically translated by ‘that’ complement clauses, e.g., ‘A sees, feels, or thinks that O is ADJ’; recall, however, that there are no complement clauses in Cavineña.

Examples of *da*-adjectives in secondary predicate function are given in (11.14).

- (11.14) a. *Ji-da*=*dya* =*pa* =*tu*_A *ba-kware*
 good-ASF=FOC =REP =3SG(-ERG) see-REM.PAST
 [*tume*_{CC}=*ke e-bakani*]_O...
 there=LIG NPF-name

‘He thought that that name was nice... (lit. he saw that name good).’ ap059

- b. *Riyapiji=kamadya* = \emptyset _A *uje-da* *ba-ya* *iyuka*_O.
 a.little.bit=ONLY (=1SG-ERG) painful-ASF see-IMPFV head

‘I felt my head hurting (lit. I saw my head painful) just a little bit.’ mg033

- c. ... *ebakujunapiji=ra_A biji-da ba-kware ewebari_O*
 small.girl=ERG desirable-ASF see-REM.PAST teenager

‘... the young girl liked the teenager (lit. the young girl saw the teenager desirable).’ mu006

- d. ***Mu-da*** =*taa e-ra_A ba-ya [jee_{CC}=ke e-majaka]_O*
 scary-ASF =EMPH 1SG-ERG see-IMPV here=LIG NPF-space

‘I’m scared of this place (lit. I see this place scary).’ ka077

Examples showing independent adjectives in secondary predicate function are given in (11.15).

- (11.15) a. *Adela_O =tu-ke_O =∅_A ushuri ba-ya.*
 Adela =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) skinny see-IMPV

‘I see that Adela is skinny.’ n5.0200

- b. [*Takure paja_O =tu-ke_O =∅_A aijama*
 chicken white =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) not.exist.at.all

ba-ya.

see-IMPV

‘I can’t see the white hen (lit. I see the white hen not existing at all).’ n5.0208

- c. *Ejebuchajuatsu =mi-ke_O =∅_A bape ba-ya?*
 INT:REASON =2SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) different see-IMPV

‘Why am I seeing you different (today)? (Is there something wrong?)’ n5.0210

Any predicative adjective can apparently be used as a secondary predicate. This is notably the case for adjectives that cannot be used adverbially, as with *masa*- ‘hard’ and *peyainime* ‘sad’, shown as secondary predicates in (11.16).

- (11.16) a. ***Masa-da*** =*tu_O e-ra_A ba-ya*
 hard-ASF =3SG(-FM) 1SG-ERG see-IMPV

[*sura kaka=kwana a-ya=ke_O*.

jug small.and.round=PL affect-IMPV=LIG

‘I find it hard to make (these) small jugs (lit. I see the small jugs that I make hard).’ di1929

- b. *Miguel*_O =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *peyainime* *ba-ya*.
 Miguel =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) sad see-IMPFV

‘I see that Miguel is sad.’ n5.0207

Some adjectives which can occur as secondary predicates never occur adverbially. This is notably the case with abilitative adjectives, derived from verbs with *-taki* ‘ABIL’ (§11.3.3), as exemplified in (11.17).

- (11.17) a. *Rike-taki=ama* =*tu*_A *bei*_O *ba-kware* *betsa-tsu*.
 cross-ABIL=NEG =3SG(-ERG) lake see-REM.PAST swim-SS

‘He felt that he could not cross the lake swimming (because the lake was too big) (lit. he saw the lake not ‘crossable’).’ cd014

- b. *Wesa-taki=ama* =*tatse*_A *ba-kware*
 lift-ABIL=NEG =3DL(-ERG) see-REM.PAST

*tatse-ra=piji*_A [[*jae ebari*]_{CC}=*tibu*].
 3DL-ERG=DIM fish big=REASON

‘They (dl) (a grandfather and his little grandson, both not very strong) felt that they couldn’t lift it (a fish that they had caught) because it was a very big fish (so they asked for help).’ ps042

See additional example in (11.80).

It appears that (at least) some adjectives can function as secondary predicates in combination with verbs other than *ba-* ‘see, feel’. In (11.18a), for example, the adjective *sikaka-* ‘noisy’ seems to function as a secondary predicate in combination with the verb *baka-* ‘hear O’. A similar analysis might be proposed in (11.18b), with the derived resultative adjective *e-mutsu* ‘pulled, plucked’ and the verb *be-* ‘bring O’.

- (11.18) a. *Sikaka-da* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *baka-ya*.
 noisy-ASF =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) hear-IMPFV

‘I’m hearing something noisy. (What could it be?)’ vz028

- b. *Ejebuchajuatsu* =*tu-ke*_O =*mi*_A *be-ti-ya*
 INT.REASON =3SG-FM =2SG(-ERG) bring-GO.TEMP-IMPFV

*tedu*_O *e-mutsu-tirya?*
 guan RES-pull-COMP

‘Why did you bring the guan (bird) completely plucked (lit. pulled)?’ hm078

It is not clear whether we are dealing with the same type of construction in these examples, especially in (11.18b) where the resultative adjective *e-mutsu-tirya* ‘completely pulled/plucked’ occurs after the verb *be-* ‘bring O’ — as we saw, an adjective in secondary predicate function combining with the verb *ba-* ‘see, feel’ normally precedes the main predicate. This issue requires additional study.

11.2. *Da*-adjectives

We can divide the morphology of *da*-adjectives into two types. The first type consists of morphology that is obligatorily required in order for a root to form an independent (grammatical and phonological) word; this will be called the obligatory morphology. The second type consists of morphology that is optionally added ‘on top’ of the obligatory morphology; this will be called the optional morphology.

The obligatory morphology consists of the dummy suffix *-da/-u* ‘ASF’ (§11.2.1), reduplication (§11.2.2), the interrogative prefix *eje-* ‘INT’ (§11.2.3), and the negative suffix *-dama* ‘NEG’ (§11.2.4). The optional morphology is discussed next: augmentative suffix *-si* (§11.2.6) and compounding (§11.2.5).

There are no morphological processes for deriving *da*-adjectives from other word classes. As a result, all *da*-adjectives can be considered as basic. There is however an phenomenon of direct conversion where many adjectives also correspond to a verb or a noun. This is discussed in §11.2.7.

11.2.1. Dummy suffix *-da/-u* ‘ASF’

The suffix *-da/-u* ‘Adjective SuFfix’ is a dummy (i.e., semantically empty) morpheme. The two variants, *-da* and *-u*, are in complementary distribution.

The suffix *-da* is used in the following contexts:

- 1 — in citation form;
- 2 — when the adjective does not carry any other morphology, as in (11.1a) (repeated), (11.19) and (11.20).

(11.1a) *Ari-da*_{CC} *ju-kware* *aja*_{CS}.
 big-ASF be-REM.PAST monkey

‘The monkey was big.’ aj025

- (11.19) **Mu-da**_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} *matuja=kwana*_{CS}.
 scary-ASF =3SG(-FM) caiman=PL
 ‘The caimans were scary.’ mj065
- (11.20) [*E-kwe kamisa*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} **naka-da**_{CC} *ju-chine*.
 1SG-GEN shirt =3SG(-FM) wet-ASF be-REC.PAST
 ‘My shirt was wet.’ di1103

The form *-u* is used in the following contexts:

1 — when the adjective takes the augmentative suffix *-si*, as in (11.21) (see more examples in §11.2.6).

- (11.21) a. **Uke-u-si**=*kwita*_{CC} *ijeti*_{CS}.
 hot-ASF-AUGM=RESTR sun
 ‘The sun is very, very hot.’ n1.0309
- b. **Baji-u-si**=*kwita*_{CS} =*tuna*_{CS} *ju-wa* [*iba*_O *ba-atsu*].
 scared-ASF-AUGM=RESTR =3PL be-PERF jaguar see-SS
 ‘They were very scared to see the jaguar.’ di0213

Note that the forms **uke-da-si* or **baji-da-si* are ungrammatical.

2 — when the adjective is modified by the phrasal particle =*piji* ‘DIM’ (§17.2.11), as in (11.22a-c). Note that in (11.22b), the same adjective, *pude* ‘red/brown’, is used twice: once with *-u* (and =*piji*) and once with *-da*.

- (11.22) a. *Ju-diru-kware* *ekwita*_S. *Baru-dama*_{CC}, **juji-u=piji**_{CC}
 be-GO.PERM-REM.PAST person tall-NEG fat-ASF=DIM

*dumijiti-ari-da*_{CC}.
 stomach-big-ASF
 ‘A man arrived. (He was) small, a bit fat and with a big stomach (lit. ‘big-stomached’).’ ap034
- b. **Pude-u=piji**_{CC} =*tu-ke*_{CS}.
 red/brown-ASF=DIM =3SG-FM

Y-akwa=ju =*tu-ja* =*tu*_{CS} *pude-da*_{CC}.
 NPF-chest=LOC =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) red/brown-ASF
 ‘It (the vermilion flycatcher bird) is a bit red/brown. It is red/brown

in the chest.’ hi004

- c. [*Yume*_{CC}=*ke* *jipamu*]_{CS} ***ji-u=piji***_{CC}.
 over.there=LIG papaya good-ASF=DIM

‘That papaya (tree) that we see in the distance is very nice.’
 n5.0466

Note that without *-si* ‘AUGM’ or *=piji*, **juji-u*, **pude-u* and **ji-u* are ungrammatical.

Note also that *=piji* ‘DIM’ can as well mark an adjective with *-da*, as shown in (11.23).

- (11.23) [*Yume*_{CC}=*ke* *ebakwapiji*]_{CS} ***juji-da=piji***_{CC}.
 over.there=LIC small.child fat-ASF=DIM

‘That small child over there is a bit fat.’ n5.0458

It is not clear whether there is a difference in meaning between *juji-u=piji*, as in (11.22a), and *juji-da=piji*, as in (11.23). If there is one, this would mean that *-da* and *-u* are different morphemes (rather than two variants of a single dummy morpheme). This issue needs to be investigated.

11.2.2. Reduplication

Full reduplication of a *da*-adjective root is yet another morphological process that yields a complete grammatical word (although two phonological words). Reduplication, unlike the *-da/-u* suffix, which is semantically empty, adds an aspectual distributive sense to the property encoded by the adjective. Strictly speaking, reduplication encodes the fact that the property is distributed in space or time. In some cases, the distributive sense is somehow blurred and reduplication acquires a mere attenuating sense, meaning ‘more or less’ or ‘approximately’.

In (11.24), the firefly’s twinkling light is described by reduplicating the adjective *weka-* ‘bright, shiny’.

- (11.24) *Umajapurari*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *meta* ***weka-weka***_{CC} *ju-ya*.
 firefly =3SG(-FM) at.night bright-REDUP be-IMPFV

‘The firefly twinkles at night.’ di2908

In (11.25), the speaker describes a shirt that got wet. The Spanish translation is *medio húmedo* ‘half wet, more or less humid’. But what the speaker pre-

sumably rather describes is the fact that the shirt is wet in different places.

- (11.25) *Naka-naka*=*piji*=*kamadya*_{CC} =*tu-ke*_{CS} =*mi-kwe*
 wet-REDUP=DIM=ONLY =3SG-FM =2SG-DAT
ju-wa. *Masa-dama* =*tu*_{CS} *rara-ya.*
 be-REC.PAST hard-NEG =3SG(-FM) dry-IMPFV

‘It (your shirt) is just a bit wet (lit. has little wet spots). It will dry easily.’ di1104

A sky with clouds in various parts can be described by reduplicating *apu-* ‘dark’ as in (11.26).

- (11.26) *Apu-apu*_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} *barepa*_{CS}.
 dark-REDUP =3SG(-FM) sky

‘The sky has clouds in various parts.’ di0112

In (11.27), reduplication of the adjective *ari-* ‘big’ carries the incremental sense of ‘growing’.

- (11.27) *Amena ari-ari*_{CC} =*ekwana*_{CS} *ju-kware.*
 BM big-REDUP =1PL be-REM.PAST

‘We (me and my brothers) grew up (lit. grew up a little bit many times).’ nk027

In some cases, a reduplicated *da*-adjective only has an attenuating (not distributive) sense. Emerenciano Sepa explained to me that the eggs of the ‘waparikwama’ partridge have a uniform reddish color. Still, they are described by reduplicating *pude-* ‘red/brown’, as in (11.28).

- (11.28) [*Waparikwama*=*ja e-ka*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS}
 partridge(sp.)=GEN NPF-egg =3SG(-FM)

pude-pude=*jipene*_{CC}.
 red/brown-REDUP=ALMOST

‘The eggs of the ‘waparikwama’ partridge are almost reddish.’ di1378

A few examples are available of full reduplication of a *da*-adjective root together with its dummy suffix *-da* (not *-u*). This occurs with *ji-* ‘good’, *japa-* ‘far’, *juji-* ‘fat’ and *ba-* ‘cold’. Full reduplication of *ba-* ‘cold’ together with *-da*

is illustrated in (11.29b), which is a reply from Julio Mayo to my greeting (in (11.29a)),³ one (fresh) morning in Galilea.

- (11.29) a. *Eje-ji-u_{CC}* =*mi-ke_{CS}*?
 INT-good-EPEN =2SG-FM
 ‘How are you (lit. how good are you)?’ n5.0523
- b. *Ji-da_{CC}!* *Ba-da-ba-da*=*piji*=*kamadya_{CC}*.
 good-ASF cold-ASF-REDUP-REDUP=DIM=ONLY
 ‘I’m fine (lit. good). (I am/It is) just a little bit cold.’ n5.0523

In this example, the adjective *ba-* ‘cold’ is given an attenuative meaning. But this meaning could as well be an effect of the particle =*piji* ‘DIM’. Reduplication of a *da*-adjective with the suffix *-da* requires more study.

11.2.3. Interrogative prefix *eje-* ‘INT’

Da-adjective roots can take an interrogative prefix *eje-* ‘INterrogative’ and form an independent grammatical word. The prefix *eje-* is used to question the degree of the quality described by the adjective. Unfortunately, I have very few examples of this prefix. Adjectives found with *eje-* are exhaustively listed in (11.30).

- | | | | | |
|---------|------------------|-------------|------------------|------------------|
| (11.30) | <i>eje-ari</i> | ‘how big’ | <i>eje-kasa</i> | ‘how strong’ |
| | <i>eje-baru</i> | ‘how tall’ | <i>eje-kini</i> | ‘how wide’ |
| | <i>eje-bikwe</i> | ‘how heavy’ | <i>eje-tsunu</i> | ‘how long, when’ |
| | <i>eje-de-u</i> | ‘how deep’ | <i>eje-uke</i> | ‘how hot’ |
| | <i>eje-japa</i> | ‘how far’ | <i>eje-uma</i> | ‘how many’ |
| | <i>eje-ji-u</i> | ‘how good’ | <i>eje-uu</i> | ‘how tasty’ |
| | <i>eje-junu</i> | ‘how long’ | | |

Note that a suffix *-u* is added to the monosyllabic adjective roots *ji-* ‘good’ and *de-* ‘deep’. The fact that this suffix is not used with polysyllabic roots suggests that it is the same (epenthetic) suffix that is added to monosyllabic verbal roots when they do not take affixes (§2.6.6); that is, it is not the *-u* variant of the dummy suffix *-da/-u* discussed in §11.2.1. However, note that with verbs, the epenthetic vowel *u* is only added to bare (monosyllabic) roots, while in the case of *ji-* and *de-*, there is the presence of a prefix. This could be an indication that

³ This is the standard way of greeting in Cavineña.

eje is a separate phonological word (rather than a prefix). More work is needed to verify this hypothesis.

The prefix *eje-* ‘INT’ is first illustrated with the conversational turn in (11.31), volunteered by Emerenciano Sepa.

- (11.31) A: *Eje-uu*_{CC} =*ri*_{CS} *earaki*_{CS}? B: *Uu-da*_{CC}.
 INT-tasty =3PROX.SG(-FM) food tasty-ASF
 ‘How tasty is the food?’ B: ‘It’s delicious.’ n5.0954

A similar conversational turn showing the interrogative prefix on *ji-* ‘good’ can be seen in (11.29).

Additional examples showing adjectives with the interrogative prefix are given in (11.32).

- (11.32) a. *Eje-baru*_{CC} *ju-wa* *mesa*_{CS}?
 INT-tall be-PERF table
 ‘How tall is the table?’ di0249
- b. *Re-eke* *eje-japa*_{CC} *ekana*_{CS}?
 here-PERL INT-far 3PL
 ‘How far are they from here.’ di1019

In (11.33), I illustrate an interrogative adjective in adverbial function.

- (11.33) *Eje-tsunu* =*mi*_{CS} *diru-ya* *mani=ju*?
 INT-long =2SG(-FM) go-IMPFV rubber.center=LOC
 ‘How long are you going to the (rubber) center for?’ di1027

The interrogative prefix *eje-* can have an indefinite meaning, similar to any interrogative morpheme in Cavineña (§4.5.4). This is illustrated in (11.34).

- (11.34) *Eje-kasa*_{CC} =*tuc*_{CS} [*mi-kwe* *batería*]_{CS}?
 INT-strong =3SG(-FM) 2SG-GEN battery
 ‘Is your battery any strong?’ n5.0949

For another example, see (11.36a).

11.2.4. Negative suffix *-dama* ‘NEG’

Da-adjective roots can take a negative suffix *-dama* ‘NEG’ and form an independent grammatical word. This is illustrated in (11.35).

- (11.35) a. *I-ke*_{CS} =*bakwe* ***ji-dama***_{CC} *ju-wa*...
 1SG-FM =CONTR good-NEG be-PERF
 ‘I am not (feeling) well (lit. good) (because my stomach is swelling).’ lv031
- b. *Etsubaju*_{CS}, *tume*_{CC}=*ke*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} ***bikwe-dama***_{CC}.
 toasted.corn there=LIG =3SG(-FM) heavy-NEG
 ‘Toasted corn, that is not heavy.’ hs033
- c. *Jipake* =*taa* [*peya kistyanu*=*kwana*]_{CS} ***japa-dama***_{CC}
 LUCKILY =EMPH other person=PL far-NEG
ju-chine.
 be-REC.PAST
 ‘Luckily, there were other people nearby (lit. other people were not far).’ mo029

See also *jika-dama* ‘clean, not lush’ in (11.1d) and *baru-dama* ‘short, not tall’ in (11.22a).

Note that *-dama* is most likely related to *-da* ‘ASF’ (§11.2.1) — they both occupy the same slot in the adjective structure. One could analyze *-dama* as consisting of *-da* and a (negative) suffix *-ma*. Note that *-ma* is formally very similar to the negative particle =*ama*, suggesting that they are historically related. Note that *ma* is also found in the negative auxiliary-triggering verbal suffixes *-karama* ‘DESID.NEG’ and *-jakama* ‘CEASELESSLY’ (§10.1.3). I have nevertheless preferred treating *-dama* as a unitary suffix because:

- 1 — *ma* does not occur independently from *-da* (at least in the context of adjective);
- 2 — nothing can occur between *da* and *ma*.

Note that it is still possible to negate a predicative adjective with the phrasal particle =*ama* ‘NEG’ (§17.2.9). As such, the adjective needs to be ‘complete’; that is, it needs to include an obligatory affix or be reduplicated. This is illustrated with interrogative prefix *eje-* as in (11.36a) and reduplicated in (11.36b).

(11.36) a. *Yume =tukwe eje-japa=ama=kwita=dya_{CC} e-tare_{CS}.*
 over.there =CONT.EVID INT-far=NEG=RESTR=FOC NPF-house
 ‘It turned out that the house wasn’t very far.’ sd109

b. *Jadya=tibu=dya =ni =tu-ke_{CS} =ekwana-ja*
 thus=REASON=FOC =MAYBE =3SG-FM =1PL-DAT

kasa-kasa=ama_{CC} ju-jara-ya.
 strong-REDUP=NEG be-ADVERS-IMPFV

‘Maybe this is why ours (the corn beer that we do nowadays) is not that strong.’ ci172

An adjective that includes *-da* cannot be negated by *=ama*, unless *=ama* has scope over a particle that already marks the adjective, as with *=kwita* ‘RESTR’ in (11.37). Note that the adjective is in adverbial function in this example.

(11.37) *Are =pa =mis ji-da=kwita=ama*
 POLAR =REP =2SG(-FM) good-ASF=RESTR=NEG

tawi-nuka-wa Hermano?
 sleep-REITR-PERF brother

‘I’ve heard that you didn’t sleep all that well again (last night), Brother, is that true?’ ci013

There are no cases where *=ama* negates an adjective already negated with *-dama* (i.e., ADJ-dama=*ama*) but this might be a possible combination.

11.2.5. Compounding

A predicative *da*-adjective can form a compound with a noun or a verb. In these compounds, the adjective has the following properties:

- 1 — it is the head, since the compound is still a (predicative) adjective (rather than a noun or a verb);
- 2 — it comes last;
- 3 — it still requires the obligatory morphology, normally the dummy suffix *-da/-u*, to form a complete grammatical word,

A compounded noun must be an *e*-noun, i.e., a noun which requires an *e*-prefix formative and which normally refers to the part of an entity (see §12.3.1); it cannot be an independent noun or a kinship noun. The complex adjective has

a more specific scope of reference, narrowed down to the part encoded by the compounded noun; this is roughly equivalent to English compounds like *big-nosed*, *long-legged*, etc. The full list of compounds involving nouns attested in the data is given in (11.38). Note that the nouns and adjectives which occur more than once are in boldface.

(11.38)	<i>atuka-pude-</i> 'red/brown-eyed'	<i>-atuka</i> 'eye'	<i>pude-</i> 'red/brown'
	<i>bi-baru-</i> 'long-armed'	<i>-bi</i> 'arm'	<i>baru-</i> 'tall'
	<i>biti-jeri-</i> 'slippery-skinned'	<i>-biti</i> 'skin'	<i>jeri-</i> 'slippery'
	<i>biti-misi-</i> 'thick-skinned'	<i>-biti</i> 'skin'	<i>misi-</i> 'thick'
	<i>biti-paja-</i> 'white-skinned'	<i>-biti</i> 'skin'	<i>paja-</i> 'white'
	<i>biti-tseke-</i> 'rough-skinned'	<i>-biti</i> 'skin'	<i>tseke-</i> 'rough'
	<i>na-duka-</i> 'murky-watered'	<i>-na</i> 'water'	<i>duka-</i> 'murky'
	<i>na-paja-</i> 'clear-watered'	<i>-na</i> 'water'	<i>paja-</i> 'white'
	<i>na-pude-</i> 'red/brown-watered'	<i>-na</i> <i>pude-</i>	'water' 'red/brown'
	<i>na-sewe-</i> 'black-watered'	<i>-na</i> 'water'	<i>sewe-</i> 'black'
	<i>niju-kasa-</i> 'brave'	<i>-niju</i> 'heart'	<i>kasa-</i> 'strong'
	<i>niju-paji-</i> 'courageous'	<i>-niju</i> 'heart'	<i>paji-</i> 'hard'

<i>niju-wenana-</i> 'terrified'	-niju 'heart'	wenana- 'nervous'
<i>nime-ji-</i> 'focused'	-nime 'thought'	ji- 'good'
<i>nime-junu-</i> 'patient'	-nime 'thought'	junu- 'long'
<i>nime-kasa-</i> 'courageous'	-nime 'thought'	kasa- 'strong'
<i>nime-wenana-</i> 'tricky'	-nime 'thought'	wenana- 'nervous'
<i>tse-kweru-</i> 'sharp-toothed'	-tse 'tooth'	kweru- 'sharp'
<i>tsuje-ari-</i> 'expensive'	-tsuje 'price'	ari- 'big'
<i>wikani-ari-</i> 'big-nosed'	-wikani 'nose'	ari- 'big'
<i>wi-kweru-</i> 'sharp-beaked'	-wi 'beak'	kweru- 'sharp'
<i>wi-pude-</i> 'red/brown-beaked'	-wi 'beak'	pude- 'red/brown'

A compounded verb can be of any type, i.e., inflecting or non-inflecting, intransitive or transitive. The complex adjective that results has a more specific scope of reference, narrowed down to the type of activity it is associated with. It is quite likely that verb compounding with predicative adjectives is a reflection of the fact that adjectives can have adverbial functions in this language (§11.1.4). It can be observed that a complex adjective containing a verb is very similar in meaning to the same verb modified by the same adjective in adverbial function. This can be illustrated with the adjective *jebu-* 'strong (noise)' and the verb *kike-/keke-* 'shout' in (11.39a), where the adjective and the verb form a compound, and (11.39b), where the adjective is in adverbial function.

- (11.39) a. **Kike-jebu-da**_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} *ekwita*_{CS}.
 shout-strong-ASF =3SG(-FM) person
 ‘The man shouts strongly.’ n5.0748
- b. **Jebu-da** =*tu*_S **keke-ya**.
 strong-ASF =3SG(-FM) shout-IMPV
 ‘It (the horned screamer bird) sings strongly.’ di0579

A similar pair is given in (11.40).

- (11.40) a. **Bira**_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} **kati-uje-da**_{CC}.
 wasp =3SG(-FM) sting-painful-ASF
 ‘The sting of a wasp is very painful (lit. the wasp stings painfully).’
 di0322
- b. **Uje-da** =*taa* = \emptyset _O *chapa=ra*_A **karu-wa**.
 painful-ASF =EMPH (=1SG-FM) dog=ERG bite-PERF
 ‘The dog bit me painfully.’ di2891

Note that the meaning differences between the two types of constructions are unknown and require more work.

The full list of compounds that involve verbs in the available data is given in (11.41), with intransitive inflecting verbs, (11.42), with transitive inflecting verbs, and (11.43), with intransitive non-inflecting verbs. Note that I have not found any compound of this sort with transitive non-inflecting verbs.

- | | | | |
|---------|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (11.41) | <i>paa</i> ⁴ - <i>uje-</i>
‘crying painfully’ | <i>pa-</i>
‘cry’ | <i>uje-</i>
‘painful’ |
| | <i>kawaiti-uje-</i>
‘be very angry’ | <i>kawaiti-</i>
‘be hungry’ | <i>uje-</i>
‘painful’ |
| | <i>aje-ji-</i>
‘walking well’ | <i>aje-</i>
‘walk’ | <i>ji-</i>
‘good’ |

⁴ Note that the verb *pa-* ‘cry’ is compounded with an additional vowel *a* which is not predictable; that is, there are no identified processes in Cavineña of addition of a vowel *a* or of vowel lengthening — the only known process of addition of a vowel concerns the epenthetic suffix *u* (§2.6.6).

	<i>kike-jebu-</i> 'shouting strongly'	<i>kike-</i> 'shout'	<i>jebu-</i> 'strong'
(11.42)	<i>chiri-ari-</i> 'stealing a lot'	<i>chiri-</i> 'rob O'	<i>ari-</i> 'big'
	<i>kati-uje-</i> 'sting painfully'	<i>kati-</i> 'sting O'	<i>uje-</i> 'painful'
	<i>kuru-kuru-ari-</i> 'chewing a lot' ⁵	<i>kuru-</i> 'chew O'	<i>ari-</i> 'big'
	<i>kanine-ari-</i> 'making many holes'	<i>kanine-</i> 'make hole in O'	<i>ari-</i> 'big'
(11.43)	<i>mere-kasa-</i> 'working strong'	<i>mere ju-</i> 'work'	<i>kasa-</i> 'strong'
	<i>urekada-ari-</i> 'teasing a lot'	<i>urekada a-</i> 'tease O'	<i>ari-</i> 'big'

Morpho-syntactic properties of noun-adjective compounds and verb-adjective compounds are as follows:

1 — the resulting complex adjective requires obligatory morphology, i.e., the suffix *-da/-u* 'ASF', the reduplication of the adjective root,⁶ or the suffix *-dama* 'NEG'. Note that no example could be found with the interrogative prefix *eje-* although this combination appears logically possible. Illustrative examples with compounded nouns are given in (11.44), and with compounded verbs (11.39b) (repeated) and (11.45).

- (11.44) a. *Ajabana*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *rumu-pude-da*_{CC}. (**rumu-pude*)
 jabiru =3SG(-FM) throat-red/brown-ASF

'The *jabiru* (bird) has a red/brown throat (lit. red/brown-throated).'
 di0066

⁵ This refers to the activity of chewing coca leaves.

⁶ Note that reduplication only involves the adjective root; the compounded noun or verb is not reduplicated.

- b. *Budarijae*⁷_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *biti-misi-u-si*_{CC}.
flatwhiskered.catfish =3SG(-FM) skin-thick-ASF-AUGM

‘The flatwhiskered catfish is thick-skinned.’ di0348

- c. *Piti-pude-pude-si*_{CC}!
neck-red/brown-REDUP-AUGM

‘He (our community leader) has a very red/brown neck (lit. is very red/brown-necked).’ tb042

- (11.39b) *Kike-jebu-da*_{CC} (**kike-jebu*) =*tu*_{CS} *ekwita*_{CS}.
shout-strong-ASF =3SG(-FM) person

‘The man shouts strongly.’ n5.0748

- (11.45) [*Yume*_{CC}=*ke* *ekwita*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *aje-ji-dama*_{CC}.
over.there=LIG person =3SG(-FM) walk-good-NEG

‘That man over there is limping (lit. walks not well).’ di0070

See also *kati-uje-da* ‘sting painfully’ in (11.40a).

2 — the noun/verb root occurs immediately before the adjective and nothing can occur in between;

3 — the *e-* prefix of a compounded *e*-noun is obligatorily omitted, as expected when an *e*-noun enters a derivational process (see §12.3.1). See examples in (11.44a,b,c), with the *e*-nouns *-rumu* ‘throat’, *-biti* ‘skin’ and *-piti* ‘neck’;

4 — a verb cannot be compounded with its affixes, although the compounding of a reduplicated verb (with antipassive effect; §8.3.1) appears to be possible, as suggested by the form *kuru-kuru-ari-* ‘chewing a lot’, from *kuru-* ‘chew O’, given above in (11.42);

5 — in (at least) one example, given in (11.46) below, a sequence of two *e*-nouns, *-bi* ‘arm’ and *-tsaru* ‘hair’, are compounded together with an adjective. Apparently, the first noun is a juxtaposed modifier to the second, in what looks like the NP juxtaposition construction discussed in §13.1;

- (11.46) *Bi-tsaru-uma-da*_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} *ekwita*_{CS}.
arm-hair-many-ASF =3SG(-FM) person

‘The man has a lot of hair on his arms.’ di0849

6 — The O of a compounded transitive verb can be included as a preposed modifier, as in (11.47).

⁷ This word is made of *budari* ‘banana’ and *jae* ‘fish’.

- (11.47) *Mayuwacs* =*tuCS* [[*akwi=kwana*] *kanine-ari-da*]_{CC}.
 woodpecker =3SG(-FM) tree=PL make.hole.in-big-ASF
 ‘The woodpecker makes many holes in trees.’ di1940

11.2.6. Augmentative suffix *-si* ‘AUGM’

Intensification of the property encoded by a *da*-adjective (as well as an independent adjective; see §11.3) can be achieved morphologically with the augmentative suffix *-si* ‘AUGM’. Note that this is only one of the possible ways of intensifying the property denoted by an adjective in Cavineña. This can be done intonationally, via the specific intensifier contour (§2.8.3). This can also be achieved through the modifier particle *dyake* ‘very’ (§11.1.2) or with phrasal particles such as =*kwita* ‘RESTR’ (§17.2.4) or =*ebari* ‘INTENS’ (§17.2.12). Note however that, contrary to *-si*, none of these intensifier morphemes are restricted to adjectives.

In order for the augmentative suffix *-si* to be used, the adjective requires the *-u* allomorph of the dummy suffix *-dal-u* ‘ASF’, the negative suffix *-dama* ‘NEG’, or a reduplicated root. The suffix *-si* cannot apply on a bare root, a root + *-da*, or a root with the interrogative prefix *eje-*.

Examples (11.48) and (11.49) show the augmentative suffix *-si* on adjectives with the dummy suffix *-u*.

- (11.48) a. *KaniseCS* =*tuCS* *ji-u-siCC* (**ji-si*) *ara=ishu*.
 peanut =3SG(-FM) good-ASF-AUGM eat=PURP.GNL
 ‘Peanuts are very good to eat.’ di0463
- b. *Japa-u-si=dyaCC* (**japa-si=dya*) =*di*
 far-ASF-AUGM=FOC =STRG.EMPH
e-majaka=kwanaCS.
 NPF-space=PL
 ‘(I don’t want to go visit my mother because) the place (where she lives) is very far.’ pf016

Example (11.49) comes from a conversational turn between Antonio Yubanera (A) and Cosme Mayo (V) discussing Cavineña traditional canoes that could carry up to six persons.

- (11.49) A: *Jejee!* [*Shukuta ekwita ani-ya=ke*]_{CS} *tu-wa*_{CC}.
 yes! six person sit-IMPV=LIG there-LOC
 ‘Yes! Six people could sit there (in that canoe) (lit. six person sitting were there).’ ab203

V: *Pa!* *Kasa-u-si!* (**kasa-si*)
 INTERJ strong-ASF-AUGM

‘Wow! (These canoes were) very strong!’ ab203

In one case, with the adjective *uu-* ‘tasty’, the suffix *-si* appears to occur directly on the root without the use of the dummy suffix *-u*, giving the form *uusi*, rather than the otherwise expected **uusi*. Most probably this exception can be explained by the fact that a sequence of three *u* vowels is avoided.

In the texts available, the augmentative suffix is not found occurring on a negated adjective (i.e., an adjective with *-dama*). However, (11.50), volunteered by Emerenciano Sepa, suggests that this is an acceptable combination.

- (11.50) *Tseri-dama-si*_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} *ju-chine* *awada*_{CS}.
 fat-NEG-AUGM =3SG(-FM) be-REC.PAST tapir
 ‘The tapir (that I killed) was very skinny (lit. very not fat).’
 n5.0569

The suffix *-si* is also attested on complex (i.e., compounded) adjectives, as in (11.51).

- (11.51) *Dutya=ra*_A =*tu-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A *adeba-ya*
 all=ERG =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) know-IMPV
 [*aja* *ari-da=ke* *bi-baru-u-si=kwana=ke*]_O.
 capuchin.monkey big-ASF=LIG arm-tall-ASF-AUGM=PL=LIG
 ‘We all know capuchin monkeys which are big, with very long arms (lit. tall-armed).’ aj046-047

The augmentative suffix *-si* is also attested on reduplicated *da*-adjective roots as in (11.44c), from a recorded conversation, (repeated).

- (11.44c) *Piti-pude-pude-si*_{CC}!
 neck-red/brown-REDUP-AUGM
 ‘He (our community leader) has a very red/brown neck (lit. is very red/brown-necked).’ tb042

It was mentioned that *dyake* ‘very’ and the phrasal particles =*ebari* ‘INTENS’ and =*kwita* ‘RESTR’ are also used to intensify the property denoted by an attributive adjective. For some reason, *dyake* never co-occurs with *-si* ‘AUGM’. The phrasal particles, on the other hand, are often used in addition to the augmentative suffix *-si* ‘AUGM’ to further intensify the meaning, as with =*kwita* ‘RESTR’ in (11.21a) (repeated) and =*ebari* ‘INTENS’ in (11.52).

- (11.21a) *Uke-u-si=kwita*_{CC} *ijeti*_{CS}.
 hot-ASF-AUGM=RESTR sun
 ‘The sun is very, very hot.’ n1.0309

- (11.52) *Juji-u-si=ebari*_{CC} *señora*_{CS}.
 fat-ASF-AUGM=INTENS lady
 ‘The lady was extremely big.’ mo012

11.2.7. Direct conversion

The subclass of *da*-adjectives is closed to both borrowing and internal derivation. There is however a process of direct conversion between the *da*-adjectives and the classes of nouns and verbs.

About 45-50 *da*-adjectives have a corresponding noun. In many cases, it is an *e*-noun, as in (11.53), or an independent noun with an abstract meaning, as in (11.54). Note that the lists are not exhaustive.

- (11.53) *da*-adjectives with a corresponding *e*-noun

<i>jasa-</i>	‘decomposed, rotten’	<i>-jasa</i>	‘lung’
<i>nime-</i>	‘wild, untamed’	<i>-nime</i>	‘thought’
<i>patse-</i>	‘bitter’	<i>-patse</i>	‘bile’
<i>tiki-</i>	‘shiny’	<i>-tiki</i>	‘fire’
<i>tsau-</i>	‘with many bones’	<i>-tsau</i>	‘bone’
<i>tseri-</i>	‘fat’	<i>-tseri</i>	‘fat’

(11.54) *da*-adjectives with a corresponding abstract independent noun

<i>ari</i> -	‘big’	<i>ari</i>	‘size’
<i>baru</i> -	‘tall’	<i>baru</i>	‘height’
<i>biji</i> -	‘desirable’	<i>biji</i>	‘desire’
<i>bikwe</i> -	‘heavy’	<i>bikwe</i>	‘weight’
<i>iyuwe</i> -	‘lovable’	<i>iyuwe</i>	‘love’
<i>kasa</i> -	‘strong’	<i>kasa</i>	‘strength’
<i>uke</i> -	‘hot’	<i>uke</i>	‘heat’

A few more *da*-adjectives have a corresponding independent noun referring to entities created/produced by some other entity. Some of these equivalences are shown in (11.55). Note that the list is not exhaustive.

(11.55) *da*-adjectives with a corresponding concrete independent noun

<i>waja</i> -	‘sweet’	<i>waja</i>	‘honey’
<i>wini</i> -	‘sticky’	<i>wini</i>	‘beeswax’
<i>wani</i> -	‘smelly’	<i>wani</i>	‘smoke, smell’

The *da*-adjective *rami*- ‘fleshy’ and its corresponding *e*-noun *-rami* ‘flesh, meat’ are illustrated in (11.56).

(11.56) a. ***Rami***-*da*_{CC} = *tu-ke*_{CS}.
fleshy-ASF = 3SG-FM

‘It (the dove) is fleshy.’⁸ tb179

b. *Bajeje-kware* = *tuna*_A [*tu-ja* *e-rami*]_O
prepare-REM.PAST = 3PL.ERG 3SG.GEN NPF-flesh

cebolla=*kwana*=*tsewe*.
onion=PL=ASSOC

‘They prepared its (caiman’s) meat (lit. flesh) with onions.’ lg037

The *da*-adjective *madi*- ‘sappy, with a lot of sap’ and its corresponding *e*-noun *-madi* ‘sap’ are illustrated in (11.57).

⁸ Note that this example (which comes from a conversation) is a joke. The bird referred to is on the contrary very skinny.

- (11.57) a. *Wakarare*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} ***madi***-*da*_{CC}.
 sucuhua.tree =3SG(-FM) sappy-ASF
 ‘The ‘sucuhua’ tree is sappy.’ di1346
- b. *Ka-pepa-ti-wa* =*tu*_S ***e-madi***=*tsewe*.
 REF-cover-REF-PERF =3SG(-FM) NPF-sap=ASSOC
 ‘He covered himself with sap.’ di0468

Another 25-30 *da*-adjectives have a corresponding verb. These verbs do not have any transitivity restrictions. They come from either the intransitive class, as in (11.58), or the transitive class, as in (11.59). Note that the lists are not exhaustive.

- (11.58) *da*-adjectives with a corresponding intransitive verb

<i>jiji-</i>	‘spicy’	<i>jiji-</i>	‘burn (e.g. spicy food)’
<i>ura-</i>	‘dry’	<i>ura-</i>	‘dry’
<i>wenana-</i>	‘nervous’	<i>wenana-</i>	‘become nervous’

- (11.59) *da*-adjectives with a corresponding transitive verb

<i>pude-</i>	‘red/brown’	<i>pude-</i>	‘paint O red/brown’
<i>jawa-</i>	‘yellow’	<i>jawa-</i>	‘paint O yellow’
<i>pupi-</i>	‘clean’	<i>pupi-</i>	‘clean O’
<i>pukaka-</i>	‘round’	<i>pukaka-</i>	‘make O round’
<i>jemi-</i>	‘powder-like’	<i>jemi-</i>	‘grate O’

The *da*-adjective *mure-* ‘fierce’ and its corresponding intransitive verbs *mure-* ‘protect fiercely’ are illustrated in (11.60).

- (11.60) a. *Tu-ke*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *ju-kware* ***mure***-*da*_{CC}.
 3SG-FM =3SG(-FM) be-REM.PAST fierce-ASF
 ‘It (the maned wolf) looked fierce.’ bo015b
- b. *Waka=ra*_A =*tu*_O ***mure***-*ya*
 cow=ERG =3SG(-FM) protect.fiercely-IMPFV
 [*tu-ja* *ebakwa* *e-tewa=ke*]_O.
 3SG-GEN child RES-hide=LIG
 ‘The cow protects fiercely her baby calf (lit. child) hidden (in the shade).’ n5.0977

The *da*-adjectives *kweru*- ‘sharp’ and its corresponding transitive verb *kweru*- ‘make O pointed’ are illustrated in (11.61).

- (11.61) a. ***Kweru-da***=*kwita*_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} *kuchiru*_{CS}.
 sharp-ASF=RESTR =3SG(-FM) machete
 ‘The machete is quite sharp.’ di0640
- b. ***Kweru-ya*** =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _O *akwi*_O.
 make.pointed-IMPV =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) tree
 ‘I will make the stick (lit. tree) pointed.’ di0639

Considering that so many *da*-adjectives have a corresponding noun or verb, one could be tempted to suggest a derivational process between these classes, such as one that would yield new *da*-adjectives from the noun or verb classes. The derivation could be unmarked or marked by any of the obligatory morphology that predicative adjectives take: *-da/-u* ‘ASF’, *-dama* ‘NEG’, *eje-* ‘INT’, or reduplication. One could even go as far as saying that there is no class of *da*-adjectives *per se* in Cavineña, i.e., all the *da*-adjectives are derived from the classes of nouns or verbs.

I prefer to avoid these analyses, at least from a synchronic perspective, for the following reasons:

1 — one cannot make a *da*-adjective out of any noun or any verb, even when the semantics would seem compatible. For example, the *e*-noun *-rami* ‘flesh’ has a corresponding *da*-adjective, *rami-* ‘fleshy’, but not the semantically close *-tsaru* ‘hair’ — there is an adjective meaning ‘hairy’ but it is an independent adjective, *tsaru-tsaru*, derived by full reduplication (§11.3.2). And similarly for verbs, the transitive verb *jemi-* ‘grate (soft material)’ has a corresponding *da*-adjective *jemi-* ‘powder-like’, but the semantically close transitive verb *jere-* ‘grate (hard material)’ does not;

2 — even though there are some semantic regularities between the pairs — for instance, a number of adjectives can be glossed as ‘having many/a lot of N’, as with *rami-* ‘fleshy, having a lot of flesh’ or *tsau-* ‘having many bones’ —, one cannot always predict the meaning of any adjective from a corresponding noun or verb. For example, the adjective *tiki-* ‘shiny’ cannot mean ‘having a lot of fire’; it would require a different formula, such as ‘being like N’. And with the adjective *atuka-* ‘excellent hunter’ and its corresponding noun *-atuka* ‘eye’, the meaning connection remains quite obscure.

The correspondences between *da*-adjectives, nouns and verbs is thus better analyzed, at least synchronically, in terms of idiosyncratic direct conversions from

class to class rather than in terms of a derivational process. Note that this is a very frequent phenomenon in many languages (Evans and Osada 2005).

11.3. Independent adjectives

Independent adjectives have the following morpho-syntactic properties:

1 — independent adjectives are bare roots that form independent grammatical words without the recourse to obligatory morphology. They never take *-da/-u* ‘ASF’, *-dama* ‘NEG’ — they are negated with the phrasal negative particle *=ama*, as in (11.62) — or *eje-* ‘INT’, and are never compounded with a noun or a verb;

- (11.62) a. *E-na*_{CS} *=e-kwe* *tupu=ama*_{CC} *ju-kware*.
 NPF-water =1SG-DAT sufficient=NEG be-REM.PAST
 ‘I ran out of water (lit. water was not sufficient to me).’ sd013

- b. *Amena*, *eje=ja* *=ni* *ebakwa*_{CS}
 BM INT(=LIG)=DAT =MAYBE child

*yukeneri=ama*_{CC} *ju-ya*.
 intelligent=NEG be-IMPFV

‘Their child could be (born) stupid (lit. a child could be not intelligent to any of them).’ bn030

2 — independent adjectives can take the augmentative suffix *-si* ‘AUGM’:

- (11.63) a. *Peyainime-si*_{CC} *=mi-ke*_{CS}, *Hermano!* *Ejebuchajuatsu?*
 sad-AUGM =2SG-FM brother INT:REASON

‘You are very sad, Brother! Why?’ n5.0574

- b. *Isawe-si*_{CC} *=shana* *=tu-ke*_{CS}.
 deaf-AUGM =PITY =3SG-FM

‘He is very deaf, the poor guy.’ n5.0585

3 — independent adjectives can be (fully) reduplicated. The resulting meaning of this process is still unclear; there are very few examples available and these appear to have contradictory meanings. In (11.64a), for instance, the reduplication of *chacha* ‘alive’ has an attenuative meaning. But in (11.64b), the reduplication of *esiri* ‘old’ has an intensifying meaning.

- (11.64) a. *Chacha-chacha*=*piji=jari* *ju-kware* [*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *ura*].
 alive-REDUP=DIM=STILL be-REM.PAST there=LIG hour

‘It (the deer that I had shot) was still a little bit alive at that time (so I had to shoot at it again).’ sl046

- b. [*Umae* *esiri-esiri*_{CC}=*kwana=ke*]_S =*pa* *ekana*_S
 few old-REDUP=PL=LIG =REP 3PL

tawi-neri-ya=ama=dya.
 sleep-ALMOST-IMPFV=NEG=FOC

‘A few of the very old (people) almost did not sleep.’ cc013

4 — independent adjectives are an open class. They can be derived from other word classes by the following processes: adjectivization of nouns by *-ki* ‘WITH’ or *-ma* ‘WITHOUT’ (§11.3.1), adjectivization of nouns by full reduplication (§11.3.2), adjectivization of verbs by *-taki* ‘ABIL’ (§11.3.3), and adjectivization of verbs by *e-* ‘RES’ or *-ma* ‘RES.NEG’ (§11.3.4). A few additional non-productive derivational processes are discussed in §11.3.5.

11.3.1. Adjectivization of nouns by *-ki* ‘WITH’ and *-ma* ‘WITHOUT’

The suffixes *-ki* and *-ma* are used to derive adjectives from nouns. These adjectives express the property of possessing (with *-ki*) or explicitly not possessing (with *-ma*) the entity denoted by the noun they are derived from, as illustrated in (11.65) and (11.66).

- (11.65) a. *Kamisa-ki*_{CC} *ju-ya*.
 shirt-WITH be-IMPFV

‘He has a shirt (lit. he is with a shirt).’ n4.0212

- b. *Kamisa-ma*_{CC} *ju-ya*.
 shirt-WITHOUT be-IMPFV

‘He doesn’t have a shirt (lit. he is without a shirt).’ n4.0212

- (11.66) a. *Chipiru-ki*_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} *wirakucha*_{CS}.
 money-WITH =3SG(-FM) white.man

‘The white man is rich (lit. he is with money).’ di0697

- b. *Jipakwana* =*ekwana*_{CS} *radio-ki*_{CC} *ju-ya*.
SEEMINGLY.NOT =1PL radio-WITH be-IMPFV

‘It looks like we won’t have the (shortwave) radio (lit. we won’t be with a radio)!’ tb087

Note that there is no verb meaning ‘have’ in Cavineña. The derivation of these adjectives and their use in copula clauses is therefore one way to encode possession at the clause level.⁹

Adjectivization of nouns with *-ki* ‘WITH’ and *-ma* ‘WITHOUT’ is probably fully productive. The process can potentially be applied to any type of nouns: *e*-nouns, kinship nouns — it is at least attested with *wane* ‘wife’ and *awe* ‘husband’ — and independent nouns. The process is very frequently applied to borrowed terms (i.e., independent nouns) such as *kamisa* ‘shirt’, from Spanish *camisa*, in (11.65a,b), and *radio* ‘(shortwave) radio transmitter’, from Spanish *radio*, in (11.66b).

E-nouns taking *-ki* ‘WITH’ and *-ma* ‘WITHOUT’ occur without their *e*-prefix, as shown in (11.67) with the two *e*-nouns *-tseri* ‘fat’ and *-tsau* ‘bone’.

- (11.67) a. *Tume*_{CC}=*ke=dya*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *tseri-ki*_{CC}.
there=LIG=FOC =3SG(-FM) fat-WITH

‘That (type of corn beer) is greasy (lit. with fat).’ ci062

- b. *Biwami*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *ji-da*_{CC} *tsau-ma*_{CC}.
serepapa.cichlid =3SG(-FM) good-ASF bone-WITHOUT

‘The serepapa cichlid (fish) is good, it is boneless (lit. without bone).’ di0308

The two kinship nouns *wane* ‘wife’ and *awe* ‘husband’ can take *-ki* ‘WITH’ and *-ma* ‘WITHOUT’. As such, they occur without their otherwise obligatory possessor inflections, as illustrated in (11.68), with *wane* ‘wife’, and (11.69), with *awe* ‘husband’. Note that it is not known whether other kinship nouns can also take *-ki* and/or *-ma*.

- (11.68) a. *Tu-keja=dya* *wane-ki*_{CC} *ju-diru-kware*.
there-LOC.GNL=FOC wife-WITH be-GO.PERM-REM.PAST

‘Then he got married (lit. he was with a wife) there.’ nk068

⁹ Note that another way to express clausal possession is through the use of dative postpositional phrases with the copula verb *ju-* ‘be’ or the postural verbs *ani-* ‘sit’, *neti-* ‘stand’, etc. (see §14.2.2).

- b. *Wane-ma*_{CC} *i-ke*_{CS} *ju-kware*.
 wife-WITHOUT 1SG-FM be-REM.PAST

‘I did not have a wife (lit. I was without a wife).’ mj017

- (11.69) *Amena* *peya=kwana*_{CS} *awe-ki*_{CC} *ju-wa*.
 BM other=PL husband-WITH be-PERF

‘(I was single but) the others (women) were married (lit. the others were with a husband).’ nk060

I have presented *-ki* ‘WITH’ and *-ma* ‘WITHOUT’ as word class changing markers, i.e., morphemes that apply to a noun word and turn it into a (predicative) adjective word. However, in a few examples, *-ki* ‘WITH’ appears to have scope over full NPs, suggesting a different analysis. In (11.70a), for instance, the purportedly adjectivized noun *ujeje* ‘disease’ is preceded by a demonstrative (copula) relative clause (§13.6). And in (11.70b), the purportedly adjectivized noun *mutiru* ‘hat’ is followed by an attributive adjective (§13.2), in which case *-ki* is attached to the attributive adjective, not to the noun.

- (11.70) a. *Dutya*_{CS} =*ekwana*_{CS} [*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *ujeje*]-*ki*_{CC} *ju-kware*.
 all =1PL there=LIG disease-WITH be-REM.PAST

‘We all had that (tuberculosis) disease (lit. we all were with that disease).’ nk101

- b. *Ba-tsa-kware* =*pa* =*tu*_{CS} [*ekwita*=*jiu*],
 see-COME(O)-REM.PAST =REP =3SG(-FM) person=SIMLR
 [*mutiru ebari*]-*ki*, *baru-dama*.
 hat big-WITH big-NEG

‘He saw something that looked like a man, who had a big hat and who was short (in size).’ du012

If indeed *-ki* can have scope over a full noun phrase rather than over a single noun word, it would probably be better not to analyze this morpheme as a word class changing marker — a possible alternative could be to analyze it as an instrumental-like enclitic postposition. For the time being, and until more is known on this morpheme, I will nevertheless retain the word class changing analysis since such examples are quite marginal. Note also that this phenomenon is not attested with *-ma* ‘WITHOUT’.

The suffix *-ki* is lexicalized in *nijuki* ‘drunk’, from *-niju* ‘heart’ (lit. with heart). The two adjectives *dameki* ‘lucky’ and *maki* ‘pregnant’, which both end with *ki*, and the adjective *mema* ‘empty’, which ends with *ma*, are possibly de-

rived from nouns, although these putative nouns cannot be identified synchronically. Historical and comparative work is needed to determine if such nouns could have existed at earlier stages of the language.

There is finally a peculiar use of (apparently) the same adjectivizer suffix *-ki* where it is found attached to, and lexicalized with, the associative postposition =*tsewe* ‘ASSOC’ or its corresponding associative suffix *-tsewe* (§14.2.1 and §15.1.2). The resulting forms behave like complex independent predicative adjectives meaning ‘sibling of X’, X being the referent of the NP argument of the associative postposition or the referent of the independent pronoun. Examples with these forms are given in (11.71), with an associative PP, and (11.72), with associative pronouns.

- (11.71) [[*Tu-ja e-tata=ke*]=*tseweki*_{CC}=*ke*]_O =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O
 3SG-GEN 3-father=3=sibling=LIG =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM)

isara-ni-kware [“*tatiine*” *jadya*].
 talk.to-RANDOM-REM.PAST uncle.FB thus

‘His father’s brother, they would call him “tatiine”.’ fm010

- (11.72) a. *Ju-eti-ya* =*tukwe* =*tu-ke*_S =*e-kwe*
 be-COME.PERM-IMPV =CONT.EVID =3SG-FM =1SG-DAT

*ea-tseweki*_{CC}=*ke*_S.
 1SG-sibling=LIG

‘I feel my brother is going to come back.’ tu039

- b. *Riya=dya yatse-tseweki*_{CC}=*ke*_{CC}.
 here=FOC 1DL-sibling=LIG

‘Here is our (dl) brother.’ di2420

- c. [*Jadya* [*e-kwe ea-tseweki*_{CC}=*ra*]_A *a-ya=ju*]
 thus 1SG-GEN 1SG-sibling(=LIG)=ERG affect-IMPV=DS

=*mi*_A *warere-nuka-ya*.
 =2SG(-ERG) turn-REITR-IMPV

‘When my brother told you so, you turned back.’ ka516

Note that these complex “adjectives” are only found marked by the relative clause (ligature) marker =*ke* ‘LIG’ in the data; that is, they are copula complements within relative clauses; see §13.6 and Chapter 20 on relative clauses.¹⁰

¹⁰ Note that, as expected, the relative clause marker =*ke* ‘LIG’ does not show up in

11.3.2. Adjectivization of nouns by full reduplication

A few independent adjectives are derived by full reduplication of a noun. Their meaning is ‘having a lot of/many N’. This derivational process is attested with eleven nouns in the available corpus, as listed in (11.73a), with *e*-nouns, and (11.73b), with independent nouns.

(11.73) a. independent adjectives derived by full reduplication of an *e*-noun

<i>kwija-kwija</i>	‘with many thorns’	<i>-kwija</i>	‘thorn’
<i>nawa-nawa</i>	‘with a lot of down’	<i>-nawa</i>	‘down’
<i>tiri-tiri</i>	‘with many roots’	<i>-tiri</i>	‘root’
<i>tsaru-tsaru</i>	‘with a lot of hair’	<i>-tsaru</i>	‘hair’
<i>wachi-wachi</i>	‘with a lot of feet’	<i>-wachi</i>	‘foot’

b. independent adjectives derived by full reduplication of an independent noun

<i>jibi-jibi / ribi-ribi</i>	‘with many wrinkles’	<i>jibi</i>	‘wrinkle’
<i>kani-kani</i>	‘with many holes’	<i>kani</i>	‘hole’
<i>kwesa-kwesa</i>	‘with a lot of facial hair’	<i>kwesa</i>	‘facial hair’
<i>benu-benu</i>	‘with many bends’	<i>benu</i>	‘bend’
<i>buje-buje</i>	‘with many stains’	<i>buje</i>	‘stain’
<i>chipi-chipi</i>	‘with many spots’	<i>chipi</i>	‘spot’
<i>chiwe-chiwe</i>	‘with many chiggers’	<i>chiwe</i>	‘chigger’

The six fully reduplicated adjectives in (11.74) may have been derived from nouns by full reduplication. However, such nouns are could not be identified in the available data.

(11.74)	<i>chacha</i>	‘alive’	<i>purapura</i>	‘with many spots’
	<i>jurijuri</i>	‘striped’	<i>putaputa</i>	‘with many spots’
	<i>kwerekwere</i>	‘striped’		

11.3.3. Adjectivization of verbs by *-taki* ‘ABIL’

The suffix *-taki* ‘ABILitative’ is used to derive independent abilitative adjectives from verbs. The derived adjectives can have either of the following two

(11.72c), since it occurs in the same clitic sequence with a (ergative) postposition and precedes it.

meanings: (1) ‘can/be able to V’, as in (11.75a), or (2) ‘must V’, as in (11.75b). Which specific meaning is intended in a particular clause is understood from the context.

- (11.75) a. *I-ke*_{CS} *aje-taki=ama*_{CC} *ju-kware*.
 1SG-FM walk-ABIL=NEG be-REM.PAST

‘I **could** not (*must not) walk (because I was too weak).’ mp067

- b. [[*E-kike*_{CS} *ba-ma*_{CC}=*ju*] *babi ju-ya=ke* *juatsu*]
 NPF-forest see-RES.NEG=LOC hunt be-IMPV=CONDIT CONDIT
 =*tu*_{CS} *e-kari=tsewe* *kwa-taki*_{CC}.
 =3SG(-FM) NPF-track=ASSOC go-ABIL

‘If someone hunts in an unknown (lit. unseen) forest, he **must** (*can) stay on the beaten track (lit. go with a track) (lest he will get lost).’ di0883

It will be noted that abilitative adjectives are very often negated, as in (11.75a). As such they take the particle =*ama* ‘NEG’; that is, there are no specific abilitative negative suffixes.

Adjectivization with *-taki* ‘ABIL’ is probably fully productive. This suffix can be applied to any type of verbs, intransitive or transitive, inflecting or non-inflecting verbs. Abilitative adjectives derived from intransitive inflecting verbs can be seen in (11.75) above and (11.76) below.

- (11.76) a. *Neti-tsura-taki=ama=dya*_{CC} *ju-ya*
 stand-GO.UP-ABIL=NEG=FOC be-IMPV
 [*ushuri*, *ushuri=tibu*].
 skinny skinny=REASON

‘She (a female dog) could not stand up because she was (too) weak (lit. skinny).’ tg012

- b. ... [*dyake nereka-da*]_{CC} *ju-kware* *ike*_{CS}. *Maju-taki*_{CC}.
 very miserable-ASF be-REM.PAST 1SG die-ABIL

‘(During that long trip over the flooded pampa, to see my family, I was all alone and) very miserable. I could have died.’ mj174-175

- c. *Bute-taki*=*ama*_{CC} *ekana*_{CS} *ju-ya*.
 go.down-ABIL=NEG 3PL be-IMPFV

‘They (the fish that wanted to escape) could not go down(river)
 (because it was night and they couldn’t see).’ bb019

Abilitative adjectives derived from transitive inflecting verbs are illustrated in (11.77).

- (11.77) a. [*Taraka ji-da*_{CC}=*ju=kamadya*] =*tu*_{CS}
 corral good-ASF(=LIG)=LOC=ONLY =3SG(-FM)

[*waka mure-da*_{CC}=*ke*]_{CS} *ina-taki*_{CC}.
 cow fierce-ASF=LIG grab-ABIL

‘Only in a good corral can a fierce cow be caught (lit. grabbed).’
 di2622

- b. [*Kimisha matuja akwa ebari*]_{CS} =*e-kwe* *rike-taki*_{CC}.
 three caiman chest big =1SG-DAT cross-ABIL

‘I had to cross three wide (lit. big) ditches (lit. caiman chests).’
 mj112

- c. *Ekwana-ja* =*tu*_{CS} *uune-taki*_{CC} *kuchi=kwana*_{CS}.
 1PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) raise-ABIL pig=PL

‘We have to raise pigs.’ di2948

- d. *Jiji-da=ke*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *ebakwa=kwana=ja*
 spicy-ASF=LIG =3SG(-FM) child=PL=DAT

ara-taki=*ama*_{CC}.
 eat-ABIL=NEG

‘Children should not eat spicy (food).’ di1764

Copula clauses with abilitative adjectives derived from transitive verbs often express the original transitive subject (i.e., the original A argument) by an oblique in the dative case. This can be a dative bound pronoun, as in (11.77b), a dative independent pronoun, as in (11.77c), or a dative NP, as in (11.77d). Note however that the expression of the original A argument is not obligatory, as in (11.77a).

Abilitative adjectives derived from non-inflecting verbs are illustrated in (11.78a), with an intransitive verb, and (11.78b), with a transitive verb.

- (11.78) a. [[*Nei wiri*]_S *ju-ya=ju*] =*tu*_{CS} *mere ju-taki=dya*_{CC}.
 rain tiny be-IMPV=DS =3SG(-FM) work be-ABIL=FOC
 ‘When it is drizzling (lit. when tiny rain is), it is (still) possible to work.’ di2089

- b. *Iyakwa=kwita ka-kweja-ti-kwe!*
 now=RESTR REF-inform-REF-IMP.SG
*Pusha-push a-taki*_{CC}=*ama Yusu*_{CS}.
 lie-REDUP affect-ABIL=NEG God

‘Confess (lit. inform) right now! It is not possible to lie to God.’
 di2313

A verb that takes *-taki* ‘ABIL’ cannot carry any inflectional suffixes. However, it can potentially carry any of the non-inflectional affixes. This can be seen with the directional *-tsura* ‘GO.UP’ in (11.76a), the reflexive *k(a)-...-ti* ‘REF’ in (11.79a), and the Aktionsart *-neri* ‘ALMOST’ in (11.79b).

- (11.79) a. ... [*esamaki*_E *ekwana*_S *bawe=ke juatsu*]
 medicine 1PL know=CONDIT CONDIT
*ka-sama-ti-taki=dya*_{CC} *ju-kware...*
 REF-cure-REF-ABIL=FOC be-REM.PAST

‘(At the time when we caught tuberculosis,) if we had known medicines, we could have cured ourselves...’ nk085

- b. *Metebaba*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *tsuru-neri-taki=ama*_{CC}.
 armadillo(sp.) =3SG(-FM) meet-ALMOST-ABIL=NEG

‘It is almost impossible to see (lit. meet) the ‘metebaba’ armadillo.’
 n5.0532

Abilitative adjectives are very often used in secondary predicate function (with *ba-* ‘see’; §11.1.5). This allows the speaker to express the fact that the ability/non-ability of a participant (in O function) to perform a verb event is viewed from the eyes, the perspective or the feelings of another participant (in A function) — note that when abilitative adjectives are used as CC, the property that they express is viewed from the perspective of the speaker. Examples of abilitative adjectives in secondary predicate function are given in (11.80a), based on a transitive verb, and (11.80b), based on an intransitive verb.

- (11.80) a. *Karetu*_O =*tu*_O *juye*=*kwana*=*ra*_A *repe-taki*=*ama*
 cart =3SG(-FM) ox=PL=ERG pull-ABIL=NEG
ba-kware.
 see-REM.PAST
 ‘The oxen couldn’t pull the cart (because it was too heavy).’
 co004a
- b. [*E-kwe* *mama-chi*_O *maju-taki* *ba-atsu*]...
 1SG-GEN mother-AFFTN die-ABIL see-SS
 ‘When I realised that my mommy could die (I decided to go and
 visit her).’ pf004

Note that in most of the examples available, the abilitative adjective is derived from a transitive verb; that is, examples such as (11.80b), based on intransitive verbs are quite rare.

Two abilitative adjectives have been found with an idiosyncratic meaning. The first is *batakiamo* ‘missing’, which comes from *ba-* ‘see’, the suffix *-taki* ‘ABIL’ and the negative particle =*ama* (lit. ‘cannot be seen’). It is illustrated in (11.81a). The second is *kwejataki* ‘respectful, well-educated’, which comes from *kweja-* ‘inform’ (lit. ‘can be informed’). It is illustrated in (11.81b).

- (11.81) a. *Pa-ke*_{ti} *yatse-ja*
 HORT.SG-fetch 1DL-DAT
 [*ai*=*kwana* *batakiamo*_{CC} *ju-ya*=*ke*]_O!
 INT=PL missing be-IMPV=LIG
 ‘I will buy provisions for us (lit. fetch what is missing/what cannot
 be seen).’ vc006
- b. *Kwejataki*_{CC} *ne-ju-kwe,* *Murawawa!*
 respectful IMP.NSG-be-IMP.NSG pampa.fly
 ‘(Please) leave me alone (lit. be respectful), Pampa flies!’ (i.e., stop
 harassing me!) zo127

Abilitative adjectives can only be derived from verbs; that is, the abilitative suffix *-taki* cannot be attached to other word classes. In one example, (11.82) below, *-taki* is found attached to the copula verb/predicate *ju-* ‘be’ with the adjective *nawi-ma*, a resultative derived adjective, as copula complement. Note that resultative adjectives are discussed in the following section.

- (11.82) *Nawi-ma*_{CC} *ju-taki=ama*_{CC}.
 bathe-NEG.RES be-ABIL=NEG

‘(In the olden days, Cavineña children were forced to bathe very early in the morning. There was no alternative.) They could not have bathed.’ bn027

11.3.4. Adjectivization of verbs by *e-* ‘RES’ and *-ma* ‘RES.NEG’

The prefix *e-* ‘RESultative’ and the suffix *-ma* ‘RESultative NEGative’ are used to derive independent resultative adjectives from any type of verb, whether inflecting or non-inflecting, and intransitive or transitive. An adjective derived by the prefix *e-* ‘RES’ has a positive value. It expresses a state that results from the occurrence of the event denoted by the verb the adjective is derived from, as illustrated in (11.83a), based on an intransitive verb, and (11.83b), based on a transitive verb.

- (11.83) a. *Tudya amena jaecs amena e-kastere*_{CC} *ju-kware*.
 then BM fish FILL RES-become.tired be-REM.PAST

‘Then, the fish was tired (lit. had become tired).’ ps036

- b. *E-ba=dya*_{CC} =*mi-kwe*?
 RES-see=FOC =2SG-DAT

‘Have you (ever) seen (that type of shoes) (lit. has it been seen to you)?’ tb092

An adjective derived by the prefix *-ma* ‘RES.NEG’ has a negative value. It expresses a state that results from the non-occurrence of the event denoted by the verb the adjective is derived from, as in (11.84a), based on an intransitive verb), and (11.84b), based on a transitive verb.

- (11.84) a. *Wekaka-wa i-kes. Tawi-ma=dya*_{CC} *i-kecs*...
 be.at.dawn-PERF 1SG-FM sleep-RES.NEG=FOC 1SG-FM

‘I was (still) awake at dawn. I haven’t slept ...’ ju021

- b. *Arusucs =mi-kwe jikwi-ma*_{CC}?
 rice =2SG-DAT cut.off-RES.NEG

‘Have you never harvested rice? (lit. is it that rice has never been cut off to you)?’ tb182

Once, in Misión Cavinás, I was expecting a radio communication from Alfredo Tavo, who was in the town in Riberalta. I went to the radio house and asked Lucas Tavo, who was in charge of the radio, whether Alfredo had tried to contact me. Lucas had still not heard anything from Alfredo so he said to me (11.85).

- (11.85) *Isara-ma*_{CC} =*tu-ja* =*i-ke*_{CS}.
 talk.to-RES.NEG =3SG-DAT =1SG-FM
 ‘(Sorry!) I haven’t heard from him (lit. I have not been talked to to him).’ n5.0729

The original subject (A) of a transitive verb is often expressed by an oblique in dative case. This can be a dative bound pronoun, as in (11.83b), (11.84b) and (11.85), dative NP, as in (11.86a), or a dative independent pronoun. Note however that the the original subject does not need to be expressed, as in (11.86b).

- (11.86) a. [*Tume ju-ani-bare-ya=kwana=ja*] =*tu*_{CS}
 there be-SIT-DISTR-IMPV=PL(=LIG)=DAT =3SG(-FM)
*ba-ti-ma*_{CC} [*chapa bei*]_{CS}.
 see-GO.TEMP-RES.NEG dog lake
 ‘Those who are sitting around there have never gone to seen (the lake called) the dog lake.’ tb165
- b. [*Riya*_{CC}=*ke e-spere*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *e-warashane*_{CC}.
 here=LIG NPF-stream =3SG(-FM) RES-make.bridge.over
 ‘A bridge has been built over this stream.’ n2.0543

Resultative adjectives derived from non-inflecting verbs are illustrated in (11.87a), based on an intransitive verb and (11.87b), based on a transitive verb.

- (11.87) a. [*Ejebucha kwa-e=dya*] =*tu*_{CS} *ju-ma*_{CC}
 MAN.INT go-MAN.INT=FOC =3SG(-FM) affect-RES.NEG
wikamutya=ra.
 fish=PURP.MOT
 ‘(Because your father is working,) there is no way he can have gone fishing.’ ka353

- b. [E-diji [tsaje-tsaje e-a_{CC}=ke]_{RC}]_O =ekwana_A
 NPF-path cut-REDUP RES-affect=LIG =1PL(-ERG)

ba-aje-chine.

see-GO.DISTR-REC.PAST

‘(As we were progressing through the forest, searching for the people from Baqueti,) we saw a path that had been cut.’ vb038

Occasionally, resultative affixes apply to a verb that carries non-inflectional affixes. This can be seen with the Aktionsart suffix *-ti* ‘GO.TEMP’ in (11.86a) and reflexive *k(a)-...-ti* ‘REF’ in (11.88).

- (11.88) [Tu-wa e-ka-sita-ti_{CC}=kwana=ke]_O =∅_A
 there-LOC RES-REF-approach-REF=PL=LIG (=1SG-ERG)

isara-kware=dya.

talk.to-REM.PAST=FOC

‘I also talked to the ones who had gathered (lit. approached one another) there.’ T1.75

An example showing a resultative adjective in secondary predicate function (§11.1.5) is given in (11.89).

- (11.89) [[Peya ekwita]_S ju-na-tsu] kuchi_O e-ara
 other person be-COME.TEMP-SS pig RES-eat

ba-na-kware.

see-COME.TEMP-REM.PAST

‘When the other man arrived, he saw that the pig had been eaten.’ ti003

A number of independent adjectives have a word initial *e* or a word final *ma*, suggesting that they could have resulted from the application of the resultative markers to a verb base, as with *esiri* ‘old (by aging)’, *ejitaju* ‘visible’ and *mema* ‘empty’. However, the putative verb bases cannot be identified in present day Cavineña so that no conclusive statement can be made until historical/comparative work is conducted.¹¹

¹¹ *Esiri* ‘old’ could perhaps come from *siri-* ‘break, tear’ (lit. broken, torn). As for *mema* ‘empty’, it could as well have been derived from a noun since *-ma* also derives adjectives from nouns (§11.3.1).

11.3.5. Miscellaneous

In addition to the morphological processes of derivation described in the preceding sections, a number of independent adjectives have been directly converted from nouns. Such nouns and their meaning as independent adjectives are listed exhaustively in (11.90):¹²

(11.90) a. independent adjectives directly converted from an *e*-noun

<i>ewikani</i>	‘tipsy’	<i>-wikani</i>	‘nose’
<i>etsurikani</i>	‘having a throat ache’	<i>-tsurikani</i>	‘throat’

b. independent adjectives directly converted from an independent noun

<i>baara</i>	‘feverish’	<i>baara</i>	‘fever’
<i>ujera</i>	‘painful’	<i>ujera</i>	‘pain’

It is not clear at the present stage how productive this process is, whether it applies to particular semantic fields rather than others and how predictable the resulting sense is. Note that the examples available essentially concern the field of disease and that the adjectives mean ‘having/catching the disease’.

The adjective *peyainime* ‘sad’ is presumably a lexicalized noun phrase with the quantifier *peya* ‘other’ and the head noun *-nime* ‘thought’¹³ (lit. other thought).

A number of independent adjectives end with the formative *ama*, such as *pureama* ‘happy’, *yuama* ‘bad’, *aama* ‘not exist’ and *aijama* ‘not exist at all’. They have most likely arisen from the lexicalization of the negative phrasal particle =*ama* (see §17.2.9) on forms that are no longer recognizable.

¹² Note that the independent adjectives with a corresponding *e*-noun include the *e*- prefix.

¹³ This *e*-noun takes an irregular prefix *i* (instead of *e*-).

Appendix 1 to Chapter 11 — exhaustive list of *da*-adjectives

The adjectives are sorted according to the semantic types in Dixon (2004).

a. DIMENSION

<i>ari-</i>	‘big’	<i>junu-</i>	‘long’
<i>baru-</i>	‘tall’	<i>kini-</i>	‘wide’
<i>beje-</i>	‘thin’	<i>mis-</i>	‘thick’
<i>de-</i>	‘deep’	<i>wiri-</i>	‘tiny’

b. AGE / VALUE

<i>atuka-</i>	‘excellent hunter’	<i>ji-</i>	‘good’
<i>biji-</i>	‘desirable’	<i>nana-</i>	‘young’
<i>iyuwe-</i>	‘lovable’	<i>tsujeari-</i>	‘expensive’

c. COLOR

<i>apu-</i>	‘dark’	<i>pude-</i>	‘red/brown’
<i>jawa-</i>	‘yellow’	<i>sawa-</i>	‘green/blue’
<i>paja-</i>	‘white’	<i>sewe-</i>	‘black’
<i>pasa-</i>	‘grey’		

d. PHYSICAL PROPERTIES

<i>abaka-</i>	‘silent’	<i>naje-</i>	‘diluted’
<i>asika-</i>	‘dirty’	<i>naka-</i>	‘wet’
<i>ba-</i>	‘cold’	<i>napa-</i>	‘insipid’
<i>badu-</i>	‘wet (e.g., clothes)’	<i>nasu-</i>	‘watery (?)’
<i>basi-</i>	‘sticky’	<i>paji-</i>	‘hard’
<i>bati-</i>	‘wet (e.g., soil)’	<i>patse-</i>	‘bitter’
<i>bikwe-</i>	‘heavy’	<i>pidi-</i>	‘viscous’
<i>chipiru-</i>	‘rich’	<i>pukaka-</i>	‘round’
<i>duka-</i>	‘murky (e.g., water)’	<i>pupi-</i>	‘clean’
<i>duku-</i>	‘with seeds’	<i>pure-</i>	‘astringent’
<i>ijawakaka-</i>	‘noisy’	<i>rami-</i>	‘fleshy’
<i>ijime-</i>	‘fragrant’	<i>saka-</i>	‘stinging’
<i>iwi-</i>	‘smelly’	<i>saru-</i>	‘toasted’
<i>jaku-</i>	‘sour’	<i>sasa-</i>	‘fermented’
<i>jari-</i>	‘painful’	<i>siba-</i>	‘sticky’

<i>jasa-</i>	'decomposed, rotten'	<i>sikaka-</i>	'noisy'
<i>jata-</i>	'light'	<i>shabi-</i>	'tender'
<i>jebu-</i>	'strong (e.g., noise)'	<i>temu-</i>	'stiff'
<i>jemi-</i>	'powder-like'	<i>tiki-</i>	'shiny'
<i>jepe-</i>	'flat'	<i>time-</i>	'thick, dense'
<i>jeri-</i>	'slippery'	<i>tsa-</i>	'scarce'
<i>jiji-</i>	'spicy'	<i>tsau-</i>	'with bones'
<i>jika-</i>	'lush, luxuriant'	<i>tseka-</i>	'discontinuous'
<i>juji-</i>	'fat'	<i>tseke-</i>	'rough'
<i>juku-</i>	'loose'	<i>tseri-</i>	'fat'
<i>jumuru-</i>	'hunched'	<i>uje-</i>	'painful'
<i>jusu-</i>	'muddy'	<i>ujeje-</i>	'sick'
<i>kasa-</i>	'strong'	<i>uke-</i>	'hot'
<i>kwareru-</i>	'round'	<i>ura-</i>	'dry'
<i>kweji-</i>	'fetid'	<i>uu-</i>	'tasty'
<i>kweru-</i>	'sharp'	<i>uyu-</i>	'muddy'
<i>madi-</i>	'sappy'	<i>waja-</i>	'sweet'
<i>mare-</i>	'ripe'	<i>wani-</i>	'smelly'
<i>mid-</i>	'tight'	<i>weka-</i>	'bright'
<i>mumi-</i>	'smooth'	<i>wini-</i>	'sticky'
<i>musu-</i>	'thickly forested (?)'		

e. HUMAN PROPENSITY

<i>baji-</i>	'scared'	<i>mu-</i>	'scary'
<i>bisuta-</i>	'shameful'	<i>mui-</i>	'serious'
<i>daji-</i>	'coquettish'	<i>mure-</i>	'fierce'
<i>dyai-</i>	'lazy'	<i>nereka-</i>	'miserable'
<i>inije-</i>	'stingy'	<i>nime-</i>	'wild, untamed'
<i>mekware-</i>	'track-leaving'	<i>wenana-</i>	'nervous'

f. SPEED / DIFFICULTY

<i>bida-</i>	'fast'	<i>masa-</i>	'hard, tiring'
<i>ibe-</i>	'hard to understand'	<i>weni-</i>	'vigorous, fast'

g. QUANTIFICATION / POSITION

<i>bidi-</i>	'continuous'	<i>tsunu-</i>	'long (time)'
<i>japa-</i>	'far'	<i>uma-</i>	'many, in great quantity'

Appendix 2 to Chapter 11 — exhaustive list of independent adjectives

a. DIMENSION

<i>achacha / ashasha</i>	‘small’	<i>tyubu</i>	‘short’
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b. AGE / VALUE

<i>dameki</i>	‘lucky’	<i>jidapiji</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>esiri</i>	‘old (by aging)’	<i>yuama</i>	‘bad’

c. PHYSICAL PROPERTY

<i>abakata</i>	‘silent’	<i>kwijakwija</i>	‘thorny’
<i>baara</i>	‘feverish’	<i>maki</i>	‘pregnant’
<i>benubenu</i>	‘with bends’	<i>mema</i>	‘empty’
<i>bujebuje</i>	‘with stains’	<i>nawanawa</i>	‘downy’
<i>chacha</i>	‘alive, healthy’	<i>nerekapane</i>	‘pitiful’
<i>chipichipi</i>	‘with spots’	<i>nijuki</i>	‘drunk’
<i>chiwechiwe</i>	‘with chiggers’	<i>purapura</i>	‘with spots’
<i>ejitaju</i>	‘visible’	<i>putaputa</i>	‘with spots’
<i>etsurikani</i>	‘have throat ache’	<i>ribiribi</i>	‘wrinkled’
<i>ewikani</i>	‘tipsy’	<i>shuwi</i>	‘blind’
<i>isawe</i>	‘deaf’	<i>tiritiri</i>	‘with roots’
<i>jibijibi</i>	‘wrinkled’	<i>tuyu</i>	‘straight’
<i>jurijuri</i>	‘striped’	<i>tsarutsaru</i>	‘hairy’
<i>kanikani</i>	‘with holes’	<i>ujera</i>	‘painful’
<i>kwerekwere</i>	‘striped’	<i>ushuri</i>	‘skinny’
<i>kwesakwesa</i>	‘with facial hair’	<i>wachiwachi</i>	‘with feet’

d. HUMAN PROPENSITY

<i>kwejataki</i>	‘respectful’	<i>pureama</i>	‘happy’
<i>peyainime</i>	‘sad’	<i>yukeneri</i>	‘intelligent’
<i>pude</i>	‘stupid’		

e. QUANTIFICATION

<i>aama</i>	‘not exist’	<i>jetiama</i>	‘many, in great quantity’
<i>aijama</i>	‘not exist at all’	<i>tupu</i>	‘sufficient’
<i>batakama</i>	‘missing’	<i>yuta</i>	‘entire, complete’

f. MISCELLANEOUS

bape

‘different’

tseweki

‘sibling’

Chapter 12

Noun phrase structure — an overview

This chapter has two goals. The first is to introduce the reader to the structure of the NP (§12.1). It will be shown that an NP in Cavineña consists of 8 structural slots. There is one slot for the head — which must be a noun — and 7 slots for modifiers — they are: relative clause (used in two different slots), quantifier, genitive modifier, juxtaposed noun, attributive adjective and number marker.

The second goal of this chapter is a full discussion of the class of nouns; NP modifiers are fully discussed in Chapter 13. There are three subclasses of nouns, distinguished by morpho-syntactic criteria: (1) *e*-nouns, which must take a dummy prefix *e*- and refer to parts of entities (§12.3), (2) kinship nouns, which are inflected for the person of their possessor (§12.4), and (3) independent nouns, which do not take *e*- nor any possessor inflection, and which refer to fauna, flora, etc. (§12.5).

Kinship nouns can be said to be inalienably possessed because for these forms, marking the possessor is obligatory. One could argue that *e*-nouns are also inalienably possessed, on the basis of their peculiar prefix *e*- and the fact that they encode notions that are very often expressed by inalienably possessed nouns in various languages (body parts, etc.). The possibility of analyzing *e*-nouns as inalienably possessed is considered (and refuted) in §12.6.

Independent nouns never take either the *e*- prefix nor the possessor inflections. However, they can take a range of derivational affixes which do not occur with nouns of the other groups. Processes deriving independent nouns from other word classes or from other nouns are discussed in §12.7.

12.1. NP structure — overview

The NP structure can be described in terms of 8 slots (from A to H), each associated with a particular type of constituent, as shown in the following slot diagram:

- Slot A: Relative clause
 Slot B: Quantifier
 Slot C: Genitive modifier
 Slot D: Juxtaposed noun
 Slot E: **Head noun**
 Slot F: Attributive adjective
 Slot G: Number
 Slot H: Relative clause

A brief description of each slot and the elements that fill them is given below:

— slots A and H are filled by relative clauses (RCs). RCs are marked by a special enclitic =*ke* ‘LIG’ that is attached to the last phonological word of the RC. Verbal RCs tend to be postposed to the NP head in slot H as in (12.1a). A number of copula RCs, notably demonstrative RCs¹ and interrogative RCs, only occur preposed to the NP head in slot A as in (12.1b). More information on RCs is provided in §13.6 and Chapter 20;

- (12.1) a. *Tume =tukwe ani-kware*
 there =CONT.EVID sit-REM.PAST
 [*bina [i-ke_O susu-ti-ya=ke]*]_S.
 bat 1SG-FM suck-GO.TEMP-IMPFV=LIG
 ‘(When I went sleeping, I didn’t know that) there was a (vampire)
 bat that was going to suck me (during my sleep).’ bi016
- b. [*Yume_{CC}=ke jipamu*]_{CS} *ji-u=pijicc*.
 over.there=LIG papaya good-ASF=DIM
 ‘That papaya (plant) (that we see in the distance) is very nice.’
 n5.0466

— slot B is filled by quantifier modifiers. Quantifier modifiers consist of logical quantifiers (e.g., *dutya* ‘all’, exemplified in (12.2)), numerals (e.g., *beta* ‘two’), a quantifier question marker (*ejeuma* ‘how many’) and the word *peya* ‘other’. A full discussion is given in §13.5;

¹ Note that Cavineña does not have a word class of nominal demonstratives (i.e., demonstratives used within NPs).

- (12.2) **[Dutya uu=kwana]_{CS}** =*pa* *ushuri=tere_{CC}* *ju-kware*.
 all animal=PL =REP skinny=ONLY be-REM.PAST
 ‘All the animals were very skinny (because they had not eaten for days).’ ti005b

— slot C is filled by a genitive modifier. This can be a genitive phrase, as in (12.3a), or a genitive pronoun, as in (12.3b):

- (12.3) a. **[[Ebakwa nana=ja] eja=kwana]_{CS}** =*tu_{CS}* *naka-da=jari_{CC}*.
 child young=GEN diaper=PL =3SG wet-ASF=STILL
 ‘The baby’s diapers (that have been washed) are still wet.’ di0994

- b. *Rosalino, Rosalino, ju-eti-wa* =*taa*
 Rosalino Rosalino be-COME.PERM-PERF =EMPH
[yatse-ja juje]_s.
 1DL-GEN duck

‘(My wife came to me and said:) Rosalino, Rosalino, our (dl) duck (that was lost) has come back.’ ju025

A full discussion of genitive modifiers is in §13.4.

— slots D and E are filled by nouns. A noun in slot D functions as a modifier. A noun in slot E functions as the NP head. An example with both slots D and E filled is given in (12.4):

- (12.4) *Bakwakwi_s* =*tu_s* *etsa ju-ya*
 jacaranda =3SG(-FM) blossom be-IMPV
[nei mara=ju].
 rain time=LOC

‘The jacaranda (tree) blossoms during the rainy season.’ di0184

There are three subclasses of nouns: *e*-nouns, kinship nouns and independent nouns. A full discussion of nouns is found in the remainder of this chapter.

Nouns functioning as NP modifiers (in slot D) are discussed at length in §13.1.

— slot F is filled by an attributive adjective, as illustrated in (12.5):

- (12.5) a. **[E-na siri]_{CC}** =*tu-ke_{CS}* *Iji-ume!*
 NPF-water old =3SG-FM drink-IMP.SG.NEG

‘This is old water. Don’t drink it!’ n5.0475

A full discussion of attributive adjectives is in §13.2.

— slot G is filled by number markers. There are three number markers: =*ekatse* ‘DL’, illustrated in (12.6), =*kwana* ‘PL’ (general plural) and =*ekana* ‘PL’ (plural for kinship nouns). Number markers, unlike other NP modifiers, are not phonologically independent but enclitics.

(12.6) *Tu-wa* =*shana* *juye=ekatse*_{CS} *nereka-da*_{CC}.
 there-LOC =PITY ox=DL miserable-ASF

‘The oxen (dl) were miserable (having to pull the terribly heavy cart).’ ka239

A full discussion of number markers is in §13.3.

None of the NP constituents (including the head) is obligatory in a Cavineña NP. However, there are a number of distributional restrictions, as follows:

1 — if slots C (genitive modifier), D (juxtaposed noun) or F (attributive adjective) are filled, then slot E (nominal head) must be filled as well;

2 — if slot G (number modifier), is filled, then there must be at least one other NP constituent (so that the number modifier can be phonologically attached to it).

Case markers and phrasal particles are not treated as part of the NP structure. Although are both attached to an NP (following slot H), they are not part of the NP strictly speaking. Case markers do not have the modifying function the other NP constituents have; they function at a higher level as relational operators which relate the NP as a whole to other types of constituents such as the predicate or a noun (for genitive phrases); see Chapter 14 for a full discussion. Phrasal particles can have a modifying function but none are specific to the noun phrase — they can as well modify a predicate, an independent particle, etc. Similarly to case markers, phrasal particles are considered to operate at a higher level of organization than the NP *per se*; see Chapter 17 for a full discussion. Case markers and phrasal particles are thus not further discussed in this chapter.

12.2. Nouns — overview

Nouns occur in slot E as NP head or slot D as NP modifiers. Nouns in Cavineña are morphologically rather simple (especially compared to verbs). Cavineña does not have any grammatical category of class² or gender. The language

² Arguably, the morphological distinction between the nouns that denote parts of enti-

marks number and case but these are clitics (i.e., separate grammatical words) which operate at the NP level, and not affixes in the noun word.

There are three subclasses of nouns distinguished morpho-syntactically:

1 — *e-nouns* consist of a closed class of about 100 to 150 terms which must take a dummy prefix *e-*. This prefix drops in a number of circumstances. *E-nouns* refer to parts of entities, such as *-tsau* ‘bone’, *-rami* ‘flesh’, *-jaki* ‘leaf’, *-tiri* ‘root’, etc.;

2 — kinship nouns consist of a small class of about 30 terms which are (obligatorily) inflected for the person of their possessor. They express kinship relations, such as *tata* ‘father’, *anu* ‘grandmother’, etc.;

3 — independent nouns consist of an open class of a few thousand terms which do not take any *e-* prefix nor any possessor inflections; they do however take derivational morphology. They refer to fauna, flora, artifact, proper nouns, etc.

The three subclasses of nouns are discussed in turn below: *e-nouns* in §12.3, kinship nouns in §12.4, and independent nouns in §12.5.

12.3. *E-nouns*

E-nouns are a closed class of about 100 to (possibly) 150 members. The class does not accept either borrowed or derived terms. *E-nouns* encode mostly parts of entities, although there are some exceptions. A full list of identified *e-nouns* is given in the appendix to this chapter.

12.3.1. Prefix *e-* ‘NPF’

E-nouns have the peculiarity of requiring an obligatory prefix *e-* ‘Noun PreFix’ which can be said to be semantically empty (unless one analyzes it as a noun class marker).³ This prefix becomes *y-* before the vowel *a-*, as in *y-atuka* ‘eye’, *y-akwa* ‘NPF-chest’, *y-aa* ‘branch’, etc. It never occurs before the vowels *i*, *e*, *u* or the consonant *y*. In other words, *e-noun* roots only begin with the vowel *a* or with a consonant other than *y*.⁴

ties (*e-nouns*) and those that do not (kinship nouns and independent nouns) might be analyzed as a noun class system in the language.

³ Note that *e-nouns* are a characteristic feature of Tacanan languages; see Pitman (1980: 75) and Emkow (2006: chapter 7) for Araona, Chavarría (2000) and Vuillermet (2006, forthcoming) for Ese Ejja, Key (1968: 92) and Guillaume (2006c) for Reyesano, and Ottaviano and Ottaviano (1989) for Tacana.

⁴ The reasons for these restrictions are unknown.

The examples in (12.7) illustrate *-rami* ‘flesh’, in (a.), and *-jaki* ‘leaf’, in (b.)

- (12.7) a. ... *ju-nati-tsu* =*tu-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A ***e-rami***_O
 be-GO.TEMP-SS =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) NPF-flesh
kwawi-kware.
 cook.on.embers-REM.PAST
 ‘We arrived (at San Carlos) and we cooked the meat on embers.’
 n2.0666
- b. ... *e-rara*_{CC} ***e-jaki***=*kwana*_{CS} *ju-kware*
 RES-dry NPF-leaf=PL be-REM.PAST
 ‘... the leaves were dry.’ pe029

The dummy prefix is normally deleted when the noun enters a derivational process, as described in §12.3.1.1, or when it is preceded by a juxtaposed noun, as discussed in §12.3.1.2.

12.3.1.1. Deletion of *e-* in derivational processes

The prefix *e-* is normally deleted when the *e*-noun enters one of the following three derivational processes:

1 — adjectivization with *-ki* ‘WITH’ or *-ma* ‘WITHOUT’ (see §11.3.1), as illustrated in (12.8), with the *e*-nouns *-tse* ‘tooth’ and *-na* ‘water’.

- (12.8) a. *e-tse* ‘tooth’
tse-ki ‘with tooth (e.g., baby)’ (**e-tse-ki*)
tse-ma ‘toothless (e.g., elder)’ (**e-tse-ma*)
- b. *e-na* ‘water’
na-ki ‘with water, juicy (e.g., watermelon)’ (**e-na-ki*)
na-ma ‘without water, waterless’ (**e-na-ma*)

See also *tsau-ma* ‘without bones’ in (12.23a) below.

2 — compounding with *da*-adjectives; this produces complex *da*-adjectives (see §11.2.5). This is illustrated in (12.9), with the compounding of the *e*-nouns *-bi* ‘arm’, *-biti* ‘skin’ and *-wikani* ‘nose’ and the *da*-adjectives *baru-* ‘tall’, *misi-* ‘thick’ and *ari-* ‘big’.

- (12.9) a. *e-bi* ‘arm’
baru- ‘tall’
bi-baru- ‘with long arms’ (**e-bi-baru-*)
- b. *e-bitu* ‘skin’
misi- ‘thick’
bitu-misi- ‘with thick skin’ (**e-bitu-misi-*)
- c. *e-wikani* ‘nose’
ari- ‘big’
wikani-ari- ‘with a big nose’ (**e-wikani-ari-*)

3 — incorporation within transitive verbs (see §5.2.5), as illustrated in (12.10), with *e*-nouns *-akwa* ‘chest’, *-rumu* ‘throat’ and *-wi* ‘beak’, and the verbs *tsuru* ‘meet O’, *tubu-* ‘cut O’ and *risi-* ‘tie O’:

- (12.10) a. *y-akwa* ‘chest’
tsuru- ‘meet O’
akwa-tsuru- ‘face O (lit. chest-meet O)’ (**y-akwa-tsuru-*)
- b. *e-rumu* ‘throat’
tubu- ‘cut O’
rumu-tubu- ‘throat-cut O’ (**e-rumu-tubu-*)
- c. *e-wi* ‘beak’
risi- ‘tie O’
wi-risi- ‘tie the neck of O’ (**e-wi-risi-*)

12.3.1.2. Deletion of *e-* in noun juxtaposition

The prefix *e-* is normally deleted when it is preceded by a modifying noun in slot D of the NP structure; see a full discussion of this in §13.1. The examples in (12.11) illustrate *e*-nouns *-rami* ‘flesh’ and *-jaki* ‘leaf’ modified by the (independent) nouns *waka* ‘cow’ and *tumi* ‘motacú palm’.

- (12.11) a. *Ani-ya=dya* *yu-keja* [*waka rami*]?
 sit-IMPV=FOC there-LOC.GNL cow flesh

‘Is there cow meat (lit. flesh) over there (in your country)?’ tb205

- b. *Chamakama* [tumi jaki] tubu-tsu...
 finally motacú.palm leaf cut-SS

‘Finally, he cut some motacú palm leaves (, arranged them on the ground and went to sleep).’ na022c

The majority of *e*-noun roots have more than two syllables and can form independent phonological words even if they do not take affixes (whether the *e*-prefix of a derivational affix) or if they are not compounded with another root; recall that a phonological word must have two syllables in Cavineña (§3.1.2). However, five *e*-noun roots are monosyllabic. They are given in (12.12):

- (12.12) -bi ‘arm’ -tse ‘tooth’
 -ka ‘egg’ -wi ‘beak’
 -na ‘water’

When these roots take an affix or a compounded root, they become part of polysyllabic grammatical words which form perfect independent phonological words. However, when they don’t take an affix or a compounded root, they become clitics. This can be observed in noun juxtaposition structures, where the monosyllabic *e*- nouns are phonologically attached to the preceding modifier; that is, the Hⁿ(M)M pitch contour applies to the modifying noun and the *e*- noun as a whole. This is exemplified in (12.13).⁵

- (12.13) a. *Amena* =tu_S ani-ya dati=*ka*_S.
 BM =3SG(-FM) sit-IMPV turtle=egg

‘(When the nightjar sings that particular way, Cavineñas know that) the turtles have laid their eggs (lit. turtle eggs sit).’ cy009

- b. *Na-pude-da*_{CC} =tu_{CS} *kweri*=*na*_{CS}.
 water-red/brown-ASF =3SG(-FM) river=water

‘The water of the (Beni) river is red/brown.’ di1111

12.3.1.3. Irregular *e*-nouns

Two *e*-nouns are irregular with respect to the dummy prefix: the *e*-noun meaning ‘thorn’ takes an *a*- prefix as *a-kwija* (**e-kwija*); the *e*-noun meaning ‘thought’ takes an *i*- prefix as *i-nime* (**e-nime*).

⁵ Note that in (12.13b), *-na* is also compounded with an adjective, *pude*- ‘red/brown’.

The *e*-noun that means ‘foot’ is pronounced either *-wachi* or *-wasi* when it takes the prefix *e-*, i.e., *e-wachi* or *e-wasi*, in free variation. However, when it is preceded by a juxtaposed noun, it seems that it can only be pronounced *-wasi*, as in *mesa wasi* ‘table leg’ or *kuchi wasi* ‘pig foot’ — **mesa wachi* and **kuchi wachi* were judged ungrammatical by Alfredo Tavo.

The *e*-noun meaning ‘stream’ is pronounced *sepere* when it is preceded by a juxtaposed noun, as in *sawa sepere* ‘trahira (fish) stream’. However, with the prefix *e-*, it is pronounced *spere*, as *e-spere*; that is, the vowel *e* from the first syllable of the root is deleted.

The *e*-noun meaning ‘owner’ is *mechiki* when it takes the prefix *e-*, i.e., *e-mechiki*, while it is *metse* when it is preceded by a juxtaposed noun, as in *chapa metse* ‘dog owner’ or *tee metse* ‘garden owner’.

Occasionally an *e*-noun preceded by a slot D modifier does not lose the *e*-prefix. This phenomenon is normally accepted by speakers in elicitation but is very rare in texts. Moreover, it does not appear to be associated with any clear meaning differences. In (12.14), for example, *-kaka* loses its *e-* prefix in (a.), as normally expected, but not in (b.)

- (12.14) a. [*Tumi kaka*]_O =*tu*_A *iya-kware*
 motacú.tree fruit =3SG(-ERG) put-REM.PAST
 [*tu-ja e-kaka dyake*].
 3SG-GEN NPF-fruit ON

‘The jaguar put the motacú nuts on top of his (own) testicles (lit. fruits) (and got ready to crack the nuts with a big stone, as the tricky fox had told him to do).’ zo027

- b. *Peta-kware e-ra*_A [*beta waburu*]_O
 look.at-REM.PAST 1SG-ERG two peccary
 [[*tumi e-kaka ara*] *ju-ya=ju*].
 motacú.tree NPF-fruit eat be(ANTIPASS)-IMPFV=DS

‘I saw two peccaries eating motacú nuts.’ ch006

The *e*-noun *-ka* loses its *e-* prefix in (12.13a), as expected (*dati=ka* ‘turtle egg’), but not in (12.15):

- (12.15) [*Bunyari e-ka*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *sawa-da*_{CC}.
 nambú.partridge NPF-egg =3SG(-FM) green/blue-ASF

‘Nambú partridge eggs are blue/green.’ di2455

The prefix *e-* of some *e*-nouns is deleted in some contexts but not in others. This happens with *-aa* ‘branch’, as shown in (12.16). Here, *e-* is never deleted in noun juxtaposition, as in (a.), or adjectivization, as in (b.) However, *e-* is deleted in noun incorporation, as in (c.)

- (12.16) a. *akwi y-aa* (**akwi aa*)
 tree NPF-branch
 ‘tree branch’ n5.0122
- b. *y-aa-ma* (**aa-ma*)
 NPF-branch-WITHOUT
 ‘without branches’ n5.0222
- c. *aa-tubu-* (**y-aa-tubu-*)
 branch-cut-
 ‘cut branch of O’ n5.0304

Another *e*-noun showing the same phenomenon is *-marikaka* ‘cooking pot’, as shown in (12.17). The prefix *e-* is not deleted in noun juxtaposition, as in (a.), but it is deleted in adjectivization, as in (b.)

- (12.17) a. *mechi e-marikaka* (**mechi marikaka*)
 soil NPF-cooking.pot
 ‘cooking pot made of clay’ ci117
- b. *marikaka-ma* (**e-marikaka-ma*)
 cooking.pot-WITHOUT
 ‘without a cooking pot’ n5.0225

A number of nouns begin with a vowel *e* (or glide *y* before *a*) which cannot be segmented (at least synchronically). In other words, they never lose *e-* (or *y-*). These nouns are thus treated as independent nouns. This was noted with *eja* ‘nest’ in (12.18), *eyu* ‘palm heart’ in (12.19), *epu* ‘village’ in (12.20), *yawa* ‘ground’ in (12.21) and *yachi* ‘pampa’ in (12.22):

- (12.18) a. *kwaju eja* (**kwaju=ja*)
 cacique nest
 ‘cacique (bird) nest’ n5.0144

- b. *eja-ma* (**ja-ma*)
 nest-WITHOUT
 ‘without a nest’ n5.0142
- (12.19) a. *muu eyu* (**muu yu*)
 assai.palm palm.heart
 ‘heart from assai palm’ vb040
- b. *eyu-ma* (**yu-ma*)
 palm.heart-WITHOUT
 ‘without a palm heart’ n5.0220
- (12.20) *Chakubu epu* (**Chakubu pu*)
 Chácobo.person village
 ‘the village of the Chácobos’ co016
- (12.21) *yawa-ma* (**awa-ma*)
 ground-WITHOUT
 ‘without land (lit. without ground)’
- (12.22) *yachi-ma* (**achi-ma*)
 pampa-WITHOUT
 ‘without pampa’

It is quite possible that these words belonged to the class of *e-nouns* at an older stage of the language but later on the prefix froze, perhaps under the pressure of Spanish which does not show any such morphology.

Finally, there are in the corpus a fair number of nouns (about 40) which begin with the vowel *e* (or glide *y* before *a*) and which refer to parts of entities, but for which it is not known whether the word-initial vowel *e* (or glide *y*) is segmentable or not; that is, the data does not provide any examples of these nouns in any of contexts where the putative *e-* prefix could drop. These forms are still listed in the appendix but their word-initial *e* (or *y* before *a*) has not been segmented. More work will be required to decide on the exact status of these items.

12.3.2. Semantics

The great majority of *e*-nouns refer to parts of entities, with some exceptions, as follows:

- body parts: 33 terms refer to external body parts; 9 terms refer to internal body parts;
- plant parts: 8 terms;
- landscape parts: 12 terms;
- spatial relations: 9 terms;
- miscellaneous concepts (e.g., ‘name’, ‘trace’, etc.): 17 terms

One surprising *e*-noun is *-tsena* ‘worm’; fauna entities are normally expressed by independent nouns. It is illustrated in (12.23) with two examples volunteered by Alfredo Tavo, showing it with the *e*- prefix in (a.) and without the *e*- prefix b.

- (12.23) a. *E-tsen*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *tsau-ma*_{CC}.
 NPF-worm =3SG(-FM) bone-WITHOUT

‘Worms don’t have bones.’ n5.0066

- b. [*E-kwita* *tsena*]_S *e-kwe* *ani-ya*.
 NPF-body worm 1SG-DAT sit-IMPFV

‘I have worms in my body (lit. body worms sit to me).’ n5.0033

12.4. Kinship nouns

12.4.1. Semantics

Kinship nouns consist of about 28 forms which express human relations. They are listed in Table 12.1, sorted by their semantics:⁶

⁶ I use standard abbreviations as given in Keesing (1975: 102), for example: M ‘mother’, F ‘father’, B ‘brother’, Z ‘sister’, S ‘son’, D ‘daughter’.

Table 12.1. Kinship nouns

<i>tata</i>	‘father’	<i>jakwi</i>	‘brother-in-law (sister’s husband)’
<i>kwa</i>	‘mother’	<i>awiine</i>	‘broth.-in-law (husband’s brother)’
<i>mama</i>	‘mother’	<i>tatiine</i>	‘uncle (father’s brother, FB)’
<i>awe</i>	‘husband’	<i>kwaine</i>	‘aunt (mother’s sister, MZ)’
<i>wane</i>	‘wife’	<i>kuku</i>	‘uncle (mother’s brother, MB)’
<i>bakwa</i>	‘child’	<i>nene</i>	‘aunt (father’s sister, FZ)’
<i>bakujuna</i>	‘daughter’	<i>baba</i>	‘grandfather’
<i>tatapuji</i>	‘stepfather’	<i>anu</i>	‘grandmother’
<i>kwaapuji</i>	‘stepmother’	<i>bui</i>	‘nephew’
<i>bakwapuji</i>	‘adopted son’	<i>kenekwa</i>	‘niece’
<i>bakujunapuji</i>	‘adopt. daughter’	<i>ukwa</i>	‘nephew’ or ‘niece’
<i>nuu</i>	‘sibling’	<i>utsekwa</i>	‘grandchild (male or female)’
<i>usi</i>	‘older brother’	<i>kupari</i>	‘compadre’
<i>jau</i>	‘younger brother’	<i>kumari</i>	‘comadre’
<i>nasi</i>	‘older sister’		
<i>jana</i>	‘younger sister’		

A few kinship nouns are (at least partly) analyzable:

- 1 — the term *bakujuna* ‘daughter’ most likely comes from *bakwa* ‘child’ followed by the *e*-noun *-puna* ‘female’ (with sound change *kw* → *ku* and *p* → *j*);
- 2 — the terms *awiine* ‘brother-in-law (husband’s brother)’, *tatiine* ‘uncle FB’ and *kwaine* ‘aunt MZ’ quite transparently involve the terms *awe* ‘husband’, *tata* ‘father’ and *kwa* ‘mother’, respectively, and a formative *ine*, which could be glossed by ‘same sex sibling’. The exact origin of this formative is unclear since no such term can be found in present day Cavineña;
- 3 — the four terms *tatapuji* ‘stepfather’, *kwaapuji* ‘stepmother’, *bakwapuji* ‘adopted son’ and *bakujunapuji* ‘adopted daughter’ clearly involve the terms *tata* ‘father’, *kwa* ‘mother’, *bakwa* ‘child’ and *bakujuna* ‘daughter’, respectively, and a formative *-puji* which could be glossed by ‘not proper’. The origin of this formative is unclear. There is a suffix *-puji* involved in agentive nominalization (§12.7.1) but the meaning differences between the two morphemes *-puji* are such that one doubts that they can be related;
- 4 — at least four terms have been borrowed, *tata* ‘father’, from Aymara/Quechua *taita*, *kupari* ‘compadre’ and *kumari* ‘comadre’, from Spanish ‘compadre’ and ‘comadre’, respectively, and *kuku* ‘uncle MB’; the exact origin of this latter term is unknown but it is found in a large number of languages all over Amazonia, as noted by Dixon and Aikhenvald (1999: 8).

12.4.2. Possessor inflections

Kinship nouns take person inflections to indicate whom they relate to (i.e., their possessor). The coding system of possessor inflections is shown in Table 12.2:

Table 12.2. System of person coding for kinship nouns

possessor person	prefix	enclitic	examples	
1 st	<i>e-</i>	∅	<i>e-wane</i>	‘my wife / our wives’
2 nd / vocative	∅	∅	<i>wane</i>	‘your wife / your wives’
3 rd	<i>e-</i>	<i>=ke</i>	<i>e-wane=ke</i>	‘his wife / their wives’

As shown by the examples, only person is encoded by the system. Number is usually disambiguated by using an additional (optional) genitive phrase, or genitive pronoun (in slot C of the NP structure; see §12.4.3). Kinship terms in vocative function have the same form as those with a second person possessor.

Kinship nouns with a second person possessor do not take any overt morphological marking. Examples are given in (12.24):

- (12.24) a. *Jutakiju wane_S pa-ani=jari!*
 therefore wife JUSS-sit=STILL
 ‘So let your wife stay (lit. sit) for a while!’ cv045
- b. [*Arusu=kwana a-wa=ke*]_O =*tu*_A *pa-ara =shana*
 rice=PL affect-PERF=LIG =3SG(-ERG) JUSS-eat =PITY
*[ju-na-wa=ke*_{RC} *kwaine=ra*]_A!
 be-COME.TEMP-PERF=LIG aunt.MZ=ERG
 ‘(When I arrived at the house of Mariano Cartagena saying that I was hungry, Mariano asked his wife (who is my niece) to prepare rice. He said to her:) “At least let your aunt (lit. your mother’s sister), who has just arrived, eat some cooked rice (lit. rice that has been affected)!”’ ka191

A kinship noun in vocative function has the same (unmarked) form as when it is possessed by a second person. Some kinship nouns in vocative function are illustrated in (12.25):

- (12.25) a. *A=ishu =tu-ke*_O =*mi*_A
 do.what=PURP.GNL =3SG-FM =2SG(-ERG)
*[tume*_{CC}*=ke ekwita*]_O *nudya-wana-wa,* *tata?*
 there=LIG person make.enter-ADVERS-PERF father

‘Why did you let this man enter, father?’ ht024

- b. *Ne-kwa* =*taa* ***kuku!***
 HORT-go =EMPH uncle.MB

‘Let’s go, uncle!’ hm034

The unmarked form is also used when kinship terms enter a derivational process. This is (at least) attested with the *-ki* ‘WITH’ and *-ma* ‘WITHOUT’ adjectivizers (see §11.3.1) when they are applied to the two kinship nouns *awe* ‘husband’ and *wane* ‘wife’, as shown in (12.26); note that kinship nouns are not compounded with *da*-adjectives and are not incorporated into verbs.

- (12.26) a. *Tu-keja=dya* ***wane-ki***_{CC} *ju-diru-kware.*
 there-LOC.GNL=FOC wife-WITH be-GO.PERM-REM.PAST

‘Then he got married (lit. he was with a wife) there.’ nk068

- b. ***Wane-ma***_{CC} *i-ke*_{CS} *ju-kware.*
 wife-WITHOUT 1SG-FM be-REM.PAST

‘I did not have a wife (lit. I was without a wife).’ mj017

Kinship nouns with a first person possessor take *e-* ‘1’, as illustrated in (12.27):

- (12.27) a. ***E-wane***=*ra*_A = \emptyset _O *peta-ya.*
 1-wife=ERG (=1SG-FM) look.at-IMPFV

‘My wife was looking at me.’ mo046

- b. *Bapeshu-wa=kwita* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A ***e-tatiine***_O.
 not.recognize-PERF=RESTR =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) 1-uncle.FB

‘I did not recognize my paternal uncle.’ di0233

- c. *Yuneri=dya* =*tukwe* =*ris* *ju-wa*
 be.right=FOC =CONT.EVID =3PROX.SG(-FM) be-PERF

e-jakwi_S.

1-brother.in.law

‘My brother in law told the truth (lit. was right).’ sl075

Kinship nouns with a third person possessor are marked with the circumfix *e-...=ke* ‘3’, as illustrated in (12.28):

- (12.28) a. *E-wane=ke=ra_A* *amena* *ba-ti-kware* *tu-ke_O*.
 3-wife=3=ERG BM see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST 3SG-FM

‘His wife went to see him.’ mu041

- b. [*Jadya* *a-ya=ju*] =*tu_S* *kawaiti-kware*
 thus affect-IMPFV=DS =3SG(-FM) get.angry-REM.PAST

[*tume* *y-awi=ke*]_S.
 there 3-husband=3

‘As she (the woman) told him (her husband) so (that she had boiled the fish), her husband got angry (because he only liked grilled fish).’ ap018

- c. *E-tatapuji=ke=ra_A* =*pa* =*tu_O* *e-bakwapuji=ke_O*
 3-step.father=3=ERG =REP =3SG(-FM) 3-adopted.boy=3

ijawe-ijawe=tsewe *temusha-ya*.
 play.with-REDUP=ASSOC raise-IMPFV

‘The (lit. his) stepfather is raising his adopted son very badly (i.e., is breeding him with playing).’ di1249

12.4.3. Kinship nouns and genitive modifier

Very often, an NP with a kinship noun (as head) also includes a genitive phrase or genitive pronoun (in slot C of the NP structure); note that this is not obligatorily, as shown by the preceding examples. This allows the speaker to be more specific about the exact identity of the possessor. For example, the use of genitive pronouns allows the speaker to specify the number of the possessor, as with the dual and plural genitive pronouns in (12.29):

- (12.29) a. *Yume* *Eliuduru=ra_A*, [*metse-ja* *bakwa=ra*]_A *iye-wa*
 over.there Eliuduru=ERG 2DL-GEN child=ERG kill-PERF

dukweriiba_O.
 puma

‘“Over there, Eliuduru, your (dl) son, has killed a puma,” (the man said to me and my wife).’ el021

- b. *Nereda* =*tuna*_A *a-wa* [*tuna-ja* *e-ju=ke*]_O.
 scold =3PL(-ERG) affect-PERF 3PL-GEN 3-younger.brother=3
 ‘They scolded their younger brother (because he didn’t stay quiet
 as they were preparing an ambush to kill their enemies)’ mk046

The use of a genitive pronoun can also have a contrastive function, as probably happens in (12.30), since a husband can only be possessed by a single person.

- (12.30) [*E-kwe* *e-awe*]_S =*tu*_S *kwa-kware*
 1SG-GEN 1-husband =3SG(-FM) go-REM.PAST
Biata=ju *babi=ra*.
 Biata.river=LOC hunt=PURP.MOT

‘My husband went to the Biata river in order to hunt.’ di0804

Finally, the use of full genitive NPs allow the speaker to make full reference to the possessor are shown in (12.31):

- (12.31) a. *Eju* =*tu*_S [*Vitu=ja* *e-kwa=ke*]_S *kwa-kware?*
 INT:LOC =3SG(-FM) Vitu=GEN 3-mother=3 go-REM.PAST

‘Where did Vitu’s mother go?’ ib064

- b. [*E-tata=ja* *e-anu=ke*]_S =*pa* =*tu*_S
 1-father=GEN 3-grandmother=3 =REP =3SG(-FM)
japa-da *diru-chine*.
 far-ASF go-REC.PAST

‘My great-grandmother (lit. my father’s grandmother) has gone very far.’ di1250

Note that a genitive NP headed by another kinship noun allows reference to kinship relations for which a specific term does not exist in the language (such as great-grandmother in (12.31b)).

12.4.4. Kinship nouns and plural markers

There is a very curious interaction between kinship terms and number marking. There is a plural marker, =*ekana* ‘PL’, which is only used with kinship terms with a first or second (but not third) person possessor as shown in (12.32).

- (12.32) [E-*kwe* e-*bakwa=ekana*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *uma-da*_{CC}
 1SG-GEN 1-child=PL =3SG(-FM) many-ASF
ju-kware.
 be-REM.PAST

‘I had many children (lit. my children were many).’ n5.0246

Kinship terms possessed by a third person require the general plural marker =*kwana* ‘PL’ — note that kinship terms with a first or second person possessor can also take =*kwana* ‘PL’. When this happens, the =*ke* part of the circumfix *e-...=ke* ‘3’ follows the plural marker as seen in (12.33):

- (12.33) E-*wane=kwana=ke*_S (**e-wane=ke=kwana*) *kwa-ya*
 3-wife=PL=3 go-IMPFV
epu=eke.
 village=PERL

‘Their wives would go from the village (to the forest to meet their husbands, who were hunting there).’ ct037

See further discussion in §13.3.1.

12.4.5. Irregular kinship nouns

A number of kinship terms have irregular forms or irregular morphology. These are given in Table 12.3, sorted by alphabetical order. Note that the irregularities are in boldface.

Table 12.3. Irregular kinship nouns

2 nd p. / voc.	1 st p. poss.	3 rd p. poss.	gloss
<i>awe</i>		<i>y-awi=ke</i>	‘husband’
<i>awiine</i>		<i>y-awiine=ke</i>	‘sister in law (husband’s sister)’
<i>bui</i>		<i>e-bu=ke</i>	‘nephew’
<i>jau</i>		<i>e-ju=ke</i>	‘younger brother’
<i>kwa</i>		<i>e-kwa=ke</i>	‘mother’
<i>kwaapuji</i>		<i>e-kwakepuji=ke</i>	‘stepmother’
<i>nasi</i>		<i>e-naji=ke</i>	‘older sister’
<i>usi</i>		<i>e-uji=ke</i>	‘older brother’
<i>utsekwa</i>	<i>e-ketsekwa</i>	<i>y-utsekwa=ke</i>	‘male/female grandchild’

As we can see, in three words *y-* occurs instead of *e-*. This reminds us of the change $e \rightarrow y$ found with the *e*-noun prefix *e-* ‘NPF’ when it is attached to a root that begins with *a* (see §12.3.1). However, these are clearly not identical processes since with kinship nouns, the $e \rightarrow y$ change only occurs with certain words and only when possessed by a third person; for example there is no such change in *e-anu* ‘my/our grandmother’ (**y-anu*), *e-awe* ‘my/our husband’ (**y-awe*), etc. On the contrary, with *e*-nouns, the $e \rightarrow y$ change is fully productive.

12.5. Independent nouns

Independent nouns represent the biggest subclass of nouns, amounting to at least a few thousand forms. Semantically, these nouns refer to entities of the world that are conceived within the Cavineña culture as having an existence of their own. Unlike the classes of *e*-nouns and kinship nouns, the class of independent nouns is open to both derivation (from another word class) and borrowings. The class counts hundreds of recent Spanish and (less recent) Aymara/Quechua loans; it probably also includes a of number terms borrowed from other languages, although these have not been identified.

Independent nouns, unlike *e*-nouns, never take a prefix *e-* (or *y-*),⁷ and unlike kinship nouns, never take possessor inflections.

Independent nouns can become adjectives by taking *-ki* ‘WITH’ or *-ma* ‘WITHOUT’. However, they cannot be compounded with *da*-adjectives. A few independent nouns are attested incorporated within transitive verbs.

12.5.1. Semantics

A sample of independent nouns is given in (12.34), sorted by semantic field.

(12.34) a. Fauna (specific)

<i>awada</i>	‘tapir’	<i>kurakwa</i>	‘parrot’
<i>dii</i>	‘mosquito’	<i>make</i>	‘piranha’
<i>iba</i>	‘jaguar’	<i>matuja</i>	‘caiman’

⁷ Note that a number of nouns are classified as independent nouns even though they begin with the vowel *e* (or *y*) and could semantically be construed as parts of entities (e.g., *eja* ‘nest’, *epu* ‘village’, *yachi* ‘pampa’, etc.). This is because *e* (or *y*) is not analyzable in these word; see discussion in §12.3.1.3.

b. Fauna (generic)

<i>jae</i>	‘fish’	<i>upati</i>	‘air/tree animal’
<i>kwanubi</i>	‘ground animal’	<i>uu</i>	‘domestic animal’

c. Flora (specific)

<i>abari</i>	‘chonta palm’	<i>biji</i>	‘balsa tree’
<i>arana</i>	‘ambaibo tree’	<i>muu</i>	‘assai palm’

d. Flora (generic)

<i>akwi</i>	‘tree’	<i>nutsa</i>	‘grass’
<i>kunu</i>	‘liana’		

e. Flora (both tree species and fruit)

<i>budari</i>	‘banana’	<i>kashi</i>	‘sweet banana’
<i>ematse</i>	‘urucú’ ⁸	<i>muke</i>	‘brazil nut’

f. Natural entities

<i>badi</i>	‘moon (also month)’	<i>makana</i>	‘gravel’
<i>ijeti</i>	‘sun’	<i>nei</i>	‘rain’
<i>mechi</i>	‘soil’	<i>tajina</i>	‘rainbow’

g. Land formation

<i>bei</i>	‘lake’	<i>kweri</i>	‘river’
<i>kani</i>	‘hole’	<i>yawa</i>	‘ground’

h. Man made entities

<i>epu</i>	‘village’	<i>kwaba</i>	‘canoe’
<i>etununu</i>	‘bow’	<i>piya</i>	‘arrow’
<i>jiti</i>	‘basket’	<i>tupari</i>	‘chicha (beer)’

⁸ The seeds of this plant produce a red color that it used in food preparation.

j. Time

<i>mara</i>	‘time, year’	<i>wekaka</i>	‘day’
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k. Proper names

<i>Beni</i>	‘Beni river’	<i>Najiji</i>	‘Madidi river’
<i>Diata</i>	‘Biata river’		

12.5.2. Semantic overlaps with *e*-nouns and kinship nouns

There is a semantic overlap between independent nouns and *e*-nouns on the one hand, and independent nouns and kinship nouns on the other hand.

There are independent nouns which refer to parts of entities (as *e*-nouns do). A list of such terms is given in (12.35). Note that the list is not exhaustive; notably, it does not include unfamiliar terms which are only found once in corpus.

(12.35) a. Body parts

<i>atsu</i>	‘breast’	<i>inyukwija</i>	‘armpit’
<i>ijaka</i>	‘ear’	<i>takwiri</i>	‘calf’
<i>iwa</i>	‘tail’	<i>suu</i>	‘belly button’
<i>iyuka</i>	‘head’	<i>kwesa</i>	‘facial hair’
<i>tyuwi</i>	‘nape’	<i>ududu</i>	‘feather’

b. Inner body parts

<i>ami</i>	‘blood’	<i>dumi</i>	‘excrement’
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c. Body ‘infections’

<i>baara</i>	‘fever’	<i>ujeje</i>	‘disease’
<i>buju</i>	‘diarrhea’	<i>ujera</i>	‘pain’
<i>chadi</i>	‘boil’	<i>uwi</i>	‘mole’
<i>chere</i>	‘scabies’	<i>jitsu</i>	‘mold’

d. Plant parts

<i>eyu</i>	‘palmito’	<i>shasha</i>	‘flower’
<i>kwati</i>	‘firewood’		

It is likely that at least some of these terms, which must be classified as independent nouns in present day Cavineña, belonged to the class of *e*-nouns at previous stages.

There are pairs of *e*-nouns and independent nouns which are semantically very similar (but etymologically unrelated), as shown in (12.36); *e*-nouns are in (a.), independent nouns are in (b.)

(12.36)	a.	<i>-s(e)pere</i>	‘stream’	vs.	b.	<i>kweri</i>	‘river’
		<i>-kata</i>	‘feather’	vs.		<i>ududu</i>	‘feather’
		<i>-tsa</i>	‘flower’	vs.		<i>shasha</i>	‘flower’

It is not clear why ‘stream’ is treated as an *e*-noun while ‘river’ is treated as an independent noun. In the case of ‘feather’, I was told that *-kata* refers to body feathers while *ududu* refers to wing and tail feathers. In one example, Alfredo Tavo used *ududu* to refer to ornament feathers which could explain why this term is independent while the other is bound. As for ‘flower’, Alfredo Tavo explained to me that *shasha* refers to beautiful flowers — possibly also used as ornaments — while *-tsa* can refer to any flowers (beautiful or not).

Some independent nouns, such as those in (12.37), refer to interpersonal relations, which results in a semantic overlap between the subclasses of kinship nouns and independent nouns.

(12.37)	<i>ata</i>	‘relative’
	<i>ebakwa</i>	‘child, offspring’
	<i>ebakwapiji</i>	‘small child’
	<i>jabakwa</i>	‘baby animal, cub’
	<i>waraji</i>	‘chief, authority’

Let us note that *-puna* ‘female’ is an *e*-noun while *deka* ‘male’ is an independent noun.

12.5.3. Interrogative noun *ai* ‘INT’

A noteworthy independent noun is *ai* ‘INT’. This noun can have a lexical meaning referring to ‘thing’, as in (12.38).

(12.38)	<i>E-kwe</i>	= <i>taa</i>	<i>yu-wa</i>	<i>cosina=ju</i>
	1SG-DAT	=EMPH	over.there-LOC	kitchen=LOC
	[<i>ai</i>	<i>siri=kwana</i>] _S	<i>ani-ya.</i>	
	INT	old=PL	sit-IMPV	

‘(When Lidia heard that a burglar had entered the village she said:)
I have old things (pans, pots, cutlery, etc.) over there in my
kitchen (that the burglar might want to steal)!’ ml048

Ai also has grammaticalized meanings. It can be used as an interrogative word, as in (12.39).

(12.39) a. *Ai*_O =*tu-ke*_O =*mi*_A *mare-wa?*
INT =3SG-FM =2SG(-ERG) shoot.at-PERF

‘‘‘What did you shoot at?’’ (my wife’s uncle asked me when he
heard the report of my rifle).’ lg019

b. *Ai*_S =*jatsu* =*tu-ja* =*tu*_S *ani-ya?*
INT =EXACTLY =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) sit-IMPFV

‘What is it exactly that he (the sick person) has (lit. what exactly
sits to him)?’ T1.104

The noun *ai* can be used juxtaposed to the NP head (in slot D) to question a type, as in (12.40a), or to express the fact that the NP head is of any type, as in (12.40b).

(12.40) a. [*Ai jae*]_O =*mi*_A *kemi-wa?*
INT fish =2SG(-ERG) take.out-PERF

‘What type of fish did you catch (lit. take out)?’ n4.0544

b. *Tumepatya* =*tucs* *aijama=dya*_{CC} *ju-kware*
at.that.time =3SG(-FM) not.exist.at.all=FOC be-REM.PAST

[*ai tujuri*]_{CS}...
INT mosquito.net

‘At that (old) time there wasn’t any sort of mosquito net at all...’
hm049

12.5.4. Deictic nouns

A few examples are available of three deictic morphemes, listed in (12.41).

(12.41) *rekwana* ‘this stuff here’
 tukwana ‘that stuff there’
 yukwana ‘that stuff over there’

These forms are transparently analyzable as being formed of the deictic roots *re-* ‘near speaker’, *tu-* ‘near addressee’, and *yu-* ‘not near speaker or addressee’, which we also find in pronouns and demonstratives (see Chapter 15), and a suffix *-kwana*, which is also found as a plural suffix in some pronouns (see Chapter 15) and as a plural enclitic (see §13.3).

These morphemes are used to refer to non-human, non-individuated and heterogeneous entities with an associative meaning. The word class to which they might belong is not entirely clear. For the time being, I have classified them as (independent) nouns, rather than demonstratives or independent pronouns, on the following basis:

— deictic morphemes can function as the sole element in an NP in core functions; this is unlike demonstratives, which can only be used in oblique function. Examples showing deictic morphemes in O and A functions are given in (12.42).

- (12.42) a. ***Tukwana***=*dya*_O =*ekwana*_A *ara-kware*.
 that.stuff.there=FOC =1PL(-ERG) eat-REM.PAST
 ‘We ate those things (the bananas, the coati, etc).’ mj172
- b. *E-ra*_A =*bakwe* ***tukwana***_O *adebita-ya=ama*...
 1SG-ERG =CONTR that.stuff.there know-IMPV=NEG
 ‘Me, I didn’t know those things (the caiman and other types of jungle animals)...’ lg027
- c. ***Tukwana***=*ra*_A =*yatse*_O [*babi=ra* *kwa-wa=ju*]
 that.stuff.there=ERG =1DL hunt=PURP.MOT go-PERF=DS
karu-bawe.
 bite-ALWS
 ‘Those things (ants and other types of insects) bite us when we go hunting.’ di2632

— deictic morphemes can function as the argument of a postposition; this is unlike independent pronouns, which have special oblique forms (§15.1). Illustrative examples are given in (12.43), with the locative postposition =*ju* ‘LOC’ in (a.), the general locative postposition =*keja* in (b.), and the perlocative postposition =*eke* in (c.)

- (12.43) a. **Tukwana**=*ju=dya* =*shana* =*tuna*_A *butya-ya*.
 that.stuff.there=LOC=FOC =PITY =3PL(-ERG) lower-IMPV
 ‘(The Cavineña women would remove the manioc beer from the fire and) they would put it down in these things (clay pots and other sorts of containers).’ ci195
- b. [**Rekwana**=*keja* *ju-neni-wa=ke*]_S =*taa*
 this.stuff.here=LOC.GNL be-RANDOM-PERF=LIG =EMPH
 [*e-kwe* *mamita*]_S *maju-wa*.
 1SG-GEN mommy die-PERF
 ‘After having been around these places my mother died (lit. my mother who had been around this stuff here...).’ ka051
- c. **Rekwana**=*eke* =*taa*
 this.stuff.here=PERL =EMPH
 [*e-kwe* *mama-chi* *yanume=tsewe*]
 1SG-GEN mother-AFFTN deceased.person=ASSOC
 maju-kware=tsewe *i-ke*_S
 die-REM.PAST(=LIG)=ASSOC 1SG-FM
 je-u-je-u *ju-kware...*
 come-EPEN-REDUP-REDUP be-REM.PAST
 ‘I used to come very often with my late mother, with (my mother) who died, around (lit. through) these places (in order to fish).’ ka313

— deictic morphemes can (apparently) function as juxtaposed modifiers (slot D) in an NP, while independent pronouns cannot. This is shown with *yukwana* modifying the *e*-noun *-majaka* ‘space’ in (12.44), an example volunteered by Emerenciano Sepa.

- (12.44) [**Yukwana**^D *e-majaka*^E]_O = \emptyset _A *adeba-ya=ama*.
 that.stuff.over.there NPF-space (=1SG-ERG) know-IMPV=NEG
 ‘I don’t know these places over there.’ n5.0455

Note however that I only have one example of a deictic morpheme used this way. Note also that in this example, the *e*- prefix of *-majaka* is not deleted, unlike what normally happens when an *e*-noun is modified by another noun.

12.6. Grammar of inalienability

Many languages make a morpho-syntactic distinction between alienably possessed nouns and inalienably possessed nouns (see among others Chappell and McGregor 1989, 1996 and Nichols 1988). In Cavineña, this distinction is clearly encoded with kinship nouns which take obligatory possessor inflections while other types of nouns (either independent or *e*-nouns) do not.

In the case of *e*-nouns, it is not altogether clear if the morpho-syntactic peculiarities of these nouns should be viewed as also reflecting inalienability. Camp and Liccardi (1989: 327) claim that *e*-nouns are also inalienably possessed. According to these authors, *e*-nouns require an obligatory possessor, which can be either expressed by a juxtaposed noun (coding a specific possessor), as in (12.11a) (repeated), or expressed by the prefix *e*- (coding an generic/impersonal possessor), as (12.7a) (repeated).

(12.11a) *Ani-ya=dya* *yu-keja* [*waka rami*]?
sit-IMPV=FOC there-LOC.GNL cow flesh

‘Is there cow meat (lit. flesh) over there (in your country)?’ tb205

(12.7a) ... *ju-nati-tsu* =*tu-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A *e-rami*_O
be-GO.TEMP-SS =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) NPF-flesh

kwawi-kware.

cook.on.embers-REM.PAST

‘We arrived (at San Carlos) and we cooked the meat on embers.’
n2.0666

There are a number of problems with analyzing the above facts as representing inalienable ‘possession’:

1 — the juxtaposed noun never refers to a specific entity. To say ‘the flesh of a particular cow’, one must use a genitive phrase in slot C, as in (12.45a). To say ‘its flesh’ (or ‘my flesh’, ‘your flesh’, etc.), one must use a special genitive pronoun (also in slot C), as in (12.45b). As shown by ungrammatical (12.45c), there is no such construction where a (case-)unmarked pronoun can go into slot D (i.e., the slot for juxtaposed nouns).

(12.45) a. *waka=ja*^C *e-rami*
cow=GEN NPF-flesh

‘the flesh of the cow’ (e.g., of an injured cow whose flesh is visible)

b. <i>tu-ja</i> ^C	<i>e-rami</i>	c. <i>*tu-ke</i>	<i>rami</i> /	<i>*tu-rami</i>
3SG-GEN	NPF-flesh	3SG-FM	flesh	3SG-flesh
‘its flesh’				

The same genitive constructions would also have to be used to refer to either one’s own or one’s acquired flesh.

2 — juxtaposed nouns (slot D) do not exclusively modify *e*-nouns (as NP head in slot E) but also independent nouns (see full exemplification in §13.1.1).

These two facts suggest that the morpho-syntactic peculiarities of *e*-nouns do not really have to do with what is traditionally called inalienable possession. Historically, it is quite possible that *e*-nouns have encoded an inalienable possession distinction. Recall that *e*-nouns are found in all living Tacanan languages where (to my knowledge) they do not behave morpho-syntactically any differently from Cavineña. This suggests that this is a very old feature. If this is indeed the case, the *e*- prefix could be a remnant of a paradigm of possessor inflections. One could alternatively speculate whether this prefix could have originated from the contraction of the indefinite/interrogative (independent) noun *ai* ‘INT’ (*ai* → *e*) within slot D (see §12.5.3 on this noun).

12.7. Nominalization

Independent nouns, unlike *e*-nouns and kinship nouns, can be derived from other word classes or from other nouns. The different mechanisms that are used for this task are:

1 — five productive derivational affixes. They are listed in Table 12.4, with an indication of the base they can be attached to, the resulting semantics, and the section where the affix is discussed.

Table 12.4. Independent nouns’ derivational suffixes

affixes	base	semantics	section
<i>-puji</i>	intr. or tr. / infl. or non-infl. verbs	agent	§12.7.1
<i>e-...-ki</i>	intr. or tr. infl. verbs	instrument	§12.7.2
<i>e-...-kware</i>	intr. infl. verbs	location	§12.7.3
<i>-kini</i>	independent nouns or <i>e</i> -nouns	location	§12.7.4
<i>-chi</i>	kinship nouns	affection	§12.7.5

2 — direct conversion; that is, there is no overt indication of the derivation. This is also a productive process which take verbs as input; see §12.7.6;

3 — reduplication. Unlike the preceding mechanisms, reduplication is not productive. In most cases, the base is not identifiable; see §12.7.7;

4 — several (non-productive) formatives; see §12.7.8;

5 — compounding. Most compounds appear to be lexicalized syntactic constructions, notably those involving the modification of a noun by another noun, as described in §13.1.3 (e.g., *ebakwa tare* ‘uterus’ from *ebakwa* ‘child’ and *-tare* ‘house’) and those involving the modification of a noun by an attributive adjective, as discussed in §13.2.2 (e.g., *eka paja* ‘egg white’ from *-ka* ‘egg’ and *paja* ‘white’). Noun compounding is not further discussed in this chapter.

12.7.1. Agentive *-puji* ‘ONE.THAT’

The suffix *-puji* is normally used to derive independent nouns from verbs, whether inflecting or non-inflecting, and whether intransitive or transitive; in a few example *-puji* is also used to derive nouns from nouns or adjectives (see below). The derived noun refers to a ‘good (S or A) performer’ of the verb event. As such, this derivation can be called agentive nominalization according to Comrie and Thompson (1985).

Examples of *-puji* deriving nouns from inflective verbs are given in (12.46) (intransitive verbs in a. and transitive verbs in b.).

(12.46) a. Nouns derived from inflecting intransitive verbs

<i>nawi-</i>	→	<i>nawi-puji</i>
‘bathe’		‘so. who bathes very early morning’

<i>kati-</i>	→	<i>kati-puji</i>
‘fight’		‘so./sth. good at fighting’

b. Nouns derived from inflecting transitive verbs

<i>chiri-</i>	→	<i>chiri-puji</i>
‘steal O’		‘so./sth. good at stealing, thief’

<i>iye-</i>	→	<i>iye-puji</i>
‘kill O’		‘so./sth. good at killing, good hunter’

In some cases, the reflexive circumfix *k(a)-...-ti* (§8.2) is included in the derivation process, as in (12.47).

- (12.47) a. *k-iye-ti-puji*
REF-kill-REF-ONE.THAT
'so./sth. good at killing, criminal'
- b. *ka-bakanisha-ti-puji*
REF-name-REF-ONE.THAT
'so. good at giving (nick)names'
- c. *ka-chachane-ti-puji*
REF-cure-REF-ONE.THAT
'so. who cures (doctor, medicine man)'

The original O of a transitive verb can be included in slot D (as a juxtaposed noun) of the NP structure, such as *juje* 'duck' in (12.48).

- (12.48) *Jutakiju re-wa=ke=dya_{CC} =ric_s ju-chine*
therefore here-LOC=LIG=FOC =3PROX.SG(-FM) be-REC.PAST
[*juje chiri-puji*]_{CS}.
duck steal-ONE.THAT
'Therefore, the duck-stealer is (someone) from here.' ju018

Non-inflecting verbs (see §5.3) can also be nominalized by *-puji*. The auxiliary is always omitted. Examples are given in (12.49).

- (12.49) a. Nouns derived from non-inflecting intransitive verbs
- | | | |
|----------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| <i>atsa ju-</i> | → | <i>atsa-puji</i> |
| 'fish with barbasco' | | 'so. good at fishing with barbasco' |
| <i>babi ju-</i> | → | <i>babi-puji</i> |
| 'hunt' | | 'good hunter' |
| <i>chine ju-</i> | → | <i>chine-puji</i> |
| 'have fiesta' | | 'party-goer' |
| <i>mere ju-</i> | → | <i>mere-puji</i> |
| 'work' | | 'good worker' |

<i>tarepe ju-</i> 'visit'	→	<i>tarepe-puji</i> 'so. who visits often'
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b. Nouns derived from non-inflecting transitive verbs

<i>ijawe a-</i> 'play with O'	→	<i>ijawe-puji</i> 'good (soccer) player'
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<i>kwatsabiji ju-</i> 'tell story to O'	→	<i>kwatsabiji-puji</i> 'good storyteller'
--	---	--

I have two examples where the agentive nominalizer *-puji* is applied to a non-inflecting verb which has been previously derived by the auxiliary-triggering process of full reduplication (§10.6). The first of these examples is *bawitya-bawitya-puji* 'teacher', which is based on the non-inflecting transitive verb *bawitya-bawitya a-* 'teach O repeatedly', itself based on the non-reduplicated inflecting verb *bawitya-* 'teach O'. The other example is *sama-sama-puji* 'doctor', from the non-inflecting transitive verb *sama-sama a-* 'cure O repeatedly', initially derived from the inflecting transitive verb *sama-* 'cure O'.

In a few cases, a suffix *-puji* is found deriving independent nouns from other independent nouns, as in (12.50a), where the derived noun refers to a good maker/builder of N, and (12.50b), where the derived noun refers to a 'good killer/hunter' of N.

(12.50) a. <i>karetu</i> 'cart'	→	<i>karetu-puji</i> 'so. good at making carts'
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<i>dure</i> 'belt'	→	<i>dure-puji</i> 'so. good at making belts'
-----------------------	---	--

b. <i>waburasa</i> 'peccary'	→	<i>waburasa-puji</i> '(dog) good at hunting peccaries'
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Recall that four kinship terms also involve a suffix *-puji*, *tatapuji* 'stepfather', from *tata* 'father', *kwaapuji* 'stepmother', from *kwa* 'mother', *bakwapuji* 'adopted son', from *bakwa*, and *bakujunapuji* 'adopted daughter', from *bakujuna* 'daughter'; see §12.4.1.

In one case, the agentive nominalizer *-puji* applies to the independent adjective *nijuki* 'drunk' and derives the noun *nijuki-puji* 'drunkard'.

More work is required to determine whether the suffix *-puji* that applies to verbs is the same as the one that applies to nouns and adjectives, and also

whether *-puji* can be applied to other nouns or adjectives than the few found in the data.

12.7.2. Instrumental *e-...-ki* ‘NMLZ’

The circumfix *e-...-ki*, similarly to *-puji*, normally applies to verbs; there is only one attested exception, where it is found with a noun (see below). The verb can be either intransitive or transitive but must be inflecting. The derived noun most often denotes an instrument, i.e., an entity that is used by the S or A argument in order to perform the verb event. This entity could be expressed by an instrumental oblique phrase. As such, this derivation can be called instrumental nominalization according to Comrie and Thompson (1985).

A few examples are given in (12.51) below (the a-examples are based on intransitive verbs, the b-examples are based on transitive verbs).

(12.51) a. Nouns derived from inflecting intransitive verbs

<i>ani-</i> ‘sit’	→	<i>e-ani-ki</i> ‘house outside of the village’ ⁹
<i>bade-</i> ‘hang’	→	<i>e-bade-ki</i> ‘hammock’
<i>nawi-</i> ‘bathe’	→	<i>e-nawi-ti-ki</i> ¹⁰ ‘(personal) place to bathe’
<i>tawi-</i> ‘sleep’	→	<i>e-tawi-ki</i> ‘bedding’

b. Nouns derived from inflecting transitive verbs

<i>jutu-</i> ‘dress O’	→	<i>e-jutu-ki</i> ‘cloth’
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⁹ A house inside the village is *-tare* ‘house’.

¹⁰ Note that in this form the Aktionsart suffix *-ti* ‘GO.TEMP’ (§7.2) has been included together with the verb root. The resulting derived noun is literally ‘place to go to bathe’.

<i>kweja-</i> 'inform O of O'	→	<i>e-kweja-ki</i> 'news'
<i>miwa-</i> 'feed O'	→	<i>e-miwa-ki</i> 'bait (for fishing)'
<i>pei-</i> 'fan O'	→	<i>e-pi-ki</i> 'fan', ¹¹
<i>sama-</i> 'cure O'	→	<i>e-sama-ki</i> 'medicine'
<i>taru-</i> 'stir O'	→	<i>e-taru-ki</i> 'paddle'
<i>temi-</i> 'sweeten O (coca)'	→	<i>e-temi-ki</i> '(food) sweetener', ¹²
<i>teri-</i> 'close O'	→	<i>e-teri-ki</i> 'door'
<i>wijitu-</i> 'block O'	→	<i>e-wijitu-ki</i> 'seal, stopper, cork'

The instrumental nominalization of *bade-* 'hang' is illustrated in (12.52).

- (12.52) ... =*pa* =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O ***e-bade-ki***_O
 =REP =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) NMLZ-hang-NMLZ
- duju-kware.*
 take-REM.PAST
- '... they brought (lit. took) a hammock (lit. what is used to hang).'
- si031

See also *eaniki* 'house (outside of the village)' in (T1.85).

¹¹ Note the (idiosyncratic) elision of *e* from the root *pei-* during the derivation process.

¹² The verb *temi-* is used when chewing coca leaves. It refers the process of adding a sweetener (coca leaves have a quite bitter taste), typically ashes from a particular plant, into one's mouth. The noun derived from this verb refers to foodstuffs that 'sweeten' the strong taste of meat (e.g., rice, manioc, etc.).

In some cases, the derived noun is not, strictly speaking, an instrument. For example, the nouns derived from the verbs *ara-* ‘eat O’ and *iji-* ‘drink O’, namely *e-ara-ki* ‘food’ and *e-iji-ki* ‘drink’, respectively, refer to the entity affected by the verb event (i.e., the O argument; lit. ‘what is eaten’, ‘what is drunk’), rather than an instrumental oblique.

With the ditransitive verb *kweja-* ‘inform O of O’, the derived noun *e-kweja-ki* ‘news’ refers to the theme (the message), which is encoded as one of two Os of the verb.

With *taji-* ‘accompany O’ and *tsawa-* ‘help O’, the derived nouns *e-taji-ki* ‘friend’ and *e-tsawa-ki* ‘helper, assistant’ rather encode the agent (A argument), i.e., literally, ‘the one that accompanies O’ and ‘the one that helps O’.

As for the derived noun *e-iyumata-ki* ‘settlement’, the meaning of the derivational process from *iyumata-* ‘(snake) roll itself up’ is unclear.

In one case, the base is (at least synchronically) a noun: *e-tsuje-ki* ‘money’, from the *e-*-noun *-tsuje* ‘price, value’.

The nouns in (12.53) appear to be derived from *e-...-ki* but the base is unknown.

(12.53)	<i>ebubuki</i>	‘broom made of palm leaves’
	<i>ebanataki</i>	‘planting stick’
	<i>eduki</i>	‘traditional cotton string’
	<i>ekiniki</i>	‘container’
	<i>etijaki</i>	‘ember’

The suffix *-ki* which is part of the circumfix *e-...-ki* is possibly historically related to the adjectivizer *-ki* ‘WITH’ (§11.3.1).

12.7.3. Locative *e-...-kware* ‘NMLZ’

The circumfix *e-...-kware* derives independent nouns from intransitive inflecting verbs. The derived noun refers to a place where the verb event can be performed occasionally (not typically). As such this derivation can be called locative nominalization according to Comrie and Thompson (1985). This is illustrated in (12.54).

(12.54)	<i>ani-</i>	→	<i>e-ani-kware</i>
	‘sit’		‘place to stay temporarily’
	<i>jara-</i>	→	<i>e-jara-kware</i>
	‘lie’		‘(animal’s) resting place’

Note that *e-...-kware* is only found on intransitive verbs. The only transitive verb found involved in this derivation is *ara-* ‘eat O’. However it is first detransitivized by antipassive reduplication (§8.3.1), giving *ara-ara-* ‘eat’, then derived with *e-...-kware* as *e-ara-ara-kware* ‘temporary place to eat (away from home)’.

12.7.4. Locative *-kini* ‘PLACE’

The suffix *-kini* ‘PLACE’ is normally attached to independent nouns and derives other independent nouns which refer to locations where there are many Xs, X being the referent of the noun involved in the derivation.

Typically *-kini* is attached to nouns that refer to trees/palms or vegetation, as illustrated in (12.57a). In (12.57b), *-kini* is found with the *e*-noun *-kwija* ‘thorn’¹³ while in (12.57c), it occurs on the independent noun *makana* ‘gravel’.

- | | | | | |
|---------|----|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| (12.57) | a. | <i>akwi-kini</i> | (tree-PLACE) | ‘place with many trees’ |
| | | <i>bii-kini</i> | (moriche.palm-PLACE) | ‘grove of moriche palms’ |
| | | <i>buda-kini</i> | (wild.plantain-PLACE) | ‘grove of wild plantain’ |
| | | <i>budari-kini</i> | (banana-PLACE) | ‘grove of bananas’ |
| | | <i>epidi-kini</i> | (cusi.palm-PLACE) | ‘grove of cusi palms’ |
| | | <i>kunu-kini</i> | (liana-PLACE) | ‘place with many lianas’ |
| | | <i>muke-kini</i> | (brazil.nut-PLACE) | ‘grove of brazil nuts’ |
| | | <i>nutsa-kini</i> | (grass-PLACE) | ‘place with a lot of grass’ |
| | b. | <i>a-kwija-kini</i> | (NPF-thorn-PLACE) | ‘place with many thorns’ |
| | c. | <i>makana-kini</i> | (NPF-gravel-PLACE) | ‘place with a lot of gravel’ |

Three nouns derived by *-kini* are illustrated in (12.58).

- | | | | | |
|---------|----|-----------------------------|--|--|
| (12.58) | a. | <i>Ani-ya=dya</i> | [<i>peadya muke-kini</i>] _s . | |
| | | sit-IMPV=FOC | one | brazil.nut-PLACE |
| | | | | ‘There is a grove of brazil nut (trees) (over there).’ mp011 |
| | b. | <i>Jika-da_{CC}</i> | <i>ju-kware.</i> | <i>Kunu-kini_{CC}</i> , <i>a-kwija-kini_{CC}</i> . |
| | | lush-ASF | be-REM.PAST | liana-PLACE NPF-thorn-PLACE |
| | | | | ‘It (the forest) was very lush. It was all lianas and thorns.’ tr036 |

¹³ Recall that this *e*-noun has an irregular *a-* prefix (§12.3.1.3).

12.7.5. “Affection” *-chi* ‘AFFTN’

The suffix *-chi* ‘AFFecTiON’ is used to derive independent nouns from kinship nouns (only). The derived term means that the person is dearly beloved by the possessor. In the data, *-chi* is found with 6 terms only. More work is required to determine whether *-chi* can be attached to other kinship terms.

(12.59)	<i>baba</i>	‘grandfather’	<i>baba-chi</i>	‘grandpa’
	<i>anu</i>	‘grandmother’	<i>anu-chi</i>	‘grandma’
	<i>tata</i>	‘father’	<i>tata-chi</i>	‘daddy’
	<i>mama</i>	‘mother’	<i>mama-chi</i>	‘mommy’
	<i>nene</i>	‘aunt.FZ’	<i>nene-chi</i>	‘aunty.FZ’
	<i>kuku</i>	‘uncle.MB’	<i>kuku-chi</i>	‘(beloved) uncle.MB’

The marker *-chi* is only found with kinship nouns possessed by a first person or (less often) by a second person; it never occurs on kinship nouns possessed by a third person.

Nouns derived by *-chi* cannot take possessor inflections — this comes from the fact that they have become independent. Note however that this is only observable when they are possessed by a first person, since kinship nouns possessed by a second person do not take possessor inflection (§12.4.2), and since, as we just said, *-chi* is not found on kinship nouns possessed by a third person. In (12.60), for example, where we have *-chi* attached to kinship terms possessed by a first person, we can see that the first person possessor prefix *e-* ‘1’ does not show up.

- (12.60) a. [*E-kwe tata-chi*]_{CC} (**e-tata-chi*) *pureama*_{CC} *ju-kware*.
 1SG-GEN father-AFFTN happy be-REM.PAST
 ‘My daddy was very happy.’ sl078
- b. [*E-kwe nene-chi=keja*] (**e-nene-chi=keja*)
 1SG-GEN aunt.FZ-AFFTN=LOC.GNL
kwa-chine.
 go-REC.PAST
 ‘We went to my aunty (lit. to my mother’s sister’s).’ ka166

Examples of *-chi* on kinship terms possessed by a 2st person are given in (12.61).

- (12.61) a. [*“E-muja-u tyuwi” jadya*] *i-kes*
 POT-swell-POT nape thus 1SG-FM
 [*mi-kwe tata-chi=ja*] *e-kweja*_{CC}.
 2SG-GEN father-AFFTN=DAT RES-inform

“(It is important that you don’t push the oxen too much, otherwise) their nape will swell,” I was told by your father. (I said to my daughter.)’ ka423

- b. [*Mi-kwe mama-chi*]? *Ani-nuka-ya=dya*?
 2SG-GEN mother-AFFTN sit-REITR-IMPV=FOC

‘And your mother? Is she (still) alive too (like your father)?’ tb120

12.7.6. Action/state direct conversion

A large number of verb stems in Cavineña allow for a nominal use without any overt derivation. This is attested in the data for about 30 intransitive verbs and 13 transitive verbs. As such they are simply used without the inflectional morphology that is otherwise required when they are used as verbs. Note however that they can take non-inflectional morphemes or be reduplicated.

Usually, the forms used nominally refer to the activity denoted by the verb stem. As such we have a type of ‘action/state nominalization’ (as per Comrie and Thompson 1985). This is illustrated in (12.62a), based on inflecting verbs, and (12.62b), based on non-inflecting verbs.

- (12.62) a. *ani-* ‘to sit/live’ → *ani* ‘a/the life’
beji- ‘to burp’ → *beji* ‘a/the burp’
betsa- ‘to swim’ → *betsa* ‘the swimming’
kanajeti- ‘to breath’ → *kanajeti* ‘a/the breathing’
kati- ‘to fight’ → *kati* ‘a/the fight’
kike-/keke- ‘to shout’ → *kike/keke* ‘a/the shout’
wipuchitana- ‘to bow’ → *wipuchitana* ‘a/the bow’
- b. *babi ju-* ‘to hunt’ → *babi* ‘a/the hunting’
chine ju- ‘to have a fiesta’ → *chine* ‘a/the fiesta’
mere ju- ‘to work’ → *mere* ‘a/the work’

A verb used as a noun can carry a non-inflectional affix or it can be reduplicated. In the data, this is attested with the forms given in (12.63).

(12.63)	<i>ara-ara</i>	(eat-REDUP)	‘a/the eating’
	<i>ju-neni</i>	(be-RANDOM)	‘a/the (way of) walking’
	<i>k-ejene-ti</i>	(REF-believe-REF)	‘a/the belief’
	<i>k-isara-ti</i>	(REF-talk.to-REF)	‘a/the talk/word’

In (12.64) and (12.65), I illustrate the use of the intransitive verbs *ani-* ‘sit, live’ and *kike-/keke-* ‘shout’ in their verbal function (in a-examples) and in their nominal function (in b-examples).

(12.64)	a.	[<i>Ekwana-ja</i>	<i>yawa=ju=dya</i>]	= <i>ekwana_S</i>	[<i>hasta riyakama</i>]
		1PL-GEN	ground=LOC=FOC	=1PL	until now

ani-ya.
sit-IMPFV

‘We have been living (lit. sitting) in our land until now.’ hs042

b.	<i>Jadya_{CC}</i>	= <i>tu_{CS}</i>	[<i>ekwana-ja ani</i>] _{CS} .
	thus	=3SG(-FM)	1PL-GEN life

‘That’s how we live (lit. thus is our sitting).’ ap054

(12.65)	a.	<i>Tudya</i>	[<i>e-kwe e-mama</i>] _S	<i>keke-kware.</i>
		then	1SG-GEN 1-mother	shout-REM.PAST

‘Then my mother shouted.’ ib036

b.	<i>Ani-ya</i>	= <i>tu-ja</i>	= <i>tu_S</i>	<i>keke_S.</i>
	sit-IMPFV	=3SG-DAT	=3SG(-FM)	shout

‘It (the nightjar bird) has a song (lit. a shout sits to him).’ cy004

In (12.66) and (12.67), I provide examples of the non-inflecting intransitive verbs *mere ju-* ‘work’ and *babi ju-* ‘hunt’. In the a-examples they are used as verbs, while in the b-examples they are used as nouns. Note that when these verbs are used as a nouns, they are not accompanied by their (otherwise obligatory) auxiliary.

(12.66)	a.	... <i>tuna-tsewe</i>	= <i>ekwana_S</i>	<i>mere</i>	<i>ju-kware...</i>
		3PL-ASSOC	=1PL	work	be-REM.PAST

‘(At that time) we used to work with them (the missionaries).’
av005

- b. *E-ra*_A [e-kwe *mere*]_O *tirya-wa*.
 1SG-ERG 1SG-GEN work finish-PERF
 ‘I finished my work.’ n2.0238

- (12.67) a. ... *babi* *ekana*_S *chapa=kwana*_S *ju-ya*.
 hunt 3PL dog=PL be-IMPFV
 ‘... my dogs were hunting.’ ba030

- b. *Tu-ke*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *babi*_{CC!} *Tu-ke*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *babi*_{CC!}
 3SG-FM =3SG(-FM) hunting 3SG-FM =3SG(-FM) hunting
 ‘(Leaving very early morning, hunting all day long and coming
 back very late,) this is (real) hunting! This is (real) hunting!’
 ct156

In some cases, rather than referring to the verb action strictly speaking, the noun refers to an/the entity that is ‘created’ by the event encoded by the verb. This would correspond to what Comrie and Thompson (1985) call ‘object nominalization’. Illustrative examples are provided in (12.68a), with intransitive verbs, and (12.68b), with transitive verbs.

- (12.68) a. *jeru-* ‘to sing’ → *jeru* ‘a/the prayer’
kweji- ‘to fart’ → *kweji* ‘a/the bad smell’
weruru- ‘to sweat’ → *weruru* ‘a/the sweat’
wira- ‘to urinate’ → *wira* ‘a/the urine’
dumi- ‘to defecate’ → *dumi* ‘a/the excrement’
- b. *chipi-* ‘to stamp O’ → *chipi* ‘a/the spot’
risi- ‘to tie O’ → *risi* ‘a/the knot’
kati- ‘to sting O’ → *kati* ‘a/the sting’

I illustrate the nominal use of the intransitive verb *wira-* ‘urinate’ in (12.69a) (heading an O NP)¹⁴ and the transitive verb *kati-* ‘sting’ in (12.69b) (heading an S NP).

¹⁴ In (12.69a), we can also see the verbal use of *wira-* in the first sentence of the example.

- (12.69) a. *Riyapiji=kwita* = \emptyset _S *wira-kware*.
 a.little.bit=RESTR (=1SG-FM) urinate-REM.PAST

Wira_O = \emptyset _A *iji-kware*.
 urine (=1SG-ERG) drink-REM.PAST

‘I managed to urinate (lit. urinated) a little bit. (So) I drank the urine (because I was dying of thirst).’ sd031

- b. [*Yaabakwa=ja kati*]_{CS} =*tucs* *uje-dacc*.
 pucarara.viper=GEN sting =3SG(-FM) painful-ASF

‘The bite (lit. sting) of the pucarara viper is (very) painful.’ di2955

Yet in other cases, the semantic link is less predictable, as in (12.70).

- | | | | | | |
|---------|---------------|--------------------------|---|--------------|--------------------|
| (12.70) | <i>aputa-</i> | ‘to disappear’ | → | <i>aputa</i> | ‘a/the shade’ |
| | <i>dane-</i> | ‘to grow’ | → | <i>dane</i> | ‘a/the height’ |
| | <i>jiji-</i> | ‘burn (e.g. spicy food)’ | → | <i>jiji</i> | ‘a/the garbage’ |
| | <i>tawi-</i> | ‘to sleep’ | → | <i>tawi</i> | ‘a/the sleepiness’ |
| | <i>weni-</i> | ‘to go vigorously’ | → | <i>weni</i> | ‘a/the agility’ |

The intransitive verb *tawi-* ‘sleep’ is illustrated in its nominal use in (12.71) below where it is the head of an O NP.

- (12.71) *E-ra*_A ***tawi***_O *idu-ya*
 1SG-ERG sleep resist-IMPV

‘I (will) resist the sleepiness (i.e., I will not fall asleep).’ n2.0486

An analysis in terms of zero nominalization, or the possibility for verbs to occur as NP heads, is more plausible in the present case than with the correspondences noted between adjectives and nouns (see §11.2.7). First, it is much more productive. Although this still requires testing, any verb might potentially be used as a noun. The semantics of the nominal use of the verb are also much more predictable. In most of the cases, it either refers to the activity denoted by the verb itself or an entity that results from it. Nevertheless, I will remain cautious for the present time and not make any generalizations until more is known about the present phenomenon.

12.7.7. Onomatopoeic reduplication

A fair number of nouns have a reduplicated shape. In many cases, these nouns are inherently reduplicated. That is, we cannot find any independent base from which a derivational process could have occurred. There are two types of reduplication patterns: final syllable reduplication and full reduplication. I discuss each in turn.

About 20 nouns have the final syllable reduplicated. The exhaustive list is given in (12.72), sorted by semantic field.

(12.72) a. Fauna

<i>bijiji</i>	‘gray-fronted dove’
<i>bururu</i>	‘toad’
<i>bututu</i>	‘madidi ant’
<i>japipi</i>	‘butterfly’
<i>pisusu</i>	‘iguana’
<i>sududu</i>	‘capybara (rodent)’
<i>tiriri</i>	‘spider’
<i>tyakariri</i>	‘gecko’
<i>wiriri</i>	‘small partridge sp.’

b. Flora

<i>jarere</i>	‘algodoncillo tree’
<i>manunu</i>	‘sandbox tree’
<i>muwawa</i>	‘grass’

c. Natural entities / Land formation

<i>kwejiji</i>	‘wind’
<i>mejiji</i>	‘beach’
<i>sururu</i>	‘waterfall’
<i>tabubu</i>	‘hurricane’
<i>watsutsu</i>	‘whirlpool’

d. Miscellaneous

<i>ejapupu</i>	‘henhouse’
<i>-jiruru</i>	‘edge, banks (e.g. of a river)’
<i>madada</i>	‘rat trap’
<i>pabejerere</i>	‘toaster pan’

<i>wekaka</i>	‘day’
<i>weruru</i>	‘sweat’

The noun *kwejiji* ‘wind’ is probably derived from the noun *kweji* ‘bad smell’ or the verb *kweji-* ‘fart’. The nouns *weruru* ‘sweat’ and *wekaka* ‘day’ are cases of direct conversion from the intransitive verbs *weruru-* ‘sweat’ and *wekaka-* ‘be at dawn’. The noun *ejapupu* ‘henhouse’ clearly involves the independent noun *eja* ‘nest’; but note that the origin of *pupu* is unknown. The origin of the remaining nouns is unknown and can only be analyzed (at least synchronically) as inherently reduplicated.

Full reduplication is found with about 30 nouns. They are listed in (12.73).

(12.73) a. Fauna

<i>biribiri</i>	‘parakeet sp.’
<i>busabusa</i>	‘glow-worm’
<i>dukwadukwa</i>	‘titi monkey’
<i>jaajaa</i>	‘guan sp. (turkey-like bird)’
<i>kaekae</i>	‘macaw’
<i>kawakawa</i>	‘yellow-billed tern’
<i>kuyukuyu</i>	‘granulated catfish’
<i>pupu</i>	‘owl’
<i>purupuru</i>	‘ibis-like bird’
<i>sheishei</i>	‘nocturnal cicada’
<i>shiwishiwi</i>	‘small duck sp.’
<i>shupushupu</i>	‘serepapa grande cichlid (fish)’
<i>tasatasa</i>	‘black ant sp.’
<i>tsatsa</i>	‘cacaré bird’
<i>wanuwanu</i>	‘bee sp.’
<i>witukuwituku</i>	‘small bird sp.’

b. Miscellaneous

<i>chichi</i>	‘meat’
<i>dudu</i>	‘beam’
<i>emeyaemeya</i>	‘drawing, photo’
<i>jabirijabiri</i>	‘kite’
<i>jerujeru</i>	‘song’
<i>kujakuja</i>	‘balloon’
<i>kumukumu</i>	‘drum’
<i>kweyakweya</i>	‘picture’
<i>nusanusa</i>	‘alphabet’

<i>ribariba</i>	‘toasted corn flour’
<i>tiritiri</i>	‘type of traditional dance’
<i>uyuuyu</i>	‘mud’
<i>warawara</i>	‘forest coca’
<i>wenewene</i>	‘letter’
<i>yusususu</i>	‘idol’

Some of these nouns clearly come from reduplicated verbs, as with *kujakuja* ‘balloon’, from transitive *kuja-* ‘blow air into O’, *jerujeru* ‘song’ from intransitive *jeru-* ‘sing’,¹⁵ *wenewene* ‘letter’ from transitive *wene-* ‘draw/write O’. The noun *tsatsa* ‘cacaré bird’ possibly comes from intransitive *tsa-* ‘laugh’. Others clearly come from other nouns such as *kweyakweya* ‘picture, photo’ from *kweya* ‘form, spirit’, *nusanusa* ‘alphabet’ from *nusa* ‘small mark within a repetitive pattern’, and *yusususu* ‘idol’ from *Yusu* ‘God’. Finally, at least one of these nouns, *uyuuyu* ‘mud’, comes from a (predicative) adjective, *uyu-* ‘muddy’. The origin of the remaining nouns is unknown.

It is quite likely that many (partly or fully) reduplicated nouns are *ad hoc* onomatopoeic creations where reduplication somehow reflects a sonorous or rhythmic motion associated with the denoted referent.¹⁶ Note that many fully reduplicated nouns refer to birds, as with *kaekae* ‘macaw’, *jaajaa* ‘guan sp.’, *pupu* ‘owl’, and *bijiji* ‘gray-fronted dove’, or noisy entities, as with *kumukumu* ‘drum’, *kwejiji* ‘wind’, *sururu* ‘waterfall’¹⁷ and *tabubu* ‘hurricane’. Many reduplicated nouns denote referents associated with a rhythmic component, as with *jabirijabiri* ‘kite’, *tiritiri* ‘traditional dance’, *japipi* ‘butterfly’, *tiriri* ‘spider’, and *watsutsu* ‘whirlpool’. There also appears to be some correlation between the types of phonemes that are used and the size of the entity or pitch of the sound that are presumably denoted. Front vowels *i* and *e* tend to correlate with small entities such as birds or butterfly, as in *biribiri* ‘parakeet sp.’, *bijiji* ‘gray-fronted dove’ and *japiji* ‘butterfly’, while non-front vowels *a* and *u* tend to correlate with bigger entities, as in *kaekae* ‘macaw’ and *sududu* ‘capybara (big rodent)’.

12.7.8. Formatives

Every person in a Cavineña community has an official name and an official surname; the surname is composed of the father’s surname followed by the

¹⁵ Note that *jeru* is also a noun, but it then means ‘prayer’, not ‘song’ (see §12.7.6).

¹⁶ In §5.2.4, I show that verbs can also be created by (partial or full) reduplication involving onomatopoeia.

¹⁷ Note that the sequence *ruru* is also part of the intransitive verbs *rururu-* ‘flow’ and *sukururu-* ‘drip’ (see §5.2.4).

mother's surname, according to Bolivian practices. However, these names are hardly ever used in daily life (but essentially for administrative purposes or with foreigners). What are used instead are nicknames.¹⁸ Cavineñas use many sorts of nicknames. One type of male nicknames consist of modified versions of the official name by way of an ending *chu* or *ku* and some phonological changes; note that those phonological changes are not altogether understood yet.¹⁹ The full list of such names collected is given in (12.74a), with the *chu* ending, and (12.74b), with the *ku* ending.

(12.74) a.	<i>Apechu</i>	←	Alfredo	<i>Melchu</i>	←	Melchior
	<i>Felichu</i>	←	Feliz	<i>Panchu</i>	←	Francisco
	<i>Jaimechu</i>	←	Jaime	<i>Emechu</i>	←	Emerenciano
	<i>Juanchu</i>	←	Juan	<i>Nuchu</i>	←	Norberto
	<i>Kalachu</i>	←	Carmelo	<i>Abranchu</i>	←	Abraham
	<i>Lechu</i>	←	Gregorio	<i>Danchu</i>	←	Eldan
	<i>Maechu</i>	←	Ismael			
b.	<i>Manuku</i>	←	Manuel	<i>Peyuku</i>	←	Pedro
	<i>Ramiku</i>	←	Ramiro	<i>Dumiku</i>	←	Domingo
	<i>Batuku</i>	←	Bartolome	<i>Nestuku</i>	←	Nestor
	<i>Antuku</i>	←	Antonio	<i>Reneku</i>	←	René
	<i>Samuku</i>	←	Samuel	<i>Awiku</i>	←	Aureliano
	<i>Teyuku</i>	←	Elioterio	<i>Machaku</i>	←	Marcelino

It is not clear at the present stage whether the process is productive or not, whether *chu* or *ku* have particular meanings, and how they are exactly used. Also, it is not known if women's names can use these endings or not. Two examples, *Lidika* (from *Lidia*) and *Uruka* (from *Olga*) suggest that *ka* might be such an ending for women's nicknames. More examples are required to confirm this hypothesis (note that in the case of *Uruka*, the *ka* ending might be the adaptation of the *ga* segment of *Olga* to the Cavineña phonological system).

A formative *pe* is found as an ending in a handfull of independent nouns. The meaning of *pe* appears to be 'different from X', X being the entity denoted by the non-derived noun.²⁰

¹⁸ See §1.3 on the activity of giving nicknames in Cavineña society.

¹⁹ Note that the habit of modifying Spanish Christian names by way of a suffix *-chu* or *-ku* is not restricted to Cavineña, as it is found in the whole Quechua-speaking areas of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador (W. Adelaar, p.c.). This suggests that the suffixes *-chu* or *-ku*, or the names that contain them, are originally borrowings from Quechua.

²⁰ Note that *pe* is possibly historically related to the quantifier *peya* 'another' (see §13.5).

(12.75)	<i>atape</i> 'non-Cavineña person, foreigner'	←	<i>ata</i> 'relative'
	<i>marape</i> 'following year'	←	<i>mara</i> 'year'
	<i>wekakape</i> 'following day'	←	<i>wekaka</i> 'day'
	<i>bakanipe</i> 'different name'	←	<i>-bakani</i> 'name'
	<i>anape</i> 'different language'	←	<i>-ana</i> 'tongue, language'

From these few examples, the *pe* suffix can apparently be attached to both independent nouns and *e*-nouns. As we can see above, when it is attached to *e*-nouns, such as *-banaki* 'name', the *e*- prefix of the *e*-noun is deleted, as expected. An example containing *atape* 'non-Cavineña person' is provided in (12.76).

(12.76)	... <i>ju-na-chine</i>	= <i>pa</i>
	be-COME.TEMP-REC.PAST	=REP
	[<i>peadya atape</i>].s.	
	one non.Cavineña.person	

'(I came here with my oxen and cart because) a foreigner has arrived (and I'm supposed to pick him up).' ka098

The formative *pe* is possibly also present in the independent adjectives *bape* 'looking different', from *ba-* 'see', in the non-inflecting verb *tarepe ju-* 'visit', from *e*-noun *-tare* 'house', and in the independent noun *nerekape* 'deceased person', from either the noun *nereka* 'suffering' or the predicative adjective *nereka-* 'miserable'.

Appendix to chapter 12 — exhaustive list of attested *e*-nouns (citation form)

Note: the list includes about 30 putative *e*-nouns. Formally, these nouns begin with the vowel *e* (or glide *y* before *a*). Semantically, they refer to parts of entities. However, it is not known whether the word-initial vowel *e* (or glide *y*) is segmentable or not. For this reason, this vowel is not segmented in these words below.

a. Body parts (external)

<i>e-bawa</i>	‘face’	<i>eruru</i>	‘goiter’
<i>e-bebakwa</i>	‘back’	<i>e-takwa</i>	‘(hand/foot) palm’ ²¹
<i>e-bi</i>	‘arm’	<i>etamu</i>	‘cheek’
<i>ebipukaka</i>	‘fist’	<i>etamurami</i>	‘cheek flesh’
<i>e-biti</i>	‘skin’	<i>etibukuru</i>	‘ankle’
<i>ebutsekini</i>	‘face’	<i>etikune</i>	‘back of knee’
<i>e-dana</i>	‘horn’	<i>e-tima</i>	‘lower back’
<i>edanaka</i>	‘knee’	<i>etimakwija</i>	‘(insect) sting’
<i>ekarekani</i>	‘belly’	<i>etipukaka</i>	‘kneecap’
<i>e-kata</i>	‘feather’	<i>etisarara</i>	‘fin’
<i>eketi</i>	‘face’	<i>e-tsaka</i>	‘leg’
<i>ekweduku</i>	‘chin’	<i>e-tsaru</i>	‘hair’
<i>e-kwatsa</i>	‘mouth’	<i>e-tse</i>	‘tooth’
<i>ekwatsabiti</i>	‘lips’	<i>etsekunu</i>	‘(teeth) gum’
<i>e-kwedi</i>	‘saliva’	<i>e-tseri</i>	‘fat’
<i>ekwejikini</i>	‘face’	<i>e-tsuku</i>	‘hip’
<i>e-kwita</i>	‘body’	<i>e-wa(ch/s)i</i>	‘foot’
<i>e-meshuru</i>	‘nail’	<i>ewasimare</i>	‘tibia’
<i>e-metuku</i>	‘hand, finger’	<i>e-wi</i>	‘beak’
<i>e-miwekaka</i>	‘bird crop’	<i>e-wikani</i>	‘nose’
<i>e-nawa</i>	‘down’	<i>e-wimumu</i>	‘snout’
<i>enibu</i>	‘pubis’	<i>y-ajapara</i>	‘wing’
<i>eperekatse</i>	‘ribs’	<i>y-akwa</i>	‘chest’
<i>e-piti</i>	‘neck’	<i>y-ana</i>	‘tongue’
<i>epititsau</i>	‘spine’	<i>yarapesiki</i>	‘shoulder blade’
<i>e-pusi</i>	‘penis’	<i>y-atsanaka</i>	‘mouth’
<i>e-rami</i>	‘flesh’	<i>y-atuka</i>	‘eye’
<i>e-rumu</i>	‘throat (front of neck)’		

²¹ Note that this word also means ‘liver’, see below.

b. Body parts (internal)

<i>ebakwatare</i>	‘uterus’	<i>e-sere</i>	‘intestine’
<i>e-dumijiti</i>	‘stomach’	<i>epekaka</i>	‘kidney’
<i>ejaruna</i>	‘tendon’	<i>e-takwa</i>	‘liver’
<i>e-jasa</i>	‘lung’	<i>e-tsapuna</i>	‘brain’
<i>e-niju</i>	‘heart’	<i>e-tsau</i>	‘bone’
<i>enijukani</i>	‘artery’	<i>etsurikani</i>	‘throat (back of mouth)’
<i>e-patse</i>	‘bile’		

c. Plant parts

<i>a-kwija</i>	‘thorn’	<i>e-tiri</i>	‘root’
<i>e-bakwa</i>	‘peduncular bract’	<i>e-tsa</i>	‘flower’
<i>e-jaki</i>	‘leaf’	<i>e-tuchaki</i>	‘twig’
<i>e-kaka</i>	‘fruit’	<i>e-wija</i>	‘shoot’
<i>e-madi</i>	‘sap’	<i>y-aa</i>	‘branch’
<i>e-tapanana</i>	‘new leaf’		

d. Landscape parts

<i>e-diji</i>	‘path’	<i>enari</i>	‘eddy’
<i>e-jirikini</i>	‘river bed’	<i>epedeta</i>	‘clearing’
<i>ejuri</i>	‘current’	<i>e-s(e)pere</i>	‘stream’
<i>e-kari</i>	‘track’	<i>e-tipare</i>	‘yard, field’
<i>e-kike</i>	‘forest’	<i>etiperuru</i>	‘slope’
<i>e-kububu</i>	‘wood’	<i>etiwesu</i>	‘elevated river banks’
<i>ekwi</i>	‘middle of river’	<i>etsawa</i>	‘edge (e.g. of a wood)’
<i>e-majaka</i>	‘space’	<i>e-witsana</i>	‘headwaters’
<i>e-matina</i>	‘(wood, tree) tip’	<i>yapapa</i>	‘lush vegetation’

e. Spatial relations

<i>e-busu</i>	‘bottom’	<i>e-tada</i>	‘butt’
<i>e-jiruru</i>	‘edge’	<i>e-tibu</i>	‘base’
<i>e-kamawa</i>	‘rooftop’	<i>e-tsekwe</i>	‘outside’
<i>e-kare</i>	‘half’	<i>e-tsure</i>	‘handle’
<i>e-kini</i>	‘inside surface’	<i>e-wikwabu</i>	‘tip (e.g. of a canoe)’
<i>e-pere</i>	‘side’	<i>e-witu</i>	‘tip (e.g. of a knife)’

f. Miscellaneous

<i>e-bakani</i>	‘name’	<i>e-puna</i>	‘female’
<i>e-duchi</i>	‘shamanic stone’	<i>e-tare</i>	‘house’
<i>e-ka</i>	‘egg’	<i>e-tiki</i>	‘fire’
<i>ekapaja</i>	‘egg white’	<i>e-tisu</i>	‘rope, string’
<i>ekwari</i>	‘leader, chief, guide’	<i>e-tsena</i>	‘worm’
<i>e-marikaka</i>	‘cooking pot’	<i>e-tsuje</i>	‘price, value’
<i>e-mekware</i>	‘tracks’	<i>e-tsuru</i>	‘sound’
<i>e-me(chiki/tse)</i>	‘owner’	<i>e-wene</i>	‘design, motif’
<i>e-na</i>	‘water’	<i>eweji</i>	‘(ceiling) gutter’
<i>e-nakaka</i>	‘juice, nectar, honey’	<i>i-nime</i>	‘thought’
<i>e-name</i>	‘soup’	<i>y-atanana</i>	‘shadow, spirit’

Chapter 13

Noun phrase structure — modifiers

The structure of the NP consists of 8 slots (from A to H), each associated with a particular word class, as follows (repeated from §12.1):

- Slot A: Relative clause¹
- Slot B: Quantifier
- Slot C: Genitive modifier
- Slot D: Juxtaposed noun
- Slot E: **Head noun**
- Slot F: Attributive adjective
- Slot G: Number
- Slot H: Relative clause

A general discussion of the class of nouns was given in §§12.2-7. In the present chapter, I discuss NP modifiers: juxtaposed noun (§13.1), attributive adjective (§13.2), number marker (§13.3), genitive modifier (§13.4), quantifier (§13.5) and relative clause (§13.6).

13.1. Noun juxtaposition

A bare noun can modify the head of an NP (also a noun) by being directly preposed to it (in slot D). Noun juxtaposition can involve either independent nouns or *e*-nouns (but not kinship nouns) as either modifiers (slot D) or NP head (slot E). The morpho-syntactic characteristics of noun juxtaposition are discussed in §13.1.1.

Noun juxtaposition encodes a range of semantic relations having to do with the general idea of specification; that is, “the dependent nominal indicates the type of entity that is being referred to by the head nominal” (Chappell and McGregor 1989:28).² The various semantic relations expressed by noun juxtaposition

¹ Recall that Cavineña does not have a word class of nominal demonstratives. It will be seen that their equivalent is realized by a special type of (demonstrative) relative clauses.

² It will be seen that the Cavineña juxtaposition construction has typical properties of classification constructions as defined by Chappell and McGregor. For example, only a noun (not a pronoun) can modify a head noun and only the head noun can be referential. Also, no material can occur in between the two nouns.

position are presented in §13.1.2.

In a number of cases, noun juxtaposition has unpredictable semantic results, as illustrated in §13.1.3.

Noun juxtaposition resembles noun compounding. The proposed analysis in terms of juxtaposition rather than compounding is argued for in §13.1.4.

Note that modification of a noun by another noun can also be realized by a genitive phrase (slot C). This is not discussed in this section but in §13.4, and more specifically in §13.4.3, where it is shown that the two types of constructions are different syntactically and semantically.

13.1.1. Syntax

Noun juxtaposition displays the following morpho-syntactic properties:

1 — a juxtaposed noun occupies slot D of the predicate. I have not found more than one noun in slot D. In this sense, Cavineña is quite different from English where more than one noun can modify another noun as head of an NP (e.g., *the awards selection committee*).

2 — either an independent noun or an *e*-noun can fill slot D. Also, either an independent noun or an *e*-noun can be modified by a juxtaposed noun. Kinship nouns, on the other hand, are never found in slot D and are never modified by a juxtaposed noun. The examples below illustrate the four possible combinations.

(13.1) Independent — independent

a. *buda* *misa*
 wild.plantain bark strap
 ‘strap made of wild plantain bark’

b. *abari* *epiki*
 chonta palm fan
 ‘fan made of chonta palm’

c. *ijike* *misi*
 corn tamale
 ‘tamale made of corn’

(13.2) Independent — *e*-noun

a. *dati=ka*
 turtle=egg³
 ‘turtle egg’

b. *waka rami*
 cow flesh
 ‘cow flesh, beef’

(13.3) *e*-noun — independent

a. *e-tare dudu*
 NPF-house beam
 ‘house beam’

b. *e-ka mara*
 NPF-egg time
 ‘(turtle) egg season’

(13.4) *e*-noun — *e*-noun

a. *e-wachi meshuru*
 NPF-foot nail
 ‘foot nail’

b. *e-bi tsau*
 NPF-arm bone
 ‘arm bone’

c. *e-tsaka rami*
 NPF-leg flesh
 ‘leg flesh’

3 — the independent noun *ai* ‘INT’ is used in slot D to question the type a noun (as head of the NP) belongs to, as in (13.5), or to express the fact that the head

³ The symbol ‘=’ encodes the fact that the *e*-noun cliticizes to the juxtaposed noun (as a result of the fact that the *e*-noun root *-ka* is monosyllabic; see §12.3.1.2).

noun belongs to any type, as in (13.6).

- (13.5) a. [**Ai** *jae*]_O =*mi*_A *kemi-wa?*
 INT fish =2SG(-ERG) take.out-PERF
 ‘What type of fish did you catch (lit. take out)?’ n4.0544
- b. [**Ai** *mekware*]_{CC} *riya?* ... [*iba* *mekware*]_O *ba-kware*.
 INT tracks here? jaguar tracks see-REM.PAST
 ‘What are these tracks from? (the hunter asked himself. Then he looked carefully at the tracks and) found out (lit. saw) that they were the tracks of a jaguar.’ se026-027
- c. [**Ai** *kaka*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} [*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *kwanubi=ja*]
 INT fruit =3SG(-FM) there=LIG animal=DAT
biji-da?
 desirable-ASF
 ‘What sort of fruit does that animal like?’ (lit. what type of fruit is desirable to that animal?) bu014
- (13.6) *Tumepatya* =*tu*_{CC} *aijama=dya*_{CC} *ju-kware*
 at.that.time =3SG(-FM) not.exist.at.all=FOC be-REM.PAST
 [**ai** *tujuri*]_{CS}...
 INT mosquito.net
 ‘At that (old) time there wasn’t any sort of mosquito net ...
 ‘hm049

4 — when the modified noun (in slot E) is an *e*-noun, it (normally) loses its prefix *e-*, as in (13.2), (13.4) and (13.5b,c); see a full discussion of this in §12.3.1.2;

5 — a noun in slot D cannot take modifiers (ex. plural marker, attributive adjective, relative clause, etc.).

6 — typically, only a noun can occur in slot D. I have nevertheless come across a few examples where an element other than a noun is apparently used in slot D. Until more is known about such examples, I will treat these as exceptions.

In (13.7), the independent particles *iyakwa* ‘now, today, nowadays’ and *ikwene* ‘first’ (§16.1) occur in a position that appears to be the slot C, i.e., immediately before the head of an NP. In (13.7a) *iyakwa* is even found between a genitive modifier (slot C) and the head.

- (13.7) a. *Jadya=eke =tuna_S tu-wa ani-diru-wa*
 thus=PERL =3PL there-LOC sit-GO.PERM-PERF
[ekwana-ja^C iyakwa^D epu^E=ju].
 1PL-GEN now village=LOC

‘This is why they (our Cavineña ancestors) have settled (lit. gone to sit) there, where our village is now (because in the previous place, they were constantly at war with the neighboring Ese Ejja people).’ hs047

- b. *[[Ikwene^D e-puna^E=ra]_A a-wa=bucha=dya]*
 first NPF-female=ERG affect-PERF=SIMLR=FOC
=shana =pa =tu_A a-nuka-wa.
 =PITY =REP =3SG(-ERG) affect-REITR-PERF

‘Sadly, exactly like his first wife had cheated on (lit. affected) him, she (his new wife) cheated on him too.’ dm036

Alfredo Tavo mentioned once that when hearing a child crying one could say (13.8), which looks like a relative clause filling the slot D of an NP since the *e*-prefix of the NP head (the *e*-noun *-tsuri* ‘sound’) is deleted.

- (13.8) *[[Ebakwa_S pa-ya=ke]^D tsuri^E]_{CC}.*
 child cry-IMPV=LIG sound

‘(That’s) the sound of a child crying.’ n5.0088

Note that even though *ebakwa pa-ya=ke* resembles a relative clause structurally (being marked by *=ke* ‘LIG’), it does not so functionally, as this clause does not appear to share any argument with the main clause. Unfortunately, this is the only example I have of this construction, in which case it is too early to draw any conclusion at this point.

7 — a noun in slot D obligatorily requires a head noun (slot E).

13.1.2. Semantics

The following semantic relations are expressed by a noun juxtaposition:

1 — classification relations: the modifier is a term denoting a specific member of a class expressed by the head noun, as in (13.9).

- (13.9) *mara akwi* (mahogany tree + tree) ‘mahogany tree’
 pusese ujeje (abscess + disease) ‘smallpox’
 tisaiyuka chai (flycatcher + small bird) ‘flycatcher bird’

An example of *mara akwi* is given in (13.10).

- (13.10) ... *kwa-kware* [[*mara* *akwi*]_O *sare=ra*].
 go-REM.PAST mahogany.tree tree look.for=PURP.MOT
 ‘He went to fetch (and cut) mahogany trees (in order to sell them).’
 hp002

The construction used to specify the gender of an animal involves the name of the animal immediately followed by the morphemes *deka* ‘male’ or *puna* ‘female’, as in (13.11); see also *buka deka* ‘male tayra’ in (9.8).

- (13.11) a. [*Juje deka*]_O =*pa* =*tu*_A *ina-chine*.
 duck male =REP =3SG(-ERG) grab-REC.PAST
 ‘He stole (lit. grabbed) a male duck.’ ml026
- b. ... [*iba puna=ra*]_A *amena* *a-kware*.
 jaguar female=ERG BM affect-REM.PAST
 (“Your uncle would never say such a thing,”) the female jaguar
 told him.’ zo075

This construction can lend itself to at least two different interpretations, depending on how we analyze *deka* and *puna* in terms of word classes in this context. We can first analyze them as nouns, in which case we can recognize here a juxtaposition construction of the type discussed in this section: the first noun is the modifier and the second noun the NP head.⁴ But we could as well analyze *deka* and *puna* as attributive adjectives (of the type to be discussed in the next section), in which case only the name of the animal is a noun in this construction, and *deka* and *puna* are modifiers. Even though intuitively the second option might be more appealing, structurally the first one appears to be the best, since both terms *deka* and *-puna* exist independently as nouns in Cavineña, as in the following examples.

⁴ Note that we could also say that the first noun is the head and the second noun the modifier. However, this would require setting up a second type of noun juxtaposition construction.

- (13.12) *Marso=ju =e-kwe ju-eti-kware*
 March=LOC =1SG-DAT be-COME.PERM-REM.PAST
 [[*beta e-puna*] [*deka nana=ekatse*]]s.
 two NPF-female male young=DL

‘In March, two women and two young boys arrived.’ di0736

2 — location relations: the modifier is a term denoting where the referent of the head noun is located, as with different types of diseases (*ujeje*) in (13.13).

- (13.13) *etsurikani ujeje* (throat + disease) ‘cough’
yarapesiki ujeje (shoulder blade + disease) ‘back pain’

3 — naming relations: the modifier is a proper name of the head noun referent as in (13.14).

- (13.14) *Asunta chine* (Ascension + fiesta) ‘Ascension fiesta’
Galilea epu (Galilea + village) ‘Galilea village’
Sawaru wekaka (Saturday + day) ‘Saturday’

A full example showing *Galilea epu* is given in (13.15).

- (13.15) [[*Galilea epu=ju_{CC}=ke*]_{RC} *waraji*]_{CC} *jee_{CC}=ke_{CS}*.
 Galilea village=LOC=LIG chief here=LIG

‘This (person) is the chief of the village of Galilea.’ tb041

4 — time relations: the head noun *mara* ‘time’ is modified by a noun denoting an activity or an event associated with this particular time as in (13.16).

- (13.16) *beni mara* (south wind + time) ‘south wind season’
e-ka mara (NPF-egg + time) ‘(turtle) egg season’
nei mara (rain + time) ‘rainy season’
tee mara (garden + time) ‘garden season’

A full example of *nei mara* is presented in (13.17).

- (13.17) *Bakwakwis =tu_S etsa ju-ya*
 jacaranda =3SG(-FM) blossom be-IMPVF
 [*nei mara=ju*].
 rain time=LOC

‘The jacaranda (tree) blossoms during the rainy season.’ di0184

5 — whole-part relations: the modifier is the whole and the NP head the part. This can be illustrated with *-rami* ‘flesh, meat’ in (13.18a), *-ka* ‘egg’ in (13.18b), *-jaki* ‘leaf’ in (13.18c), and *-tiri* ‘root’ in (13.18d).

- (13.18) a. *dukweri rami* ‘deer meat’
duu rami ‘howler monkey meat’
takure rami ‘chicken meat’
waka rami ‘cow meat’
- b. *chai ka* ‘small bird egg’
dati ka ‘turtle egg’
takure ka ‘chicken egg’
- c. *abari jaki* ‘chonta palm leaf’
akuri jaki ‘round-leaves palm leaf’
akwi jaki ‘(non-palm) tree leaf’
- d. *akwi tiri* ‘tree root’
arana tiri ‘ambaivo tree root’
manga tiri ‘mango tree root’

The combination of *duu* ‘howler monkey’ and *-rami* ‘flesh’ is illustrated in (13.19).

- (13.19) a. [*Duu* *rami*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *patse-da*_{CC}.
howler.monkey flesh =3SG(-FM) bitter-ASF
‘The meat of the howler monkey is bitter.’ di2187
- b. *Ani-ya=dya* *yu-keja* [*waka* *rami*]_S?
sit-IMPV=FOC there-LOC.GNL cow flesh
‘Is there cow meat over there (in your country)?’ tb205

6 — part-of-part relations: both the modifier and the head refer to parts of entities, as in (13.20).

- (13.20) a. *e-bi tsau* ‘arm bone’
e-piti tsau ‘neck bone’
e-tsaka tsau ‘leg bone’

- b. *etamu rami* ‘cheek flesh/meat’
e-tsaka rami ‘leg flesh/meat’

In the previous types of whole-part expressions, the specifier is used as a generic non-referential term. But this does not need to be the case. In (13.21), for example, the part nouns *-witsana* ‘headwaters’ and *-kike* ‘forest’ are specified by fully referential place names.

- (13.21) *Diata kike* ‘forest of the Biata river’
Najiji witsana ‘headwaters of the Madidi river’

Note that both names *Diata* and *Najiji* are pronounced differently in Spanish.

7 — composition relations: the modifier specifies the material or the entities the head noun is composed of. This is illustrated with different types of soups in (13.22a), different types of tamale (a sort of bread) in (13.22b), different types of bark straps in (13.22c), and different types of ‘(slash-and-burn) gardens’ in (13.22d). A full example is provided in (13.23).

- (13.22) a. *arusu name* ‘rice soup’
kwawe name ‘manioc beer (lit. manioc soup)’
- b. *arusu misi* ‘rice tamale’
ijike misi ‘corn tamale’
- c. *biji misa* ‘balsa tree bark strap’
buda misa ‘wild plantain bark strap’
- d. *ijike tee* ‘corn garden’
shita tee ‘sugarcane garden’

- (13.23) [*Arusu name*]_s =*tu*_s *ura-ya=ke*_s *duka-da*_{CC}
 rice soup =3SG(-FM) dry-IMPV=LIG murky-ASF
ju-ya.
 be-IMPV

‘The rice soup becomes murky as it cooks (lit. as it dries).’ di0135

8 — user/creator relations: the specifier is the ‘user/creator’ and the NP head the entity used/created. This is shown with the *e*-nouns *-diji* ‘path’ in (13.24a) and *-mekware* ‘tracks’ in (13.24b).

- (13.24) a. *karetu diji* ‘path made and regularly used by carts’
waka diji ‘path made and regularly used by cattle’
- b. *iba mekware* ‘jaguar tracks’
kwanubi mekware ‘ground animal tracks’
waburu mekware ‘peccary tracks’

Constructions with *-diji* ‘path’ are illustrated in (13.25).

- (13.25) a. *Ju-diru* = \emptyset_S [*waka diji=ju*].
 be-GO.PERM (=1SG-FM) cow path=LOC
 ‘I arrived at the cattle path.’ sd069
- b. *Amena kwinana-diru-kware* = \emptyset_S
 BM emerge-GO.PERM-REM.PAST (=1SG-FM)
 [*karetu diji=ju*].
 cart path=LOC
 ‘I reached (lit. emerged on) the cart path.’ pe038

9 — ‘goal’ relations: the specifier is the ‘goal’ (or *raison d’être*) of the entity encoded by the NP head. This is again found with the *e-noun* *-diji* ‘path’ in (13.26).

- (13.26) *e-na diji* ‘water path (path leading to water)’
mani diji ‘rubber center path (path leading to a rubber center)’

These two constructions are illustrated in (13.27).

- (13.27) a. ... [*tu-ja e-na diji=keja*] *jeti-ya=ju*.
 3SG-GEN NPF-water path=LOC.GNL come-IMPFV=DS
 ‘(She saw him) as he was coming by her water path (i.e., the path she uses to fetch water).’ ml022
- b. [*Mani diji*]_O *e-ra*_A *e-kwe*
 rubber.center path 1SG-ERG 1SG-DAT
pa-a-ti!
 HORT.SG-affect-GO.TEMP
 ‘I am going to go and clean (lit. affect) the rubber center path (i.e., the path that leads to the rubber center).’ ce001

13.1.3. Lexicalization

The meaning of quite a number of constructions with a noun directly modifying another noun is not fully predictable. These are best treated as lexicalized collocations. A sample is given in (13.28).

(13.28) a. independent — independent

<i>dii bina</i>	(mosquito + bat)	‘small bat sp.’
<i>dukweri iba</i>	(deer + jaguar)	‘puma’
<i>iyuka muru</i>	(head + dust)	‘dandruff’

b. independent — *e*-noun

<i>ami diji</i>	(blood + path)	‘vein’
<i>ebakwa tare</i>	(child + house)	‘uterus’

c. *e*-noun — independent

<i>e-tiki muru</i>	(NPF-fire + dust)	‘ashes’
<i>e-tsuru kani</i>	(NPF-sound + hole)	‘throat’

d. *e*-noun — *e*-noun

<i>e-kwatsa biti</i>	(NPF-mouth + skin)	‘lips’
<i>e-spere y-aa</i>	(NPF-stream + branch)	‘stream tributary’

13.1.4. Compounding?

In this study I have treated direct modification of a noun by another noun as a syntactic construction (juxtaposition). However, one might ask whether this is not rather a case of compounding. First, note that the two nouns have to occur next to each other and that nothing can occur in between. Second, if the second noun is an *e*-noun, it does not take the *e*- prefix formative. This suggests that the two nouns form one grammatical unit as opposed to two separate grammatical words.

The syntactic juxtaposition analysis is preferred here, for the following reasons:

1 — the two nouns form independent phonological words. They both receive an independent Hⁿ(M)M pitch contour (§2.7) and a pause is possible in between;⁵

2 — the construction is nearly fully productive. Taking the whole-part relation, for example, it is possible to take a noun referring to a whole, e.g., *waka* ‘cow’, and form any logically possible combinations with nouns referring to its parts, e.g., *waka biti* ‘cow skin’, *waka rami* ‘cow flesh’, *waka wasi* ‘cow hoof (lit. cow foot)’, *waka takwa* ‘cow liver’, etc. Alternatively, it is possible to take a noun referring to a part, e.g., *-biti* ‘skin’, and form any logically possible combinations with nouns referring to its ‘wholes’, e.g., *waka biti* ‘cow skin’, *waburasa biti* ‘peccary skin’, *matuja biti* ‘caiman skin’, *iba biti* ‘jaguar skin’, etc.

3 — the modifier noun can normally be questioned independently from the head noun, by using the interrogative independent noun *ai* ‘INT’ in slot D; see an illustration in (13.5a-c). Note that the reverse, i.e., the head noun questioned independently from a juxtaposed slot D modifier, is not attested;

4 — semantically, the result of noun juxtaposition is largely predictable. Some combinations of nouns are not fully predictable — see the examples in (13.28) — but they can be accounted for by a process of lexicalization.

13.2. Attributive adjectives

Attributive adjectives occur as NP modifiers within slot F (§13.2.1). Attributive adjectives consist of a closed class of 16 members which have very specific meanings. The full list is given in (13.29), sorted by semantic type (following Dixon 2004).

(13.29) a. DIMENSION

<i>baru</i>	‘tall’
<i>ebari</i>	‘big’
<i>kaka</i>	‘small and round’
<i>wiri</i>	‘tiny’

b. AGE / VALUE

<i>nana</i>	‘young, new, baby’
<i>siri</i>	‘old’

⁵ Constructions involving a monosyllabic *e*-noun as the second noun are obviously exceptions, as such nouns cliticize on the preceding modifier noun (see §12.3.1.2)

- b. [*Karetu*^D *diji*^E *siri*^F=*eke*] =*tu*_{CS} *paji-da*_{CC}
 cart path old=PERL =3SG(-FM) hard-ASF

‘(Along the new path, the ground is covered with water. But) along the old cart path, it is (dry and) hard. (So let’s go there.)’ ka283

2 — *ebari* ‘big’ is the only attributive adjective that was found in combination with another attributive adjective: *baba* ‘unique’, in (13.31a) and *туру* ‘big male’, as in (13.31b). Note that in these combinations, *ebari* always comes last.

- (13.31) a. [*Ebadeki baba ebari*]_S *ani-ya*
 hammock big.and.unique big sit-IMPFV

[*Hermano Antonio=ja*].
 brother Antonio=DAT

‘Brother Antonio has an exceptionally big hammock.’ n5.0527

- b. [*Jukuri turu ebari*]_O =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A
 coati big.male big.and.unique =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)

mee=ju ba-nati-kware.
 saltlick=LOC see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

‘While I was going (to see my family,) I saw a big male coati in a saltlick.’ mj119

3 — attributive adjectives consist of bare roots which cannot take any affixes, be reduplicated, be negated, or take modifiers; for example attributive adjectives cannot be modified by the particle *dyake* ‘very’, although this particle can modify predicative adjectives (see §11.1.2);

4 — nothing can intervene between the adjective and the head noun;

5 — attributive adjectives, unlike predicative adjectives, cannot be used predicatively (as copula clause complement or secondary predicates) or adverbially;

6 — attributive adjectives obligatorily require a head noun (in slot E).

13.2.2. Semantics

Some attributive adjectives are used very productively and clearly have a modifying meaning: *ebari* ‘big and strong’, *kaka* ‘small and round’, *baba* ‘unique’, *wiri* ‘tiny’, *nana* ‘young’ and *siri* ‘old’. The remaining adjectives are rarely found and most often have lexicalized meanings. The first type of (productive) attributive adjectives are discussed first.

13.2.2.1. *kaka* ‘small and round’

The adjective *kaka* refers to small and round/plump entities.⁷ It is exemplified in (13.32).

- (13.32) a. ... =*tu*_S *bute-ti-kware*
 =3SG(-FM) go.down-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST
 [*bei kaka=ju*] [*e-na*_O *iji=ra*].
 lake small.and.round=LOC NPF-water drink=PURP.MOT
 ‘(The deer wandered for a long time) and then went down to the
 small lake in order to drink.’ ms032
- b. *Jee-ju* =*ri*_S [*e-spere kaka*]_S
 here-LOC =3PROX.SG(-FM) NPF-stream small.and.round
 jara-ya.
 lie-IMPFV
 ‘Here there is (lit. lies) a nice little stream (where we can fetch
 some water for drinking).’ ka309

Other examples of nouns modified by *kaka* are given in (13.33a). The three nouns in (13.33b), according to Emerenciano Sepa, are not really compatible with *kaka* (presumably because they can only refer to thin elongated entities).

- (13.33) a. *akwi kaka* ‘small tree’
 epu kaka ‘small village’
 jae kaka ‘small and plump fish’
 jiti kaka ‘small roundish basket’
 kawayu kaka ‘small and plump horse’
 kuchi kaka ‘small and plump pig’
 kuchiru kaka ‘small knife’
 kwaba kaka ‘small canoe’
- b. (?) *matuja kaka* (small and plump caiman)
 (?) *bakwa kaka* (small and plump viper)
 (?) *nanata kaka* (small and plump electric eel)

⁷ This adjective is most likely historically related to *e*-noun *-kaka* ‘small and round fruit’.

13.2.2.2. *wiri* ‘tiny’

The adjective *wiri* refers to very small, skinny, elongated, or frail entities:⁸

- (13.34) a. [*Wiwipa wiri=ra*]_A =*taa* = \emptyset _O *dunu-wa*.
 eagle tiny=ERG =EMPH (=1SG-FM) surround-PERF
 ‘The tiny eagles surrounded me.’ hm059
- b. [*Kawayu wiri=tsewe*] *kueti-ya*.
 horse tiny=ASSOC pass-IMPFV
 ‘He is riding (lit. passing with) a very skinny horse.’ n5.0507

Other example of nouns modified by *wiri* are given in (13.35a). The noun *epu* ‘village’, according to Emerenciano Sepa, cannot be modified by *wiri* as shown in (13.35b).

- (13.35) a. *bakwa wiri* ‘tiny viper’
e-spere wiri ‘thin and tiny stream’
e-tare wiri ‘narrow house’
jae wiri ‘tiny fish’
kawayu wiri ‘frail horse’
make wiri ‘tiny piranha’
matuja wiri ‘tiny caiman’
mesa wiri ‘narrow table’
nanata wiri ‘tiny electric eel’
nei wiri ‘drizzle (lit. tiny rain)’
tyunu wiri ‘tiny worm’
- b. **epu wiri* (tiny village)

13.2.2.3. *nana* ‘young’

The adjective *nana* refers to recently born or recently created entities, or entities at the earliest stage of their development, as in (13.36).

- (13.36) a. *Churu*_O [*ebakwa nana=ja*] *pa-a!*
 bonnet child young=DAT HORT.SG-affect
 ‘I’m going to make a bonnet for the baby!’ di0715

⁸ Note that there is also a predicative *da*-adjective *wiri-* with the same meaning.

- b. [[*Badi nana*]_s *ju-ya=ju*] =*tu*_s *nei_s dyake*
 moon young be-IMPV=DS =3SG(-FM) rain very
pakaka-ya.
 fall-IMPV

‘When it is new moon, it rains a lot.’ di0198

Other examples of nouns modified by *nana* are given in (13.37a). The adjective *nana* was not accepted by Emerenciano Sepa with the two nouns given in (13.37b) (possibly because ‘stream’ and ‘lake’ are not conceived, from a Cavineña point of view, as being born/created).

- (13.37) a. *amatsa nana* ‘young motacucillo palm’
badi nana ‘new moon’
deka nana ‘baby boy (lit. baby male)’
ebakwa nana ‘baby boy/girl’
ijike nana ‘baby corn’
mara nana ‘new year’
sawa nana ‘baby trahira (fish)’
tsabuna nana ‘baby peacock bass (fish)’
yawa nana ‘earth at creation time’
- b. **bei nana* (young lake)
 **e-spere nana* (young stream)

13.2.2.4. *siri* ‘old’

The adjective *siri* ‘old’ is used to refer to old entities, as shown in (13.38).

- (13.38) a. ... [*tujuri* *siri=tsewe*] *ka-rama-ti.*
 mosquito.net old=ASSOC REF-cover-REF
 ‘(I didn’t have any warm clothes so) I covered myself with my old mosquito net.’ ka245
- b. [*E-na* *siri*]_{CC} =*tu-ke*_{CS}. *Iji-ume!*
 NPF-water old =3SG-FM drink-IMP.SG.NEG
 ‘This is old water. Don’t drink it!’ n5.0475

Other examples of nouns modified by *siri* are given in (13.39).

(13.39)	<i>ai siri</i>	‘old thing’
	<i>e-tare siri</i>	‘old house’
	<i>e-diji siri</i>	‘old path (not used any more)’
	<i>jacha siri</i>	‘old axe’
	<i>juye siri</i>	‘old ox’
	<i>kwatsabiji siri</i>	‘old story’
	<i>Navi siri</i>	‘old Navi (proper name)’
	<i>una siri</i>	‘old clothes, rag’
	<i>yachi siri</i>	‘old pampa (which has not been burned for a long time)’

Note that *siri* can refer to both animate and inanimate entities.

13.2.2.5. *baba* ‘big and unique’

The adjective *baba* is used with entities which are big, old, respected, exceptional or unique of their type.⁹ It is often used with old male animals that wander alone (away from their group) as in (13.40). But *baba* can also be used to refer to things. Emerenciano Sepa volunteered (13.31a) (repeated), referring to my hammock which was much bigger than any hammock he had every seen before.

(13.40)	... <i>ari-da</i> _{CC}	<i>ju-kware</i>	<i>aja</i> _{CS} .
	big-ASF	be-REM.PAST	capuchin.monkey
	[<i>Aja</i>	<i>baba</i>] _{CC} .	
	capuchin.monkey	big.and.unique	
	‘... the capuchin monkey was big. It was a big old capuchin monkey.’ aj025		

(13.31a) a.	[<i>Ebadeki</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>ebari</i>] _S	<i>ani-ya</i>
	hammock	big.and.unique	big	sit-IMPFV
	[<i>Hermano</i>	<i>Antonio=ja</i>].		
	brother	Antonio=DAT		

‘Brother Antonio has an exceptionally big hammock.’ n5.0527

⁹ This adjective is most likely historically related to the kinship noun *baba* ‘grandfather’.

In (13.41a), I show other nouns which were found or elicited with *baba*. In (13.41b) I show a few nouns that are incompatible with *baba* (according to Em-erenciano Sepa; the reasons why such combinations were not accepted are unknown):

- (13.41) a. *duu baba* 'big and unique howler monkey'
tepatsu baba 'big and unique leaf cutter ant'
bei baba 'big and unique lesser anteater'
matuja baba 'big and unique caiman'
shekwi baba 'big and unique rhinoceros beetle'
akwi baba 'big and unique tree'
jae baba 'big and unique fish'
e-tare baba 'big and unique house'
kweri baba 'big and unique river'
- b. **chapa baba* (big and unique dog)
**bira baba* (big and unique wasp)
**e-kike baba* (big and unique forest)

13.2.2.6. ebari 'big'

The attributive adjective *ebari* refers to big and/or strong entities. It is illustrated in (13.42).

- (13.42) a. [*Peadya kaneku ebari*]_O =*tu-ja* =*tu*_O
one mug big =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM)
iji-kware.
drink-REM.PAST

'He drunk himself one big mug (of what he thought was a soft drink).' lv026

- b. [*Jadya wesa-ti-e*] =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O
MAN lift-GO.TEMP-MAN =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM)
a-kware [*jae ebari*]_O.
affect-REM.PAST fish big

'This is how (with the help of two strong men) they (the grandfather and his grandson) lifted the big fish (they had caught).' ps048

Other examples of nouns modified by *ebari* are shown in (13.43).

(13.43)	<i>iba ebari</i>	‘big jaguar’
	<i>matuja ebari</i>	‘big caiman’
	<i>make ebari</i>	‘big piranha’
	<i>chapa ebari</i>	‘big dog’
	<i>mapisi ebari</i>	‘big anaconda’
	<i>akwi ebari</i>	‘big tree’
	<i>y-aa ebari</i>	‘big branch’
	<i>enari ebari</i>	‘big eddy’
	<i>e-spere ebari</i>	‘big stream’
	<i>kani ebari</i>	‘big hole’
	<i>ishuwi ebari</i>	‘big termite nest’
	<i>e-marikaka ebari</i>	‘big cooking pot’
	<i>sura ebari</i>	‘big jug’
	<i>kuchiru ebari</i>	‘big machete’
	<i>jiti ebari</i>	‘big basket’
	<i>kwaba ebari</i>	‘boat (lit. big canoe)’
	<i>e-tare ebari</i>	‘big house’
	<i>nei ebari</i>	‘strong rain’

The noun *eweebari* ‘teenager’ is probably based on the (lexicalized) attributive adjective *ebari*; but note that *ewe* does not occur independently in present day Cavineña.

13.2.2.7. Remaining attributive adjectives

The remaining adjectives are most often lexicalized. Rare examples showing their use as modifiers are given in (13.44) and (13.31b) (repeated).

(13.44)	a.	[<i>E-tare</i>	<i>baru</i>] _E	<i>ekana</i> _S	<i>k-a-ti-chine</i> .
		NPF-house	tall	3PL	REF-affect-REF-REC.PAST

‘They made a tall house for themselves.’ n5.0549

b.	[<i>E-na</i>	<i>uke</i>] _O	= <i>mi-ra</i> _A	= \emptyset _O
	NPF-water	hot	=2SG-ERG	(=1SG-FM)

iji-mere-nuka-ya.
drink-CAUS-REITR-IMPV

“‘You are making me drink warm water,’” (the husband reproached his wife).’ n5.0558

- c. [Yachi **jika=ju**] =tu_S nubi-wa bakwa_S.
 pampa lush=LOC =3SG(-FM) enter-PERF viper
 ‘The viper disappeared (lit. entered) in a lush pampa.’ n5.0555

- (13.31b) [Jukuri **туру ebari**]_O =tu-ke_O =∅_A
 coati big.male big =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)
mee=ju ba-nati-kware.
 saltlick=LOC see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST
 ‘While I was going (to see my family,) I saw a big male coati in a saltlick.’ mj119

These remaining adjectives tend to form lexicalized expressions with the noun they accompany, in which case the noun-adjective combination refers to a unitary concept, typically an animal or a plant species, and the adjective does not, strictly speaking, ‘modify’ the head noun. Examples are given in (13.45).

- (13.45) a. *make pude* ‘red/brown piranha sp.’
puki pude ‘red/brown ant sp.’
ijike pude ‘red/brown corn sp.’
Diata pude ‘Biata river (a red/brown-colored river)’
 b. *ijike jawa* ‘yellow corn sp.’
tipesi jawa ‘yellow horsefly sp.’
kwawe jawa ‘yellow manioc sp.’
 c. *jae paja* ‘white color fish sp.’
e-ka paja ‘egg white’
 d. *shita sewe* ‘dark sugarcane sp.’
tipesi sewe ‘black horsefly sp.’
Diata sewe ‘Santa María river (a black-colored river)’
 e. *tsuijiniki midi* ‘type of mat tightly braided’
 f. *chine ebari* ‘Holy Week (lit. big fiesta)’
epu ebari ‘Riberalta town (lit. big village)’
e-diji ebari ‘highway to Riberalta town (lit. big path)’

Morpho-syntactic evidence for lexicalization can be found in the fact that when a noun-adjective sequence is lexicalized, the adjective can apparently go together with the noun in slot D; recall that slot D must normally consist of bare

roots (see §13.1.1), as suggested with *shita sewe* in (13.46). Note however that this needs to be verified with more examples.

- (13.46) [[*Shita* *sewe*]^D *biti*^E]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *ji-da*_{CC}
 sugarcane black skin =3SG(-FM) good-ASF
 buju-ya=ju [*sapa-tsu* *iji=ishu*].
 have.diarrhea-IMPFV=DS boil-SS drink=PURP.GNL
- ‘The bark (lit. skin) of black sugarcane is good, when one has diarrhea, to boil and drink.’ di2561

13.2.3. Compounding?

All attributive adjectives — except *туру* ‘old male’ — are related to words that belong to other word classes, as shown in Table 13.1.

The strength of the bond between attributive adjectives and their modified noun and the fact that most attributive adjectives have corresponding morphemes within other word classes could suggest alternative analyses in terms of suffixes or root compounding. In this study, I have preferred to treat attributive adjectives as phonologically and syntactically independent modifiers on the following basis:

- 1 — attributive adjectives are prosodically independent, since they receive an independent Hⁿ(M)M pitch contour (see §2.7), and since a pause is possible between the adjective and the noun;
- 2 — syntactically and semantically, (at least) some attributive adjectives, such as *kaka* ‘round and small’, *ebari* ‘big’ and *siri* ‘old’, are very productive and their combination with nouns has transparent compositional meanings.

13.3. Number markers

Cavineña has three number markers. It has a dual marker, =*ekatse* ‘DL’, and two plural markers, =*kwana* ‘PL’, which can be used with any type of noun, and =*ekana* ‘PL’, which can only be used with kinship nouns possessed by first and second persons. Note that Cavineña also has numeral lexemes which belong to the quantifier word class (see §13.5).

Table 13.1. Attributive adjectives and corresponding words

	Attributive adjectives	Corresponding words	Word class
DIMENSION	<i>baru</i> 'tall'	<i>baru-</i> 'tall'	<i>da</i> -adj.
	<i>ebari</i> 'big'	<i>baru-</i> 'height'	ind. noun
	<i>kaka</i> 'small and round'	= <i>ebari</i> 'INTENS'	phr. particle
	<i>wiri</i> 'tiny'	<i>-kaka</i> 'small and round fruit'	<i>e</i> -noun
		<i>wiri</i> 'tiny'	<i>da</i> -adj.
AGE/ VALUE	<i>nana</i> 'young'	<i>nana-</i> 'young'	<i>da</i> -adj.
	<i>siri</i> 'old'	<i>esiri</i> 'old'	ind.adjective
COLOR	<i>pude</i> 'red/brown'	<i>pude-</i> 'red/brown'	<i>da</i> -adj.
		<i>pude-</i> 'paint red/brown'	tr. infl. verb
	<i>paja</i> 'white, clear'	<i>paja-</i> 'white, clear'	<i>da</i> -adj.
	<i>sewe</i> 'black'	<i>sewe-</i> 'black'	<i>da</i> -adj.
		<i>sewe-</i> 'paint black'	tr. infl. verb
	<i>jawa</i> 'yellow'	<i>jawa-</i> 'yellow'	<i>da</i> -adj.
		<i>jawa-</i> 'paint yellow'	tr. infl. verb
	<i>sawa</i> 'green/blue'	<i>sawa-</i> 'green/blue'	<i>da</i> -adj.
	<i>sawa-</i> 'paint blue/green'	tr. infl. verb	
PHYS.PROP.	<i>baba</i> 'big, old, unique'	<i>baba</i> 'grandfather'	kin. noun
	<i>jika</i> 'lush'	<i>jika</i> 'lush'	<i>da</i> -adj.
		<i>jika</i> 'lush vegetation'	ind. noun
	<i>midi</i> 'tight'	<i>midi-</i> 'tight'	<i>da</i> -adj.
	<i>uke</i> 'hot'	<i>uke-</i> 'hot'	<i>da</i> -adj.
		<i>uke</i> 'heat'	ind. noun

13.3.1. Syntax

Number markers have the following morpho-syntactic properties:

- 1 — number markers consist of bare roots which cannot take any affixes or be reduplicated;
- 2 — number markers are enclitics; that is, they do not receive an independent Hⁿ(M)M pitch contour (§2.7);
- 3 — number markers occur in slot G or the predicate. Examples of number markers co-occurring with other NP modifiers are given in (13.47).

(13.47) a. [*Beta*^B *bei*^E *kaka*^F=*ekatse*^G]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS}
two lake small.and.round=DL =3SG(-FM)

[yachi^D e-kububu^E=**ekatse**^G=ju]_{CC}.
 pampa NPF-wood=DL=LOC

‘There are two small and round lakes in the two pampa woods.’¹⁰
 ms015

b. *Ba-ti-kware* =tu_A
 see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST =3SG(-ERG)

[duty^B tuna-ja^C etawiki^E=**kwana**^G e-tiru_{CC}=ke^H]_O.
 all 3PL-GEN bedding=PL RES-burn=LIG

‘He went and saw all their bedding that had burned.’ fg027

There is a intriguing interaction between possessor inflections of kinship nouns (§12.4) and the =*kwana* plural marker. When this marker pluralizes a kinship noun possessed by a third person (thus marked by the circumfix *e-...=ke* ‘3’), =*kwana* is obligatorily attached directly to the kinship root and the =*ke* part of the circumfix is attached to =*kwana*. This is shown in (13.48).

(13.48) a. *E-wane=kwana=ke*_S (**e-wane=ke=kwana*) *kwa-ya*
 3-wife=PL=3 go-IMPV

epu=eke.
 village=PERL

‘Their wives would go from the village (to the forest to meet their husbands, who were hunting there).’ ct037

b. ... *e-bakwa=kwana=ke*_O *nawi-sha-ni-kware*.
 3-child=PL=3 bathe-CAUS-RANDOM-REM.PAST

‘(In old times, our Cavineña ancestors) would force their children to bathe (every day).’ bn004

See also *e-baba=kwana=ke* ‘his grandfathers’ in (13.55a).

Note that this does not happen with the dual marker, as shown in (13.49).

(13.49) a. ... *e-bu=ke=ekatse*_O (**e-bu=ekatse=ke*) *iye-mere-kware*.
 3-nephew=3=DL kill-CAUS-REM.PAST

‘He (the uncle) let (the enemies) kill his nephews (dl) (by not being able to protect them).’ hm155

¹⁰ Note that this example is an exception to the rule of *e-* prefix deletion when a noun is in slot D modifying an *e*-noun as NP head (see discussion in §12.3.2).

- b. [*Feliz=ja e-bakwa=ke=ekatse=tsewe=piji*] =yatse_S
 Feliz=GEN 3-child=3=DL=ASSOC=DIM =1DL
kwa-chine.
 go-REC.PAST

‘We (dl) went with the children (dl) of Feliz.’ vb049

See also *e-kwa=ke=ekatse* ‘his parents’ in (13.61a).

4 — number markers, unlike juxtaposed nouns or attributive adjectives, do not require the NP head to be overtly expressed. They do however require a host (to which they are attached to to form a full phonological word). In other words, number markers cannot be the sole element in an NP. The host must be an NP constituent. In (13.50), I illustrate headless NPs with number markers attached to various types of NP constituent hosts: quantifier *peya* ‘other’ (slot B) in (13.50a) and relative clause in (13.50b).

- (13.50) a. *Peya=kwana=ra=kamadya* =tu_O *a-kware.*
 other=PL=ERG=ONLY =3SG(-FM) affect-REM.PAST

‘(Me, I have never made traditional hats.) Others only would do that.’ ab096

- b. *Eju* =tu_S *tawi-kware*
 INT:LOC =3SG(-FM) sleep-REM.PAST
 [*ikwene jeti-kware=ke=ekatse*]_S?
 first come-REM.PAST=LIG=DL

‘Where did the two (men) who had returned first sleep?’ ts059

There is another curious interaction between the *=kwana* plural marker and the ligature marker *=ke* (marking relative clauses; see §20.2.2). Quite similarly to its behavior with the *=ke* part of the *e-...=ke* ‘3’ possessor circumfix inflection, *=kwana* precedes the ligature marker *=ke*, while one would have rather expected it to follow, from the NP slot structure. This is illustrated in (13.51).

- (13.51) a. [*Misión.Cavina=ju ani-ya=kwana=ke*]_S (**ani-ya=ke=kwana*)
 Misión.Cavinas=LOC sit-IMPV=PL=LIG

kwa-ya=ama.
 go-IMPV=NEG

‘(We were relieved to hear the bishop saying:) the ones (men) who live (lit. sit) in Misión Cavinás won’t go (to the war).’ gu037

- b. [*E-jawane*_{CC}=*kwana*=*ke*] =*tuna*_A *keti-wa*.
 RES-ripen=PL=LIG =3PL(-ERG) fetch-PERF

‘They fetched the ripened ones (bananas).’ mj171

See also *CIRABO*=*ju*=*kwana*=*ke* ‘(us) from CIRABO’ in (T1.56).

Note that this does not happen with the dual marker, where the expected =*ke*=*ekatse* obtains, as in (13.50b).

The markers =*ekatse* ‘DL’ and =*kwana* ‘PL’ are used with any type of noun, whether *e*-nouns, kinship or independent nouns. When it comes to kinship nouns, they can be used irrespective of what the person of the possessor is. The marker =*ekana* ‘PL’, on the other hand, has a very restricted distribution. First, it is only used with kinship terms. Second, it is only used with kinship terms possessed by a first or (to a lesser extent) second person. The examples in (13.52) show =*ekana* on kinship nouns possessed by a first person.

- (13.52) a. [*E-kwe e-bakwa*=*ekana*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *uma-da*_{CC}
 1SG-GEN 1-child=PL =3SG(-FM) many-ASF

ju-kware.

be-REM.PAST

‘I had many children (lit. my children were many).’ n5.0246

- b. *Kwa-kware* =*pa* =*tu*_S [*ekwana-ja e-baba*=*ekana*]_S
 go-REM.PAST =REP =3SG(-FM) 1PL-GEN 1-grandfather=PL

jae=ra

fish=PURP.MOT

‘Our grandfathers went fishing.’ cc002

- c. [*E-kwe e-bakujuna*=*ekana*=*ra*]_A = \emptyset _O
 1SG-GEN 1-daughter=PL=ERG (=1SG-FM)

dunu-tsa-chine=dya.

surround-COME(O)-REC.PAST=FOC

(When I arrived home after a long journey,) my daughters surrounded me.’ ka541

In the available corpus, kinship terms possessed by a second person are pluralized with =*kwana* ‘PL’, as in (13.53).

- (13.53) *Yanakana tya-u [mikwana-ja bakujuna=**kwana**]_O*
 in.vain give-EPEN 2PL-GEN daughter=PL
ne-a-ume [ekwita ba-ma_{CC}=ke]_O.
 IMP.NSG.NEG-affect-IMP.NSG.NEG person see-RES.NEG=LIG

‘Don’t give your daughters to a man whom you don’t know (lit. to a person who has not been seen).’ di2983

See also *mikwana-ja bakwa=**kwana*** ‘your children’ in (6.39).

However, Alfredo Tavo accepted (13.54b), with =*ekana*, as an alternative to (13.54a):¹¹

- (13.54) a. [*Mi-kwe baba=**kwana***]_{CS} =*tuna*_{CS} *ejebucha*_{CC} *ju-kware?*
 2SG-GEN grandfather=PL =3PL INT:SIMLR be-REM.PAST
 b. [*Mi-kwe baba=**ekana***]_{CS} =*tuna*_{CS} *ejebucha*_{CC} *ju-kware?*
 2SG-GEN grandfather=PL =3PL INT:SIMLR be-REM.PAST

Both: ‘How were your grandfathers like?’ n5.0244-0245

Kinship terms possessed by a third person can only be pluralized with =*kwana*, as shown in (13.55a) and the ungrammatical examples in (13.55b) and (13.55c).

- (13.55) a. [*Tu-ja e-baba=**kwana**=ke*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *uma-da*_{CC}
 3SG-GEN 3-grandfather=PL=3 =3SG(-FM) many-ASF
ju-kware.
 be-REM.PAST

‘His grandfathers were many.’ n5.0246

- b. **[Tu-ja e-baba=**ekana**=ke*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *uma-da*_{CC}
 3SG-GEN 3-grandfather=PL=3 =3SG(-FM) many-ASF
ju-kware.
 be-REM.PAST n5.0247

¹¹ Note that the two sentences in (13.54) are questions. It would be necessary to double-check whether the polarity of the clause could have any effect on the use of =*ekana* with kinship terms.

- c. *[*Tu-ja e-baba=ke=ekana*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *uma-da*_{CC}
 3SG-GEN 3-grandfather=PL=3 =3SG(-FM) many-ASF
ju-kware.
 be-REM.PAST

n5.0248

Non-kinship nouns can be pluralized with =*kwana*, as in (13.56a), but not with =*ekana*, as shown by ungrammatical (13.56b).

- (13.56) a. *Takure=kwana*_{CS} =*e-kwe* *uma-da*_{CC} *ju-kware.*
 chicken=PL =1SG-DAT many-ASF be-REM.PAST

‘I had many chicken (lit. chickens were many to me).’ n5.0251

- b. **Takure=ekana*_{CS} =*e-kwe* *uma-da*_{CC} *ju-kware.*
 chicken=PL =1SG-DAT many-ASF be-REM.PAST

n5.0252

Similarly, **chapa=ekana* (dog=PL) was not accepted by Alfredo Tavo. Alfredo also refused =*kwana* on non-kinship nouns even though they refer to human entities such as **ekwita=ekana* (person=PL), **e-puna=ekana* (NPF-female=PL) and **ata=ekana* (relative=PL).

The following Table 13.2 summarizes how each number marker is used.

Table 13.2. Distributional restrictions on plural markers

	kinship noun	Ind. nouns and <i>e</i> -nouns
= <i>ekatse</i>	yes; e.g., (13.49a,b)	yes; e.g., (13.47a)
= <i>kwana</i>	yes; e.g., (13.54a), (13.55a)	yes; e.g., (13.47b)
= <i>ekana</i>	only when possessed by 1 st or 2 nd person; e.g., (13.52a-c), (13.54b)	no

Although number tends to be marked in many cases, it is not an obligatory category of the NP. A noun can be left unmarked and still refer to dual or plural referents. In (13.57), for example, Cosme Mayo relates an encounter with a fierce anteater during a hunting expedition. His (six) dogs attacked the anteater. Cosme refers to the dogs with overt plural marking in (13.57a) but not in (13.57b).

- (13.57) a. *Chapa=kwana_S iwa=ju ekanas¹² bade-ti-kware.*
 dog=PL tail=LOC 3PL hang-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST
 ‘My dogs went hanging on to its (anteater’s) tail.’ ba093
- b. *Warere-warere chapa=ra_A akere-ya*
 turn-REDUP dog=ERG be+CAUS.INVLT-IMPV
bari_O.
 giant.anteater
 ‘(Hanging on its; tail,) the dogs (*dog) and the anteater; were turning around, over and over again.’ ba100

Another example involves *waka* ‘cow’, in (13.58).

- (13.58) *Ba-ti-kware =yatse_A*
 see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST =1DL(-ERG)
[e-puna [waka=duku ju-neni-ya=ke]_{RC}]_O.
 NPF-female cow=INSIDE be-RANDOM-IMPV=LIG
 ‘We (dl) went to see the woman who was strolling between (lit. was in various places inside) the cows (*cow).’ vc019

In (13.59), Victoria Tavo relates how she was conducting a pair of oxen (pulling a cart). She sometimes refers to them as *juye=ekatse* (ox=DL), as in (13.59a), but sometimes just as *juye* ‘ox’, as in (13.59b).

- (13.59) a. *Tu-wa =shana juye=ekatse_{CS} nereka-da_{CC}.*
 there-LOC =PITY ox=DL miserable-ASF
 ‘The oxen (dl) were miserable (having to pull that terribly heavy cart).’ ka239
- b. *Juye_O =∅_A nitya-nuka-wa.*
 ox (=1SG-ERG) stand-REITR-PERF
Neti-chine=dya juyes.
 stand-REC.PAST=FOC ox
 ‘I stopped (lit. stood) the oxen (*ox) once again. (This time) the oxen (*ox) stopped.’ ka019

¹² Note that this morpheme is not the plural marker but a third person pronoun (see §15.6).

13.3.2. Semantics

Number markers often have strict dual or plural meaning (and can be satisfactorily translated by a plural in English). But this is not always the case. In some cases, number markers can have an ‘associative’ meaning. This is at least attested with =*kwana* and =*ekatse*; more work is needed to determine whether that sort of meaning can also be expressed by =*ekana*. As such the referent of the noun marked with a number marker is associated with one entity, in the case of =*ekatse*, or multiple entities, in the case of =*kwana*, that is/are typically associated with it. Two illustrative examples of =*kwana* ‘PL’ with an associative meaning are given in (13.60).

- (13.60) a. [*Karetu=kwana*_E *ka-risi-ti* *jadya* *ju-atsu*]
 cart=PL REF-tie-REF thus be-SS
*i-ke*_O *ne-kemi-na-kwe...!*
 1SG-FM IMP.NSG-take.out-IMP.NSG

‘After you prepare (lit. tie) the cart (*carts) and everything (the oxen, the load, etc.), come (dl) and pick me up...!’ ka157

- b. [*Arepa* *karetu=tsewe* *jeti-wa=amabucha*]
 EVEN.THOUGH cart=ASSOC come-PERF=EVEN.THOUGH
 [*e-kwe* *e-tima=kwana*]_{CS} *uje-da*_{CC}.
 1SG-GEN NPF-lower.back=PL painful-ASF

‘Even though I’ve traveled (lit. come) in the cart (i.e., I have not walked), my lower back (*lower backs) area hurts.’ ka546

Examples of the marker =*ekatse* with an associative meaning are given in (13.61).

- (13.61) a. [*Ebakwa*_S *maju-wa=ju*] =*tu*_O *esiri=kwana=ra*_A
 child die-PERF=DS =3SG(-FM) old=PL(=LIG)=ERG
*e-kwa=ke=ekatse*_O *nimearitura-ya*.
 3-mother=3=DL console-IMPFV

‘When a child dies, the elders (of the village visit and) console his parents (lit. his mother and associated person) (*mothers).’ di2117

- b. [*E-kwe tata-chi*¹³*=ekatse*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *ujeje=dya*_{CC}
 1SG-GEN father-AFFTN=DL =3SG(-FM) be.sick=FOC
ju-kware.
 be-REM.PAST

‘My parents (lit. my daddy and associated person) (lit. *fathers) were sick.’ sl004

In the corpus, no examples were found of =*ekana* with an associative meaning. Note that no examples were found either of an associative meaning with =*kwana* or =*ekatse* for proper names.

In some cases the plural marker =*kwana* has a distributive effect. This effect is observed with mass nouns. The entity referred to by the mass noun is distributed over different places. This is the case with *-na* ‘water’, in (13.62a), and *yachi* ‘pampa’, in (13.62b).

- (13.62) a. *Ani-ya=jari* *e-na=kwana* *e-diji=ju?*
 sit-IMPV=STILL NPF-water=PL NPF-path=LOC

‘Is there still water (*waters) along (lit. in various parts of) the path?’ n3.0063a

- b. *Peta-aje-ya* *e-ra_A* *e-majaka_O*, *yachi=kwana_O*.
 look.at-GO.DISTR-IMPV 1SG-ERG NPF-space pampa=PL

‘I looked around at the area, at the pampa (*pampas) (scattered in various places).’ ka040

Yet in some other cases, =*kwana* means that the referent is composed of a collection of various entities. When translating (13.63) below, I was told by Emerenciano Sepa that by using *tapeke=kwana*, the narrator (Victoria Tavo) meant some elements that typically constitute trip food, such as rice, manioc, meat, etc..

- (13.63) *Tapeke=kwana_O* =*mi-ra_A* = \emptyset _O *baka-wa.*
 trip.food=PL =2SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) ask.for-PERF

‘You asked me about (lit. for) trip food (i.e., whether we had prepared anything to eat during the trip).’ ka160

¹³ Note that in this example, the kinship term *tata* has become an independent noun by taking the derivation suffix *-chi* ‘AFFTN’ (§12.7.5). This explains why it does not take any possessor inflections.

Note that the plural marker =*kwana* ‘PL’ is possibly historically related to the phrasal particle =*kwana* ‘UNCERT’ (§17.2.15), although the semantic connection is not very obvious. Note also that two pronoun-like words correspond to =*ekatse* ‘DL’ and =*ekana* ‘PL’, namely *ekatse* ‘3DL’ and *ekana* ‘3PL’ (§15.6).

13.4. Genitive modifier

A genitive modifier goes into slot C of the NP structure. It consists of an embedded NP marked by the genitive enclitic =*ja* or a genitive pronoun (§13.4.1).

Genitive modification encodes a range of semantic relations that hold between (normally) referential entities (§13.4.2).

There is some semantic overlap between genitive modification and noun juxtaposition modification (§13.4.3).

Finally, the genitive marker =*ja* is homophonous with the dative marker =*ja* ‘DAT’. A discussion of the differences is provided in §14.2.2.3.

13.4.1. Syntax

A genitive constituent has the following morpho-syntactic properties:

1 — a genitive modifier, either phrasal or pronominal, fills slot C of the NP structure. Examples of a genitive modifier co-occurring with other NP modifiers are given in (13.64) and (13.47b) (repeated).

- (13.64) *Ai=ra*_A =*tu*_O *tiru-sha-wa=ama*
 INT=ERG =3SG(-FM) burn-CAUS-PERF=NEG
 [*Lizardu=ja*^C *arusu*^D *tee*^E]_O?
 Lizardu=GEN rice garden

‘Who prevented (lit. did not let) Lizardu’s rice garden from burning (when it was threatened by a big fire)?’ lz018

- (13.47b) *Ba-ti-kware* =*tu*_A
 see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST =3SG(-ERG)
 [*dutya*^B *tuna-ja*^C *etawiki*^E=*kwana*^G *e-tiru*_{CC}=*ke*^H]_O
 all 3PL-GEN bedding=PL RES-burn=LIG

‘He went and saw all their bedding that had burned.’ fg027

2 — a genitive modifier consists of either an embedded noun phrase or a genitive pronoun. A genitive phrase is marked by the enclitic postposition =*ja* ‘GEN’ which is attached to the last phonological word of the phrase. Genitive phrases consisting of various type of modifiers are shown in (13.65).

(13.65) a. juxtaposed noun (slot D)

[[*Timatipuse*^D *ajipa*^E=*ja*] *kati*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *uje-da*_{CC}.
 scorpion(sp.) scorpion=GEN sting =3SG(-FM) painful-ASF

‘The sting of the “timatipuse” scorpion is very painful.’ di2690

b. attributive adjective (slot F)

[[*Ebakwa*^E *nana*^F=*ja*] *eja=kwana*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS}
 child young=GEN diaper=PL =3SG(-FM)

*naka-da=jari*_{CC}.
 wet-ASF=STILL

‘The baby’s diapers (that have been washed) are still wet.’ di0994

c. number marker (slot G)

... [*kwanubi*^F=*kwana*^G=*ja* *e-tsau=kwana*]_O *ba-nati-wa*.
 animal=PL=GEN NPF-bone=PL see-GO.TEMP-PERF

‘... he saw the bones of animals (that a giant boa snake had eaten).’ se030c

d. quantifier (slot B) (with ellipsed head)

Ju-neni-kware=dya
 be-RANDOM-REM.PAST=FOC

[*peya*^B=*kwana*^G=*ja* *e-tare=kwana=ju*].
 other=PL=GEN NPF-house=PL=LOC

‘I went around visiting the houses of others.’ T1.99

e. demonstrative (copula) relative clause (slot A)

*Ai*_S =*tu*_S [[*tume*_{CC}=*ke*^A *kwanubi*^E=*ja*] *e-dumijiti=ju*]
 INT =3SG(-FM) there=LIG animal=GEN NPF-stomach=LOC

ani-ya?
sit-IMPFV

‘What is in the stomach of that animal (the tayra)?’ bu015

Genitive phrases with embedded genitive modifiers (slot C) are shown in (13.66).

- (13.66) a. [[[**Tu-ja**]^C **e-wane=ke=ja**] *e-tata=ke=ra*]_A
3SG-GEN 3-wife=3=GEN 3-father=3=ERG

kweja-kware [peya *ata=kwana*]_O.
inform-REM.PAST other relative=PL

‘His father-in-law (lit. his wife’s father) informed his other relatives.’ ap021

- b. [[[**Ekwana-ja**]^C **e-baba** **Akapu=ja**] *e-bui-ke=ekatse*]_{CC}.
1PL-GEN 1-grandfather Akapu=GEN 1-nephew=3=DL

‘(These two brothers were) the nephews (dl) of our grandfather Akapu.’ hm008

In (13.67), we have three levels of genitive recursion within a locative phrase: the genitive pronoun *e-kwe* ‘1SG-GEN’ modifies the head of the genitive phrase *e-kwaa=ja* ‘1-mother=GEN’, which itself modifies the head of the genitive phrase *e-kwaine=ke=ja* ‘3-aunt=3=GEN’, which finally modifies the head of the locative phrase *ekarekani=ju* ‘NPF-belly=LOC’.¹⁴

- (13.67) [*E-kwe e-kuku*]_O =yatse_A *tsuru-kware*, *SantoNico*_O,
1SG-GEN 1-uncle.MB =1DL(-ERG) meet-REM.PAST Santo.Nico

[[[[**e-kwe**] **e-kwaa=ja**] **e-kwaine=ke=ja**] *ekarekani=ju*]
1SG-GEN 1-mother=GEN 3-aunt.MZ=3=GEN belly=LOC

jara-wa=ke]_O.
lie-PERF=LIG

‘... we (dl) met my uncle, Santo Nico, (who is) the son of my mother’s aunt (lit. the one who had lain in my mother’s aunt’s belly)¹⁵.’ gu085

¹⁴ Note that, as the square brackets (and the literal translation) show, the locative phrase that contains all these stacked genitives is itself embedded within a headless relative clause.

¹⁵ An even more literal translation would be ‘the one who had lain in my mother’s

3 — a genitive modifier, similarly to a juxtaposed noun or an attributive adjective, requires an overt head noun (slot E). However, there is an alternative strategy which allows the expression of ‘mine, yours, John’s, the man’s, etc.’. The strategy consists of using a dative oblique phrase (§14.2.2) within a (copula) relative clause (slot H). This is shown in (13.68).

- (13.68) a. *Tu-eke* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *noticia*_O
 there-PERL =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) news
baka-tsa-kware [*e-kwe* *mamita=ja*_{CC=ke}]_O.
 hear-COME(O)-REM.PAST 1SG-GEN mommy=DAT=LIG
 ‘Then I heard the news, my mommy’s (news; saying that she had passed away).’ mj010
- b. [*Jee*_{CC=ke} *kamisa*]_{CS} =*ri*_{CS} *tu-ja*_{CC=ke}_{CC}.
 here=LIG shirt =3PROX.SG(-FM) 3SG-DAT=LIG
 ‘This shirt is his.’ di2723

Note that dative phrases are marked by =*ja* ‘DAT’ which, as was mentioned earlier, is homophonous with =*ja* ‘GEN’. One could speculate whether the headless *ja*-phrases in (13.68) above are not simply genitive phrases. In this study, I have preferred the (oblique) dative-and-RC analysis based on the fact that it is quite common for an oblique phrase to be relativized (within copula clauses) whereas with the genitive analysis, the presence of the (obligatory) =*ke* morpheme is left unaccounted for.

13.4.2. Semantics

Genitive phrases are used for encoding the following semantic relations:

1 — interpersonal relations, as in (13.69a), with a kinship term as NP head, and (13.69b), with an independent noun as NP head.

- (13.69) a. [***Malili=ja*** *e-bakujuna=ke=ra*]_A = \emptyset _O
 Malili=GEN 3-daughter=3=ERG (=1SG-FM)
kweja-ti-chine...
 inform-GO.TEMP-REC.PAST

mother’s sister’s belly’ since *kwaine* ‘aunt’ refers specifically to the sister of a mother.

‘Malili’s daughter went to tell me (that I was invited by my brother for a drink).’ ju001

- b. *Ne-kware-wana-ra* [ekwana-ja ata]_{o!}
 HORT.PL-avenge-ADVERS-HORT.PL 1PL-GEN relative

‘Let us avenge our relative (killed by enemies)!’ vz058

See also ‘the children (dl) of Feliz’ in (13.49b), ‘our grandfathers’ in (13.52b), and ‘my wife’s father’ in (13.66a).

2 — ownership relations, as in (13.70).

- (13.70) *Jee=dya* [Antoni=ja tujuri]_{CC}.
 here=FOC Antoni=GEN mosquito.net

‘This is Antoni’s mosquito net (in the photo).’ ft018

See also ‘baby’s diapers’ (13.65b), ‘the houses of others’ in (13.65d), ‘the village of the Araonas’ in (T1.25), ‘their land’ in (T1.113) and ‘their machines’ in (T1.114).

3 — whole-part relations, as in (13.71).

- (13.71) a. *Tsura-kware* [sudaru=ja e-kwita=ju].
 go.up-REM.PAST soldier=GEN NPF-body=LOC

‘It (a viper) climbed on the soldier’s body.’ so005

- b. [Takure=ja e-ka]_{CS} ji-da_{CC}
 chicken=GEN NPF-egg good-ASF
 [ara=ishu katyati=ishu jadya].
 eat=PURP.GNL sell=PURP.GNL AND

‘Chicken eggs are good to eat or to sell.’ di0859

- c. ... [camioneta=ja llanta]_S pututa-nati-kware...
 van=GEN tire burst-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

‘... the van’s tire burst...’ di2319

See also ‘animal’s bones’ in (13.65c), ‘the stomach of that animal’ in (13.65e), ‘her flesh’ in (T2.11).

4 — creator/instigator relations, as in (13.72).

- (13.72) a. [**Yaabakwa=ja** *kati*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *uje-da*_{CC}.
 pucarara.viper=GEN sting =3SG(-FM) painful-ASF
 ‘The bite (lit. sting) of the pucarara viper is painful.’ di2955
- b. [**Ijeti=ja** *weka=ra*]_A =*tu*_O *dutya*_O *uda-ya*.
 sun=GEN light=ERG =3SG(-FM) all light.up-IMPV
 ‘The light of the sun shines over everything.’ di1403

5 — miscellaneous relationships, as in (13.73).

- (13.73) a. *E-ra*_A [**tu-ja** *e-bakani*]_O *adeba-ya=ama*.
 1SG-ERG 3SG-GEN NPF-name know-IMPV=NEG
 ‘I don’t (even) know his (the linguist’s) name.’ ka136
- b. *Jadya*_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} [**ekwana-ja** *ani*]_{CS}.
 thus =3SG(-FM) 1PL-GEN sit
 ‘That’s how we live (lit. thus is our sitting).’ ap054
- c. *Amena* [**e-kwe** *baji*]_S *kueti-wa=jipenee*.
 BM 1SG-GEN fear pass-PERF=ALMOST
 ‘My fear had almost passed (but I was still shivering).’ ba113

See also ‘scorpion sting’ (13.65a) and ‘their language’ in (T1.74).

13.4.3. Genitive modification vs. noun juxtaposition

It was noted that a juxtaposed noun (§13.1) and a genitive modifier both allow a noun to modify another noun. In this section, I will discuss the formal and semantic differences between the two types of constructions.

Note first that these are two clearly different constructions morpho-syntactically:

- 1 — a genitive modifier goes into slot C while a juxtaposed noun goes into slot D;
- 2 — a genitive modifier consists of an embedded NP or a pronoun. A juxtaposed noun can only be a bare noun;

Semantically, at least some relations expressed by these two constructions are different:

- 1 — only a juxtaposed noun can express classification, location, naming or time relations;
- 2 — only a genitive modifier can express interpersonal or ownership relations.

However, both construction can express whole-part and user/creator relations. Still the resulting semantics are most often not identical. Noun juxtaposition is used to categorize, in other words to indicate the type of entity that is being referred to by the head nominal. A juxtaposed noun is never referentially independent from the head noun and cannot be independently modified. Moreover, it is impossible to juxtapose a pronoun. When encoding whole-part relations, the whole has a generic meaning. In (13.19), for example the flesh/meat refers to ‘any monkey’ or ‘any cow’. Genitive modification is used to encode relations between entities that are (normally) referentially distinct. As we saw in §13.4.1, a noun in genitive function can be modified independently from the NP head noun. A genitive modifier can be a pronoun. When encoding whole-part relations, the whole normally refers to a particular entity (i.e., specific and referential) that the speaker has in mind, such as ‘the soldier’ in (13.71a) or ‘the van’ in (13.71c).

The semantic contrast between the juxtaposition construction and the genitive construction is further illustrated by the pair in (13.74), volunteered by Alfredo Tavo.

- (13.74) a. *Apuna-ya=ju* *baka-taki_{CC}* [*dii* *tsuri*]_{CS}.
 be.at.dusk-IMPV=DS hear-ABIL mosquito sound
 ‘When dusk falls, mosquito noise can be heard.’ n5.0319
- b. *Tujuri=duku* =*tu-ke_O* = \emptyset _A *baka-wa*
 mosquito.net=INSIDE =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) hear-PERF
 [*dii=ja* *e-tsur*]_O.
 mosquito=GEN NPF-sound
 ‘Inside my mosquito net I heard the noise of a mosquito (that had managed to enter).’ n5.0320

Note that in some cases, a genitive modifier appears to be generic. For example, this happens in generic statements about a particular animals or plants, as in (13.71b) (repeated) and (13.75).

- (13.71b) [**Takure=ja e-ka**]_{CS} *ji-da*_{CC}
 chicken=GEN NPF-egg good-ASF
 [*ara=ishu katyati=ishu jadya*].
 eat=PURP.GNL sell=PURP.GNL AND
 ‘Chicken eggs are good to eat or to sell.’ di0859

- (13.75) [**Jae=ja e-bebakwa**]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *jumuru-da*_{CC}.
 fish=GEN NPF-back =3SG(-FM) hunched-ASF
 ‘Fish have a hunched back (lit. the fish’s back is hunched).’ di1816

In (13.76), a conversational turn constructed by Alfredo Tavo, the response to a question about a type of intestines can equally make use of the juxtaposition construction or the genitive construction.

- (13.76) A: [*Ai sere*] *tume?*
 INT intestine there
 ‘What sort of intestines are those?’
 B: [**Waka sere**] / [**waka=ja e-sere**].
 cow intestine cow=GEN NPF-intestine
 Both: ‘(Those are) cow intestines.’ n5.0325

Alfredo Tavo did not seem to see any meaning difference between the two possible answers. It should be pointed out that whereas a genitive modifier can have a generic sense, a juxtaposed noun cannot have a specific referent. In other words, the two construction still remain quite different in terms of specificity.

13.5. Quantifiers

The class of quantifiers includes the four logical quantifiers listed in (13.77a), the 10 numerals listed in (13.77b), the quantifier question marker given in (13.77c) and the word meaning ‘other’ given in (13.77d).

(13.77) a. logical quantifiers

<i>dutya</i>	‘all’
<i>umada/jetiama</i>	‘many, a lot of’ ¹⁶
<i>umae</i>	‘few’

b. numerals¹⁷

<i>peadya</i>	‘one’	<i>shukuta</i>	‘six’
<i>beta</i>	‘two’	<i>pakaruku</i>	‘seven’
<i>kimisha</i>	‘three’	<i>kimisakaruku</i>	‘eight’
<i>pushi</i>	‘four’	<i>puskuruku</i>	‘nine’
<i>pishika</i>	‘five’	<i>tunka</i>	‘ten’

c. quantifier question marker

ejeuma ‘how many/much’

d. word meaning ‘other’

peya ‘other’

Note that four quantifiers have corresponding (and probably historically related) predicative adjectives. The first three, *umada*, *umae* and *ejeuma* correspond to the *da*-adjective *uma*- ‘many, in a great quantity’ — recall that *-da* ‘ASF’ is a dummy suffix and that *eje-* ‘INT’ is an interrogative prefix; however the origin of the *e* ending of the second one is unknown. The fourth quantifier, *jetiama*, corresponds to the predicative adjective *jetiama* ‘many, in a great quantity’. See Chapter 11 for a full discussion on predicative adjectives.

In (13.78) I illustrate a number of logical quantifiers.

¹⁶ These two logical quantifiers are interchangeable without any meaning differences (compare for example (13.78b) and (13.78c)). Speakers have commented that *umada* was used in the past more than nowadays. I also observed that *jetiama* was preferentially used in Galilea (a modern community close to the town of Riberalta) while *umada* was most often used in Misión Cavinás (a very remote and more traditional community).

¹⁷ As we will see below, only the numerals for ‘one’ and ‘two’ are originally from Cavineña. The remaining numerals, from ‘three’ to ‘ten’, have been borrowed from Aymara.

- (13.78) a. [**Dutya** uu=*kwana*]_{CS} =*pa* ushuri=*tere*_{CC} ju=*kware*.
 all animal=PL =REP skinny=ONLY be-REM.PAST
 ‘All the animals were very skinny (because they had not eaten for days).’ ti005b
- b. *Ani-kware* tuna-*ja* [**jetiana** *jae*]_S...
 sit-REM.PAST 3PL-DAT many fish
 ‘(When we arrived there, the villagers had been fishing and) they had many fish (lit. many fish sat to them).’ co008
- c. *Re-wa*_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} “*juj*” [**umada** *jae*]_{CS}.
 here-LOC =3SG(-FM) ONOM many fish
 ‘Here (unlike in your country), “*juj*”, there are many fish.’ tb154
- d. [**Umae** *chapa*=*kwana*]_S =*pa* *ikwene* *mani*=*ju*
 few dog=PL =REP first rubber.center=LOC
ju-diru-kware.
 be-GO.PERM-REM.PAST
 ‘A few dogs arrived first at the rubber center.’ os039

The numerals *peadya* ‘one’ and *beta* ‘two’ are shown in (13.79).

- (13.79) a. *Ju-kware* =*tu*_S [**peadya** *ekwita*]_S.
 be-REM.PAST =3SG(-FM) one person
 ‘There was one man.’ cd002
- b. [**Beta** *kwaba*]_O =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *a-kware*.
 two canoe =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) affect-REM.PAST
 ‘I made two canoes (when I was young).’ ab210

The word *peya* ‘other’ is shown in (13.80).

- (13.80) [*Yume*_{CC}=*ke* *e-kike*=*ju*] =*tu*_S [**peya** *e-spere*]_S
 over.there=LIG NPF-forest=LOC =3SG(-FM) other NPF-stream
jara-nuka-ya.
 lie-REITR-IMPV
 ‘In that forest is (lit. lies) another stream.’ ft043

The quantifier question marker is illustrated in (13.81).

- (13.81) [*Ejeuma* *tedu*]_O =*tatse*_A *ba-wa*?
 how.many guan =3DL(-ERG) see-PERF
 ‘How many guans did they (dl) see?’ gr011

Quantifiers have the following morpho-syntactic properties:

1 — quantifiers occur in slot B of the NP structure. Examples showing the quantifier *dutya* ‘all’ co-occurring with other NP modifiers are given in (13.82) and (13.78a) (repeated).

- (13.82) [*Dutya*^B *tu-ja*^C *kasa*^E=*tsewe*] *kueti-kware*
 all 3SG-GEN strength=ASSOC pass-REM.PAST
e-puna=ekatse=eke.
 NPF-female=DL=PERL

‘(An agouti appeared suddenly and) passed with all its strength between two women.’ md007

- (13.78a) [*Dutya*^B *uu*^E=*kwana*^G]_{CS} =*pa* *ushuri=tere*_{CC} *ju-kware.*
 all animal=PL =REP skinny=ONLY be-REM.PAST

‘All the animals were very skinny (because they had not eaten for days).’ ti005b

2 — quantifiers are bare roots: they cannot take affixes or be reduplicated;

3 — quantifiers do not require an overt NP head: they can be the sole element of an NP (although not the head) as in (13.83).

- (13.83) a. *Dutya*=*ra*_A =*tu-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A *adeba-ya*
 all=ERG =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) know-IMPV
 [*aja* *ari-da*_{CC}=*ke*]_O.
 capuchin.monkey big-ASF=LIG

‘All (of us) know the big capuchin monkey.’ aj046

- b. *Tu-wa=dya* =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O *umada*_O
 there-LOC=FOC =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) many

abu-abu+ni-kware.
 carry-REDUP+RANDOM-REM.PAST

‘There (in baskets) they would carry a lot (of jungle meat).’ ct141

- c. *Ni=peadya*_{CS} *chacha*_{CC}.
 NOT.EVEN=one alive

‘Not even one (chicken) was alive.’ ga034

- d. *Peya*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *yachi=ju*_{CC}=*ke*_{CC}.
 other =3SG(-FM) pampa=LOC=LIG

‘Another (type of hunting) is one in the pampa.’ ct097

Note that this is not to say that quantifiers are heading the NP. This is so because an underlying head noun is always recoverable. Recovering the ellipsed head noun can depend on anaphora. In (13.83b), (13.83c) and (13.83d), the ellipsed nouns ‘jungle meat’, ‘chicken’ and ‘the type of hunting’, respectively, are topics within stretches of discourse preceding these examples. Recovering the ellipsed head noun can also depend on the immediate context. In (13.83a), the head noun refers to an entity that is present in the speech situation. Note that in this example, the identity of the head noun is also recovered from the bound pronoun =*ekwana*.

In afterthought situations, the referent of an ellipsed head can be overtly expressed by a noun within a different NP (in apposition) in the same sentence as the quantifier. This is seen in the two examples in (13.84).

- (13.84) a. *Ikwene* =*yatse*_A *e-tapanana*_O *kemi-ya* *beta*_O.
 first =1DL(-ERG) NPF-new.leaf take.out-IMPV two

‘(In order to make baskets,) we (dl) first fetch (palm) new leaves, two (new leaves).’ ab035

- b. [*Tume*_{CC}=*ke* *e-spere=ju=nuka=dya*] =*tu-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A
 there=LIG NPF-stream=LOC=REITR=FOC =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG)

*peya*_O *ba-chine* [*sawa* *[dyake ari-da*_{CC}=*ke*]]_O.
 other see-REC.PAST trahira very big-ASF=LIG

‘In that same stream, we saw another one, a(nother) trahira (fish) which was very big.’ ft027

One might want to analyze the quantifiers in these examples as ‘floating quantifiers’ as found in many languages such Japanese, Korean, Tzotzil, Lakhota and Pima (Uto-Aztecan) (see Munro 1984; Downing 1993). In this study, I have not retained this analysis, for the reason that, in Cavineña, not only quantifiers, but also other NP modifiers, notably relative clauses, can occur ‘away’ from their

head, i.e., not in their respective slots, whereas ‘floating’ is normally restricted to quantifiers only.

For counting from eleven to a ninety-nine, there is a counting formula which is known/remembered by some speakers, but is not used nowadays. This formula makes use of the numeral *tunka* ‘ten’ and the word *earakana* ‘unit’¹⁸, as follows: ‘X *tunka* Y *erarakana*’ (lit. X ten and Y unit(s)), where X and Y are filled by one of the above numerals from 1 to 9. The system is illustrated in (13.85).

- (13.85) a. *peadya tunka peadya earakana* ‘11 (lit. one ten one unit)’
peadya tunka beta earakana ‘12 (lit. one ten two units)’
peadya tunka kimisha earakana ‘13 (lit. one ten three units)’
 etc.
- b. *beta tunka* ‘20 (lit. two ten)’
beta tunka peadya earakana ‘21 (lit. two ten one unit)’
beta tunka beta earakana ‘22 (lit. two ten two units)’
beta tunka kimisha earakana ‘23 (lit. two ten three units)’
 etc.
- c. *kimisha tunka* ‘30 (lit. three ten)’
kimisha tunka peadya earakana ‘31 (lit. three ten one unit)’
kimisha tunka beta earakana ‘32 (lit. two ten two units)’
kimisha tunka kimisha earakana ‘33 (lit. two ten three units)’
 etc.

An example of this formula used in context is given in (13.86).

- (13.86) *Tua-tsewe =tuna_s ju-chine*
 3SG-ASSOC =3PL be-REC.PAST
 [[*peadya tunka shukuta earakana*] *alumno=dyane*]_s.
 one ten six unit student=APPROX
 ‘With him, there are about sixteen students.’ di2759

Nobody counts using the formula. Many speakers are not even aware of it. Cavineña speakers use Spanish numerals instead: *once* ‘eleven’, *doce* ‘twelve’, *veinte* ‘twenty’, etc. Similarly, counting above ninety-nine is only done with Spanish numerals, i.e., using the terms *cien* ‘hundred’, *mil* ‘thousand’, etc.

¹⁸ Note that the glossing ‘unit’ given to *earakana* is tentative as this word is never used outside of the counting formula.

In (at least) one example, in (13.87) below, a quantifying phrase was found modifying the head of an NP.

- (13.87) [E-kwe e-bakujuna_O [ara-kara ju-ya] ba-atsu]
 1SG-GEN 1-daughter eat-DESID be(ANTIPASS)-IMPFV see-SS
 =metse_O baka-mere-ya [[cuatro kuchara] mateka]_O.
 =2DL ask.for-CAUS-IMPFV four spoon butter

‘Because my daughter is hungry, I am having someone ask you (dl) for four spoons of butter.’ di1932

This could indicate that not only single quantifier words, or counting formulas, can fill slot B of the NP structure, but also more complex phrases, such as that used for measuring a mass noun in (13.87). However, I will remain cautious before making this statement. First, note that in this example, both the quantifying phrase and the NP head are involve words borrowed from Spanish. Second, this is the only example showing a quantifying phrase in slot B in the available data. Third, Cavineña normally uses postpositional phrases for the purpose of quantifying entities with ‘mass’ semantics (see §14.3.2).

With the exception of *peadya* ‘one’ and *beta* ‘two’, all numerals are clearly borrowings from Aymara. Note that Quechua also has numerals very similar in shape to Aymara and could have been a potential source language as well. However, there are Quechua numerals which are clearly different from Aymara and Cavineña. This indicates that Cavineña has rather borrowed from Aymara than Quechua. In Table 13.3, I provide the list of numerals in the three languages. Note that the Aymara and Quechua numerals which substantially differ from Cavineña are in boldface.

It should be noted that, apart from *peadya* ‘one’ and *beta* ‘two’, those numerals are hardly ever used — Spanish numerals are used instead. Speakers are usually able to remember *kimisha* ‘three’, *pushi* ‘four’, *pishika* ‘five’ and *tunka* ‘ten’, but rarely the remaining ones.

Note finally that Cavineña does not have a proper term for zero. In this case, the Spanish term *cero* ‘zero’ is used instead.

Table 13.3. Numerals in Cavineña, Aymara and Quechua¹⁹

Numerals	Cavineña	Aymara	Quechua
‘one’	<i>peadya</i>	<i>maya</i>	<i>huq</i>
‘two’	<i>beta</i>	<i>paya</i>	<i>iskai</i>
‘three’	<i>kimisha</i>	<i>kimsa</i>	<i>kinsa</i>
‘four’	<i>pushi</i>	<i>pusi</i>	<i>tawa</i>
‘five’	<i>pishika</i>	<i>phisqa</i>	<i>phisqa</i>
‘six’	<i>shukuta</i>	<i>suxta</i>	<i>suqta</i> ²⁰
‘seven’	<i>pakaruku</i>	<i>paqallqu</i>	<i>qanchis</i>
‘eight’	<i>kimisakaruku</i>	<i>kimsaqallqu</i>	<i>pusaq</i>
‘nine’	<i>puskuruku</i>	<i>pusiqallqu / llatunka</i>	<i>isqun</i>
‘ten’	<i>tunka</i>	<i>tunka</i>	<i>chunka</i>

13.6. Relative clauses

A relative clause (RC) consists of a finite clause (i.e., a clause whose verb takes an inflectional TAM suffix) that modifies the head of an NP. RCs are marked by the ligature enclitic =*ke* ‘LIG’ that is attached to the last phonological word of the RC. An RC goes into slot A or H of the NP structure. A brief discussion of RC morpho-syntactic properties is given in §13.6. A full discussion of RCs is provided in Chapter 20.

13.6.1. Syntax

RCs have the following morpho-syntactic properties:

1 — the most common position for an RC is postposed to the head in slot H of the NP structure. RCs in slot H co-occurring with different types of NP modifiers are shown in (13.88) and (13.47b) (repeated).

- (13.88) a. [*Ai bakani*]_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} *ju-kware*
 INT name =3SG(-FM) be-REM.PAST
 [*pushi*^B *ekwita*^E]
 four person

¹⁹ I thank Willem Adelaar for providing me with the Aymara and Quechua numerals.

²⁰ Note that these two words are pronounced similarly in Aymara and Quechua although they have different spellings (W. Adelaar, pc.).

[[*makei*_O *iyē=ra*] *kwa-kware=ke*^H]_{CS}?
 enemy kill=PURP.MOT go-REM.PAST=LIG

‘What are the names of the four men who went to kill the enemies?’ mk098

- b. [*E-tsuku*^D *tsau*^E *siwa=ja*_{CC}=*ke*^H]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS}
 NPF-hip bone deer=DAT=LIG =3SG(-FM)
 [*dyake tseri-da*]_{CC}.
 very fat-ASF

‘The hip bone of the deer (lit. the hip bone which is to the deer) is very thick (lit. fat).’ di1319

- (13.47b) *dutya*^B *tuna-ja*^C *etawiki*^E=*kwana*^G *e-tiru*_{CC}=*ke*^H
 all 3PL-GEN bedding=PL RES-burn=LIG

‘all their bedding that had burned’ fg027

(RCs can also be found preposed to the head. This is discussed in §13.6.2.)

2 — a verbal RC such as the one in (13.88) consists of a finite clause. The RC predicate is inflected with a TAM suffix such as *-kware* in (13.88a); the RC predicate can also take any non-inflectional suffixes. An RC can include the same range of constituents that can be found in a main clause, e.g., core arguments, oblique phrases, independent particles, subordinate clauses, etc. In (13.88a) above, for example, the RC contains a purpose subordinate clause. And in (13.89) below, the RC contains an independent pronoun in O function.

- (13.89) *Tume* =*tukwe* *ani-kware*
 there =CONT.EVID sit-REM.PAST
 [*bina* [*i-ke*_O *susu-ti-ya=ke*]_{RC}]_S.
 bat 1SG-FM suck-GO.TEMP-IMPFV=LIG

‘(When I went sleeping, I didn’t know that) there was a (vampire) bat that was going to suck me (during my sleep).’ bi016

The only type of constituents that RCs cannot contain are second position clitics, whether second position particles (§16.3) or bound pronouns (§15.2).

3 — a copula RC typically only consists of a copula complement and the marker =*ke* ‘LIG’; that is, the copula verb (*ju-* ‘be’) is most often omitted, as in (13.90).

- (13.90) a. *E-kwe ani-kware* [*maletero ari-da_{CC}=ke_{RC}*]_S.
 1SG-DAT sit-REM.PAST bag big-ASF=LIG
 ‘I had a big bag (lit. a bag which is big sat to me).’ mj052
- b. [*Ekwita ujeje-da_{CC}=ke_{RC}*]_O =*tu*_O *avioneta=ra*_A
 person sick-ASF=LIG =3SG(-FM) light.plane=ERG
duju-wa [*epu ebari=ju*].
 take-PERF village big=LOC
 ‘The light plane took a sick person (lit. a person who is sick) to the town.’ n5.0280

Copula RCs allow oblique phrases (locative, associative, dative) to become NP modifiers, as in (13.91).

- (13.91) ... *rutu-kware* [*waburasa kani=duku_{CC}=ke_{RC}*]_O.
 poke-REM.PAST peccary hole=inside=LIG
 ‘... I poked the peccary that was inside the hole.’ ta013

See also *siwa=ja=ke* ‘of the deer’ in (13.88b) and *yachi=ju=ke* ‘from the pampa’ in (13.83d).

Copula RCs also allow (peripheral) demonstratives (*jee* ‘here’, *tume* ‘there’, etc.) to be used as modifiers of an NP head; recall that Cavineña does not have specific NP demonstratives. This is discussed in §13.6.2.

4 — the ligature =*ke* is deleted when it occurs in the same clitic sequence with a postposition and when it precedes the postposition. This happens in (13.92) where a copula RC modifies a noun (*bina* ‘bat’) within an A NP (marked by the ergative postposition =*ra* ‘ERG’).

- (13.92) [*Bina ari-da_{CC}=ra*]_A =*yatse*_O *susu-ya=ama=dya*.
 bat big-ASF(=LIG)=ERG =1DL suck-IMPV=NEG=FOC
 ‘Big bats do not suck us (i.e., our blood).’ bi051

5 — when the plural marker =*kwana* ‘PL’ follows an RC, as happens when the head of the NP is omitted, the ligature =*ke* follows =*kwana*; that is, it does not precede it, as would be otherwise expected. This can be seen in (13.51a) (repeated).

- (13.51a) [Misión.Cavina=*ju ani-ya=**kwana=ke***]_S (**ani-ya=**ke=kwana***)
 Misión.Cavinas=LOC sit-IMPFFV=PL=LIG

kwa-ya=ama.
 go-IMPFFV=NEG

‘(We were very relieved to hear the bishop saying:) the ones (men) who live (lit. sit) in Misión Cavinás won’t go to the war.’ gu037

6 — an RC does not require an overt NP head as in (13.50b) and (13.51a);
 7 — an RC can be either externally headed, in which case the common argument (CA) is stated within the main clause (MC), or internally headed, in which case the CA is stated within the RC. In §20.3, I present a number of tests (constituency, nature of CA, case marking) that help to decide whether an RC is externally or internally headed. As an illustration, the RC in (13.92) is externally headed because the CA (*bina* ‘bat’) is absolutely marked (according to its CS function within the MC) whereas it would be ergatively marked if its A function within the RC had been encoded. By contrast, the RC in (13.93) is internally headed because the CA (*e-tare* ‘NPF-house’) occurs between two immediate constituents of the RC.

- (13.93) [Tuna-ra_A *i-ke*_O ***e-tare***_O *tya-wa=ju*] = \emptyset _S
 3PL-ERG 1SG-FM NPF-house give-PERF(=LIG)=LOC (=1SG-FM)

kwa-nuka.
 go-REITR

‘I went to the house that they gave me.’ pa024

13.6.2. Relative clauses proposed to the head

RCs are also found preceding the NP head (in a tentatively set up slot A), as illustrated in (13.94).

- (13.94) a. *Eju*_{CC} =*taa* =*ri*_{CS}
 INT:LOC =EMPH =3PROX.SG(-FM)

[***ju-na-chine=ke***_{RC} *hermano*]_{CS?}
 be-COME.TEMP-REC.PAST=LIG brother

‘Where on earth is the brother who has arrived (and who is supposed to be here!)?’ ka136

- b. *Ejeeke*_{CC} =*ri*_{CS}
 INT:PERL =3PROX.SG(-FM)
 [[*Cavina=ju kwa-ya=ke*]_{RC} *e-diji*]_{CS?}
 Cavinās=LOC go-IMPV=LIG NPF-path

‘Where is the path that leads (lit. goes) to Cavinās?’ n1.0570

See also *Galilea epu=ju=ke waraji* ‘the chief of the village of Galilea’ in (13.15).

Verbal RCs preposed to the head, such as the one in (13.94), are rare — they normally occur in slot H. However, the position before the NP head is actually the obligatory position for a number of copula RCs, notably demonstrative RCs and interrogative RCs. These two types of RCs are discussed in turn below.

There is an unusual use of the RC construction as a strategy to express the equivalent of NP demonstratives. Cavineña has specific peripheral demonstratives, i.e., demonstratives used at the clause level such as English ‘here’ or ‘there’ (see §§15.7-8). However, it lacks specific NP demonstratives, i.e., demonstratives used at the NP level such as English ‘this’ or ‘that’. One of the strategies the language has to express the equivalent of an NP demonstrative consists of using a peripheral demonstrative within a copula RC that is placed in slot A of the NP structure, giving literally ‘the X who is here/there’. As an illustration, in (13.95), I give examples of copula RCs with each of the four peripheral demonstratives.

- (13.95) a. [*Jee*_{CC}=*ke ebakwapiji=ra=dya*]_A =*yatse*_O *duju-chine*.
 here=LIG small.child=ERG=FOC] =1DL take-REC.PAST

‘This child (in the picture) took us (to the other side of the river in his canoe).’ ft010

- b. [*Riya*²¹_{CC}=*ke upatiwiri=ja*] =*tu*_S *ani-nuka-ya=dya*
 here=LIG small.bird=DAT =3SG(-FM) sit-REITR-IMPV=FOC
kwatsabijis.
 story

‘This small bird (the vermilion flycatcher I am talking about) has a story too (it used to be a servant of the sun).’ hi006

²¹ Note that *jee* and *riya* are synonymous (see §15.8.1).

c. *Jadya =pa =tu-ra_A =yatse_O e-a-u*
 thus =REP =3SG-ERG =1DL POT-affect-POT

Antuku [tume_{CC}=ke cascabe=ra]_A.
 Antuku there=LIG rattlesnake=ERG

‘That’s what that rattlesnake (that I have been talking about) can do to us, Antuku (he follows people wherever they go).’ vi035a

d. [*Yume_{CC}=ke jipamu*]_{CS} *ji-u=piji_{CC}*.
 over.there=LIG papaya good-ASF=DIM

‘That papaya (tree) that we see in the distance is very nice.’ n5.0466

See also *jee=ke kamisa* ‘this shirt’ in (13.68b), *yume=ke e-kike=ju* ‘in that forest’ in (13.80) and *tume=ke e-spere=ju* ‘in that stream’ in (13.84b).

A case could be made for treating NP demonstrative constructions as distinct from (copula) relative clauses. Note that these constructions never include the copula verb *ju-* ‘be’ (or any other verb), nor any other clausal constituent; that is, NP demonstratives only consist of a bare peripheral demonstrative root and the marker *=ke*. As such, one can question whether these constructions are clauses at all. Provisionally, I have retained an analysis in terms of (copula) relative clauses because of the following striking similarities between NP demonstratives and RCs:

1 — NP demonstratives are preposed to the NP head, similarly to some preposed RCs;

2 — NP demonstratives, similarity to RCs, do not require an overt NP head, as in (13.96).

(13.96) *Yume_{CC}=ke_{CS} =tu_{CS} uru_{CC} [e-kwe y-ana=ju]*.
 over.there=LIG =3SG(-FM) motmot 1SG-GEN NPF-tongue=LOC

‘That (motmot bird) over there is (called) “uru” in my language.’ pa074

See also *jee=ke* ‘this (person)’ in (13.15).

3 — NP demonstratives are structurally complex. They consist of a bare root and an obligatory marker *=ke*. Note that the bare demonstrative roots (without *=ke*) are also found used as peripheral demonstratives, as with *yume* ‘over there’ in (13.97).

- (13.97) **Yume** =*taa* **waka=*kwana*_S** *jetiamā* *ani-ya*.
 over.there =EMPH cow=PL many sit-IMPV
 ‘Over there, there are many cows (lit. the cows sit many).’ zo039

The marker =*ke* behaves similarly to the morpheme =*ke* ‘LIG’ that marks RCs, as follows. It is deleted when it occurs in the same clitic sequence with a postposition and precedes the postposition, as in (13.98).

- (13.98) a. *Ai=ra_A* =*mi_O* *peya-wa?* ***Jee*_{CC=ra_A}**
 INT=ERG =2SG(-FM) make.cry-PERF here(=LIG)=ERG
peya-wa.
 make.cry-PERF
 ‘Who made you cry? This (child) made me cry.’ n1.0574
- b. [*Tume*_{CC=ra_A} [*e-kwe chapa*]_O *iyē-wa=ju*] *i-kes*
 there(=LIG)=ERG 1SG-GEN dog kill-PERF=DS 1SG-FM
pa-chine.
 cry-REC.PAST
 ‘When that (person) killed my dog, I cried.’ di2193

If the plural enclitic =*kwana* is used and the NP head is ellipsed, then =*ke* must follow =*kwana*, as in (13.99).

- (13.99) a. ***Jee*_{CC=kwana=ke=dya}_{CS}** =*ren*_{CS} [*dyake ji-dama*_{CC=ke}]_{CC}.
 here=PL=LIG=FOC =3PROX.PL very good-NEG=LIG
 ‘These ones are the very bad ones.’ T1.88
- b. ***Tume*_{CC=kwana=ke}_O** =*tu-ja* =*tu*_O *yuamatura-ya*.
 there=PL=LIG =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) damage-IMPV
 ‘Those (little corn sprouts) are what they (the small birds) damage.’ cb007

There is a second type of RCs that are obligatorily proposed to the NP head: copula interrogative RCs, based on the word *eje* ‘INT’ and the ligature marker =*ke*. These are used to question the identity of a referent, as in (13.100), or to express the fact that a referent has a generic identity, as in (13.101).

- (13.100) [**Eje=ke** *jae*]_O =*mi*_A *kemi-wa?*
 INT=LIG fish =2SG(-ERG) take.out-PERF
 ‘Which fish (among those ones) did you catch?’ n4.0542

Compare this example with *ai jae* ‘what type of fish (did you catch)’ in (13.5a) where the type is questioned.

- (13.101) ... *e-ra*_A [**eje=ke** *ekwita*]_O *tsuru-kara.*
 1SG-ERG INT=LIG person meet-DESID
 ‘(I was so lost and so thirsty that) I wanted to meet anyone (whoever it be) (to help me).’ sd063

The copula interrogative RC construction has basically the same properties as any RC:

- 1 — a copula interrogative RC is preposed to the NP head, which is a position attested with other types of RC (slot A);
- 2 — a copula interrogative RC, similarity to RCs, does not require an overt NP head, as shown in (13.102).

- (13.102) a. **Eje=ke**_S =*yatse*_S *diru-ya?*
 INT=LIG =1DL go-IMPFV
*I-ke*_S *u* [*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *ekwita* *esiri*_{CC}=*ke*]_S?
 1SG-FM or there=LIG person old=LIG
 ‘Who of us (dl) will go? Me or that old man? (the recently returned husband asked his wife who was about to remarry)’ mu043
- b. **Eje=ke**_S =*tu*_S *kwa-kware* *Vitu=tsewe?*
 INT=LIG =3SG(-FM) go-REM.PAST Vitu=ASSOC
 ‘Which one went with Vitu?’ di1031

- 3 — if the NP is headless and the plural marker =*kwana* ‘PL’ is used, the marker =*ke* follows =*kwana* (exactly like in RCs), as in (13.103).

- (13.103) **Eje=kwana=ke**_S =*tu*_S *avioneta=ju* *nubi-kware*
 INT=PL=LIG =3SG(-FM) light.plane=LOC enter-REM.PAST
hangar=ju?
 warehouse=LOC
 ‘Which ones entered the warehouse with the light plane?’ me246

4 — the marker =*ke* is deleted when it occurs in the same clitic sequence with a postposition and when it precedes the postposition, as in (13.104).

- (13.104) a. *Eje=ra_A* =*tu_O* *ikwene* *iba_O* *ba-kware?*
 INT(=LIG)=ERG =3SG(-FM) first jaguar see-REM.PAST

‘Who (the mother or her child) saw the jaguar first?’ ib066

- b. Teacher: *Eje=ja* =*tu_S* *ani-ya* *kirika_S?*
 INT(=LIG)=DAT =3SG(-FM) sit-IMPV paper

Student: *E-kwe* =*tu_S* *ani-ya* *kirika_S.*
 1SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) sit-IMPV paper

‘(The teacher asked the students:) which (of you) has a book? (lit. to which one does a paper sit?). (A student responds:) I have a book (lit. a paper sits to me).’ n1.0389

Note that the morpheme *eje*, unlike the demonstrative morphemes *riya*, *jee*, *tume* and *yume* that also form (copula) relative clauses, does not have an independent existence of its own, apart from being also the interrogative prefix *eje*- that is attached to *da*-adjectives (§11.2.3).

RCs preposed to the NP head, whether verbal or copula, hardly ever co-occur with any other types of modifiers preposed to the NP head — quantifiers (slot B), genitive modifier (slot C) or juxtaposed nouns (slot D). The rare example in (13.105) where a (demonstrative) RC precedes a genitive modifier suggests that an RC preposed to the NP head belongs to a slot further away from the head than C.

- (13.105) [*Tume_{CC}=ke^A* *tu-ja^C* *kasa^E=tsewe=dya*]
 there=LIG 3SG-GEN strength=ASSOC=FOC

=*tu-ja* =*tu_S* *a-bawe* *ekwita_E* *betsa-ya=ju.*
 =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) affect-ALWS person swim-IMPV=DS

‘(The electric eel has a lot of strength.) With that strength of his, he can kill people when they are swimming.’ ag003

I could not find any example where an RC preposed to the NP head co-occurs with a quantifier (slot B) so that one could speculate whether they could belong to the same slot (B) and be mutually exclusive. In this work, I have preferred setting up a slot A distinct from slot B because:

- 1 — quantifier and RC are very different structurally;
- 2 — there is a general tendency in Cavineña for different types of

words/constituents to have their own structural slot;

3 — semantically, there are no cogent reason why they should be exclusive of each other (e.g., ‘these three men’).

13.6.3. Semantics

RCs can have a restrictive function, i.e., helping to identify a unique referent among a choice of possible referents, as in (13.106), with a demonstrative copula RC preposed to the NP head and a verbal RC postposed to the NP head.

- (13.106) [*Je*_{CC}=*ke* *ebakwapiji* [*kwaba=ju* *ani-ya=ke*]]_{CS}
 here=LIG small.child canoe=LOC sit-IMPV=LIG
 [*Ermo bakani*]_{CC}.
 Ermo name

‘This small child (in the photo) who is sitting in a canoe is named Ermo.’ ft009

See also (13.88a).

RCs can also have adverbial meanings; that is, they can sometimes only be translated by adverbial clauses in English. In that case, they have non-restrictive meanings, as in (13.107).

- (13.107) [*Juye*_O *kanajara-sha-ya=ke*]_S =*yatse*_S *tawi-ya*.
 ox rest-CAUS-IMPV=LIG =1DL sleep-IMPV

‘While we (dl) are letting the oxen rest, we (dl) will sleep (lit. we, who are letting the oxen rest, will sleep).’ ka116

See also (13.23), with a discontinuous RC.

Chapter 14

Postpositions

Cavineña is a dependent-marking language which makes heavy use of postpositions for relational purposes. Cavineña postpositions are monomorphemic (grammatical) words. Most postpositions are independent grammatically but not phonologically. They are clitic words attached to the last phonological word of their argument (postpositional object NP). They cannot be used on their own. A few postpositions are phonologically independent. An introduction to the morpho-syntactic properties of Cavineña postpositions and postpositional phrases is provided in §14.1.

According to their morpho-syntactic properties, postpositions can first be sorted into two broad sets: those that obligatorily require an argument and those that do not. Among the postpositions that require an obligatory argument we can distinguish between major postpositions and minor postpositions. Major postpositions, which are presented in §14.2, have a high functional load; that is, they are used very frequently and with a fairly wide range of meanings and functions. Minor postpositions are discussed in §14.3. They have more specific meanings and, as a result, are used more sparingly. Postpositions with an optional argument are dealt with in §14.4. Similarly to minor postpositions, these morphemes have very specific semantics, such as ‘above’, ‘under’, ‘inside’, ‘outside’, ‘behind’, ‘at the corner of’, etc. However, they differ substantially in that the postposition to be discussed here (1) can occur with or without an argument and (2) can combine with an additional postposition.

14.1. Morpho-syntactic introduction

The main function of postpositions in Cavineña is to relate an NP to a predicate, as with =*tsewe* ‘ASSOC’ and =*ju* ‘LOC’ in (14.1) relating *ekwe e-wane* ‘my wife’ and *ekwe tujuri* ‘my mosquito net’ to the intransitive predicate *kanajara-kware* ‘rest-REM.PAST’.

- (14.1) *I-kes* =*bakwe* [*e-kwe* *e-wane=tsewe*] *kanajara-kware*
 1SG-FM =CONTR 1SG-GEN 1-wife=ASSOC rest-REM.PAST
- [*e-kwe* *tujuri=ju*].
 1SG-GEN mosquito.net=LOC

‘Me, I was resting with my wife in my mosquito net.’ bi012

Most postpositions mark oblique functions and have lexical semantics; this is the case with =*ju* ‘LOC’ and =*tsewe* ‘ASSOC’ in the previous example. But postpositions are also used for encoding core grammatical functions. An NP in transitive subject function — regardless of any semantic or pragmatic considerations — is obligatorily marked by =*ra* ‘ERG’, as in (14.2a). The absence of any postpositional marking on an NP encodes an intransitive subject (or copula clause subject), as in (14.2b) and (14.2c), an object, as in (14.2a), or a copula complement, as in (14.2c).

- (14.2) a. *Iba*=*ra*_A =*tu*_O *iyechine* *takure*_O.
 jaguar=ERG =3SG(-FM) kill-REC.PAST chicken
 ‘The jaguar killed the chicken.’ n1.0227
- b. [*Tu-ke tupuju*] =*tu*_S *iba*_S *tsajaja-chine*.
 3SG-FM FOLLOWING =3SG(-FM) jaguar run-REC.PAST
 ‘The jaguar chased him (lit. ran following him).’ sg010
- c. *Jee*=*dya* [*Antoni*=*ja* *tujuri*]_{CC}.
 here=FOC Antoni=GEN mosquito.net
 ‘This is Antoni’s mosquito net.’ ft018

Oblique postpositional phrases can be used as copula complements, as with *yachi*=*ju* in (14.3).

- (14.3) *Jee*-*ju* =*ekwana*_{CS} *yachi*=*ju*_{CC} *ju-chine*.
 here-LOC =1PL pampa=LOC be-REC.PAST
 ‘Here (in this picture), we were in the pampa.’ ft042

Postpositional phrases cannot function at the NP level, i.e., cannot directly modify the head noun of an NP, unless through the use of relativization. In (14.4), for example, for the locative phrase *Reye*=*ju* ‘in (the town of) Reyes’ to modify *ekwita* ‘man’ (the head of a copula subject NP), the locative phrase has to be a copula complement, then relativized with the ligature marker =*ke*.

- (14.4) *Jadya*_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} *ju-kware*
 thus =3SG(-FM) be-REM.PAST
 [*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *ekwita* *Reye*=*ju*_{CC}=*ke*_{RC}]_{CS}.
 there=LIG person Reyes=LOC=LIG
 ‘This is what happened to that man from Reyes. (Lit. Thus was that

man who was in Reyes.) (He metamorphosed into a jaguar.)'
ht030

In this example, as is most often (although not obligatorily) the case the copula predicate *ju-* 'be' is ellipsed.

Note that the dative marker *=ja* 'DAT' (§14.2.2) is homophonous with the genitive marker *=ja* 'GEN' (§13.4). One might wish to analyze these two morphemes as polysemous and say that phrases marked by *=ja* can occur both at the NP and the clause level. Argumentation against this analysis is presented in §14.2.2.3.

Relativization within headless oblique NPs is a major strategy for producing equivalents of adverbial subordinate clauses. An example is given in (14.5), involving the postposition *=keja* 'LOC.GNL'.

- (14.5) [I-*kes* *ijawe* *ju-ani-ya=keja*]
1SG-FM play.with be(ANTIPASS)-SIT-IMPV=LOC.GNL

kwa-kware.
go-REM.PAST

'He (the priest) went towards where I was playing sitting (on the ground).' es011

It is worth mentioning that many postpositions involve the formative *ke*:

- (14.6) *=eke* 'PERL'
 =keja 'LOC.GNL'
 dyake 'ON'
 emake 'UNDER'
 jitekeljeteke 'LOOKING.FOR'
 peke 'AT.SIDE.OF'

One might want to further analyze these postpositions. Note that *ke* is also the form of the ligature marker (marking relative clauses) and as such it can be attached to a postposition; see for example the sequence *=ju=ke* '=LOC=LIG' in (14.4) above. However, the remaining parts either do not occur outside of these postpositions (e.g., *jite* in *jiteke*, *ema* in *emake*), or they do but with very different meanings. Taking *=keja* as an example, we have *=ja* as a the dative marker. But semantically, the meanings of the dative marker — possession, benefactive, experiencer (see §14.2.2.1) — are quite distinct from the ones of *=keja* — location/target, causee (see §14.2.4.1). Note that there is an attested combination of the ligature and the dative markers but it is *=ja=ke* not **=ke=ja* (see §20.1.2). Therefore, although the ligature *=ke* might have been part of these postpositions

historically, one is forced synchronically to treat these postpositions as monomorphemic.

There are no syntactic restrictions on the order of the postpositional phrases (core or oblique) in main clauses, constituents being positioned according to pragmatic considerations in Cavineña. The dimensions of expectation and/or contrast appear to play a major role. The less expected and/or the more contrastive information is, the more fronted it will appear in the clause. In (14.7), for example, ‘with wasp’ comes first in the clause probably because for a bird to feed its baby with (dangerous) wasps is quite unusual and surprising.

- (14.7) *Bira=tsewe=dya =tuna-ja =tu_O ebakwa_O miwa-ya.*
 wasp=ASSOC=FOC =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) child feed-IMPFV
 ‘They (the caciques) feed their babies with wasps.’ am003

In (14.8) ‘towards the back’ is probably fronted because it contrasts with the rest of the bus where there is no space.

- (14.8) [*Flota tada=keja*] *ani-kware campos.*
 bus butt=LOC.GNL sit-REM.PAST space
 ‘Towards the back (lit. butt) of the bus there was some space (left) (where I could put my sixty chickens and my three ducks).’ ga020

In (14.9), ‘by lianas’ is fronted probably because this is an unexpected way to climb on trees.

- (14.9) *Kunu=eke =ni ekatses tsura-ya.*
 liana=PERL =MAYBE 3DL go.up-IMPFV
 ‘They (the two legendary brothers) would probably climb (on top of the trees) along lianas.’ hm026

On the other hand, in dependent clauses (of any type), any postpositional phrases (as well as any other clausal constituents) have to precede the verb.

Finally, note that none of the postpositional phrases, except for ergative ones, are obligatory. In other words, there are no verbs with extended core arguments in Cavineña.

Postpositional phrases can be ‘replaced’ by specific single words. In (14.10), for example, the associative postpositional phrase *Rure=keja* which occurs in the first clause can be replaced by the single word *tu-keja* in the second.

- (14.10) [E-*kwe dekachu*]_s **Rure=*keja*** *diru-kware*.
 1SG-GEN little.brother Rurrenabaque=LOC.GNL go-REM.PAST
- Tu-keja***=*dya* *wane-ki*_{CC} *ju-diru-kware*.
 there-LOC.GNL=FOC wife-WITH be-GO.PERM-REM.PAST

‘My little brother went somewhere in the area of Rurrenabaque (a town). (And) there he got married.’ nk067-068

These words, for which I will use the cover term ‘pro-form’, belong to three different word classes: demonstratives, which refer to a place, as with *tu-keja* in (14.10), pronouns, which refer to a person, animal or thing, or interrogatives. The pro-forms involve a root and a suffix which is formally identical to a corresponding postposition; e.g., the suffix *-keja* in *tu-keja* is formally identical to the postposition =*tsewe*. In most pro-forms, however, the root cannot be analyzed as a noun that could be used on its own, i.e., without the suffix; e.g., the root *tu* in *tu-keja*. This is one of the reasons why I analyze the pro-forms as consisting of a root and a suffix and not as a root and a postposition; see a full discussion of this in §15.1.2. The paradigms of the pro-forms are given, illustrated and briefly discussed in the following sections. A full account is provided in other sections of this grammar: pronouns in §15.1, demonstratives in §15.7, and interrogatives in §4.5.4.

14.2. Major postpositions

Major postpositions have a high functional load; that is, they are used very frequently and with a fairly wide range of meanings and functions. They consist of the following six morphemes: associative marker =*tsewe* (§14.2.1), dative marker =*ja* (§14.2.2), locative marker =*ju* (§14.2.3), general locative marker =*keja* (§14.2.4), perlative =*eke* (§14.2.5) and ‘up to’ marker =*tupu* (§14.2.6).

14.2.1. =*tsewe* ‘ASSOC’

14.2.1.1. *Semantics*

The postposition =*tsewe* has two central meanings: (1) comitative, meaning ‘together with, accompanied by’, and (2) instrumental, indicating an instrument used in the process of the event.

The comitative meaning of =*tsewe* is illustrated in (14.11).

- (14.11) a. *Tu-wa* =*tuna*_S *ani-kware* *pae=tsewe*.
 there-LOC =3PL sit-REM.PAST priest=ASSOC
 ‘There (in the old mission on the Madidi river) they (the Cavineña ancestors) were living with a priest.’ fd003
- b. *Wikamutya=ra* =*pa* =*tu*_S *kwa-kware*
 fish=PURP.MOT =REP =3SG(-FM) go-REM.PAST
e-wane=ke=tsewe.
 3-wife=3=ASSOC
 ‘He went fishing with his wife.’ vz003
- c. ... *i-ke*_S *amena* *pakaka-kware* *y-aa=tsewe*.
 1SG-FM BM fall-REM.PAST NPF-branch=ASSOC
 ‘I fell (from the mango tree) with the branch (I was stepping on).’
 mg016

The instrumental meaning is illustrated in (14.12).

- (14.12) a. *Ebipukaka=tsewe* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *iye-kware*.
 fist=ASSOC =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) kill-REM.PAST
 ‘I killed it (a monkey) with my fist (i.e., by hitting it with my fist).’
 aj041
- b. *Tudya* =*pa* =*tu-ja* =*tu*_O ... *kuchiru=tsewe*
 then =REP =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) machete=ASSOC
tubu-ti-kware [*tu-ja kapana*]_O.
 cut-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST 3SG-GEN bell
 ‘Then, he cut its (the rattlesnake’s) rattle with a machete.’ vi012

Some less prototypical instrumental meanings are illustrated in (14.13): in (14.13a), =*tsewe* marks an ingredient used in food preparation; in (14.13b), =*tsewe* marks a vehicle of transportation.

- (14.13) a. *Bajeje-kware* =*tuna*_A [*tu-ja e-rami*]_O
 prepare-REM.PAST =3PL(-ERG) 3SG-GEN NPF-flesh
cebolla=kwana=tsewe.
 onion=PL=ASSOC
 ‘They prepared its (the caiman’s) meat with onions.’ lg037

- b. *Kwa-kware=dya avioneta=tsewe.*
 go-REM.PAST=FOC light.plane=ASSOC
 ‘I went by light plane.’ T1.25

In some cases, =*tsewe* encodes other semantic roles, such as gift in (14.7) (repeated), patient in (14.14) and stimulus in (14.15).

- (14.7) *Bira=tsewe=dya =tuna-ja =tu_O ebakwa_O miwa-ya.*
 wasp=ASSOC=FOC =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) child feed-IMPFV
 ‘They (the cacique birds) feed their babies with wasps.’ am003

- (14.14) *Ka-kware-wana-ti-kwe [mi-kwe Chai=tsewe]!*
 REF-avenge-ADVERS-REF-IMP.SG 2SG-GEN brother.in.law=ASSOC
 ‘Avenge yourself on your brother-in-law (who was so mean to you)!’ tu041

On Saint John’s day (24th June), in Cavineña communities, as in many parts of Bolivia, it is a custom to play with water. In the community of Galilea, women throw water on men. As I was trying to escape, one woman said to me:

- (14.15) *Mi-ke_{CS} baji-da_{CC} e-na=tsewe.*
 2SG-FM scared-ASF NPF-water=ASSOC
 ‘(I see that) you are scared of the water.’ n4.0513

Finally, the postposition =*tsewe* is also used as a means for certain adjectives to be used ‘adverbially’, i.e., as verb/predicate modifiers, as illustrated in (14.16).¹

- (14.16) a. [*Yatse-ja pere*]_S *jeti-kware*
 1DL-GEN raft come-REM.PAST
kasa-da_{CC}=tsewe=kwita.
 strong-ASF(=LIG)=ASSOC=RESTR
 ‘Our (dl) raft was coming very fast (lit. with a strong (manner)).’
 cu028

¹ Note that in these examples, the adjectives are analyzed as part of an RC with an ellipsed head that is glossed ‘manner’; see a full discussion of this in §11.1.4.

- b. **Pureama**_{CC}=*tsewe* =*taa* *i-ke*_S *kwa-ya*
 happy(=LIG)=ASSOC =EMPH 1SG-FM go-IMPV
 [*tu-ke jiteke*].
 3SG-FM LOOKING.FOR

‘I was going happily (lit. with a happy (manner)) to fetch him.’
 ka056

14.2.1.2. Pro-forms

There is a set of associative independent pronouns which can stand for an associative phrase. The forms are listed in Table 14.1.

Table 14.1. Associative independent pronouns

Person	SG	DL	PL
1 st	<i>ea-tsewe</i>	<i>yatse-tsewe</i>	<i>ekwana-tsewe</i>
2 nd	<i>mia-tsewe</i>	<i>metse-tsewe</i>	<i>mikwana-tsewe</i>
3 rd	<i>tua-tsewe</i>	<i>tatse-tsewe</i>	<i>tuna-tsewe</i>
3 rd PROX	<i>riya-tsewe</i>	<i>retse-tsewe</i>	<i>rena-tsewe</i>

Associative pronouns with comitative meanings are shown in (14.17).

- (14.17) a. **Ea-tsewe** =*tu*_S *kwa-wa*.
 1SG-ASSOC =3SG(-FM) go-PERF

‘He went with me.’ di0820

- b. ... *Tsimi*_O [*“Ne-kwa!” jadya*] *a-kware*.
 Tsimi HORT.DL-go thus affect-REM.PAST

Tua-tsewe=*dya kwa-kware*.
 3SG-ASSOC=FOC go-REM.PAST

‘... I said to Tsimi “Let’s (dl) go!” And I went with him.’ T1.83-84

See also (14.28a) below, with a second person singular associative pronoun.

An associative pronoun with an instrumental meaning is shown in (14.18).

- (14.18) **Trosadora**=*kamadya*_S =*tu*_S *ani-kware*.
 handsaw=RESTR =3SG(-FM) sit-REM.PAST

Tua-tsewe=*dya =tu-ja =tu*_O *tubu-kware*.
 3SG-ASSOC=FOC =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) cut-REM.PAST

‘(At the time we were making that canoe) there were only hand-saws (and no chainsaws). (So) that’s what he (my master) would use to cut it (the tree for the canoe).’ ab173-174

Another example can be found in (14.65a) below.

There are no specific pro-forms to question an associative phrase. This has to be done with the interrogative noun *ai* as the argument of the associative postposition =*tsewe*. This is illustrated in (14.19a) (comitative meaning) and (14.19b) (instrumental meaning). This latter example comes from a recorded conversation where I was involved. Here the speaker wants to know how people fish in my country, and more particularly, what sort of fishing instruments they use.

- (14.19) a. *Ai=tsewe* =*tu*_O *e-tata=ke=ra*_A *shana-kware*
 INT=ASSOC =3SG(-FM) 3-father=3=ERG leave-REM.PAST
 *e-bakwa=ke*_O?
 3-child=3

‘With whom did the father leave his child?’ (Answer: He left him with his grandfather.)’ eb040

- b. *Tume ai=tsewe* *yu-wa* *kemi-ya?* *Wika=tsewe*,
 then INT=ASSOC over.there-LOC take.out-IMPV hook=ASSOC
 malla=tsewe, *tarafa=tsewe*, *u ai=tsewe?*
 net=ASSOC casting.net=ASSOC or INT=ASSOC

‘What do they fish (lit. take fish out) with over there (in your country)? With a hook, a with net, with a casting net, or with what?’ tb198

14.2.2. =*ja* ‘DAT’

14.2.2.1. Semantics

Dative postpositional phrases can refer to a possessor, a benefactive, an experiencer, or an agent. These different semantic roles are discussed in turn below.

A dative postpositional phrase expresses the meaning of possession in clauses headed by the copula verb *ju-* ‘be’ or the postural verbs *ani-* ‘sit’ or *neti-* ‘stand’. Such clauses can be thought of as functional equivalents of possession clauses in languages which have a specific verb meaning ‘have’; note such a verb is absent in Cavineña. The possessee corresponds to the core S ar-

gument of the existential/postural verb while the possessor is expressed by an oblique dative phrase. This is illustrated in (14.20).

- (14.20) a. *Sergio=ja ani-ya [ata Ramón bakani]_S.*
 Sergio=DAT sit-IMPV relative Ramón name
 ‘Sergio had a relative called Ramón (lit. a relative called Ramón was sitting to Sergio).’ sg019
- b. *Sika=ja =tu_S ani-ya kwatsabiji_S.*
 cuckoo=DAT =3SG(-FM) sit-IMPV story
 ‘The cuckoo has a story (lit. a story sits to the cuckoo).’ (According to the way this bird sings, we can foretell the future.) pi002
- c. *Wirakucha=ja =tu_S [umada waka]_S ani-ya.*
 white.man=DAT =3SG(-FM) many cow sit-IMPV
 ‘The white man has many cows (lit. many cows sit to the white man).’ di1457

See also (14.24b) with a dative pronoun.

Note that there are other strategies in Cavineña for expressing clausal possession. One such strategy consists of deriving a predicative adjective from a noun with the suffixes *-ki* ‘WITH’ or *-ma* ‘WITHOUT’; see §11.3.1.

The benefactive meaning of *=ja* is illustrated in (14.21).

- (14.21) a. *Ebakwapiji=ja =pa e-na_O baka-kwe!*
 small.child=DAT =REP NPF-water ask.for-IMP.SG
 ‘Ask him for water for the small child!’ n4.0464
- b. *Churu_O [ebakwa nana=ja] pa-a!*
 bonnet child young=DAT HORT.SG-affect
 ‘I’m going to make a bonnet for the baby!’ di0715

Another example is given in (14.24c), with a dative pronoun.

The experiencer meaning of *=ja* obtains in copula clauses involving certain predicative adjectives as complement (see §11.1.1). Here the (oblique) dative phrase specifies a participant that experiences the property denoted by the adjective (in CC function) on the CS argument referent. This is illustrated in (14.22).

- (14.22) a. *Bari=ja* =*tu*_S *rapa*_{CS} *biji-da*_{CC}.
 anteater=DAT =3SG(-FM) termite desirable-ASF
 ‘Anteaters like termites (lit. termites are desirable to anteaters).’
 di0246
- b. ... *i-ke*_{CS} *iyuwe-da=dya*_{CC} *chapa=kwana=ja*.
 1SG-FM lovable-ASF=FOC dog=PL=DAT
 ‘(That day I realized that) my dogs liked me (lit. I was lovable to my dogs).’ wa063
- c. [*Etamu tsau*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} [*jae ari-da*]_{CC}=*kwana=ja*
 cheek bone =3SG(-FM) fish big=PL(=LIG)=DAT
*misi-da*_{CC}.
 thick-ASF
 ‘Big fish have a very thick jaw (lit. the cheek bone is very thick to big fish).’ di1235

Finally, the agentive meaning of =*ja* is found in copula clauses involving two types of deverbal predicative adjectives: abilitative adjectives, derived by *-taki* ‘ABIL’ (§11.3.3), as in (14.23a), and resultative adjectives, derived by *e-* ‘RES’ or *-ma* ‘RES.NEG’ (§11.3.4), as in (14.23b).

- (14.23) a. *Jiji-da*]_{CC}=*ke*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *ebakwa=kwana=ja*
 spicy-ASF=LIG =3SG(-FM) child=PL=DAT
*ara-taki=ama*_{CC}.
 eat-ABIL=NEG
 ‘Children should not eat spicy (food).’ (Lit. What is spicy must not be eaten by children.) di1764
- b. [“*E-muja-u tyuwi*” *jadya*] *i-kes*
 POT-swell-POT nape thus 1SG-FM
 [*mi-kwe tata-chi=ja*] *e-kweja*_{CC}.
 2SG-GEN father-AFFTN=DAT RES-inform
 ““(It is important that you don’t push the oxen too much, otherwise) their nape will swell,” I was told by your father,” (I said to my daughter.)’ ka423

As discussed in §11.3.3 and §11.3.4, the oblique dative phrases in these clauses correspond to the original A argument of the transitive verb which has been turned into an adjective.

14.2.2.2. Pro-forms

There is a set of dative independent pronouns which can stand for a dative phrase. Note that these pronouns are identical in form to genitive pronouns. Note also that in addition to dative independent pronouns, Cavineña also has dative bound pronouns (see §15.1.2). Dative independent pronouns are listed in Table 14.2.

Table 14.2. Dative independent pronouns

Person	SG	DL	PL
1 st	<i>e-kwe</i>	<i>yatse-ja</i>	<i>ekwana-ja</i>
2 nd	<i>mi-kwe</i>	<i>metse-ja</i>	<i>mikwana-ja</i>
3 rd	<i>tu-ja</i>	<i>tatse-ja</i>	<i>tuna-ja</i>
3 rd PROX	<i>riya-ja</i>	<i>retse-ja</i>	<i>rena-ja</i>

In (14.24), I illustrate dative pronouns as possessor in a possessive clause in (a.), benefactive in (b.) and agent in (c.).

- (14.24) a. *E-kwe pa-ju metaras!*
 1SG-DAT JUSS-be ring
 ‘Let the ring be mine!’ (i.e., I would like to have the ring) tb030
- b. *Sare-ti-kwe ekwana-ja ara=ishu_{CC}=ke_O!*
 fetch-GO.TEMP-IMP.SG 1PL-DAT eat=PURP.GNL=LIG
 ‘Go get us something to eat!’ hm068
- c. *Ekwana-ja =tu_{CS} uune-taki_{CC} kuchi=kwana_{CS}.*
 1PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) raise-ABIL pig=PL
 ‘We have to raise pigs (so that we won’t lack meat).’ di2948

There are no specific dative interrogative pro-forms. A referent in dative function has to be questioned by using the interrogative noun *ai* ‘INT’ as head of a dative phrase, as in (14.25), a conversation turn constructed by Francisco Vaca. Note that the dative phrases occur within copula relative clauses.

- (14.25) A: *Ai=ja_{CC}=ke_{CS} =ri_{CS} anteoj_{CS}?*
 INT=DAT=LIG =3PROX.SG(-FM) glasses
 B: *E-kwi_{CC}=ke_{CC} tume!*
 1SG-DAT=LIG there

‘A: Whose glasses are these (lit. to whom are these glasses)? B: Those are mine! (lit. those are to me)’ n1.0170

14.2.2.3. Dative vs. genitive

It was observed that the dative and genitive markers are homophonous. It was also noted that dative phrases can express the semantics of ‘possession’. This could suggest that dative and genitive are not distinct constructions. However, there are a number of differences that distinguish them clearly:

1 — dative and genitive constructions have a different distribution. A genitive phrase (or genitive independent pronoun) is a constituent of an NP (slot C; §13.4) whereas a dative phrase (or dative independent pronoun) is a constituent of a clause. This is (at least) clear from second position clitic placement: if a genitive phrase comes first in a main clause that involves second position clitics, these clitics are attached to the last phonological word of the NP the genitive phrase belongs to, never to the genitive phrase itself, as with =*pa* ‘REP’ and =*tu* ‘3SG’ in (14.26).

- (14.26) [*E-tata=ja e-anu=ke*]_S =*pa* =*tu*_S *japa-da*
 1-father=GEN 3-grandmother=3 =REP =3SG(-FM) far-ASF
diru-chine.
 go-REC.PAST

‘My great-grandmother (lit. my father’s grandmother) has gone very far.’ di1250

On the other hand, if a dative phrase comes first in a main clause that involves second position clitics, these clitics are attached directly to the dative phrase, as with =*tu* ‘3SG’ in (14.20c) (repeated).

- (14.20c) *Wirakucha=ja* =*tu*_S [*umada waka*]_S *ani-ya.*
 white.man=DAT =3SG(-FM) many cow sit-IMPV

‘The white man has many cows (lit. many cows sit to the white man).’ di1457

See also =*tu* ‘3SG’ in (14.20b), (14.22a) and (14.24c), and =*pa* ‘REP’ in (14.21a).

2 — a dative phrase can express semantic roles never expressed by a genitive phrase, such as benefactive and experiencer;

3 — only a dative participant can be referred to by a second position pronoun.

14.2.3. =*ju* ‘LOC’

14.2.3.1. Semantics

The locative postposition =*ju* marks an NP that indicates a precise location, if it is used with a non-motion verb, or a precise target, if it is used with a motion verb. As we will see in §14.2.4 below, it contrasts with the general locative postposition =*keja* ‘LOC.GNL’, which indicates approximate locations/targets. The marker =*ju* can also have temporal and abstract meanings.

The examples in (14.27) illustrate =*ju* specifying the exact location of non-motion events.

- (14.27) a. [*Tume*_{CC}=*ke tiempo*] =*tu*_S *pae*=*kwana*_S *ani-kware*
 there=LIG time =3SG(-FM) priest=PL sit-REM.PAST

Misión.Cavina=*ju*.
Misión.Cavinas=LOC

‘At that time the priests were (still) living in Misión Cavinás.’
 mj004

- b. [*Tume*_{CC}=*ke mejiji*=*ju*] =*pa* =*tuna*_S
 there=LIG beach=LOC =REP =3PL

tawi-nati-kware.
 sleep-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

‘They (our Cavineña ancestors) slept on that beach on the way (to fetch chonta palm bark in the pampa).’ hm044

Another example can be found in (14.1), with the verb *kanajara*- ‘rest’.

Examples illustrating =*ju* encoding the exact target of motion events are given in (14.28), with intransitive verbs, and (14.29), with transitive verbs.

- (14.28) a. *I-ke*_S *kwa-kara* *ju-ya* *mia-tsewe* *epu*=*ju*.
 1SG-FM go-DESID be-IMPV 2SG-ASSOC village=LOC

‘I want to go to the town (lit. village) with you.’ vc008

- b. *Tudya =ekwana_S tsura-nuka-kware =ekwana_S*
 then =1PL go.up-REITR-REM.PAST =1PL

uwa=ju.
 solid.ground=LOC

‘Then we returned (lit. went up again) to the (river) banks (lit. solid ground).’ ri014

- c. [[*Kimisha ura*]_{CC} *ju-atsu*] = \emptyset _S *ju-nati-kware*
 three hour be-SS (=1SG-FM) be-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

e-kike=ju.
 NPF-forest=LOC

‘After three hours, I reached (arrived at) the forest.’ ch003

- (14.29) a. *Tibu=ra_A = \emptyset _O duju-kware [tuna-ja epu=ju].*
 Tibu=ERG (=1SG-FM) take-REM.PAST 3PL-GEN village=LOC

‘Tibu (the Araona chief) took me to their (the Araona’s) village.’
 T1.32

- b. *Tume =tu-ja =tu_O bei=ju*
 then =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) lake=LOC

ina-jaka-diru-kware matuja_O.
 grab-STOP-GO.PERM-REM.PAST caiman

‘Then he released the caiman in the lake.’ cd007

The marker =*ju* is also used with containers, as in (14.30).

- (14.30) *Jaja-tsu =tuna-ja =tu_O amena sura=kwana=ju*
 sieve-SS =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) BM jug=PL=LOC

isha-ya.
 put.in-IMPFV

‘They would sieve it (the masticated corn) and then put it in jugs.’
 ci095

It appears that the marker =*ju* cannot directly mark animate entities — if it does, there are some idiosyncratic abstract meanings, as in *waka=ju* ‘cow=LOC’ ‘in cattle farming’, discussed in (14.34) below. Note however that the part of an animate entity can be marked by =*ju*, as in (14.31).

- (14.31) *Tsura-kware* [sudar=*ja* e-kwita=**ju**].
 go.up-REM.PAST soldier=GEN NPF-body=LOC
 ‘It (a viper) climbed on the soldier’s body.’ so005

The exact motivation for this restriction is unclear. Note that animate entities can be directly marked by =*keja* ‘LOC.GNL’ (see §14.2.4 below).

In (14.32) =*ju* has temporal meanings. It indicates the exact moment an event occurs in the time line.

- (14.32) a. *Kanapuis* =*tus* *keke-ya* [*tee* *mara=ju*].
 cicada =3SG(-FM) shout-IMPV garden time=LOC
 ‘Cicadas sing when it is garden time (i.e., at the time when people make their gardens).’ di0455
- b. *Mil.siete.cientos.sesenta.y.cuatro=ju* =*pa* =*tus* *paes*
 seventeen.hundred.sixty.four=LOC =REP =3SG(-FM) priest
ju-na-kware
 be-COME.TEMP-REM.PAST
 [*ekwana-ja* e-baba=*ekana=keja*]...
 1PL-GEN 1-grandfather=PL=LOC.GNL
 ‘In 1764, a priest came to our grandfathers...’ hs005
- c. [*Jadya a-wa=ju*] =*yatse* *kwa-nuka-chine* *chine=ju*.
 thus affect-PERF=DS =1DL go-REITR-REC.PAST night=LOC
 ‘Having told us (dl) so (that we had to come back at 7 pm), we (dl) went back there in the evening.’ vb007

Note that Cavineña has a subordinating marker homophonous with the locative postposition, =*ju* ‘DS’, which can be seen in the first clause of (14.32c). See discussion of this marker in §19.2.

There are also a number of more abstract uses of the postposition =*ju*. For example, =*ju* can mark -*ana* ‘tongue, language’ to mean ‘in the language’ as in (14.33).

- (14.33) *Jee*_{CC}=*ke*_{CS} =*ri*_{CS} [*e-kwe* *y-ana=ju*]
 here=LIG =3PROX.SG(-FM) 1SG-GEN NPF-tongue=LOC
 “*pupu*”_{CC}.
 owl

‘In my language (lit. tongue), this (owl) is (called) “pupu”.’ pa066

Here, ‘language’ is viewed as a location/repository of words. Note that *-ana* can also be marked by *=eke* ‘PERL’ in which case it is viewed as a mean of communication; see (14.55) in §14.2.5 below.

The marker *=ju* is also found marking *waka* ‘cow’ with the meaning ‘in cattle farming’ in (14.34).

- (14.34) *E-ra_A ba-kware [waka=**ju** mere ju-ya=**ju**].*
 1SG-ERG see-REM.PAST cow=LOC work be-IMPV=DS
 ‘I saw him (my brother) working in cattle (farming).’ nk062

14.2.3.2. Pro-forms

There are a number of pro-forms which can be used instead of a locative phrase marked by *=ju*.

First, there is set of adverbial demonstratives, given in Table 14.3 and illustrated in (14.35).

Table 14.3. Locative demonstratives

<i>re-wa/jee-ju</i>	‘here-LOC’
<i>tu-wa</i>	‘there-LOC’
<i>yu-wa</i>	‘over.there-LOC’

- (14.35) a. ***Re-wa*** =*rena_S* *ani-ya.*
 here-LOC =3PROX.PL sit-IMPV
 ‘(When we reached the village of the Pacahuara people_i, my companion told me:) Here is where they_i live.’ pa029
- b. *Bandia Tata! Nubi-kwe! Ani-bute-kwe!*
 good.morning sir enter-IMP.SG sit-GO-OWN-IMP.SG
Tu-wa=dya =*tu_S* *eperere_S.*
 there-LOC=FOC =3SG(-FM) rack
 ‘Good morning Sir! Come in! Have a seat! There is a bench (lit. rack) there.’ ci003

- c. *Iye-wa* =*tu-ja* =*tu*_O *matuja*_O.
 kill-PERF =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) caiman
Yu-wa =*tu-ja* =*tu*_O *ijewe-ti-wa*.
 there-LOC =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) throw-GO.TEMP-PERF

‘(When we arrived at the village, my companions said to everybody, talking about me:) He has killed a caiman_i. There (where we were fishing) he threw it_i away.’ Ig046

Second, there is an interrogative pro-form *eju*. This pro-form is essentially used for entities which exclusively have a locative meaning, such as the entities illustrated in (14.27) and (14.28). It is illustrated in (14.36a), with an intransitive verb, and (14.36b), with a transitive verb.

- (14.36) a. *Jutakiju eju* =*mi*_S *tawi-ya?*
 therefore INT:LOC =2SG(-FM) sleep-IMPFV

‘So where are you going to sleep?’ zo089

- b. *Eju* =*tuna-ra*_A = \emptyset _O *duju-ya?*
 INT:LOC =3PL-ERG (=1SG-FM) take-IMPFV

Estados Unidos=jju =*ni* =*taa* =*tuna-ra*_A = \emptyset _O
 United.States=LOC =MAYBE =EMPH =3PL-ERG (=1SG-FM)

duju-ya.
 take-IMPFV

‘(I had no idea where the missionaries were taking me. I said to myself:) “Where are they taking me? Maybe they are they taking me to (their country in) the United States (of America).”’ me044

Terms which are only occasionally used in a locative sense, such as body parts (e.g., *e-kwita* ‘body’ in (14.31)) or containers (e.g., *sura* ‘jug’ in (14.30)), are questioned with the interrogative noun *ai*. This is illustrated with a conversation turn volunteered by Francisco Vaca in (14.37) and an example from a recorded conversation in (14.38); compare this example with (14.36b) where the same transitive verb *duju*- ‘take’ is used.

- (14.37) A: *Ai=jju* =*ri-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *miri-ya?*
 INT=LOC =3PROX.SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) strike-IMPFV

‘Where (on its body) shall I strike it (a pig)?’ n1.0200

B: *Iyuka=ju miri-kwe!*
 head=LOC strike-IMP.SG
 ‘Strike it on the head!’ n1.0200

- (14.38) *Ai=ju =shana =tuna_A duju-duju+ni-kware*
 INT=LOC =PITY =3PL(-ERG) take-REDUP+RANDOM-REM.PAST
e-anu=ekana=ra_A?
 1-grandmother=PL=ERG
 ‘In what (sort of container) would they carry it (corn beer), our
 poor grandmothers?’ ct045

14.2.4. =keja ‘LOC.GNL’

14.2.4.1. Semantics

The central meaning of the postposition =keja ‘LOCative GeNeral’ is to indicate an approximate location/target for the event expressed by the predicate. In addition =keja can also have temporal and other more abstract meanings.

The approximate location/target meaning expressed by =keja contrasts with the precise location/target meaning manifested by =ju ‘LOC’. An example showing this contrast is given in (14.39).

- (14.39) *Tumepatya i-kes ju-kware Francia=ju*
 at.at.time 1SG-FM be-REM.PAST Francia=LOC
Jenewayá=keja.
 Geneshuaya.river=LOC.GNL
 ‘At that time I was (living) in (the Cavineña community of) Francia, somewhere close to the Geneshuaya river.’ vi002

The postposition =keja can specify a location, when it is used with a non-motion verb, as in (14.39) and (14.8) (repeated), or a target, when it is used with a motion verbs, as in (14.40a,b).

- (14.8) [*Flota tada=keja*] *ani-kware campos.*
 bus butt=LOC.GNL sit-REM.PAST space
 ‘Near the back (lit. bottom) of the bus there was some space (left) (where I could put my sixty chickens and my three ducks).’ ga020

- (14.40) a. [Tu-ja cocina=**keja**] =pa =tu_S diru-chine.
 3SG-GEN kitchen=LOC.GNL =REP =3SG(-FM) go-REC.PAST
 ‘She went in the direction of her kitchen.’ ml024
- b. ... e-spere=**keja** pa-diru-nuka!
 NPF-stream=LOC.GNL HORT.SG-go-REITR
 ‘(Therefore,) I’m going in the direction of the stream! (I said to myself, hoping I could find some animal to kill there.)’ ba037

In (14.41) =*keja* has a temporal meaning. It gives a rough estimation of the time of an event.

- (14.41) *Amena* =ekwana_S chine_E katibuti-kware chine=**keja**
 BM =1PL fiesta start-REM.PAST night=LOC.GNL
las.dos.de.la.tarde=keja.
 at.two.in.the.afternoon=LOC.GNL
 ‘We started the fiesta in the afternoon, somewhere around 2pm.’
 fg013

Note that in *chine=keja*, the postposition might have become lexicalized. This expression has a fixed meaning which is ‘afternoon’. In other words, it means ‘toward the evening’. It cannot mean ‘after the evening’, a reading which should otherwise be acceptable if the sense of ‘approximate’ was kept.

We saw in the preceding section that terms for animate beings cannot be directly marked by =*ju*. However they can be marked by =*keja*. An illustration of this is provided in (14.42).

- (14.42) a. *Kwa-kware* =pa =tu_S e-kupari=**ke=keja**.
 go-REM.PAST =REP =3SG(-FM) 3-compadre=3=LOC.GNL
 ‘He went to his compadre.’ tg006
- b. *Amena* *tuekedya* =∅_S *misionero=keja*
 BM then (=1SG-FM) missionary=LOC.GNL
ju-diru-nuka-kware.
 be-GO.PERM-REITR-REM.PAST
 ‘Then I went again to the missionary.’ T1.100

See also *e-baba=ekana=keja* ‘to our grandfathers’ in (14.32b).

Finally, the postposition =*keja* can be used to mark the causee of a causativized transitive verb in the case of indirect causation — recall that in the case of direct causation, the causee is marked as a core argument (§8.4.2.) An illustrative pair is given in (14.43).

- (14.43) a. *E-bakwa=ke=ra_A =tu_O duju-wa misi_O e-tare=ju.*
 3-child=3=ERG =3SG(-FM) take-PERF tamale NPF-house=LOC
 ‘The child took tamale to the house.’ n3.0335
- b. *E-puna=ra_A =tu_O duju-mere-wa*
 NPF-female=ERG =3SG(-FM) take-CAUS-PERF
*e-bakwa=ke=**keja** misi_O e-tare=ju.*
 3-child=3=LOC.GNL tamale NPF-house=LOC
 ‘The woman had tamale taken to the house by her child (i.e., only the child goes, not the woman).’ n3.0335

14.2.4.2. Pro-forms

There are a number of pro-forms that can stand for phrases marked by =*keja*. First, there is a set of general location demonstratives, given in Table 14.4 and illustrated in (14.44). Note that (14.44b) is a repeated example.

Table 14.4. General location demonstratives

<i>re-keja</i>	‘here-LOC.GNL’
<i>tu-keja</i>	‘there-LOC.GNL’
<i>yu-keja</i>	‘over.there-LOC.GNL’

- (14.44) a. *Ina-ya=ama=dya =ekwana_A re-keja*
 grab-IMPV=NEG=FOC =1PL(-ERG) here-LOC.GNL
sasu=kwana_O.
 trough.mortar=PL
 ‘We don’t use (lit. grab) trough mortars around here anymore.’
 ci111
- b. [*E-kwe dekachu*]_s *Rure=keja diru-kware.*
 1SG-GEN little.brother Rurrenabaque=LOC.GNL go-REM.PAST
Tu-keja=dya wane-ki_{CC} ju-diru-kware.
 there-LOC.GNL=FOC wife-WITH be-GO.PERM-REM.PAST

‘My little brother went somewhere in the area of Rurrenabaque (a town). (I’ve never known where exactly.) (And) there he got married (lit. went and was with a wife).’ nk067-068

- c. *Ji-da*_{CC} ***yu-keja*** *i-nime*_{CS?} [*Umada chipiru*]_S
 good-ASF over.there-LOC.GNL NPF-thought many money
ani-ya ***yu-keja?***
 sit-IMPFV over.there-LOC.GNL

‘Is the (economic) situation (lit. thought) good over there (in your country)? There’s a lot of money there, isn’t there?’ tb206

Second, there is a set of general location pronouns which can stand for general location phrases marking animate entities (such as those in (14.42) above). The forms are listed in Table 14.5 and illustrated in (14.45).

Table 14.5. General location independent pronouns

Person	SG	DL	PL
1 st	<i>ea-keja</i>	<i>yatse-keja</i>	<i>ekwana-keja</i>
2 nd	<i>mia-keja</i>	<i>metse-keja</i>	<i>mikwana-keja</i>
3 rd	<i>tua-keja</i>	<i>tatse-keja</i>	<i>tuna-keja</i>
3 rd PROX	<i>riya-keja</i>	<i>retse-keja</i>	<i>rena-keja</i>

- (14.45) a. “*Jiish!*” *je-wa* ***ea-keja***.
 ONOM come-PERF 1SG-LOC.GNL
 ‘(I shot at the anteater_i but,) “jiish”, he_i came towards me.’ ba087
- b. ***Mia-keja***=*dya* =*tu*_S *diru-wa*.
 2SG-LOC.GNL=FOC =3SG(-FM) go-PERF
 ‘He (the cunning fox) went to you (the stupid jaguar).’ zo109
- c. [*Sudaru Francisco Vaca*], *je-kwe* ***re-keja!***
 soldier Francisco Vaca come-IMP.SG here-LOC.GNL
 ... *kwa-kware* *i-ke*_S ***tua-keja***.
 go-REM.PAST 1SG-FM 3SG-LOC.GNL
 ‘(My chief told me:) “Soldier Francisco Vaca, come over here!”.
 (When he told me so,) I went to him.’ cu007-008

Third, there is an interrogative general location pro-form, *ejekeja*, which is used to question (approximate) locations/targets with inanimate referents. It is illustrated in (14.46).

- (14.46) *Ejekeja* =yatse_S kwa-ya wikamutya=ra, Utsekwa?
 INT:LOC.GNL =1DL go-IMPV fish=PURP.MOT grandchild
 Wiatsura=*keja* ne-kwa, Baba-chi,
 upriver=LOC.GNL HORT.DL-go grandfather-AFFTN
 e-nari=*keja*!
 NPF-eddy=LOC.GNL

‘(The grandfather asked his grandson:) “Whereabouts are we (dl) going fishing?” “Let’s (dl) go somewhere upriver, somewhere around the eddy!” (the grandson replied.)’ ps004-006

The interrogative pro-form *ejekeja* cannot be used if the question is about the location/target of an animate entity (e.g., ‘his compadre’ in (14.42a) or ‘the missionary’ in (14.42b)) or the causee of a causativized transitive verb (e.g., ‘her child’ in (14.43b)). For this use, there are no specific pro-forms available. The interrogative noun *ai* must be used, marked by the general location postposition, as in the volunteered conversational turn in (14.47).

- (14.47) A: *Ai=keja* =tu-ja =tu_O iwara-mere-ya ewebari_O?
 INT=LOC.GNL =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) call-CAUS-IMPV teenager
 B: *Ea-keja* =tu-ja =tu_O iwara-mere-ya ewebari_O.
 1SG-LOC.GNL =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) call-CAUS-IMPV teenager

‘Whom did they ask to call the teenager? It is me whom they asked to call the teenager.’ n3.0493

14.2.4.3. Increment -amaka

The postposition =*keja*, or its corresponding pro-forms, can take an additional formative increment, *-amaka*, which adds to the imprecision of the location/target expressed by =*keja*. Note that besides =*keja*, *-amaka* is only attested in a similar combination with the postposition =*eke* ‘PERL’; see §14.2.5.3 below. For this reason, I treat =*kejaamaka* as lexicalized and give it a unique gloss ‘LOC.APPROX’.

The semantic difference between =*keja* and =*kejaamaka* can be seen in (14.48), an example extracted from a recount by Francisco Vaca about his experience as a (motorcycle) taxi driver.

- (14.48) [“*Yu-keja pa-kwa!*” *jadya ju-atsu*] = \emptyset _S
 over.there-LOC.GNL HORT.SG-go thus be-SS (=1SG-FM)

*kwa-chine aikwana [barrio Villa=*keja*] amena*
 go-REC.PAST FILL suburb Villa=LOC.GNL BM

*Tajibu=*kejaamaka*.*
 Tajibu=LOC.APPROX

‘(I couldn’t find any fare so I said:) “Let me go over there!” and I went towards the Villa suburb, on the side of (the area called) Tajibu.’ mo010

Together with =*ju* ‘LOC’, =*keja* and =*kejaamaka* can be placed on a scale of location/target precision, with =*ju* at one end — indicating a very precise location — and =*kejaamaka* on the other end — indicating a very approximate location.

The form =*kejaamaka* is rather rare in the data. From the examples available it only has locational meanings: locative meaning with non-motion verbs, as in (14.49); target meaning with motion verbs, as in (14.50).

- (14.49) *E-tsuku=*kejaamaka** =*tu-ja* *neti-kware*
 NPF-corner=LOC.APPROX =3SG-DAT stand-REM.PAST

*piya=*kwana*_S.*
 arrow=PL

‘(After I sat, I saw that) he (the Pacahuara man I was visiting) had arrows standing somewhere around one corner (of his house).’ pa052

- (14.50) a. *Tuekedyá ekanas kwa-kware [yachi=*kejaamaka*].*
 then 3PL go-REM.PAST pampa=LOC.APPROX

‘Then, they went towards the pampa.’ hm042

- b. [*Kwejiji kasa-da_{CC}=ra*]_A *be-ti-wa e-tiki_O*
 wind strong-ASF(=LIG)=ERG bring-GO.TEMP-PERF NPF-fire
 [*tu-ja tee=*kejaamaka*].*
 3SG-GEN garden=LOC.APPROX

‘A strong wind blew (lit. brought) the fire to the side of his garden.’ lz003

See also (14.48) above.

14.2.5. =eke ‘PERL’

14.2.5.1. Semantics

The perlative postposition =eke has a broad range of meanings. Its most central meaning appears to be perlative, i.e., ‘through (a place)’. Other spatial meanings include ablative, i.e., ‘from (a place)’ and adhesive, i.e., ‘along a place’. The postposition =eke can also have non-spatial meanings. For example, it can be used to express a vehicle, i.e., ‘on/by way of’. It can finally have temporal and other more abstract uses.

The different spatial meanings of =eke are illustrated in (14.51) and (14.9) (repeated).

- (14.51) a. *Wetana=kwana=eke e-na_S nubi-ya ba-atsu...*
 window=PL=PERL NPF-water enter-IMPFV see-SS
 ‘When they (my children) saw the water entering through the windows (of the plane) (they became very scared).’ av014
- b. [*Tume_{CC}=ke warasha=eke*] *kueti-bawe.*
 there=LIG bridge=PERL pass-ALWS
 ‘I used to pass over that bridge.’ wa071a
- c. ... *yatse_S yawa=eke kwa-chine*
 1DL ground=PERL go-REC.PAST
 ‘(While someone carried our heavy luggage in his canoe,) we (dl) went by land.’ vb048
- (14.9) *Kunu=eke =ni ekatse_S tsura-ya.*
 liana=PERL =MAYBE 3DL go.up-IMPFV
 ‘They (the two legendary brothers) would probably climb (on top of the trees) along lianas.’ hm026

In the previous examples, the spatial meanings of =eke obtains in the context of motion events. However, this needs not always be the case. In (14.52), for example, =eke expresses an elongated location:

- (14.52) *Emake=eke =tukwe e-riri_{CC} ju-kware.*
 UNDER=PERL =CONT.EVID RES-rot be-REM.PAST
 ‘It turned out that it (the bridge I was about to cross) was rotten along the underneath.’ wa072

The postposition =*eke* can express vehicles/means of transportation such as *kwaba* ‘canoe’, as in (14.53a), *kawayu* ‘horse’, as in (14.53b), *karetu* ‘cart’, *pere* ‘raft’, *avion* ‘plane’, etc.

- (14.53) a. *Diatu*=*ju* =*yatse*_S *ka-reke-ti-chine*
 Biata.river=LOC =1DL REF-cross-REF-REC.PAST
 [*jee*_{CC}=*ke* *kwaba*=*eke*].
 here=LIG canoe=PERL

‘We (dl) crossed the Biata river with this canoe (that we can see here in the picture).’ ft011

- b. *Kawayu*=*eke* =*ekwana*_S *kwa-chine* *kimisha*_S.
 horse=PERL =1PL go-REC.PAST three

‘We went by horse, three of us.’ me124

Going on foot is also expressed with =*eke*, as in (14.54).

- (14.54) *Tuna*_S =*bakwe* *kwa-chine* *e-wachi*=*eke*.
 3PL =CONTR go-REC.PAST NPF-foot=PERL

‘Them, they went on foot (whereas us, we went on a motorcycle).’ br013

Recall that vehicles can also be marked with the postposition =*tsewe* ‘AS-SOC’; see *avioneta*=*tsewe* ‘by light plane’ in (14.13b) above. The exact motivations for using the associative or the perlocative postpositions when referring to vehicles are unknown.

The postposition =*eke* can be used to express vehicles/means of transportation of more abstract entities such as information: *-ana* ‘tongue, language’ in (14.55a), *radio* ‘(shortwave) radio transmitter’ in (14.55b), *keke* ‘a shout’, *kwat-sabiji* ‘a story’, etc.

- (14.55) a. ... *Tsimi*=*ra*_A *ji-da* [*tuna-ja* *y-ana*=*eke*]
 Tsimi=ERG good-ASF 3PL-GEN NPF-tongue=PERL
 kweja-aje-kware.
 inform-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST

‘(As I was talking to the Araona people in Spanish,) Tsimi was translating nicely (lit. telling them little by little), in their (own) language (lit. tongue).’ T1.74

- b. *Tumi=dya =tuna-ra_A =ekwana_O kweja-kware radio=eke.*
 then=FOC =3PL-ERG =1PL inform-REM.PAST radio=PERL

‘They (the Araona people) told it to us (pl) by radio (that they had serious problems in their village).’ T1.3

Note the semantic differences between *y-ana=ju* ‘language=LOC’ in (14.33) above, where language is seen as a repository/location/container for words/information, and *y-ana=eke* ‘language=PERL’ in (14.55a), where language is seen as a vehicle for transporting these words/information.

The marker *=eke* is also used to specify a point from which a motion event takes place (ablative meanings) as in (14.56).

- (14.56) a. *E-wane=kwana=ke_S kwa-ya epu=eke.*
 3-wife=PL=3 go-IMPV village=PERL

‘Their wives would go from the village (to the forest to meet their husbands, who were hunting there).’ ct037

- b. [*Najiji witsana=eke*] *ekana_S je-ya.*
 Madidi.river headwaters=PERL 3PL come-IMPV

‘They (the enemies) would come from the headwaters of the Madidi river.’ hs014

- c. *SanMiguel=eke =yatse_S kwa-nuka-chine karetu=tsewe.*
 San.Miguel=PERL =1DL go-REITR-REC.PAST cart=ASSOC

‘From San Miguel, we kept going with a cart (to carry our heavy luggage).’ ft051

In (14.57) *=eke* is used to specify a point from which a distance is evaluated.

- (14.57) a. *Carretera=eke =tu_{CS} SantaElena_{CS}*
 dirt.highway=PERL =3SG(-FM) Santa.Elena
 [*cuatro kilometro=dyane*]_{CC}.
 four kilometer=APPROX

‘From the dirt highway, Santa Elena is about four kilometers.’ pa007

- b. *Japa-da*_{CC} =*tu-ja* =*tu*_{CS} *e-tare*_{CS} *ju-kware*
 far-ASF =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) NPF-house be-REM.PAST

escuela=eke.
 school=PERL

‘His house was far from the school.’ vi016

The marker =*eke* can also have a temporal meaning. In (14.58) it expresses the fact that the verb event of ‘calling’ is repeated throughout the month of November.

- (14.58) *Tumepatya =ekwana*_O *misionero=kwana=ra*_A *Tumichucua=ju*
 at.that.time =1PL missionary=PL=ERG Tumichucua=LOC
iwara-ni-kware [*noviembre badi=eke=dyane*].
 call-RANDOM-REM.PAST November month=PERL=APPROX

‘At that time, the missionaries used to call us (to come) to Tumichucua sometimes in (the month of) November.’ lv002

In three examples in the data, =*eke* is used to mark a cause. In all these examples, the verb of the clause is the intransitive *tere-* ‘finish’, as in (14.59).

- (14.59) *Tuekedyá =pa ekaná*_S *tere-ya kwejipa=eke*...
 then =REP 3PL finish-IMPV hurricane=PERL

‘(In old times, our Cavineña ancestors would only live for one or two weeks.) Then, they would all die (lit. finish) because of hurricanes (and other calamities).’ ya007

It is possible that this could be an old use of the postposition =*eke*; note that two of the three examples come from a mythical story. More work is needed to clarify this issue.

Similar to the general locative postposition =*keja* — but unlike the locative =*ju* —, animate entities appear to allow perlocative marking as shown in (14.60).

- (14.60) [*Dutya tu-ja kasa=tsewe*] *kueti-kware*
 all 3SG-GEN strength=ASSOC pass-REM.PAST
e-puna=ekatse=eke.
 NPF-female=DL=PERL

‘(An agouti appeared suddenly and) passed with all its strength between two women.’ md007

This is unfortunately the only example available. Further work is needed to investigate whether the range of meanings illustrated with =*eke* here can be found with animate entities as well.

14.2.5.2. Pro-forms

There is a set of perlative demonstrative pro-forms, as given in Table 14.6 and exemplified in (14.61).

Table 14.6. Perlative demonstratives

<i>re-eke</i>	‘here-PERL’
<i>tu-eke</i>	‘there-PERL’
<i>yu-eke</i>	‘over.there-PERL’

- (14.61) a. **Re-eke** =*ri*_{CS} [veinticinco kilometro=*dyane*]_{CC},
 here-PERL =3PROX.SG(-FM) twenty.five kilometer=APPROX

Riberalta=eke.
 Riberalta=PERL

‘From here, it (the Cavineña community of Santa Ana) is about 25 km, from (here in) Riberalta.’ pa001

- b. *Aijama!* **Tu-eke**=*dya* =*tu*_S [*dutya moto*]_S
 not.exist.at.all there-PERL=FOC =3SG(-FM) all motorcycle

kueti-ya.
 pass-IMPFV

‘(I wanted the woman and me to get down from the motorcycle so that we could cross that tiny bridge on foot but she refused and said:) no! All the motorcycles pass here (on that bridge)!’ mo019

- c. *Amena tunas* =*bakwe* **yu-eke** *jeti-ya.*
 BM 3PL =CONTR over.there-PERL come-IMPFV

‘(The wives of the hunters_i would go to meet them_j from the village while) they_i would come from over there (from the forest, on their way back from hunting).’ ct039

There is also an interrogative pro-form *ejeke* which has a locative meaning only — not an instrumental-like meaning. It is illustrated in (14.62a) and with a conversation turn volunteered by Francisco Vaca in (14.62b).

- (14.62) a. **Ejeke** =tu_S e-na_S nubi-kware?
INT:PERL =3SG(-FM) NPF-water enter-REM.PAST

‘Where (in the canoe) did the water enter?’ rb077

- b. A: **Ejeke** =ri_{CS}
INT:PERL =3PROX.SG(-FM)
[[Cavina=ju kwa-ya=ke] e-diji]_{CS}? **Re-eke?**
Cavinas=LOC go-IMPV=LIG NPF-path here-PERL

B: **Aama!**
not.exist

A: **Tu-eke?**
there-PERL

B: **Ama!** **Yu-eke!**
not.exist over.there-PERL

‘A: Where is the path that leads (lit. goes) to Cavinás? Here? B: No! A: There? B: No! (It is) over there!’ n1.0570

When questioning the instrumental-like meaning of =*eke*, as in (14.53) above, one must use a phrase with the interrogative noun *ai* marked with =*eke*, as in (14.63), a volunteered example by Francisco Vaca.

- (14.63) **Ai=eke** =tu_S diru-wa? Camion=**eke?**
INT=PERL =3SG(-FM) go-PERF truck=PERL

‘How (*through where) did he go? By truck?’ n2.0253

14.2.5.3. Increment -amaka

The postposition =*eke* can take the same increment formative -*amaka* as =*keja* (see §14.2.4.3 above). Unfortunately, I only have one example, in (14.64) below, where =*ekeamaka* marks a headless NP.

- (14.64) ... [*peya=ekamaka*] *ekwita_S kwinana-kware.*
 other=PERL.APPROX person emerge-REM.PAST

‘(We were looking at the side where the woman had gone fetching the man but) he (the man) came (lit. emerged) from the other side.’ pa048

More work is required to discuss further the formative *-amaka* with *=eke*.

14.2.6. *=tupu* ‘UP.TO’

14.2.6.1. Semantics

The postposition *=tupu* ‘UP.TO’ is used to specify a point in space/time up to/until where/when an event happens.

The spatial meaning of *=tupu* with motion verbs is illustrated in (14.65a), with an intransitive verb, and (14.65b), with a transitive verb.

- (14.65) a. [*Señorita Barbarita=ja e-tare=tupu*] *=ekwana_S*
 lady Barbarita=GEN NPF-house=UP.TO =1PL

tua-tsewe jeti-chine.
 3SG-ASSOC come-REC.PAST

‘We drove (lit. came) up to the house of the lady called Barbarita with it (the jeep car) (and then we got down from the car and reached home on foot).’ br103

- b. *Tudya =∅_O* [*Don Alejandro Arteaga=ra*]_A
 then (=1SG-FM) Mr. Alejandro Arteaga=ERG

iya-na-kware Australia=tupu
 put-COME.TEMP-REM.PAST Australia=UP.TO

[*tu-ja karetu=tsewe*].
 3SG-GEN cart=ASSOC

‘Mr. Alejandro Arteaga took (lit. came and put) me to (the community of) Australia (but not farther) with his cart.’ ga012

Another spatial meaning of *=tupu* is with measurement as in (14.66).

- (14.66) a. ... [*pishika metro=tupu=dyane*] *e-ra_A bari_O*
 five meter=UP.TO=APPROX 1SG-ERG giant.anteater
ba-ya.
 see-IMPFV

‘I could see the anteater about 5 meters away (from me).’ ba118

- b. ... [*uno veinte metro=tupu=dyane*] *sita-kware.*
 one twenty meter=UP.TO=APPROX approach-REM.PAST

‘... I approached them (a band of capuchin monkeys) at a distance of about twenty meters (so that I could shoot at them).’ aj013

Various temporal meanings of =*tupu* are illustrated in (14.67): ‘until’ in (14.67a), ‘at’ in (14.67b) and ‘up to’ in (14.67c).

- (14.67) a. *Tudya =yatse_A iwa-chine barepatya=tupu.*
 then =1DL(-ERG) wait.for-REC.PAST at.midday=UP.TO

‘Then we waited for them (the rest of the villagers) until noon.’
 vb012

- b. *Laonce=tupu=dyane =ekwana_S tu-wa*
 at.eleven.o’clock=UP.TO=APPROX =1PL there-LOC
ju-eti-kware
 be-COME.PERM-REM.PAST

‘We arrived there (at the Biata river) at about 11(am).’ ri002

- c. *Australia=ju =yatse_A iwa-kware camion=kwana_O*
 Australia=LOC =1DL(-ERG) wait.for-REM.PAST truck=PL

[*beta wekaka=tupu*].
 two day=UP.TO

‘In (the village of) Australia, we waited for up to two days for trucks (to take us to town). (And since no truck would come, we left the village on foot).’ vc012

14.2.6.2. Pro-form

There are no specific demonstrative or pronominal pro-forms corresponding to phrases marked by =*tupu*. The closest equivalent of such pro-forms would be

phrases where =*tupu* is attached to one of the adverbial demonstratives *re-wa* ‘here-LOC’, *tu-wa* ‘there-LOC’ or *yu-wa* ‘over.there-LOC’ (§15.7), in which case the resulting meaning is spatial (as opposed to temporal), as in (14.68) (from a mythical story).

- (14.68) *Re-wa=tupu=kamadya i-ke_S je-wa amena.*
 here-LOC=UP.TO=RESTR 1SG-FM come-PERF BM

‘(The man who had been taken by a magical turtle inside the river reemerged and said to his relatives:) “I’m only coming up to here. (I won’t go farther. From now on I will only live in the water.)”’ pt018

The postposition =*tupu* can also be attached to one of the pointing demonstratives *riya* ‘here’, *jee* ‘here’, *tume* ‘there’, *yume* ‘over.there’ (§15.8), in which case the resulting meaning is temporal, as in (14.69).

- (14.69) a. *E-ra_A =tu_O riya=tupu=kamadya adeba-ya.*
 1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) here=UP.TO=RESTR know-IMPV

‘This is all I know (lit. I know it (our traditions) up to that point).’
 fm037

- b. *Riya=tupu=kamadya =ri-ke_O =Ø_A kweja-ya.*
 here=UP.TO=RESTR =3PROX.SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) inform-IMPV

‘I’m telling it (my story) to you up to that point. (I won’t tell you more).’ vb069

Such sentences are typically used by narrators when terminating their stories.

There is however a specific interrogative pro-form, *ejetupu*, which is mostly used for questioning time; note that I do not have any clear example showing *ejetupu* questioning space. It is illustrated in (14.70).

- (14.70) *Ejetupu =mikwana_S diru-ya?*
 INT:UP.TO =2PL go-IMPV

‘(My aunt asked us:) “When are you leaving?” (So I answered: “We leave tomorrow, aunty.”)’ ri057

14.3. Minor postpositions

Unlike major postpositions, minor postpositions tend to be used less frequently. Their meaning is often more concrete/specific. They tend to lack specific sets of pro-forms and to be phonologically independent (although some are phonologically dependent). They consist of the following four morphemes: the marker *jiteke/jeteke* ‘LOOKING.FOR’ (§14.3.1), a set of quantifier postpositions (§14.3.2), the marker =*kama* ‘ONLY’ (§14.3.3) and the marker =*taka* ‘ALONE’ (§14.3.4).

14.3.1. *Jiteke/jeteke* ‘LOOKING.FOR’

The central meaning of the postposition *jiteke/jeteke* is to encode a sense of desire for the entity that it marks. According to the situation, it translates variously as ‘looking for, missing, searching, longing for, with interest for, etc.’ Its most common pronunciation is *jiteke* but it is also occasionally heard as *jeteke*; for examples of *jeteke*, see (7.34b) and (10.8).

The most common use of *jiteke/jeteke* is with a verb of motion in which case the postposition indicates an entity that is looked for. This is illustrated in (14.71), a conversation turn constructed by Antonio Yubanera.

- (14.71) A: *Eju* =*mi*_S *kwa-ya?*
 INT:LOC =2SG(-FM) go-IMPV
 B: [*E-na* *jiteke*] = \emptyset _S *kwa-ya.*
 NPF-water LOOKING.FOR (=1SG-FM) go-IMPV

A: ‘Where are you going?’ B: ‘I’m going to fetch water.’ n4.0398

Text examples are provided in (14.72). In examples a. and b., the verb is intransitive. In example c., it is transitive.

- (14.72) a. ... =*tu*_S [*e-kwe e-jau*]_S
 =3SG(-FM) 1SG-GEN 1-younger.brother
 [*tu-ja eskupeta jiteke*] *kwa-kware.*
 3SG-GEN shotgun LOOKING.FOR go-REM.PAST

‘My younger brother went to fetch his (own) shotgun (to kill the tapir).’ ma019

- b. *Felicia*_S =*tu*_S *tsajaja-aje-kware*
 Felicia =3SG(-FM) run-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST
 [*kuchiru jiteke*].
 machete LOOKING.FOR

‘Felicia ran to get a machete (to kill the agouti).’ md013

- c. ... *e-baba=ke=ra*_A *kwadisha-kware* *y-utsekwa=ke*_O
 3-grandfather=3=ERG send-REM.PAST 3-grandchild=3
 [*beta ekwita jiteke*] *e-tare=keja*.
 two person LOOKING.FOR NPF-house=LOC.GNL

‘The grandfather sent his grandchild to the house to look for two (strong) men (to help them carry the giant fish that they had caught).’ ps045

In (14.73), *jiteke/jeteke* has a more abstract meaning of ‘longing for, missing’.

- (14.73) a. [*E-kwe e-kwaa*]_S *pa-kware*
 1SG-GEN 1-mother cry-REM.PAST
 [*tu-ja ai=kwana jiteke*].
 3SG-GEN INT=PL LOOKING.FOR

‘(When I told her_i that our house had completely burned,) my mother_i cried for her things (i.e., her belongings).’ tk037

- b. ... *ike*_{CS} *nereka-da*_{CC} *re-keja*
 1SG-FM miserable-ASF here-LOC.GNL
 [*mi-ke jiteke*] *ju-neni-ya*.
 2SG-FM LOOKING.FOR be-RANDOM-IMPV

‘(When I reached my mother, who was sick, she said to me: “As you were coming,) I was miserable around here thinking of you.”’ pf049

- c. *Peru=ra*_A =*tu*_O *José*_O [*confite jiteke*]
 Pedro=ERG =3SG(-FM) José candy LOOKING.FOR
jiyu-ya.
 be.friendly.to-IMPV

‘Pedro is friendly to José_i because of his_i candies.’ di1794

There are no specific pro-forms for phrases marked by *jiteke/jeteke*. *Jiteke/jeteke* can mark an independent pronoun, such as *mi-ke* ‘2SG-FM’ in (14.73b) above. As for questions, they are made by using the interrogative noun *ai* as the argument of *jiteke/jeteke*, in (14.74).

- (14.74) [Ai **jiteke**=*piji*] *je-kara* *i-ke_s* *ju-wa?*
INT LOOKING.FOR=DIM come-DESID 1SG-FM be-PERF

‘(Because the trip was so tiring, I asked myself:) “Why (lit. looking for what) did I want to come?”’ ka030

14.3.2. Quantifier postpositions

Quantifier postpositions mark a noun that is taken as a measuring unit to quantify the S or the O argument, or the predicate event itself. Quantifier postpositions are clearly related to the numeral series, i.e., *peadya* ‘one’, *beta* ‘two’, *kimisha* ‘three’, etc. (see §13.5).

The postposition *pidya* ‘(the amount of) ONE WHOLE’ corresponds to the quantifier *peadya* ‘one’, with the phonological reduction *ea* → *i*. It is illustrated in (14.75) (a volunteered example).

- (14.75) *Elsa=ra_A* =*tu_O* *kwawe_O* *keti-wa* [*jiti* ***pidya***].
Elsa=ERG =3SG(-FM) manioc fetch-PERF basket ONE.WHOLE

‘Elsa fetched a full basket of manioc (lit. Elsa fetched manioc the amount of one full basket).’ n5.0262

Note that unlike in the English translation, *jiti pidya* is an oblique constituent and not part of the O NP. This is made clear by the fact that the head of the O NPs *kwawe* ‘manioc’ and *jiti pidya* ‘the amount of a full basket’ are separated by the predicate of the clause *keti-wa* ‘fetched’.

The other quantifier postpositions have the exact same form as their lexical numeral counterparts: *beta* ‘(the amount of) TWO WHOLE’, *kimisha* ‘(the amount of) THREE WHOLE’, etc. An illustrative example is provided in (14.76).

- (14.76) *Elsa=ra_A* =*tu_O* *kwawe_O* *be-ti-wa*
Elsa=ERG =3SG(-FM) manioc bring-GO.TEMP-PERF

[*jiti* ***beta/kimisha/pushi/etc.***].
basket TWO/THREE/FOUR.WHOLE

‘Elsa brought two/three/four/etc. full baskets of manioc.’ n5.0273

Quantifier postpositions typically mark nouns referring to containers such as *jiti* ‘basket’ in (14.75) and (14.76) above, *e-marikaka* ‘cooking pot’ in (14.77a), or *karetu* ‘cart’ in (14.77c).

- (14.77) a. [*Mechi e-marikaka pidya=kwana*] =*tuna*_A
 soil NPF-cooking.pot ONE.WHOLE=UNCERT =3PL(-ERG)

a-ya...
 affect-IMPV

‘They would prepare it (the manioc beer), the amount of something like a full (soil) cooking pot...’ ci188

- b. *Antonio*_S =*tu*_S *ka-be-ti-chine* *ai=kwana*_E
 Antonio =3SG(-FM) REF-bring-REF-REC.PAST INT=PL

[*karetu pidya*].
 cart ONE.WHOLE

‘Antonio brought a full cart of things for himself.’ n5.0271

Quantifier postpositional phrases are used to quantify either an O argument, as in the preceding examples, or an S argument, as in (14.78), or the predicate event itself, as in (14.79).

- (14.78) *Tu-wa* =*tuna*_S *ani-ya* [*e-tare pidya*].
 there-LOC =3PL sit-IMPV NPF-house ONE.WHOLE

‘There, they live in a house full of people (lit. they sit the amount of a full house).’ n5.0263

- (14.79) [*E-kwe e-awe*]_S *mere ju-kware tu-wa*
 1SG-GEN 1-husband work be-REM.PAST there-LOC

[*semana pidya*].
 week ONE.WHOLE

‘My husband worked there a whole week.’ ri037

One could argue that the morphemes *pidya*, *beta*, *kimisha*, etc. discussed here are NP modifiers rather the postpositions, in other words that they would all make a unique category. The reasons why this option has not been retained are that:

1 — one quantifier postposition, *pidya* ‘ONE.WHOLE’, has a different form from the (otherwise) NP modifier (*peadya* ‘one’);

2 — functionally, quantifier postpositions do not only modify arguments but also predicates (e.g., (14.79));

3 — the quantifier postpositions and their object can be separated from the NP they modify.

14.3.3. =*kama* ‘ONLY’

The postposition =*kama* means ‘just, only, purely, nobody/nothing/nowhere else than’. It is only attested in a few examples and its meanings and morpho-syntax are not entirely understood yet.²

I illustrate =*kama* in (14.80).

- (14.80) a. ... =*tu*_S *Arauna=kwana*_S [*tuna-ja epu=ju*]
 =3SG(-FM) Araona.person=PL 3PL-GEN village=LOC

kawaiti-kware *tuna=kama*.
 get.angry-REM.PAST 3PL=ONLY

‘(In 1995) the Araonas became angry with each other in their village. (Nobody else was involved in the conflict.)’ T1.1

- b. *Jara-tsura-wa=ke=dya*_S =*ekwana*_S *jeti-nuka-chine*
 lie-GO.UP-PERF=LIG=FOC =1PL come-REITR-REC.PAST

nei=kama.
 rain=ONLY

‘After having moored (on the river shore, to drop a passenger), we (on the boat) kept going in the rain all the way (until Tumichucua).’ rb067

- c. [*Jadya ju-atsu*] = \emptyset _S *je-kware* *e-kari=kama*.
 thus be-SS (=1SG-FM) come-REM.PAST NPF-track=ONLY

‘After doing so (tying my canoe), I came on the track all the way. (I did not leave the track.)’ pe008

² This morpheme (and related particle =*kamadya*; §17.2.5) is almost certainly a loan from Quechua (possibly via Aymara), where it has the related meaning ‘exclusively’ (W. Adelaar, p.c.).

- d. *E-wachi=kama* =yatse_S *jeti-chine*
 NPF-foot=ONLY =1DL come-REC.PAST
 [*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *e-kike=ju*].
 there=LIG NPF-forest=LOC

‘Then we finished the trip on foot (lit. we went only on foot) in that forest.’ ka469

In (14.81), I illustrate a phrase marked with =*kama* in copula complement function.

- (14.81) *Ami=kama*_{CC} [*e-kwe* *iyuka*]_{CS} *ju-kware*.
 blood=ONLY 1SG-GEN head be-REM.PAST
 ‘My head was full of blood.’ mg027

In one example, the postposition =*kama* marks a verb, *tsajaja*- ‘run’, in a non-finite form (i.e., without an inflectional affix), as shown in (14.82).

- (14.82) [*Jadya* *ju-atsu*] = \emptyset _S *diru-chine* *tsajaja=kama*.
 thus be-SS (=1SG-FM) go-REC.PAST run=ONLY
 ‘After I said so, I went back running all the way.’ ce042

More work is needed to determine whether verbs can productively be marked by =*kama*.

Note that =*kama* is related to the phrasal particle =*kamadya* ‘RESTR’ (which is a frozen combination of *kama* plus the focus particle =*dya*; see §17.2.5).

14.3.4. =*taka* ‘ALONE’

The postposition =*taka* ‘ALONE’ has a meaning fairly similar to =*kama*, i.e., ‘just, only, alone, etc.’ Quite similarly to =*kama* there are very few examples of =*taka* and the present discussion can only be tentative. A rare example of =*taka* is given in (14.83) (from Camp and Liccardi’s (1989) dictionary).

- (14.83) [*E-kwe* *i-nime=taka=dya=jutidya*]_{CC} =*tu-ke*_{CS}
 1SG-GEN NPF-thought=ALONE=FOC=DISEMPH =3SG-FM
 ‘It is my own will.’ di1571

There are independent pronouns filling the slot for an ‘alone’ postpositional phrase. These are given in Table 14.7.

Table 14.7. ‘Alone’ independent pronouns

Person	SG	DL	PL
1	<i>i-ta(taka)</i>	<i>yatse-taka</i>	<i>ekwana-taka</i>
2	<i>mi-ta(taka)</i>	<i>metse-taka</i>	<i>mikwana-taka</i>
3	<i>tu-ta(taka)</i>	<i>tatse-taka</i>	<i>tuna-taka</i>

Examples showing these pronouns are given in (14.84).

- (14.84) a. *I-tataka*=*piji*_{CC} *i-ke*_{CS}. *Baji-da*_{CC}. *Baji-da*_{CC} *i-ke*_{CS}
 1SG-ALONE=DIM 1SG-FM scared-ASF scared-ASF 1SG-FM
ju-ya.
 be-IMPFV

‘I was really all alone (during that trip). I was scared. I was very scared.’ mj101

- b. *Mi-tataka* =*bakwe* =*mi*_S *ani-ya.*
 2SG-ALONE =CONTR =2SG(-FM) sit-IMPFV

‘You will stay (lit. sit) alone.’ di1989

- c. *E-puna*_S =*bakwe* *tu-tataka*=*piji*=*dya* *diru-kware.*
 NPF-female =CONTR 3SG-ALONE=DIM=FOC go-REM.PAST

‘(The man decided to stay fishing a bit more so) the woman went back alone.’ vz016

- d. *Tu-ta*=*dya* =*shana* =*pa* *kwa-wa* *babi=ra.*
 3SG-ALONE=FOC =PITY =REP go-PERF hunt=PURP.MOT

‘He went hunting alone, the poor guy.’ di2726

14.4. Postpositions with an optional argument

14.4.1. General overview

A number of morphemes with spatial relational meanings have a postpositional function on the basis that they can follow an NP (their postpositional object / argument) and relate it to a predicate. These postpositions differ in two major ways from the postpositions discussed thus far: (1) they can occur with or without an argument — somewhat like the English postposition *outside* in *he went outside the house* and *he went outside* — and (2) they can combine with an ad-

ditional postposition. The full list is given in (14.85), sorted semantically, and with an indication of the section number where they are discussed.

(14.85)	a.	<i>dyake</i>	‘ON’	§14.4.2
		<i>idyake</i>	‘ABOVE’	
		<i>emake</i>	‘UNDER’	
	b.	= <i>duku</i>	‘INSIDE’	§14.4.3
		<i>tsekwe</i>	‘OUTSIDE’	
	c.	<i>tibene</i>	‘BEHIND’	§14.4.4
		<i>yueketibene</i>	‘FARTHER.BEHIND’	
		<i>tupuju</i>	‘FOLLOWING’	
	d.	<i>tsuku</i>	‘AT.CORNER.OF’	§14.4.5
	e.	<i>peke</i>	‘AT.SIDE.OF’	§14.4.6
	f.	<i>jiruru</i>	‘AT.EDGE.OF’	§14.4.7
	g.	<i>patya/patyapatya</i>	‘IN.MIDDLE.OF’	§14.4.8
	h.	<i>pijidyane/japadama</i>	‘CLOSE.TO’ ³	§14.4.9

There is evidence that many of these postpositions come from nouns and specifically from the class of *e*-nouns (which refer to parts of entities). Let us first recall that *e*-nouns require a prefix formative *e-* which is normally lost when the noun is modified by a juxtaposed noun the precedes them; e.g., *waka* ‘cow’ + *e-rami* ‘flesh’ = *waka rami* ‘cow flesh’; *Diata* ‘Biata river’ + *e-kike* ‘forest’ = *Diata kike* ‘forest of the Biata river’ (see §12.3.1 and §13.1.1). *E*-nouns, whether they are modified by a juxtaposed noun or not, require an oblique postpositional marker when they occur in an oblique function. Thus compare *-kike* ‘forest’ in core (CS) function in (14.86a) and in oblique (locative) function in (14.86b) (repeated from (14.28b)) and (14.86c); in this latter example, *-kike* is also modified by a juxtaposed noun.

(14.86)	a.	[<i>Cavador bakani</i>] _{CC}	= <i>tu</i> _{CS}	<i>ju-kware</i>	<i>e-kike</i> _{CS} .
		Cavador	name	=3SG(-FM)	be-REM.PAST NPF-forest
		‘The forest was called Cavador.’ mj007			

³ There are no clear meaning differences between the postpositions *pijidyane* and *japadama* (see §14.4.9).

- b. ... *ju-nati-kware* *e-kike=ju* (**e-kike*).
 be-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST NPF-forest=LOC
 ‘(After three hours,) I reached (lit. arrived at) the forest.’ ch003
- c. [*Diata* *kike=ju*] (**Diata kike*) *nubi-nati-tsu...*
 Biata.river forest=LOC enter-GO.TEMP-SS
 ‘Entering the forest of the Biata river (he encountered an anteater).’
 na005a

Keeping this in mind, we can give a likely explanation for the development of a number of the postpositions listed in (14.85).

The three postpositions repeated in (14.87) are attested as heads of core NPs. Similarly to *e*-nouns, they take an *e* prefix when they are not modified by a juxtaposed noun, as in (a.) and b., but lack this prefix when they are modified by a juxtaposed noun, as in (c.).

- (14.87) a. *e-tsekwe=kwana*
 ‘the outside areas (were in bad conditions)’ (14.98)
- b. *e-kwe e-tsuku*
 ‘(I looked at) my hip’ (14.106)
- c. *Biata jiruru*
 ‘the banks of the Biata river (are clean)’ (14.113)

The rest of the postpositions have not been found in core functions in the data but this does not preclude that (at least some) can. Nevertheless, even when used in oblique function, the morpho-syntactic behavior of some is very similar to that of *e*-nouns.

The two postpositions *tsekwe* and *jiruru* (plus another one, =*duku* ‘INSIDE’) have the same behavior regarding the *e*- prefix formative when used as obliques; when they have an argument, they do not take an *e* prefix formative, as in (14.88a); when they do not have an argument, they take an *e* prefix formative, as in (14.88b) and (14.88c). Note that, *tibene* ‘BEHIND’ and *tsuku* ‘AT.CORNER.OF’, discussed in (14.90) below, behave similarly.

- (14.88) a. *punchu=duku* ‘(we put our load) inside the poncho’ (14.96a)
escuela tsekwe ‘(I arrived) outside of the school’ (14.96b)
bei jiruru ‘(he went to the) banks of the lake’ (14.110a)

The remaining postpositions share the following morpho-syntactic properties:

- 1 — the never take an *e* prefix;
- 2 — they can be marked by =*keja* ‘LOC.GNL’ and =*eke* ‘PERL’ but not by =*ju* ‘LOC’.

The following remarks can be made for each of these postpositions:

- 1 — the postpositions *dyake* ‘ON’ and *idyake* ‘ABOVE’ are almost certainly related;⁴
- 2 — the postposition *patya/patyapatya* ‘IN.MIDDLE.OF’ is probably a borrowing from Aymara or Quechua (see §14.4.8);
- 3 — the postposition *japadama* ‘CLOSE.TO’ clearly comes from the adjective *japa-* ‘far’ negated by the suffix *-dama* ‘NEG’ (§11.2.4);
- 4 — the postposition *pijidyane* ‘CLOSE.TO’ probably comes from the lexicalized combination of the diminutive particle =*piji* (§17.2.11) and the approximative particle =*dyane* (§17.2.8);
- 5 — the postposition *peke* ‘AT.SIDE.OF’ probably originated in the transitive verb *peke-* ‘carry O on one’s side’; see an example of this verb (14.109);
- 6 — the postposition *tupuju* ‘FOLLOWING’ probably comes from the lexicalized collocation of the two postpositions =*tupu* ‘UP.TO’ (§14.2.6) and =*ju* ‘LOC’ (§14.2.3);
- 7 — the postposition *yuketibene* ‘FARTHER.BEHIND’ is a lexicalized combination of the perlocative pro-form *yu-eke* ‘over.there-PERL’ and the postposition *tibene* ‘BEHIND’ from (14.90).

Table 14.8 summarizes the properties and postulated origin of the all postpositions with an optional argument. Question marks indicate that the information is unknown.

⁴ One can speculate whether they could have originated in an *e*-noun, like many other of the postpositions discussed here. As such, the word-initial *i* of *idyake* could be the *e* prefix formative; recall that, at least with one other *e*-noun, *-nime* ‘thought’, the *e*-prefix is realized as *i-* (§12.3.1.3). Note however that neither *dyake* or *idyake* can be used as nouns synchronically. Alternatively, these two postpositions might be related to the independent intensifying particle *dyake* ‘very’ (§11.1.2, §16.1).

Table 14.8. Summary of properties and postulated origin of postpositions with optional argument

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>tsekwe</i> 'OUTSIDE'	yes	yes	yes	<i>e</i> -noun	'outside, cleared spaced around a house'
<i>jiruru</i> 'AT.EDGE.OF'	yes	yes	yes	<i>e</i> -noun	'edge'
<i>tsuku</i> 'AT.CORNER.OF'	yes	yes	yes	<i>e</i> -noun	'hip'
= <i>duku</i> 'INSIDE'	no	yes	yes	<i>e</i> -noun	?
<i>emake</i> 'UNDER'	no	no	no	<i>e</i> -noun?	?
<i>tibene</i> 'BEHIND'	no	yes	yes	<i>e</i> -noun	'back' ?
<i>dyake</i> 'ON'	no	no	?	<i>e</i> -noun?	?
<i>idyake</i> 'ABOVE'	no	no	?	<i>e</i> -noun?	?
<i>yueketibene</i> 'FARTHER. BEHIND'	no	no	no	particle + <i>e</i> -noun	'over.there-PERL' + 'behind'
<i>tupuju</i> 'FOLLOWING'	no	no	no	2 postpositions	'up to' + 'LOC'
<i>peke</i> 'AT.SIDE.OF'	no	no	no	verb	'carry on side'
<i>patya(patya)</i> 'IN.MIDDLE.OF'	no	no	no	loan	'place, universe'
<i>pjiidyane</i> 'CLOSE.TO'	no	no	no	2 particles	'DIM' + 'APPROX'
<i>japadama</i> 'CLOSE.TO'	no	no	no	adjective	'far-NEG'

Notes:

- (1) postpositions
- (2) attested in core functions
- (3) analyzable *e*- prefix
- (4) obligatory =*ju*, =*keja* or =*eke* when not taking an argument
- (5) likely origin
- (6) meaning of original forms (where known)

In the following sections, I further discuss and illustrate each of these postpositions, grouped by antonymic pairs where possible.

14.4.2. *dyake* ‘ON’, *idyake* ‘ABOVE’, and *emake* ‘UNDER’

Cavineña has terms corresponding to both concepts of ‘on’ and ‘under’: *dyake* ‘ON’, illustrated in (14.91a), and *emake* ‘UNDER’, illustrated in (14.91b).

(14.91) a. ... [bakwa=*ja kapana*]_O [armario *dyake*]
viper=GEN bell cupboard ON

iya-eti-kware...
put-COME.PERM-REM.PAST

‘... (when he arrived home,) he put the rattle (lit. bell) of the rattle-snake (lit. viper) on top of a cupboard.’ vi030

b. *Amena* [ji-*da wirisi jadya a-atsu*]
BM good-ASF tie.neck.of thus affect-SS

[*pere emake*] *isha-kware* [*tume bolsa*]_O...
raft UNDER put.in-REM.PAST there bag

‘I tied (lit. tied the neck of) the bag (with all my belongings in it) and put it under the raft (to suspend the raft as I crossed the river).’ mj055

A few examples are available of a postposition *idyake* with a meaning very close to that of *dyake*. According to speakers, the difference between *dyake* and *idyake* is that with the first, there is a direct physical contact between the figure and the ground whereas there is no such contact with *idyake*. This could roughly correspond to the difference in English between ‘on’ and ‘above’. The pair in (14.92) was proposed by Antonio Yubanera as an illustration:

(14.92) a. *mesa dyake*
table ON

‘(something) on top (and touching) the table’

b. *mesa idyake*
table ABOVE

‘(something) above (and not touching or not touching directly) the table’ n4.0336

The postposition *emake* can be used without an argument, as shown in (14.93).

- (14.93) ***Emake***=*piji* =*ekwana*_S *jeti-chine*.
 UNDER=DIM =1PL come-REC.PAST
 ‘We (in the plane) went down a little bit.’ br092

The postposition *dyake* (and presumably *emake* as well, see below) can be combined with an additional postposition, as with =*eke* ‘PERL’ in (14.94).

- (14.94) [*Jadya ka-reke-ti-e*] =*ekwana*_S *ju-ya*
 MAN REF-cross-REF-MAN =1PL be-IMPFV
e-spere=*kwana*=*ju* [*akwi dyake=eke*].
 NPF-stream=PL=LOC tree ON=PERL
 ‘This is the way we (Cavineña people) cross streams, on a log.’
 ft037

Emake and *dyake*, when not taking an argument, are found in combination with =*eke*, as in (14.95).

- (14.95) *Yume* =*tukwe* *amena* *e-riri*=*dya*_{CC} *ju-kware*
 over.there =CONT.EVID BM RES-rot=FOC be-REM.PAST
emake=eke *pero dyake=eke* *paji-da*=*dya*_{CC} *ju-kware*.
 UNDER=PERL but ON=PERL hard-ASF=FOC be-REM.PAST
 ‘It happened that the bridge was rotten underneath. But on top, it
 was hard. (So I crossed and of course the bridge broke.)’
 wa071b

14.4.3. =*duku* ‘INSIDE’ and *tsekwe* ‘OUTSIDE’

The concepts ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ are expressed, respectively, by the postpositions =*duku*, as in (14.96a), and *tsekwe*, as in (14.96b).

- (14.96) a. *Carga*=*kwana*_O =*ekwana*_A *iya-tsur*_A-*kware*
 load=PL =1PL(-ERG) put.in-GO.UP-REM.PAST
 [*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *punchu*=***duku***].
 there=LIG poncho=INSIDE
 ‘We put our load inside that poncho.’ ri006

- b. ... [escuela **tsekwe**] ju-nati...
 school OUTSIDE be-GO.TEMP

‘... (when) I arrived near (lit. outside of) the school (I was frightened by the schoolteacher).’ es019

Both postpositions =*duku* ‘INSIDE’ and *tsekwe* ‘OUTSIDE’, when not taking an argument, show up with a vowel *e* and obligatorily require the postposition =*ju* (or =*keja* or =*eke*), as in (14.97).

- (14.97) a. *Ikwene=dya* =*tu*_S ***eduku=ju*** *rure-tana-ya*.
 first=FOC =3SG(-FM) INSIDE=LOC carve-PASS-IMPFV

‘First, it (the canoe) is carved inside (with an axe).’ ab152

- b. [[*Mama Felicia*]_S [*mama Mati*]_S *jadya*] ***etsekwe=ju***
 madam Felicia madam Mati and OUTSIDE=LOC
ani-kware *ekatse*_S [*e-tiki* *jiruru*]...
 sit-REM.PAST 3DL NPF-fire AT.EDGE.OF

‘Mrs Felicia and Mrs Mati sat outside (of the house), next to the fire (to toast manioc).’ md002

The origin of *tsekwe* ‘OUTSIDE’ is clear. It is the *e*-noun *-tsekwe*, which refers to the outside area of a house that is kept cleaned from the constantly invading forest. This noun is illustrated in (14.98), where it is the head of an NP in CS function and marked with the plural enclitic =*kwana*.

- (14.98) ... [*akwi* *wija=kwana*]_{CS} ***e-tsekwe=kwana***_{CS} *e-tare=kwana*_{CS}
 tree shoot=PL NPF-outside=PL NPF-house=PL
 =*tuna-ja* *ji-dama*_{CC}.
 =3PL-DAT good-NEG

‘(Because they had abandoned their settlement a long time ago,) the tree shoots, the outside areas (of their houses), their houses, these were in very bad condition.’ mj162

14.4.4. *tibene* ‘BEHIND’, *yuketibene* ‘FURTHER.BEHIND’, and *tupuju* ‘FOLLOWING’

Three postpositions express the concept ‘behind’: *tibene* ‘(statically) behind’, illustrated in (14.99a), *yuketibene* ‘(statically) farther behind’, illustrated in

(14.99b), and *tupuju* ‘(dynamically) behind, following’, illustrated in (14.99c). Note that in this example, *tupuju* appears twice, once with an argument and once without an argument.

- (14.99) a. A: *Eju=kwita*_{CC} =*tu-ke*_{CS?} B: [*Cajón tibene*]_{CC} =*tu-ke*_{CS}.
 INT:LOC=RESTR =3SG-FM box BEHIND =3SG-FM

‘Where is it (the plank)? It is behind the box.’ n1.0072

- b. ... [*camioneta=ja llanta*]_S *pututa-nati-kware*
 van=GEN tire burst-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

[*Prado yuketibene*].
 Prado FARTHER.BEHIND

‘... the van’s tire burst, somewhere a bit further on than (the place called) Prado.’ di2319

- c. [*E-kwe e-wane tupuju*] *kwa-nuka-wa. Tupuju*
 1SG-GEN 1-wife FOLLOWING go-REITR-PERF FOLLOWING

kwa-wa...
 go-PERF

‘I followed (lit. went following) my wife (who had gone to her father’s house). I went behind...’ ju024

Another example with *tupuju* can be found in (14.2b) above.

Note that there is no postposition attested for the concept ‘in front of’. There are several terms expressing this concept (or related concepts) but they are not postpositions, such as the independent particle *ikwene(ta)* ‘first, in front’ or the noun *eketi* ‘the face, the front’.

The two postpositions *tibene* and *yuketibene* are obviously related, *yuketibene* being made of *tibene* preceded by the perlocative far-from-speaker-far-from-addressee demonstrative *yu-eke* ‘over.there-PERL’; see an example in (14.61c) above and a discussion of this demonstrative in §15.7.

The postposition *tibene* has a temporal meaning when it marks the independent particles *metajudya* ‘tomorrow’ and *riyabarepa* ‘yesterday’ (§16.1), yielding the expressions *metajudya tibene* ‘the day after tomorrow’ and *riyabarepa tibene* ‘the day before yesterday’, illustrated in (14.100).

- (14.100) a. [Metajudya **tibene**] =ri_S ju-na-ya
 tomorrow BEHIND =3PROX(-FM) be-COME.TEMP-IMPV
 [ekwana=ra_A iwa-ya=ke]_S [ekwana jiteke].
 1PL=ERG wait-IMPV=LIG 1PL LOOKING.FOR
 ‘The one whom we are waiting for will arrive the day after tomorrow to take us.’ di1969
- b. [Riyabarepa **tibene**] =ekwana_S ju-eti-chine
 yesterday BEHIND =1PL be-COME.PERM-REC.PAST
 ‘We arrived the day before yesterday...’ di2418

Note that in a few examples, the meaning ‘the day before yesterday’ is expressed by *tibene* alone (i.e., without any argument), as in (14.101).

- (14.101) **Tibene** i-ke_S kwa-chine babi=ra.
 BEHIND 1SG-FM go-REC.PAST hunt=PURP.MOT
 ‘The day before yesterday I went hunting.’ di2674

Both postpositions *yuketibene* and *tupuju* are attested without an argument, as illustrated in (14.102a).

- (14.102) a. *Tumepatya* =tu_S [ekwana-ja e-baba=ekana]_S
 at.that.time =3SG(-FM) 1PL-GEN 1-grandfather=PL
yuketibene=piji ani-kware.
 FARTHER.BEHIND=DIM sit-REM.PAST
 ‘(Nowadays, we live around the mission but) at that time, our (Cavineña) grandfathers used to live a bit farther away.’ hs043
- b. *Amena* [peya=kwana]_S =pa **tupuju** kwa-ya.
 BM other=PL =REP FOLLOWING go-IMPV
 ‘(The traitor was going first.) The others were following (him).’ hm119

Another example is (T1.9).

As for the postposition *tibene* the closest I have of a usage without an argument is either with the specific temporal meaning ‘the day before yesterday’, as in (14.101), or with an *e* vowel, i.e., *etibene*, and an additional postposition, as in (14.103).

- (14.103) *Etibene=keja* =*tuna*_A *repe-kware*...
 BEHIND=LOC.GNL =3PL(-ERG) pull-REM.PAST
 ‘They (my dogs) pulled him (a fierce anteater) backward (in order to save me).’ ba095

14.4.5. *tsuku* ‘AT.CORNER.OF’

The postposition *tsuku* ‘at the corner of’ is illustrated in (14.104).

- (14.104) ... *wira-ti-kware* [*e-tare* *tsuku*].
 urinate-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST NPF-house AT.CORNER.OF
 ‘...I went to urinate at the corner of the house.’ bc004

When used without an argument, *tsuku* requires a vowel *e* and an additional postposition, as in (14.105).

- (14.105) *Tuekedyā* =*tu-ke*_O =*yatse*_A *etsuku=eke*
 then =3SG-FM =1DL(-ERG) AT.CORNER.OF=PERL
 [*peya* *etsuku=eke*] *kani*_O *a-u*.
 other AT.CORNER.OF=PERL hole affect-EPEN
 ‘(Then we make the tail of the basket.) After that, we (dl) make a hole through both corners (and we insert the tail inside the holes).’ ab070

This postposition is clearly related to the *e*-noun *-tsuku* ‘hip, corner’. This noun is illustrated in (14.106), where it is the head of an NP in O function.

- (14.106) *Amena* [*jadyā* *ba-butya-nuka*] [*e-kwe* *e-tsuku*]_O
 BM thus see-GO.DOWN-REITR 1SG-GEN NPF-hip
a-chine.
 affect-REC.PAST
 ‘I looked down at my hip again (where I thought the viper had bitten me).’ ce038

14.4.6. *peke* ‘AT.SIDE.OF’

The postposition *peke* ‘at the side of’ is illustrated in (14.107).

- (14.107) *Amena i-ke_S ani-nati-kware [waka peke].*
 BM 1SG-FM sit-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST cow AT.SIDE.OF
 ‘I sat by the side of a cow (in order to milk it).’ vc026

One example from Camp and Liccardi’s (1989) dictionary, given in (14.108), shows *peke* without an argument.

- (14.108) *Peke =tu_S neti-ya ebakwa=kwana_S.*
 AT.SIDE.OF =3SG(-FM) stand-IMPV child=PL
 ‘The children are standing at one side.’ di2211

Otherwise, *peke* is not attested in combination with other postpositions.

The origin of this postposition is most likely the verb *peke-* ‘carry O on one’s side’, as shown in (14.109).

- (14.109) *Tume salon_O =e-kwe peke-kware.*
 then rifle =1SG-DAT carry.on.side-REM.PAST
Kwa-kware i-ke_S.
 go-REM.PAST 1SG-FM
 ‘I carried my rifle on my side and I left.’ sl024

14.4.7. *jiruru* ‘AT.EDGE.OF’

The postposition *jiruru* means ‘at the edge of’. In most cases *jiruru* is found marking water entities (e.g., rivers or lakes), as in (14.110).

- (14.110) a. ... =pa ekwita_S kwa-kware [bei *jiruru*].
 =REP person go-REM.PAST lake AT.EDGE.OF
 ‘(Having said that,) the man went to the banks of the lake.’ pc009
- b. *Tudya =tuna_A [e-spere jiruru]*
 then =3PL(-ERG) NPF-stream AT.EDGE.OF
raru-ru+sha-ya kuchiru=tsewe.
 cut-REDUP+CAUS-IMPV machete=ASSOC

‘(Having collected enough poisonous barbasco lianas,) they cut them with a machete into little pieces at the banks of the stream.’ bb009

In one example, however, *jiruru* is used with fire, in *e-tiki jiruru* ‘next to the fire’ in (14.97b) above.

When *jiruru* is used without an argument, it must take a vowel *e* and an additional postposition, as in (14.111).

(14.111) a. *Ejiruru=ju* *jara-ya* *matuja_S*.
 AT.EDGE.OF=LOC lie-IMPV caiman
 ‘The caiman is lying on the banks (of the river).’ n2.0753

c. *Motoru_S* =*tu_S* *jipetana-aje-ya*
 motorboat =3SG(-FM) approach-GO.DISTR-IMPV
 ejiruru=keja.
 AT.EDGE.OF=LOC.GNL

‘The motorboat is getting closer to the banks.’ n3.0407

Note that even when an argument is present, an additional postposition can also be used, as in (14.112).

(14.112) *Ka-reke-ti-tsu* = \emptyset _S [*kweri* *jiruru=eke*]
 REF-cross-REF-SS (=1SG-FM) river AT.EDGE.OF=PERL
 diru-kware.
 go-REM.PAST

‘I crossed and I went along the banks of the river.’ di0638

The nominal origin of *jiruru* is proven by its occurrence as the head of an NP in core function, as in (14.113).

(14.113) [*Biata* *jiruru*]_{CS} =*tu_{CS}* *jika-dama_{CC}*.
 Biata.river edge =3SG(-FM) lush-NEG

‘The banks of the Biata river are very clean (lit. not lush).’ ba022

14.4.8. *patya/patyapatya* ‘IN.MIDDLE.OF’

The postposition *patya* means ‘in/to the middle of’ as illustrated in (14.114).

- (14.114) a. *Ani-kware* [e-diji ***patya***
 sit-REM.PAST NPF-path IN.MIDDLE.OF
 [*peadya e-matina e-spere-ki_{CC}=ke*]_s.
 one NPF-wood.tip NPF-stream-WITH=LIG
 ‘There was (lit. sat) a tip of wood midway along the path.’ fg006

- b. [*Tu-ke_O iya-tsura-tsu*] =*tu_A* *duju-kware=dya*
 3SG-FM put-GO.UP-SS =3SG(-ERG) take-REM.PAST=FOC
 [*bei patya*].
 lake IN.MIDDLE.OF
 ‘He (the caiman) put him (the hunter) up on his back and carried him to the middle of the lake.’ cd024

Patya, unlike all other postpositions, is found (fully) reduplicated. From the examples available, both *patya* and *patyapatya*, appear to be identical semantically as well as morpho-syntactically, but more work might reveal some differences. An example of *patyapatya* is given in (14.115).

- (14.115) *Tudya ekatse_s tawi-eti-kware*
 then 3DL sleep-COME.PERM-REM.PAST
 [e-diji ***patyapatya***].
 NPF-path IN.MIDDLE.OF
 ‘They slept midway along the path.’ ts007

Patya is shown without an argument in (14.66) (in CC function).

- (14.116) ***Patya_{CC}*** *barics*.
 IN.MIDDLE.OF giant.anteater
 ‘The giant anteater was in the middle (of my dogs who were turning around him).’ ba083

Patya is attested in combination with =*keja*, as shown in (14.117).

- (14.117) [*Pista patya=keja=jutidyā*] *diru-chine.*
 airstrip IN.MIDDLE.OF=LOC.GNL=DISEMPH go-REC.PAST

‘(As the light plane was about to land, the stupid bullock) went somewhere near the middle of the airstrip.’ at012

Patya is probably a borrowed term from Aymara *pacha* ‘place’, as suggested by Girard (1971: 139), or Quechua *pacha* ‘world, universe’ (W. Adelaar, p.c.).

14.4.9. *pijidyane/japadama* ‘CLOSE.TO’

There are two postpositions meaning ‘close to’: *pijidyane* and *japadama*. There are no clear semantic differences between the two postpositions.

- (14.118) a. [*Riberalta pijidyane*] =*ekwana*_S *warere-chine.*
 Riberalta CLOSE.TO =1PL turn-REC.PAST

‘Close to Riberalta, we (in the plane) did a turn (in order to land in Tumichucua).’ br096

- b. ... [*tajita kasa-da*_{CC=ke}]_S *pakaka-kware*
 lightning strong-ASF=LIG fall-REM.PAST
 [*yatse japadama*].
 1DL CLOSE.TO

‘... a very strong lightning bold fell (very) close to us (dl).’ cu022

The origin of both postpositions is quite transparent: *pijidyane* is made of the diminutive particle =*piji* and the approximative particle =*dyane*; *japadama* corresponds to the negated version of the predicative adjective *japa-* ‘far’. Note that only the negated version of *japa-* is used as a postposition in the available data, i.e., with an argument.

Japadama is attested without an argument, which might be simply interpreted as an ‘adverbial’ use of the adjective *japa-* (see §11.1.4). *Pijidyane* on the other hand is never used this way.

- (14.119) *Amena japa-dama* = \emptyset _A *baka-ya* *chapa*_O
 BM far-NEG (=1SG-ERG) hear-IMPV dog

ka-rikwa-ti-ya=jū.
 REF-bark.at-REF-IMPV=DS

‘Then I heard my dogs barking close (to me).’ ba052

Neither *japadama* nor *pijidyane* are found in combination with other postpositions.

Chapter 15

Pronouns and demonstratives

In this chapter, I discuss pronouns and demonstratives. Pronouns refer to entities (people, animals, plants, or things) while demonstratives refer to places.

There are two major types of pronouns in Cavineña: independent pronouns (§15.1) and bound pronouns (§15.2). Both have essentially the same segmental make-up: they encode person, number and case with the same roots and suffixes; they both include a set of third person proximate pronouns (in addition to a set of distance-neutral third person pronouns). However, independent and bound pronouns have very different morpho-syntactic properties. Independent pronouns are phonologically and grammatically independent words that fill core NP or PP slots. Bound pronouns are enclitics (grammatically independent but phonologically bound) in second position in a clause. Bound pronouns undergo a number of morphological modifications not attested with independent pronouns. They only occur in certain types of clauses.

A bound pronoun can co-occur with an independent pronoun (or an NP) encoding the same function in the same clause. This is discussed in §15.3.

Singular third person pronouns can refer to non-singular referents. This is discussed in §15.4.

Two morphemes, *ekatse* ‘3DL’ and *ekana* ‘3PL’ strongly resemble independent pronouns but have a number of idiosyncratic properties. They are treated separately under §15.6.

Cavineña has two types of demonstratives: adverbial demonstratives (§15.7) and pointing demonstratives (§15.8) — note that Cavineña does not have specific demonstratives functioning within NPs. Both types encode three degrees of distance ‘near’ vs. ‘mid’ vs. ‘far’. Adverbial demonstratives can be used instead of locative, general locative and perlative postpositional phrases. They are always anaphoric in nature. Pointing demonstratives, do not substitute for any particular postpositional phrase. They are not used anaphorically; their role is to draw the attention to a new location. As such, they normally require a pointing gesture (whereas this is optional with adverbial demonstratives).

15.1. Independent pronouns

Independent pronouns fill NP or PP slots. They refer to entities (people, animals, plants, or things) but not locations. They encode the categories of person, number, case and distance (for third person).

15.1.1. Syntax

Independent pronouns have the following syntactic properties:

1 — independent pronouns fill core NP slots or PP slots.¹ Examples showing a first person singular pronoun filling NP slots in core function within a main clause are given in (15.1).

(15.1) a. A NP slot

*E-ra*_A =*tu*_O [*e-kwe tata-chi*]_O
 1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) 1SG-GEN father-AFFTN

adeba-ya=ama.
 know-IMPV=NEG

‘I do not know my father.’ nk011

b. S NP slot

*I-ke*_S =*bakwe kwa-kware=dya=jutidya.*
 1SG-FM =CONTR go-REM.PAST=FOC=RESTR

‘I just went.’ bo005

c. O NP slot

*I-ke*_O =*mi-ra*_A = \emptyset _O *jadya a-ya?*
 1SG-FM =2SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) thus affect-IMPV

‘Are you talking to me (lit. affecting me thus)?’ ct004

Examples of first person singular independent pronouns filling PP slots within a main clause are in given in (15.2).

(15.2) a. Associative PP slot

Ea-tsewe =*tu*_S *kwa-wa.*
 1SG-ASSOC =3SG(-FM) go-PERF

‘He went with me.’ di0820

¹ Note that not all types of PP can be filled by a pronoun; see below.

b. Dative PP slot

E-kwe *ani-kware* [*maletero* *ari-da_{CC}=ke_{RC}*]_S.
 1SG-DAT sit-REM.PAST bag big-ASF=LIG

‘I had a big bag (lit. a big bag sat to me).’ mj052

c. General locative PP slot

Ea-keja =*taa* =*tu_S* *ju-diru-wa=ama*.
 1SG-ALL =EMPH =3SG(-FM) be-GO.PERM-PERF=NEG

‘He did not come to me.’ zo110

d. ‘Alone’ PP slot

Je-kwe! **I-ta** *tawi-ya!*
 come-IMP.SG 1SG-ALONE sleep-IMPFV

‘(The woman who wanted to sleep with me said to me:) “Come! I’m sleeping alone.”’ cv009

An example of a first person singular independent pronoun filling a genitive slot (slot C of NP structure) is given in (15.3).

(15.3) [**E-kwe** *e-bakujuna=ekana=ra*]_A = \emptyset _O
 1SG-GEN 1-daughter=PL=ERG (=1SG-FM)

dunu-tsa-chine=dya.
 surround-COME(O)-REC.PAST=FOC

(When I arrived home,) my daughters surrounded me.’ ka541

See also (15.1a).

An example of a first person singular independent pronoun in A function within a subordinate clause is given in (15.4).

(15.4) [**E-ra_A** *butseeju* *salon_O* *ina-ya=tibu*]
 1SG-ERG first.time rifle grab-IMPFV=REASON
 =*tu-ra_A* = \emptyset _O *ejene-kware=ama*.
 =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) believe-REM.PAST=NEG

‘Because it was the first time I was using (lit. grabbing) a rifle, she (my sister-in-law) did not believe me (when I told her that I had killed a deer).’ sl067

2 — Independent pronouns typically come first in main clauses, as can be seen in the previous examples, — this correlates with the fact that independent pronouns are essentially used for contrast — but this is not a requirement. Similar to NPs and PPs, independent pronouns can potentially occur anywhere in a clause, as with *e-ra* ‘1SG-ERG’ in (15.5).

- (15.5) a. *Iyakwa* =*mi*_O ***e-ra***_A *ara-ya*.
 now =2SG(-FM) 1SG-ERG eat-IMPFV
 ‘Now I am going to eat you.’ zo036
- b. *Tudya* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A [*tu-ja* *tapa*]_O
 then =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) 3SG-GEN lid

pakasha-kware ***e-ra***_A.
 open-REM.PAST 1SG-ERG
 ‘I opened its (bottle’s) lid.’ bc020

3 — Independent pronouns make up a whole NP or PP by themselves: they are heads on their own; they cannot take any NP modifiers (e.g., a quantifier, an juxtaposed noun, an attributive adjective, etc.). Independent pronouns can be marked for number or case, but this is done by specific affixes on the pronoun roots, not by regular NP modifiers.

15.1.2. Morphology

There are seven sets of independent pronouns, according to the function they play in a clause:

- 1 — absolutive (unmarked) pronouns fill an S/CS² and O NP slot; they can presumably also fill a CC slot, although no example could be found in the data;
- 2 — ergative pronouns fill a A NP slot;
- 3 — dative pronouns fill a dative PP slot (§14.2.2);
- 4 — genitive pronouns fill a genitive PP slot (§13.4);³
- 5 — associative pronouns fill an associative PP slot (§14.2.1);
- 6 — general locative pronouns fill a general locative PP slot (§14.2.3);
- 7 — ‘alone’ pronouns fill an ‘alone’ PP slot (§14.3.4).

² S and CS independent (as well as bound) pronouns are morpho-syntactically identical.

³ Recall that genitive and dative independent pronouns are homophonous. See §14.2.2.3 for a discussion of the semantic and syntactic differences between them.

The seven sets of independent pronouns are given in Table 15.1. Note that dative and genitive pronouns are listed together. A question mark ‘?’ means that the forms were not attested in the data but could logically exist.

Table 15.1. Cavineña independent pronouns

CASE	PERSON	SG	DL	PL
ABS	1	<i>i-Ø-ke</i>	<i>ya-tse</i>	<i>e-kwana</i>
	2	<i>mi-Ø-ke</i>	<i>me-tse</i>	<i>mi-kwana</i>
	3	<i>tu-Ø-ke</i>	<i>ta-tse</i>	<i>tu-na</i>
	3PROX	<i>riya-Ø-ke</i>	<i>re-tse</i>	<i>re-na</i>
ERG	1	<i>e-Ø-ra</i>	<i>ya-tse-ra</i>	<i>e-kwana-ra</i>
	2	<i>mi-Ø-ra</i>	<i>me-tse-ra</i>	<i>mi-kwana-ra</i>
	3	<i>tu-Ø-ra</i>	<i>ta-tse-ra</i>	<i>tu-na-ra</i>
	3PROX	<i>riya-Ø-ra</i>	<i>re-tse-ra</i>	<i>re-na-ra</i>
DAT/GEN	1	<i>e-Ø-kwe</i>	<i>ya-tse-ja</i>	<i>e-kwana-ja</i>
	2	<i>mi-Ø-kwe</i>	<i>me-tse-ja</i>	<i>mi-kwana-ja</i>
	3	<i>tu-Ø-ja</i>	<i>ta-tse-ja</i>	<i>tu-na-ja</i>
	3PROX	<i>riya-Ø-ja</i>	<i>re-tse-ja</i>	<i>re-na-ja</i>
ASSOC	1	<i>ea-Ø-tsewe</i>	<i>ya-tse-tsewe</i>	<i>e-kwana-tsewe</i>
	2	<i>mia-Ø-tsewe</i>	<i>me-tse-tsewe</i>	<i>mi-kwana-tsewe</i>
	3	<i>tua-Ø-tsewe</i>	<i>ta-tse-tsewe</i>	<i>tu-na-tsewe</i>
	3PROX	<i>riya-Ø-tsewe</i>	<i>re-tse-tsewe</i>	<i>re-na-tsewe</i>
LOC.GNL	1	<i>ea-Ø-keja</i>	<i>ya-tse-keja</i>	<i>e-kwana-keja</i>
	2	<i>mia-Ø-keja</i>	<i>me-tse-keja</i>	<i>mi-kwana-keja</i>
	3	<i>tua-Ø-keja</i>	<i>ta-tse-keja</i>	<i>tu-na-keja</i>
	3PROX	<i>riya-Ø-keja</i>	<i>re-tse-keja</i>	<i>re-na-keja</i>
ALONE	1	<i>i-Ø-ta(taka)</i>	<i>ya-tse-taka</i>	<i>e-kwana-taka</i>
	2	<i>mi-Ø-ta(taka)</i>	<i>me-tse-taka</i>	<i>mi-kwana-taka</i>
	3	<i>tu-Ø-ta(taka)</i>	<i>ta-tse-taka</i>	<i>tu-na-taka</i>
	3PROX	<i>riya-Ø-ta(taka)?</i>	<i>re-tse-taka?</i>	<i>re-na-taka?</i>

Cavineña pronouns have a synthetic and essentially agglutinative structure. We can recognize pronominal roots, which encode simultaneously person and, for third person forms, two degrees of distance, and 2 layers of suffixes, one for number and one for case. The morphological structure of the pronominal forms is ROOT-NUM-CASE. Cavineña does not encode any inclusive versus exclusive distinction, although this distinction, or a related one, is found in the pronominal systems of other Tacanan languages, such as Araona in (Pitman 1980: 82; Emkow 2006: 259) and Tacana in (Van Wynen y Van Wynen 1962: 200).

Pronoun components show some degree of allomorphy; that is, some of their components show up in various forms. The choice of the forms is conditioned by their morphological environment rather than by phonological rules.

The details of the morphological structure of independent pronouns are given below.

15.1.2.1. Pronominal roots

The root encodes person and 2 degrees of distance (in third person) as shown in (15.6).

- (15.6)
- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| <i>e/i/ya/ea</i> | ‘first person’ (speaker) |
| <i>mi/me/mia</i> | ‘second person’ (addressee) |
| <i>tu/ta/tua</i> | ‘third person distance-neutral’ (neither speaker nor addressee) |
| <i>ri/re/riya</i> | ‘third person proximate’ (neither speaker nor addressee) |

Non-singular roots are the most regular. There is a set of dual roots (*ya, me, ta, re*) and a set of plural roots (*e, mi, tu, re*), as summarized in Table 15.2.

Table 15.2. Distribution of dual and plural pronominal roots

	DL	PL
1	<i>ya</i>	<i>e</i>
2	<i>me</i>	<i>mi</i>
3	<i>ta</i>	<i>tu</i>
3PROX		<i>re</i>

Singular roots, on the other, are more irregular. The different forms are distributed as shown in Table 15.3.

Table 15.3. Distribution of singular pronominal roots

	ABS / ALONE	ERG / DAT / GEN	ASSOC / LOC.GNL
1	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ea</i>
2		<i>mi</i>	<i>mia</i>
3		<i>tu</i>	<i>tua</i>
3PROX		<i>riya</i>	

15.1.2.2. Number suffixes

Number suffixes are listed in (15.7).

(15.7)	-∅	‘SG’
	-tse	‘DL’
	-kwana/-na	‘PL’

As we can see, there are two variants for plural, *-kwana* and *-na*. The suffix *-kwana* is selected by first and second persons. The suffix *-na* is selected by third persons. This is summarized in Table 15.4.

Table 15.4. Distribution of number suffixes

	SG	DL	PL
1			
2			<i>-kwana</i>
3	-∅	-tse	
3PROX			<i>-na</i>

Note that *-kwana* is homophonous with the plural number enclitic marker =*kwana* ‘PL’ (slot G of NP structure; see §13.3). As for the suffixes *-tse* and *-na*, apart from also occurring within the pronominal-like morphemes *ekatse* ‘3DL’ and *ekana* ‘PL’ (§15.6), they do not occur anywhere else in the language.

15.1.2.3. Case suffixes

Case suffixes are listed in (15.8).

(15.8)	-∅	‘ABS’	-tsewe	‘ASSOC’
	-ra	‘ERG’	-keja	‘LOC.GNL’
	-kwe/-ja	‘DAT’	-ta(taka)/-taka	‘ALONE’ ⁴
	-kwe/-ja	‘GEN’		

As we can see dative/genitive case suffixes are irregular. They are realized as *-kwe* with singular first and second persons⁵ and as *-ja* with all other persons

⁴ Note that I use the term ‘case’ in a broad sense, including ‘alone’ suffixes, which express the manner in which an action is performed.

⁵ When singular first or second person dative pronouns are followed by the ligature marker =*ke* (as a means to express the concepts of ‘mine’ or ‘yours’), the suffix *-kwe* undergoes an idiosyncratic phonological change that turns it into *-kwi*; see examples

and numbers.

For an illustration of independent pronouns marked by *-kwe*, see (15.2b), with a first person singular dative pronoun, and (15.3) with a first person singular genitive pronoun. For examples of pronouns marked by *-ja*, see (15.5b), with a third person singular genitive pronoun.

The distribution of *-kwe* and *-ja* is summarized in Table 15.5.

Table 15.5. Distribution of the dative and genitive case suffixes

	SG	DL	PL
1			
2	<i>-kwe</i>		
3			<i>-ja</i>
3PROX			

Singular ‘alone’ pronouns are marked by *-ta* or *-tataka* whereas non-singular ‘alone’ pronouns are marked by *-taka*. The variant *-tataka* found in singular pronouns possibly has a more emphatic meaning than *-ta*, i.e., ‘really alone’.

The ‘alone’ suffix variants distribute as in Table 15.6.

Table 15.6. Distribution of ‘alone’ case suffixes

	SG	DL	PL
1			
2	<i>-ta</i> or <i>-tataka</i>		<i>-taka</i>
3			

The three suffixes are illustrated in (15.9).

- (15.9) a. *Tu-ta=dya* =*shana* =*pa* *kwa-wa* *babi=ra*.
 3SG-ALONE=FOC =PITY =REP go-PERF hunt=PURP.MOT

‘He went hunting alone, the poor guy.’ di2726

- b. *E-punaḡ* =*bakwe* *tu-tataka=piji=dya* *diru-kware*.
 NPF-female =CONTR 3SG-ALONE=DIM=FOC go-REM.PAST

‘(The man decided to stay fishing a bit more so) the woman went back home all by herself.’ vz016

in (15.94) and (20.5b).

- c. [*E-diji=ju* *apuna-ya=ju*] *tuna-taka* *tawi-ya*.
 NPF-path=LOC be.at.dusk-IMPFV=DS 3PL-ALONE sleep-IMPFV
 ‘(When the children are brave,) they sleep alone during a journey
 (lit. when it is dusk on the path).’ di1134

See additional examples in §14.3.4.

Note that most case suffixes have corresponding postpositions as shown in (15.10).

(15.10)	Suffixes		Postpositions
	-∅	‘ABS’	no marking ‘ABS’
	- <i>ra</i>	‘ERG’	= <i>ra</i> ‘ERG’
	- <i>kwe/-ja</i>	‘DAT’	= <i>ja</i> ‘DAT’ (§14.2.2)
	- <i>kwe/-ja</i>	‘GEN’	= <i>ja</i> ‘GEN’ (§13.4)
	- <i>tsewe</i>	‘ASSOC’	= <i>tsewe</i> ‘ASSOC’ (§14.2.1)
	- <i>keja</i>	‘LOC.GNL’	= <i>keja</i> ‘LOC.GNL’ (§14.2.4)
	- <i>ta(taka)/-taka</i>	‘ALONE’	= <i>taka</i> ‘ALONE’ (§14.3.4)

This could suggest a unitary analysis where both pronominal case and postpositions represent a single category. In this study, I have preferred to treat them as distinct, on the basis that: (1) different case suffixes often require different stems (at least with singular pronouns), whereas this never happens with postpositions, and (2) some pronominal cases suffixes have variants that are not found with postpositions (as with first and second person singular dative/genitive suffix *-kwe* and singular ‘alone’ suffixes *-ta* and *-tataka*).

15.1.2.4. Suffix *-ke* ‘FM’

A suffix *-ke* occurs with absolutive (S/O) singular (but not dual and plural) pronouns. Because of the highly restricted distribution of this morpheme, I have decided to analyze it as a formative, but an analysis in terms of an absolutive suffix could be a possible alternative.

The suffix *-ke* drops when these pronouns take the focus particle =*dya* (§17.2.3), as in (15.11).

- (15.11) a. *Tume* =*tuna-ra*_A =∅_O *i=dya*_O *kwadisha-kware*.
 then =3PL-ERG (=1SG-FM) 1SG(-FM)=FOC send-REM.PAST
 ‘It is me whom they sent.’ T1.22

- b. *Aama!* *Mi=dya_S* *kwa-kwe!* *Mi=dya_{CS}* =*mi_{CS}*
 not.exist 2SG(-FM)=FOC go-IMP.SG 2SG(-FM)=FOC =2SG(-FM)
 weni-da_{CC}!
 vigorous-ASF

‘No! You (sg) go! You are fast (lit. vigorous)! (I’m not.)’ ka329

15.2. Bound pronouns

In addition to independent pronouns, Cavineña has second position bound pronouns — recall that Cavineña also has possessor person marking in kinship nouns; these are discussed in §12.4.2. Independent and bound pronouns have basically the same segmental make-up but quite different morpho-syntactic and prosodic properties. Note that the distinction between independent and bound pronouns was not made in earlier work on Cavineña — Camp and Liccardi (1977, 1983, 1989) and Camp (1985).

15.2.1. Syntax

Bound pronouns have the following syntactic properties:

1 — they have a fixed position in the clause. Together with second position particles (§16.3), bound pronouns are enclitics to the last phonological word of the first immediate constituent of a main clause. Bound pronouns obligatorily follow second position particles (when these are present) as shown in (15.12).

- (15.12) a. *Tu-ke=kamadya_O* =*shana* =*tatse_A* *aikwana*
 3SG-FM=ONLY =PITY =3DL(-ERG) FILL

kemi-kware.
 take.out-REM.PAST

‘(They spent a whole night fishing and only caught a tiny fish.)
 This is the only thing that they caught, the poor guys.’ ps013

- b. [*Tu-ra=kamadya_A* *ijeti_O* *jipe-kware=tibu*]
 3SG-ERG=RESTR sun approach-REM.PAST=REASON

=*pa* =*tu_{CS}* *pude-da_{CC}.*
 =REP =3SG(-FM) red/brown-ASF

‘Because he (the vermilion flycatcher bird) is the only one who had approached the sun (in the old time), he is red/brown.’ hi009

- c. [*Jee*_{CC}=*ke e-kike=dya*]_O =*ni* =*taa*
 here=LIG NPF-forest=FOC =MAYBE =EMPH
 =*rena-ja* =*ri*_O [*“wichiki” jadya*]
 =3PROX.PL-DAT =3PROX.SG(-FM) partridge thus
a-ya.
 affect-IMPFV

‘This forest is probably what they call (lit. affect) “Wichiki” (lit. partridge).’ ka046

Other examples showing the co-occurrence of second position particles and bound pronouns are (15.2c), (15.19d), (15.24a), (15.26c), etc.

2 — up to three bound pronouns (coding A, O and DAT) can co-occur, as shown in (15.13).

- (15.13) a. *Deka* =*tu-ke*_O =*mi-ra*_A =*mi-kwe* *ebakwa=kwana*_O
 POTENTIALLY=3SG-FM =2SG-ERG =2SG-DAT child=PL
e-iye-diru-u...
 POT-kill-GO.PERM-POT

‘You might kill your children (when trying to cross the river).’
 ri047

- b. *Tume* =*tuna-ja* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A
 then =3PL-DAT =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)
be-ti-wa *budari*_O.
 bring-GO.TEMP-PERF banana

‘I will go and bring bananas for them.’ n4.0142

- c. *Kwadisha-ya* =*tu-ke*_O =*e-ra*_A =*e-kwe* *encomienda*_O
 send-IMPFV =3SG-FM =1SG-ERG =1SG-DAT package
 [*e-kwe ata=ja=ishu*].
 1SG-GEN relative=GEN=PURP.GNL

‘I am sending a package to my relative.’ di0591

Co-occurring pronouns are ordered according to a person hierarchy whereby third person precedes first and/or second person, and second precedes first person. This is discussed at length in §15.2.3.

3 — bound pronouns only occur in certain types of clauses:

- (1) main declarative affirmative (verbal or copula) clauses, as in (15.12a,b,c); see §4.6.1 and §4.6.3 for a discussion of these types of clauses;
- (2) main declarative negative (verbal or copula) clauses, as in (15.1a), (15.4), (15.52), etc.; see §4.6.6 for a discussion of these types of clauses;
- (3) main non-declarative interrogative (verbal or copula) clauses, as in (15.1c), (15.19b,c), (15.23b), etc.; see §4.6.5 for a discussion of these types of clauses).

Bound pronouns do not occur in the following types of clauses:

- (1) main non-declarative imperative and hortative clauses; see §4.6.4 and §6.2 for a discussion of these types of clauses;
- (2) subordinate clauses; see Chapters 18, 19 and 20 for a discussion of these types of clauses.

15.2.2. Morphology

There are three sets of bound pronouns, according to the function they play in a clause:

- 1 — absolutive (unmarked) bound pronouns refer to an argument in core S/CS or O function;
- 2 — ergative bound pronouns refer to an argument in core A function;
- 3 — dative bound pronouns refer to a participant in oblique DAT function.

The three sets of bound pronouns are given in Table 15.7.

The three sets of bound pronouns are almost identical in form to their corresponding sets of independent pronouns. The only difference concerns third person proximate singular roots: with independent pronouns, there is a single root *riya* for all the sets; with bound pronouns, the root is alternatively *ri* for the absolutive set, *re* for the dative set, and *riya* for the ergative set. Note that there is no attested singular ergative proximate bound pronoun in the whole corpus of texts; however, the form *=riya-ra*, which is identical to the singular ergative proximate independent pronoun, was elicited from Francisco Vaca in:

- (15.14) *Peta-ya* =*riya-ra*_A =*i-ke*_O.
 look.at-IMPV =3PROX.SG-ERG =1SG-FM
 ‘He (someone very close to me) is looking at me.’ n3.0514

More examples are required to confirm the existence of this form.

Table 15.7. Cavineña bound pronouns

CASE	Person	SG	DL	PL
ABS	1	= <i>i-Ø-ke</i> ~ = \emptyset	= <i>ya-tse</i>	= <i>e-kwana</i>
	2	= <i>mi-Ø(-ke)</i> ⁶	= <i>me-tse</i>	= <i>mi-kwana</i>
	3	= <i>tu-Ø(-ke)</i>	= <i>ta-tse</i>	= <i>tu-na</i>
	3PROX	= <i>ri-Ø(-ke)</i>	= <i>re-tse</i>	= <i>re-na</i>
ERG	1	= <i>e-Ø-ra</i> ~ = \emptyset	= <i>ya-tse(-ra)</i>	= <i>e-kwana(-ra)</i>
	2	= <i>mi-Ø(-ra)</i>	= <i>me-tse(-ra)</i>	= <i>mi-kwana(-ra)</i>
	3	= <i>tu-Ø(-ra)</i>	= <i>ta-tse(-ra)</i>	= <i>tu-na(-ra)</i>
	3PROX	= <i>riya-Ø(-ra)</i> ⁷	= <i>re-tse(-ra)</i>	= <i>re-na(-ra)</i>
DAT	1	= <i>e-Ø-kwe</i>	= <i>ya-tse-ja</i>	= <i>e-kwana-ja</i>
	2	= <i>mi-Ø-kwe</i>	= <i>me-tse-ja</i>	= <i>mi-kwana-ja</i>
	3	= <i>tu-Ø-ja</i>	= <i>ta-tse-ja</i>	= <i>tu-na-ja</i>
	3PROX	= <i>re-Ø-ja</i>	= <i>re-tse-ja</i>	= <i>re-na-ja</i>

Although bound pronouns have, to a large extent, the same form as independent pronouns, they undergo quite different morphological processes, as follows:

1 — the formative suffix *-ke* (of singular absolutive bound pronouns) and the ergative suffix *-ra* (in ergative bound pronouns) are deleted when singular absolutive or ergative pronouns occur last or alone in the second position clitic sequence (unless they are also last in the sentence; see below). Examples showing the deletion of *-ke* ‘FM’ with O singular bound pronouns are given in (15.15).

- (15.15) a. [*Mi-ke*_{CC} [*chapa metse*]_{CC}=*tibu*] =*tu-ra*_A =*mi*_O
 2SG-FM dog owner=REASON =3SG-ERG =2SG(-FM)

tupu-ya.
 follow-IMPV

‘Since you are the dog_i’s owner, he_i will follow you.’ tg030

- b. *Aama!* *Mi-ra*=*ama*_A =*ri*_O *a-wa.*
 not.exist 2SG-ERG=NEG =3PROX.SG(-FM) affect-PERF

‘No! (I don’t believe you.) You are not the one who killed it (the wild turkey you just gave to me)!’ hm081

⁶ Parentheses indicate morphological material that is omitted in certain contexts; see discussion below.

⁷ I am not fully sure of this pronoun. See discussion below.

See also =*tu* ‘3SG(-FM)’ in (15.1a) and =*mi* ‘2SG(-FM)’ in (15.5a).

An example showing the retention of *-ke* ‘FM’ with an O singular bound pronoun (not last in the second position clitic sequence) is shown in (15.16).

- (15.16) *Beru* =*tu-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A [*ekwana-ja e-tare=kwana*]_O
 before =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) 1PL-GEN NPF-house=PL
jaka-kware.
 abandon-REM.PAST
 ‘It has been a long time since we abandoned our houses.’ mj158

See also (15.19a-c).

Examples showing the deletion of *-ke* with S bound pronouns are given in (15.17).

- (15.17) a. *Pakaka-wa* =*mi*_S [*manga=ju*_{CC}=*ke*]_S.
 fall-PERF =2SG(-FM) mango.tree=LOC=LIG
 ‘You fell from the mango tree.’ mg031
- b. *Tudya* =*tu*_S [*e-kwe mama-chi*]_S
 then =3SG(-FM) 1SG-GEN mother-AFFT
neti-nati-kware
 stand-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST
 ‘Then my mother stopped (walking) (lit. stood).’ bo005

See also =*tu* ‘3SG(-FM)’ in (15.2a).

Examples showing the retention of *-ke* with S bound pronouns (not last in the second position clitic sequence) are given in (15.18).

- (15.18) a. *Tudya* =*tu-ke*_S =*e-kwe e-wasi*_S *shudiritana-wa*
 then =3SG-FM =1SG-DAT NPF-foot slip-PERF
 ‘Then my foot slipped (lit. the foot slipped to me).’ mo024
- b. *Aama*_{CC} =*tu-ke*_{CS} =*mi-kwe kamisa=ishu*_{CC}=*ke*_{CS}.
 not.exist =3SG-FM =2SG-DAT shirt=PURP.GNL=LIG
 ‘There is nothing (that I can use) to make a shirt for you (lit. (something) for a shirt does not exist to you).’ rb017

Examples showing the deletion of *-ra* ‘ERG’ with A bound pronouns are given in (15.19).

- (15.19) a. [Misión.Cavina=*ju*] =*tu-ke*_O =*yatse*_A *ba-chine*.
 Misión.Cavinas=LOC =3SG-FM =1DL(-ERG) see-REC.PAST
 ‘We (dl) saw it (the vermilion flycatcher bird about which I am
 telling you a story) in Misión Cavinás.’ hi010
- b. *Ai*_O =*tu-ke*_O =*mi*_A *mare-wa*?
 INT =3SG-FM =2SG(-ERG) shoot.at-PERF
 ‘What did you (sg) shoot at?’ lg019
- c. *Ejetupu* =*tu-ke*_O =*mikwana*_A *e-a-u* *pista*_O?
 INT:UP.TO =3SG-FM =2PL(-ERG) POT-affect-POT airstrip
 ‘When could you (pl) make the airstrip?’ me227
- d. *Jadya* =*pa* =*tuna*_A *a-wa*
 thus =REP =3PL(-ERG) affect-PERF
 [*tu-ja* *ata=kwana=ra*]_A.
 3SG-GEN relative=PL=ERG
 ‘His relatives told him so.’ hm108

Examples showing the retention of *-ra* with A bound pronouns (not last in the second position clitic chain) are in given in (15.20).

- (15.20) a. *Tume* =*tuna-ra*_A =*ekwana*_O *tya-tsa-kware*
 then =3PL-ERG =1PL give-COME(O)-REM.PAST
*e-majaka*_O.
 NPF-space
 ‘Then, (as we arrived at their_i village,) they_i (the Chácobo people)
 gave us a place (to sleep).’ pa015
- b. *Juje*_O =*tuna-ra*_A =*e-kwe* *chiri-wa*.
 duck =3PL-ERG =1SG-DAT steal-PERF
 ‘They stole my duck (lit. they stole the duck to me).’ ju007

2 — first person singular absolutive and ergative bound pronouns which occur last or alone in the second position clitic sequence are realized as = \emptyset ; that is, the root *i/e* together with *-ke* or *-ra* are deleted. Examples showing \emptyset -marking for first person singular O pronouns are given in (15.21).

- (15.21) a. *Tudya* = \emptyset _O [e-*kwe* e-*wane=ra*]_A *a-kware*:
 then (=1SG-FM) 1SG-GEN 1-wife=ERG affect-REM.PAST
 “*kwa-kwe =taal!*”
 go-IMP.SG =EMPH
 ‘Then my wife told (lit. affected) me: “that’s alright, you can go!”’
 vc007
- b. *Mi-ra*_A = \emptyset _O *chachane-wa* [*Tata Yusu*].
 2SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) cure-PERF sir God
 ‘You saved (lit. cured) me, God (lit. sir God).’ n1.0447

See also = \emptyset ‘(1SG-FM)’ in (15.3) and (15.4).

An example showing \emptyset -marking of a first person singular S bound pronoun is presented in (15.22).

- (15.22) *Tudya* = \emptyset _S *ani-bute-kware* *amena*.
 then (=1SG-FM) sit-GO.DOWN-REM.PAST BM
 ‘Then I sat down.’ ch006

Examples showing a \emptyset -marked first person singular A bound pronoun are given in (15.23).

- (15.23) a. *Ebipukaka=tsewe* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *iye-kware*.
 fist=ASSOC =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) kill-REM.PAST
 ‘I killed it (a monkey) with my fist.’ aj041
- b. [*Ejebucha iye-e*] =*ri-ke*_O = \emptyset _A
 MAN.INT kill-MAN.INT =3PROX.SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)
*bari*_O *a-ya?*
 giant.anteater affect-IMPV
 ‘How am I going to kill this giant anteater?’ ba067

See also = \emptyset ‘(1SG-ERG)’ in (15.5b).

3 — however, *-ke* (or full first person singular absolutive pronoun *i-ke*) and *-ra* (or first person singular ergative pronoun *e-ra*) are not deleted when they are the last element in a sentence, even though they are last in the second position clitic chain. O singular pronouns occurring last in the second position clitic chain and last in the sentence are shown in (15.24).

- (15.24) a. *Enapa-wa* =*taa* =*tuna-ra_A* =*i-ke_O*.
cry.for-PERF =EMPH =3PL-ERG =1SG-FM
'They (my dogs) cried for me.' wa109
- b. *Jiru-ya* =*tu-ra_A* =*mi-ke_O*
smell-IMPV =3SG-ERG =2SG-FM
'He smells you.' (Camp and Liccardi 1983: 149)
- c. *A-wa=dya* =*tu-ja* =*tu-ke_O*.
affect-PERF=FOC =3SG-DAT =3SG-FM
'He recorded (lit. affected) it (our discussion).' ct002

S singular pronouns occurring last in the second position clitic chain and last in the sentence are shown in (15.25).

- (15.25) a. *Kwa-kware* =*i-ke_S*.
go-REM.PAST =1SG-FM
'I went.' aj018
- b. *Je-nuka-ya=ama* =*mi-ke_S?*
come-REITR-IMPV=NEG =2SG-FM
'Will you not come again?' tb115
- c. *Ani-ya=dya* =*tu-ke_S*.
sit-IMPV=FOC =3SG-FM
'(Yes,) there are (medicinal plants).' T1.103

Singular pronouns in A function occurring last in the second position clitic chain and last in the sentence are shown in (15.26).

- (15.26) a. *A-wa* =*tu-ke_O* =*e-ra_A*.
affect-PERF =3SG-FM =1SG-ERG
'I killed (lit. affected) it (a monkey).' aj015
- b. *Sakwa-ume* =*bakwe!* *E-iye-u* =*tu-ke_O* =*mi-ra_A*.
pierce-IMP.SG.NEG =CONTR POT-kill-POT =3SG-FM =2SG-ERG
'Don't punch (lit. pierce) it! You could kill it.' di2452

- c. *Karu-jeri-kware* =pa =tu-**ra**_A.
bite-ALMOST-REM.PAST =REP =3SG-ERG

‘It (a viper) nearly bit him.’ vi006

Non-singular pronouns in A function which occur last in the second position clitic chain and last in the sentence are shown in (15.27).

- (15.27) a. *Taji-ti-ya=dya* =mi-ke_O =yatse-**ra**_A.
accompany-GO.TEMP-IMPV=FOC =2SG-FM =1DL-ERG

‘We (dl) are going to accompany you.’ hm034

- b. *A-dadi-wa* =mi-ke_O =ekwana-**ra**_A.
affect-GO(O)-PERF =2SG-FM =1PL-ERG

‘We (pl) reached you.’ di0036

- c. *Ara-wana-wa=ama=dya* =tatse-**ra**_A.
eat-ADVERS-PERF=NEG=FOC =3DL-ERG

‘They (dl) did not eat it (the meat; because it was not cooked).’
hm102

It is worth noting (at least) two instances where the deletion rule, as set in 1 to 3 above does not apply. As far as I can say, in both cases, this appears to be simply the case of ‘mistakes’ on the part of some speakers. For example, I observed that young Cavineña children often do not drop *-ke* or *-ra* when they would normally be dropped. A typical question children ask me when they come to visit is ‘what are you doing?’. The normal way of asking this is (15.28a), where *-ke* from the second person singular O bound pronoun is dropped, since it occurs last in second position. However, I have often heard (15.28b).

- (15.28) a. *Ai* =mi_S *ju-ya?*
do.what =2SG(-FM) be-IMPV

‘What are you doing?’ n5.0539

- b. **Ai* =mi-**ke**_S *ju-ya?*
do.what =2SG-FM be-IMPV

When I asked Antonio Yubanera about this way of talking, he immediately identified it as children’s talk.

I have also observed that some young adult speakers, with whom I have conducted elicitation and/or transcription work, such as Francisco Vaca or Emerenciano Sepa, do sometimes get confused about when *-ke* or *-ra* should be dropped or retained. For example, this was noted while transcribing recorded texts where they wrongly reproduced or wanted to correct ('mistakenly' using *-ke* or *-ra*) what was heard on the tape. For example, when one listens to (15.29) on the tape, it is clear that Victoria Tavo (the author of the text) drops the ergative suffix *-ra* from A bound pronoun =*yatse* '1DL' (as expected). However, when asked to repeat the sentence (during transcription), Emerenciano Sepa said the abnormal form =*yatse-ra*.

- (15.29) *Tu-wa=dya* =*tu-ke*_O =*yatse*_A *butya-ti-ya*.
 there-LOC=FOC =3SG-FM =1DL(-ERG) lower-GO.TEMP-IMPFV
 'We (dl) are going to go and drop (lit. lower (from the cart)) him
 (the linguist) there.' ka491

Such cases are not really problematic for my analysis: the failure to apply the deletion rule is clearly the result of the imperfect learning of the language in the first case while it is likely to be the effect of unnatural elicitation/transcription sessions in the second case.

15.2.3. Principles of bound pronoun ordering

Co-occurring bound pronouns have strict ordering restrictions which depend on their ranking on the following person hierarchy: 1 > 2 > 3.⁸ The lower a bound pronoun is on the hierarchy scale, the earlier it occurs in the string, regardless of its grammatical function. In other words, third person precedes first and/or second person, and second precedes first person. Examples (15.30) and (15.19a) (repeated) show that a third person bound pronoun, whether in A or O function, precedes a first person bound pronoun, whether in A or O function.

- (15.30) A3 (sg) / O1 (dl)

Eju =*tu-ra*_A =*yatse*_O *rumu-ya?*
 INT:LOC =3SG-ERG =1DL overturn-IMPFV
 'Where is he (a giant fish) going to overturn us (dl)?' ps029

⁸ The symbol '>' means 'higher than'.

(15.19a) A1 (dl) / O3 (sg)

[Misión.Cavina=*ju*] =*tu-ke*_O =*yatse*_A *ba-chine*.
 Misión.Cavinas=LOC =3SG-FM =1DL(-ERG) see-REC.PAST

‘We (dl) saw it (the vermilion flycatcher bird about which I am telling you a story) in Misión Cavinás.’ hi010

Examples (15.15a) and (15.19b) (both repeated) show that a third person bound pronoun, whether in A or O function, precedes a second person bound pronoun, whether in A or O function.

(15.15a) A3 (sg) / O2 (sg)

[*Mi-ke*_{CC} [*chapa metse*]_{CC=tibu}] =*tu-ra*_A =*mi*_O
 2SG-FM dog owner=REASON =3SG-ERG =2SG(-FM)

tupu-ya.
 follow-IMPV

‘Since you are the dog_i’s owner, he_i will follow you.’ tg030

(15.19b) A2 (sg) / O3 (sg)

*Ai*_O =*tu-ke*_O =*mi*_A *mare-wa?*
 INT =3SG-FM =2SG(-ERG) shoot.at-PERF

‘What did you (sg) shoot at?’ lg019

The examples in (15.31) show that a second person bound pronoun, whether in A or O function, precedes a first person bound pronoun, whether in A or O function.

(15.31) a. A2 (sg) / O1 (pl)

E-tya-u=ama =*mi-ra*_A =*ekwana*_{O?}
 POT-give-POT=NEG =2SG-ERG =1PL

‘Couldn’t you (sg) give one (radio transmitter) to us (pl)?’ tb066

b. A1 (pl) / O2 (sg)

Iyakwa =*mi-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A *duju-nuka-ya* *yudijidya*.
 now =2SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) take-REITR-IMPV again

‘Now we (pl) will take you (sg) again.’ di0036

The examples in (15.32) involve A and/or O bound pronouns co-occurring with dative bound pronouns. As we can see, the same principles of ordering still apply.

(15.32) a. A2 (sg) / DAT1 (sg)

Enajewe e-kwe keti-kwe!
 alcohol 1SG-DAT fetch-IMP.SG
 [*Salon keti jadya*] =*mi-ra*_A =*e-kwe* *a-ya*.
 rifle fetch thus =2SG-ERG =1SG-DAT affect-IMPV
 ‘Go get me alcohol! And bring me my rifle as well!’ ce048

b. A1 (sg) / O3 (sg) / DAT2 (sg)

*Sika-wa =tu-ke*_O =*mi-kwe* =*e-ra*_A *mechi*_O.
 mass-PERF =3SG-FM =2SG-DAT =1S-ERG soil
 ‘I gathered (lit. massed) mud for you (so that you can make pottery).’ di2504

Co-occurring bound pronouns referring to the same person distribute as follows:

— a first/second person S/A/O bound pronoun precedes a DAT bound pronoun encoding the same person, as shown in (15.33).

(15.33) *Amena chapa*_O =*e-ra*_A =*e-kwe* *peta-ti*.
 BM dog =1SG-ERG =1SG-DAT look.at-GO.TEMP
 ‘I went to look at my (injured) dog.’ ba155

See also the same sequence in (15.13c) and the sequence =*mi-ra* =*mi-kwe* [=2SG-ERG =2SG-DAT] in (15.13a).

— a third person S/O follows a third person DAT, as shown in (15.34); note that a third person A cannot co-occur with a third person DAT; see §15.2.4.

(15.34) *Ani-ya =pa =tu-ja =tu-ke*_S, *aikwana*, *diccionario*_S...
 sit-IMPV =REP =3SG-DAT =3SG-FM FILL dictionary
 ‘He has it (lit. it sits to him), the dictionary.’ tb085

See also the sequences *=rena-ja =ri* [=3PROX.PL-DAT =3PROX(-FM)] in (15.12c), *=tuna-ja =tu-ke* [=3PL-DAT =3SG-FM] in (15.13b) and *=tu-ja =tu-ke* [=3SG-DAT =3SG-FM] in (15.24c).

Note that a third person A cannot co-occur with a third person O; see §15.2.4.

15.2.4. Co-occurrence restrictions

Table 15.8 summarizes all attested combinations of bound pronouns. The numbers following the A, O, S and DAT refer to person. A question mark ‘?’ means that the combination is logically possible but not attested. Unattested combinations considered grammatically impossible are coded by dark shaded cells. The symbol ‘REF’ refers to combinations that result in the verb taking reflexive morphology and being detransitivized (§8.2).

There are restrictions on combining A and O bound pronouns: an A bound pronoun cannot co-occur with an O bound pronoun that is non-singular and lower on the hierarchy scale. This can be illustrated with the following minimal pair involving a first person A bound pronoun. Example (15.35a) is grammatical because the O bound pronoun is third person singular. However, (15.35b) is ungrammatical because the O bound pronoun is third person non-singular.

- (15.35) a. *Jadya =tu-ke_O =yatse_A ba-ti-kware.*
 thus =3SG-FM =1DL(-ERG) see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST
 ‘That’s how I went to see them.’ n5.0176
- b. **Jadya =tuna_O =yatse_A ba-ti-kware.*
 thus =3PL =1DL(-ERG) see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST
 n5.0176

Note however that, as the translation of (15.35a) shows, the referent of the O bound pronoun is plural in this example. There are at least three possible explanations for this phenomenon: the first is that the plural referent of the third person O could be understood in a collective sense here; the second is that this could simply be a reflection of the fact that in Cavineña, number is not obligatorily marked for third person referents (see §15.4); the third is that in these particular combinations, the number of the third person O referent might be neutralized. More work is needed on this issue.

Table 15.8. Attested co-occurrences of bound pronouns

	O1	DAT1	O2	DAT2	O3	DAT3
A1	REF	(15.33), (15.13c)	(15.31b)	(15.32b)	(15.19a)	(15.13b)
O1	?	?	?	?	?	?
S1						
DAT1	?		?	?	(15.13c)	?
A2	(15.31a)	(15.32a)	REF	(15.13a)	(15.19b)	?
O2	?	?	?	?	?	?
S2						
DAT2	?	?	?	?	(15.13a)	?
A3	(15.30)	(15.20b)	(15.15a)	(15.38)	REF	?
O3	?	(15.13c)	?	(15.13a)	?	(15.13b), (15.39a)
S3						(15.34)
DAT3	?	?	?	?	(15.13b), (15.39a)	

Note that if the higher ranking A argument is realized by an independent pronoun, then it is perfectly grammatical to encode a lower ranking O plural argument by a plural bound pronoun, as in (15.36), or a full NP (for the O argument).

- (15.36) *Tume =metse_O yatse-ra_A kweja-ya*
 then =2DL 1DL-ERG inform-IMPV
[ai ura ekwana_S kwinana-ya=ke]_O.
 INT hour 1PL emerge-IMPV=LIG

‘We (dl) will tell you (later) at what time we will leave (lit. emerge) (tomorrow).’ n5.0179

To summarize, the only possible combinations of A and O bound pronouns are (15.37a), where the A co-occurs with a singular O lower in hierarchy, and (15.37b), where the A co-occurs with an O of any number higher in hierarchy, but not (15.37c), where the A co-occurs with non-singular O lower in hierarchy.

- (15.37) a. A1 (any number) / O2 (sg)
 e.g., (15.27a,b), (15.31b), (15.51)
- A1 (any number) / O3 (sg) or O3PROX (sg)
 e.g., (15.5b), (15.16), (15.19a), (15.23b)
- A2 (any number) / O3 (sg) or O3PROX (sg)
 e.g., (15.19b,c), (15.26b)
- b. A3 or A3PROX (any number) / O1 (any number)
 e.g., (15.4), (15.11a), (15.20a)
- A3 or A3PROX (any number) / O2 (any number)
 e.g., (15.15a), (15.24b)
- A2 (any number) / O1 (any number)
 e.g., (15.31a)
- c. *A1 (any number) / O2 (dl or pl)
 *A1 (any number) / O3 or O3PROX (dl or pl)
 *A2 (any number) / O3 or O3PROX (dl or pl)

A number of restrictions also apply to combinations of third person bound pronouns:

— a third person A, whether 3 or 3PROX, cannot co-occur with a third person O, whether 3 or 3PROX. Various A3/O3 combinations are illustrated in (15.38), with a third person A bound pronoun, and (15.39), with third person O bound pronouns.

- (15.38) *Tu-wa=dya =tu-ra_A =mi-kwe carga=kwana_O*
 there-LOC=FOC =3SG-ERG =2SG-DAT load=PL

butya-bare-ya=dya.
 lower-DISTR-IMPV=FOC

‘He was unloading (lit. lowering) your load (from the cart).’ ka509

- (15.39) a. *A-ya=ama =tuna-ja =tu-ke_O.*
 affect-IMPV=NEG =3PL-DAT =3SG-FM

‘They don’t make (lit. affect) it (a type of jug).’ ci042

- b. *Tu-ra=dya_A =tuna_O kweja-diru-kware*
 3SG-ERG=FOC =3PL inform-GO.PERM-REM.PAST

[epu=ju_{CC}=kwana=ke]_O.
 village=LOC=PL=LIG

‘He told the ones from the village.’ fd035

Note that it is still possible to express two third person arguments (A and O) at the same time but this needs to be done by expressing at least one of these arguments with an independent pronouns, as in (15.39b), or with a full NP.

— a third person DAT, either 3 or 3PROX, and of any number, can never co-occur with a third person A, either 3 or 3PROX, and of any number. It can only co-occur with a third person S/O which (1) must be singular and (2) must be of the same ‘distance’ type, i.e., DAT3 / S3 or O3 (sg), or DAT3PROX / S3PROX or O3PROX (sg), but not *DAT3PROX / S3 or O3 (sg), or *DAT3 / SO3 or O3PROX (sg).

Examples showing a third person DAT co-occurring with a third person (singular) O are given in (15.40).

- (15.40) a. *[Peadya kaneku ebari]_O =tu-ja =tu_O iji-kware.*
 one mug big =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) drink-REM.PAST

‘He drunk himself one big mug (of what he thought was a soft drink).’ lv026

- b. *Isha-diru-wa* =*tuna-ja* =*tu-ke*_O.
 put.in-GO.PERM-PERF =3PL-DAT =3SG-FM

‘(After chasing the peccary for a while, my dogs) made him enter
 (in his burrow).’ wa021

- c. *Tume* =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O *be-ti-wa* *budari*_O.
 then =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) bring-GO.TEMP-PERF banana

‘They went and brought the bananas for themselves.’ n4.0141

- d. *A-ya=kwita* =*di* =*taa*
 affect-IMPV=RESTR =STRG.EMPH =EMPH

=*re-ja* =*ri-ke*_O.
 =3PROX.SG-DAT =3PROX.SG-FM

‘He (the linguist) is talking (affecting) (our Cavineña language)
 very well!’ tb078

See also (15.13b), (15.39a) and (15.12c).

Examples showing a third person DAT co-occurring with a third person
 (singular) S are given in (15.41).

- (15.41) a. *Tumepatya* =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_S *ani-kware=jari* *ududu*_S
 at.that.time =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) sit-REM.PAST=STILL feather
e-wikani=ju.
 NPF-nose=LOC

‘At that time (when I visited the Pacahuara people) they were still
 wearing feathers in their noses (lit. feathers were still sitting in
 the nose to them).’ pa104

- b. *Japa-da*_{CC} =*tu-ja* =*tu*_{CS} *e-tare*_{CS} *ju-kware*
 far-ASF =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) NPF-house be-REM.PAST

escuela=eke.
 school=PERL

‘His house was far from the school.’ vi016

- c. *Tume* =*re-ja* =*ri*_{CS} *aama=kwita=dya*_{CC}
 then =3PROX.SG-DAT =3PROX.SG(-FM) not.exist=RESTR=FOC

*cartilla=kwana*_{CS}.
 learning.book=PL

‘So he (the linguist) doesn’t have any (of these) learning books (that we have) or something (to learn our language) (lit. learning books do not exist to him).’ tb084

See also (15.34).

The two Os of ditransitive verbs (§5.2.1) cannot co-occur as bound pronouns. The single O bound pronoun can be either of the two Os, i.e., either message or ‘communiquee’ with *kweja-* ‘inform’, either recipient or gift with *tya-* ‘give’, etc. In (15.42a), with the verb *kweja-* ‘inform’, the O bound pronoun refers to the third person message — the second person, the ‘communiquee’, is expressed by an independent pronoun —, while in (15.42b), the O bound pronoun refers to the (second person) ‘communiquee’ — the third person message is expressed by an NP.

(15.42) a. *Jadi*_{CC}=*ke*_O =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *mikwana*_O *kweja-ya*
 thus=LIG =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) 2PL inform-IMPV

[*mikwana*_S *bawe=ishu*] [*e-kwe* *tiempo*]_O
 2PL know=PURP.GNL 1SG-GEN time

[*e-kwe* *mamita*_S *aputa-wa=ju*].
 1SG-GEN mommy disappear-PERF=DS

‘I’m relating my youth (lit. my time) to you (pl), so that you (pl) will know when my mommy died (lit. disappeared).’ mj180

b. [*Peadya kwatsabiji*]_O =*mi-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *kweja-ya* *Antuku...*
 one story =2SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) tell-IMPV Antuku

‘I will tell you a story, Antuku...’ mu001

Table 15.9 is a revised version of Table 15.8, based on the preceding observations.

Table 15.9. Attested co-occurrences of bound pronouns (revised)

	O1	DAT1	O2	DAT2	O3	DAT3
A1	REF	(15.33), (15.13c)	(15.31b)	(15.32b)	(15.19a)	(15.13b)
O1	?	?	?	?		?
S1	?	?	?	?		?
DAT1	?	?	?	?	(15.13c)	?
A2	(15.31a)	(15.32a)	REF	(15.13a)	(15.19b)	?
O2	?	?	?	?		?
S2	?	?	?	?		?
DAT2	?	?	?	?	(15.13a)	?
A3	(15.30)	(15.20b)	?	(15.38)	REF	?
O3	?	(15.13c)	(15.15a)	(15.13a)		(15.13b), (15.39a)
S3	?	(15.18a)	?	(15.18b)		(15.34)
DAT3	?	?	?	?	(15.13b), (15.39a)	

15.3. Bound pronouns vs. independent pronouns/NPs

Ergative, absolutive and dative functions can logically be encoded by independent pronouns/NPs or bound pronouns, or by both at the same time, or by no marking at all. The purpose of this section is to discuss how each of these three functions are formally expressed in Cavineña. The functional motivations for choosing one means over the other require further study.

15.3.1. A function

Ergative function can be expressed by:

- 1 — an independent pronoun/full NP or;
- 2 — a bound pronoun or;
- 3 — a bound pronoun co-occurring with an independent pronoun/NP (with some restrictions; see below).

Ergative function is obligatorily expressed for all person and number (but see below for a discussion of some examples that could contradict this statement).

The three different encoding possibilities for ergative function are illustrated in turn below.

1 — Examples showing function A only expressed by an independent pronoun can be seen in (15.1a), (15.5a), (15.15b) and (15.21b).

Function A only expressed by a full NP can be seen in (15.3) and (15.21a), with the A NP preposed to the verb, and (15.43a), with the A NP postposed to the verb.

- (15.43) a. *Jadya* = \emptyset _O *a-kware* [*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *tiempo*]
 thus (=1SG-FM) affect-REM.PAST there=LIG time
 [*peadya waka=ra*]_A.
 one cow=ERG

‘Thus did a cow do to me that time. (It nearly gored me.)’ vc035

- b. *Tirya-wa* =*tu-ke*_O =*e-kwe* *arusu*_O *juje=kwana=ra*_A.
 finish-PERF =3SG-FM =1SG-DAT rice duck=PL=ERG

‘The ducks ate (lit. finished) all my rice.’ di2687

2 — Examples showing function A only expressed by a bound pronoun can be seen in (15.11a) (repeated), (15.44a) and (15.44b).

- (15.11a) *Tume =tuna-ra_A =∅_O i=dya_O kwadisha-kware.*
 then =3PL-ERG (=1SG-FM) 1SG(-FM)=FOC send-REM.PAST
 ‘It is me whom they sent.’ T1.22

- (15.44) a. [*Tu-wa e-ka-sita-ti=kwana=ke*]_O =∅_A
 there-LOC RES-REF-approach-REF=PL=LIG (=1SG.ERG)
isara-kware=dya.
 talk.to-REM.PAST=FOC

‘I also talked to others who had gathered there.’ T1.75

- b. [*“Jee_{CC}=ke_{CS} =tu_{CS} ji-da_{CC}” jadya*] =∅_A
 here=LIG =3SG(-FM) good-ASF thus (=1SG-ERG)
a-kware.
 affect-REM.PAST

‘‘This (medicinal plant) is good (for treating rheumatism),’’ I told him.’ T1.106

See also (15.1c), (15.4) and (15.15a).

3 — Examples showing function A expressed by a bound pronoun co-occurring with an independent pronoun/NP are rare but nevertheless attested. When this happens, the independent pronoun/NP always occurs postposed to the verb (unless the A NP is headless; see below).

Examples of A bound pronouns co-occurring with A NPs (postposed to the verb) are given in (15.45) and (15.19d) (repeated).

- (15.45) a. *Jadya =tu-ra_A =∅_O a-kware*
 thus =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) affect-REM.PAST
bari=ra_A.
 giant.anteater=ERG

‘That’s what the giant anteater did to me (he poked me with his trunk).’ ba098

- b. *Jadya* =*pa* =*tu-ra*_A =*yatse*_O *e-a-u*
 thus =REP =3SG-ERG =1DL POT-affect-POT
Antuku [*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *cascabe=ra*]_A.
 Antuku there=LIG rattlesnake=ERG

‘That’s what that rattlesnake can do to us, Antuku (he can follow people wherever they go).’ vi035a

- (15.19d) *Jadya* =*pa* =*tuna*_A *a-wa*
 thus =REP =3PL(-ERG) affect-PERF
 [*tu-ja* *ata=kwana=ra*]_A.
 3SG-GEN relative=PL=ERG

‘His relatives told him so.’ hm108

Examples of A bound pronouns co-occurring with A independent pronouns are given in (15.5b) (repeated) and (15.46).

- (15.5b) *Tudya* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A [*tu-ja* *tapa*]_O
 then =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) 3SG-GEN lid
pakasha-kware *e-ra*_A.
 open-REM.PAST 1SG-ERG

‘I opened its (bottle’s) lid.’ bc020

- (15.46) *Wesa-taki=ama* =*tatse*_A *ba-kware* [*tatse-ra=piji*]_A
 lift-ABIL=NEG =3DL(-ERG) see-REM.PAST 3DL-ERG=DIM
 [*jae* *ebari*_{CC}=*tibu*].
 fish big=REASON

‘They (dl) (a grandfather and his little grandson, both not very strong) felt that they couldn’t lift it (a fish that they had caught) because it was a very big fish (so they asked for help).’ ps042

Headless A NPs appear to be an exception to the statement that an A NP co-occurring with a bound pronoun in A function always occurs postposed to the verb. In a few examples a headless NP occurs preposed to the verb and co-occurs with an A bound pronoun. This can be seen in (15.47a), with a headless verbal relative clause, (15.47b), with a headless quantifier, and (15.47c), with a headless copula relative clause.

- (15.47) a. [*Ikwené kwa-ya=ra*]_A =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *dati*_O
 first go-IMPV (=LIG)=ERG =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) tortoise
dadi-nati-kware.
 find-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

‘As I was going first (lit. I, who was going first), I found a tortoise.’ co014b

- b. *Dutya=ra*_A =*tu-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A *adeba-ya*
 all=ERG =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) know-IMPV
 [*aja ari-da*_{CC=ke}]_O.
 capuchin.monkey big-ASF=LIG

‘We all know (what) capuchin monkeys (are).’ aj046

- c. [*Jadya tiryá-ta-wa=ju*] =*tuna*_A *chacha*_{CC=kwana=ra}_A
 thus finish-PASS-PERF=DS =3PL(-ERG) alive(=LIG)=PL=ERG
inimetupu-kware: “*Peya=keja ne-diru-ra!*”
 think-REM.PAST other=LOC.GNL HORT.PL-go-HORT.PL

‘After they (the group of Cavineñas) had been killed (lit. finished), the ones who were still alive started to think: “let’s go to (and live in) some other place!”’ fd039-040

I stated that A function is obligatorily expressed for all person and number. However, the examples in (15.48) possibly contradict this statement in that here, as I will argue, the absence of overt marking for the first person singular A argument cannot be interpreted as a zero marker.

- (15.48) a. *Tume* =*metse*_O *kweja-ya*
 then =2DL inform-IMPV
 [*ai ura [ekwana_S kwinana-ya=ke]*]_O.
 INT hour 1PL emerge-IMPV=LIG

‘I will let you know (tonight) at what time (lit. hour) we will leave (lit. emerge).’ vb006

- b. *Jadya=tibu=dya* =*mikwana*_O *ba-na-wa...*
 thus=REASON=FOC =2PL see-COME.TEMP-PERF

‘This is why I have come to see you (pl).’ T1.69

- c. *Jadya* =*tuna*_O *ba-ti-kware*.
 thus =3PL see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

‘That’s how I went to see them (the Araona people).’ T1.95

One could argue that in these examples, first person singular A is a \emptyset -marked bound pronoun. However, this is not a satisfactory analysis because the two combinations of bound pronouns, A1 / O2 (non-singular) and A1 / O3 (non-singular), are not allowed (see §15.2.4). These examples could suggest that, at least in the contexts where A and O bound pronouns cannot co-occur, a first person singular A does not have to receive any encoding.

15.3.2. S/O function

Absolutive function can be expressed by:

- 1 — an independent pronoun/full NP or;
- 2 — a bound pronoun or;
- 3 — a bound pronoun co-occurring with an independent pronoun/NP (without any of the restrictions that apply when encoding the A function in that situation; see previous section) or;
- 4 — nothing, if the S/O argument is a third person singular.

The four different possibilities for encoding the O function are illustrated in turn below:

1 — O function only expressed by an independent pronoun can be seen in (15.49).

- (15.49) a. *Mikwana*=*piisi*_O *e-ra*_A *iwa-ya*.
 2PL=JUST 1SG-ERG wait.for-IMPFV

‘I will wait only for you (pl).’ di2238

- b. *Tu-ke*=*piji*=*kamadya*_O =*tuna*_A *iye-kware*.
 3SG-FM=DIM=ONLY =3PL(-ERG) kill-REM.PAST

‘(That day our Cavineña ancestors were supposed to kill many enemies but they completely failed. They only shot a poor elder.) He is the only one that they killed.’ mk071

O function only expressed by an NP can be seen in (15.50).

- (15.50) a. *Mercede*_O =*ekwana*_A *ba-diru-kware*.
 Las.Mercedes =1PL(-ERG) see-GO.PERM-REM.PAST
 ‘(On our way black, flying toward our community Bolivar,) we saw (the community of) Las Mercedes.’ av022
- b. *Tudya* =*yatse*_A *waka=kwana*_O *ba-tsa-chine*
 then =1PL(-ERG) cow=PL see-COME(O)-REC.PAST
umada...
 many
 ‘So we (dl) saw many cows coming...’ (Camp 1985: 44)
- c. *Tume* =*mi*_A *ara-chine=dya* *sapu*_O?
 then =2SG(-ERG) eat-REC.PAST=FOC tambaqui
 ‘Have you eaten tambaqui (fish)?’ tb167

See also (15.33), (15.38) and (15.52A).

2 — O function only expressed by a bound pronoun can be seen in (15.3) and (15.15b) (both repeated).

- (15.3) [*E-kwe e-bakujuna=ekana=ra*]_A = \emptyset _O
 1SG-GEN 1-daughter=PL=ERG (=1SG-FM)
dunu-tsa-chine=dya.
 surround-COME(O)-REC.PAST=FOC
 (When I arrived home after a long journey,) my daughters surrounded me.’ ka541
- (15.15b) *Aama!* *Mi-ra=ama*_A =*ri*_O *a-wa*.
 not.exist 2SG-ERG=NEG =3PROX.SG(-FM) affect-PERF
 ‘No! (I don’t believe you.) You are not the one who killed it (the wild turkey you just gave to me)!’ hm081

See also (15.5a), (15.15b), (15.19a), (15.23a) and (15.24a-c).

Note that (15.3) is potentially ambiguous. The O could just as well refer to a third person singular since third person singular is not obligatorily marked. Note that example (15.53a), for example, is identical to (15.3) in term of encoding, but has a third person singular O. However, the context makes it clear that the speaker is the person that is ‘surrounded’ (not someone else) in (15.3): the

speaker (Victoria Tavo) relates how, as she finally arrives home after an two-day trip, she is warmly welcomed back by her family.

3 — O function expressed by a bound pronoun co-occurring with an NP can be seen in (15.5b) (repeated), with the O NP preposed to the verb, and (15.19c) (also repeated), with the O NP postposed to the verb.

- (15.5b) *Tudya =tu-ke_O =∅_A [tu-ja tapa]_O*
 then =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) 3SG-GEN lid
pakasha-kware e-ra_A.
 open-REM.PAST 1SG-ERG
 ‘I opened its (bottle’s) lid.’ bc020

- (15.19c) *Ejetupu =tu-ke_O =mikwana_A e-a-u pista_O?*
 INT:UP.TO =3SG-FM =2PL(-ERG) POT-affect-POT airstrip
 ‘When could you (pl) make the airstrip?’ me227

See also O NPs preposed to the verb in (15.13a), (15.19b) and (15.23b), and O NPs postposed to the verb in (15.13b,c).

Examples showing O bound pronouns co-occurring with O independent pronouns are given in (15.51) and (15.52), from a recorded conversation between Antonio Yubanera (A) and Ventura Mayo (V).

- (15.51) *Mi-ke_O =mi-ke_O =∅_A iwara-mere-wa.*
 2SG-FM =2SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) call-CAUS-PERF
 ‘I had you called (because I want to ask you if you want to marry my daughter, who is in love with you).’ mu010
- (15.52) A: *Mutiru_O =mi_A a-kware=ama, Hermano?*
 hat =2SG(-FM) affect-REM.PAST=NEG brother
 ‘Didn’t you make (straw) hats, Brother?’ ab094

- V: *Aama. Tu-ke_O =tu-ke_O =∅_A*
 not.exist 3SG-FM =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)
a-kware=ama, Hermano!
 affect-REM.PAST=NEG brother
 ‘No! That (straw hats), I didn’t make, Brother!’ ab095

4 — O function not expressed at all when it is third person singular can be seen in (15.53).

- (15.53) a. [*Tume eweebari weni-da_{CC=ekatse=ra}*]_A *ara-ya*.
 then teenager vigorous-ASF(=LIG)=DL=ERG eat-IMPV
 ‘These two vigorous teenagers were eating it (the raw wild turkey).’ hm091
- b. *Tsunu-da =yatse_A iwa-kware*.
 long-ASF =1DL(-ERG) wait.for-REM.PAST
 ‘(The tapir we were chasing had disappeared somewhere in the water.) We (dl) waited for it a long time (to reappear).’ ma024

It might be argued that in these examples, there is no (underlying) O argument (whose identity would have to be retrieved from context) and that the verbs refer to activities (‘eating’ and ‘waiting’). This does not appear to be the case for at least two reasons. First, both clauses remain fully transitive. In (15.53a), for example, we have an A NP encoded with the ergative case =*ra* ‘ERG’. Second, decreasing the valency of a verb in Cavineña can only be achieved by overt derivations. That is, demoting the O argument would require an antipassive derivation, which involves the full reduplication of the verb root (see §8.3.1). Third, the context implies a specific O reading.

Note that (15.53a) is potentially ambiguous. In this example, the O argument could equally be a first person singular, since a first person singular O bound pronoun occurring last or alone in second position is = \emptyset ; compare this example with (15.3) which overtly receives the exact same encoding but has a first person singular O. However, from the context, it is clear that this is not the case. Sentence (15.53a) follows a stretch of discourse which refers to the cooking of a wild turkey so it is clear that the turkey (third person) is the O (and not the speaker). In addition, a first person can hardly be the O of the verb *ara-* ‘eat’ unless it occurred in a very particular and marked context. See below for another ambiguity situation between first and third person singular S arguments.

The various possibilities for expressing S function are illustrated below:

1 — S function only expressed by independent pronouns is shown in (15.54).

- (15.54) a. *Metse_S kwa-ya=ama*.
 2DL go-IMPV=NEG
 ‘“You (dl) will not go (to the war)!” (the bishop told us).’ gu061

- b. *Tatse*_S =*bakwe* *jekutana*=*dya*
 3DL =CONTR be.scareded=FOC
 [*ekwana-ra*_A *jadya* *kwatsabi* *a-ya=ju*].
 1PL-ERG thus tell.story.to affect-IMPV=DS

‘They (dl) (the two missionary women) were scared when we related to them the story of our crossing the river.’ ri034b

Note that when S is expressed by a first person singular independent pronoun, as in (15.1b) (repeated), there is no possibility of knowing whether it co-occurs or not with a bound pronoun since such a pronoun is = \emptyset .

- (15.1b) *I-ke*_S =*bakwe* = \emptyset ? *kwa-kware*=*dya=jutidya*.
 1SG-FM =CONTR (=1SG-FM) go-REM.PAST=FOC=RESTR
 ‘Me, I just went.’ bo005

S function only expressed by an NP can be seen in (15.2b) and (15.9b).

2 — S function only expressed by a bound pronoun can be seen in (15.55), (15.22c) (repeated) and (15.28a) (also repeated).

- (15.55) *Riya-tsewe* = \emptyset _S *kwa-wa*.
 3PROX.SG-ASSOC (=1SG-FM) go-PERF

‘I went with this one here.’ n5.0925

- (15.22c) *Tudya* = \emptyset _S *ani-bute-kware* *amena*.
 then (=1SG-FM) sit-GO.DOWN-REM.PAST BM

‘Then I sat down (to look at a group of peccaries passing nearby).’
 ch006

- (15.28a) *Ai* =*mi*_S *ju-ya?*
 do.what =2SG(-FM) be-IMPV

‘What are you doing?’ n5.0539

See also (15.2a) and (15.25a-c).

Note that (15.55) and (15.22c) are potentially ambiguous. Here, the S argument could as well be third person singular since third person singular is not obligatorily marked. In terms of encoding, these two examples are identical to the example given in (15.58) which has third person singular S. The identity of the S argument in these situations is recovered from context. In (15.22c) Fran-

cisco Vaca relates one of his hunting expeditions. He is the subject (first person singular S or A) of most of the sentences that precede (15.22c) so that it is quite clear that he is the S of that sentence as well. In the case of (15.55), we do not have any context because this example was elicited. Here the first person singular reading was given by the Spanish translation.

3 — Examples showing S bound pronouns co-occurring with S NPs are given in (15.56a), with the S NP preposed to the verb, and (15.56b), with the S NP postposed to the verb.

- (15.56) a. *Trosadora=kamadya_S =tu_S ani-kware.*
 handsaw=ONLY =3SG(-FM) sit-REM.PAST
 ‘At that time (when I was young and we were making canoes) there were only handsaws (not the chainsaws that we use nowadays).’ ab173
- b. *Eju=kwana =tu_S kwa-wa e-puna_S?*
 INT:LOC=UNCERT =3SG(-FM) go-PERF NPF-female
 ‘Where on earth did the woman go?’ pa035

See also an S NP preposed to the verb in (15.17b).

Examples of S bound pronouns co-occurring with S independent pronouns are given in (15.57).

- (15.57) a. *Mi-ke_S =mi_S kwa-wa=ama escuela=ju.*
 2SG-FM =2SG(-FM) go-PERF=NEG school=LOC
 ‘‘You didn’t go to school (, did you)?’’(the priest asked me).’
 es012
- b. *Tu-ke_{CS} =tu_{CS} ju-kware mure-da_{CC}.*
 3SG-FM =3SG(-FM) be-REM.PAST fierce-ASF
 ‘He (a maned wolf) was fierce.’ bo015b

4 — no encoding for third person singular S is shown in (15.58).

- (15.58) *Ita=dya =di yachi=ju e-kwinana-u.*
 ATT.GETTER=FOC =STRG.EMPH pampa=LOC POT-emerge-POT
 ‘(I can’t kill that anteater here because the forest is too thick.) Let’s see if it will go (lit. emerge) to the pampa!’ ba132

I mentioned earlier that this example could be interpreted as having a first person singular reading; in terms of core argument encoding, it is identical to (15.55) and (15.22c), which have a first person singular S. In the context of (15.58b), the action of ‘going to the pampa’ only makes sense if it refers to the anteater because we have been told earlier that if the anteater remains in the forest, the hunter (first person) cannot kill it.

It could be argued that, similarly to first person singular S/O or first person singular A, the absence of third person marking corresponds to an underlying \emptyset -marked third person singular bound pronoun. This does not appear to be a satisfactory analysis for the reason that there is no positive evidence of any such underlying pronoun. This is quite unlike the \emptyset -marking that characterizes first person singular S/O or first person singular A bound pronouns; recall that these bound pronouns do surface when (1) they are followed by another bound pronoun in the second position clitic chain, as with those marking O in (15.16), S in (15.18a,b), and A in (15.20a,b), or when they occur last or alone in the sentence, as with those marking O in (15.24), S in (15.25), and A in (15.26).

15.3.3. DAT function

Dative function can be expressed by:

- 1 — an independent pronoun/NP or;
- 2 — a bound pronoun.

No example could be found of a DAT bound pronoun co-occurring with a DAT independent pronoun/NP.

The two different possibilities for encoding the dative function are illustrated below:

- 1 — DAT function only expressed by an independent pronoun is illustrated in (15.2b).

DAT function only expressed by a full NP is illustrated in (15.59).

- (15.59) a. *Sergio=ja ani-ya [ata Ramón bakani]_s.*
 Sergio=DAT sit-IMPV relative Ramón name

‘Sergio had a relative called Ramón (lit. a relative called Ramón was sitting to Sergio).’ sg019

- b. [*Ebadeki baba ebari*]_S *ani-ya*
 hammock big.and.unique big sit-IMPFV

[*Hermano Antonio=ja*].
 brother Antonio=DAT

‘Brother Antonio has an exceptionally big hammock.’ n5.0527

See additional examples in §14.2.2.

2 — DAT function expressed by a bound pronoun only is illustrated in (15.12c), (15.13a-c), (15.18a,b), (15.20b), etc.

15.4. Number

It was noted that third person singular pronouns, whether distance-neutral or proximate, and whether bound or independent, can refer to plural referents. As far as I can say, this never happens with first or second person pronouns.

The example (15.60) shows a third person singular independent pronoun in A function referring to ‘mosquitoes’.

- (15.60) *Tu-ra*_A =*pa* =*tu*_O *amena tiryakware*
 3SG-ERG =REP =3SG(-FM) BM finish-REM.PAST
 [*tu-ja e-rami*]_O.
 3SG-GEN NPF-flesh

‘They (the gigantic mosquitoes) finished her flesh.’ T2.011

An example with a third person singular bound pronoun referring to a plural referent is given in (15.61).

- (15.61) *Jadya =tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *ba-ti-kware*
 thus =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST
*Arauna=kwana*_O.
 Araona.person=PL

‘That’s how I went to see the Araona people.’ pa103

Additional examples showing this phenomenon can be seen in (15.13a,b), (15.16), (15.25c), (15.35a), (15.41c), (15.65a,b) and (15.71a,b).

This parallels the fact that number is not an obligatory category of the noun phrase in Cavineña; that is, the absence of the non-singular markers, =*ekatse* ‘DL’ or =*kwana* ‘PL’, in an NP does not necessarily imply that the referent is

singular (see §13.3.2). Alternatively, it could be the case that in these examples, third person singular pronouns refer to a collective, non-individuated, referent, i.e., ‘the group of mosquitoes’ in (15.60) and ‘the group of Araonas’ in (15.61).

15.5. Third person proximate pronouns

Third person proximate (bound and independent) pronouns are a fascinating aspect of the Cavineña pronominal system. Their function is unfortunately not yet fully understood. In this section, I show that (at least part of) their meaning is to make reference to entities which are spatially close to the speaker at the time of speech. They contrast with third person distance-neutral pronouns which do not specify any distance.

The examples (15.62) and (15.63) come from a story where Alfredo Tavo relates a visit he paid to a Pacahuara family in their own house. At this point of the story, he tells the Pacahuara man the names of what he sees in the house in Cavineña. There is first an owl sitting very close to him (i.e., Alfredo) so he points to it and says (15.62), using a third person proximate pronoun co-occurring with a headless (near-speaker) demonstrative relative clause in CS function.

- (15.62) *Jee*_{CC}=*ke*_{CS} =*ri*_{CS} [e-*kwe* y-*ana*=*ju*] “*pupu*”.
 here=LIG =3PROX.SG(-FM) 1SG-GEN NPF-tongue=LOC owl
 ‘In my (Cavineña) language (lit. tongue), this (owl) is (called) “pupu” (i.e., owl).’ pa066

Then, there is a motmot (bird) which is located away from both Alfredo Tavo (and away from the Pacahuara man). Alfredo points to it and says (15.63), using a third person (non-proximate) bound pronoun co-occurring with a headless (away from speaker-and-addressee) demonstrative relative clause in CS function.

- (15.63) *Yume*_{CC}=*ke*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *uru*_{CC} [e-*kwe* y-*ana*=*ju*].
 over.there=LIG =3SG(-FM) motmot 1SG-GEN NPF-tongue=LOC
 ‘That (motmot) over there is (called) “uru” in my language.’ pa074

Example (15.64) comes from a recorded conversation between Cavineña men doing community work. At some point, they ask me the price of the tape-recorder (which is sitting between them). I tell them that it is very expensive. Vidal Mayo hasn’t heard me so Carmelo Camaconi repeats what I said, using a third person proximate bound pronoun co-occurring with a headless (near-

speaker) demonstrative relative clause in CS function:

- (15.64) *Tsuje-ari-da_{CC} =pa =ri_{CS} jee_{CC}=ke_{CS}.*
 price-big-ASF =REP =3PROX.SG(-FM) here=LIG

‘This (tape recorder) is very expensive (lit. high-priced)!’ tb053

The first evening of my stay in Misión Cavinás, I was talking with Lucas Tavo. As I was commenting on the extraordinary amount of mosquitoes, he said (15.65a), confirming my observation. When I asked Lucas why he didn’t say (15.65b) — i.e., using the distance-neutral bound pronoun —, he replied that this would have meant that he was referring to mosquitoes of a different place (i.e., not of Misión Cavinás).

- (15.65) a. *Uma-da_{CC} =ri-ke_{CS}!*
 many-ASF =3PROX.SG-FM

‘(You are right), there are many mosquitoes here!’

- b. *Uma-da_{CC} =tu-ke_{CS}!*
 many-ASF =3SG-FM

‘There are many mosquito there.’ n5.0004

In (15.66), Victoria Tavo and her daughter have been traveling an entire day with an ox-cart to fetch me in Baqueti, a nearby community. When they arrive at Baqueti, they cannot find me. Victoria says to herself:

- (15.66) *Eju_{CC} =taa =ri_{CS}*
 INT:LOC =EMPH =3PROX.SG(-FM)

[ju-na-chine=ke hermano]_{CS}?
 be-COME.TEMP-REC.PAST=LIG brother

‘Where on earth is the brother who has arrived (and who is supposed to be here!)?’ ka136

In a story, Alfredo Tavo relates how in the olden days, their enemies had once ambushed and killed one of their (Cavineña) women. They had cut off her breasts and the flesh of her legs to give it to the old women, back in their village. As narrated by Alfredo, the one who was carrying the breasts and the flesh was repeating (15.67) joyfully. As we can see, Alfredo uses a third person proximate bound pronoun in O function to refer to the flesh and the breasts.

- (15.67) *Duju-ya* =*ri-ke*_O = \emptyset _A
 take-IMPV =3PROX.SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)
 [[*e-kwe e-anu=ja*] *dyake biji-da*_{CC=ke}]_O.
 1SG-GEN 1-grandmother=DAT very desirable-ASF=LIG

‘I’m taking (there, to our village) what my grandmother likes very much (lit. what is very desirable to my grandmother).’ vz094

Similarly, in (15.15b), the O bound pronoun =*ri* ‘3PROX(-FM)’ refers to a wild turkey that the speaker is holding.

One might want to suggest that Cavineña third person proximate pronouns could be part of an obviation-type of system, as found, for example, in Algonquian languages. Those languages have two different third person pronouns used to help track third person referents in ambiguous A3/O3 function/person combinations. The ‘proximate’ pronoun makes reference to the most topical referent. The ‘obviative’ pronoun makes reference to the less topical referent (Payne 1997: 212). However, this does not seem to be the case in Cavineña. As far as I can say, the distinction between third person proximate and distance-neutral third person pronouns in this language does not have to do with discourse topicality but spatial distance.

15.6. *Ekatse* ‘3DL’ and *ekana* ‘3PL’

There are two curious pronominal-like morphemes: *ekatse* ‘3DL’ and *ekana* ‘3PL’. The two forms consist of a root, *eka* ‘3’, followed by one of two suffixes: *-tse* ‘DL’ and *-na* ‘PL’. Note that the two suffixes are also found in the *bona fide* independent and bound pronouns (§15.1.2 and §15.2.2). As for the root, *eka*, one can speculate whether it could be related to the noun *deka* ‘male’.

Ekatse and *ekana* are very commonly used. They first appear to function as independent pronouns referring to S/O arguments. However, as we will see, there are a number of differences.

The examples in (15.68) and (15.69) illustrate *ekatse* ‘3DL’ and *ekana* ‘3PL’, respectively.

- (15.68) a. *Kunu=eke* =*ni* *ekatse*_S *tsura-ya*.
 liana=PERL =MAYBE 3DL go.up-IMPV

‘They (the two legendary brothers) would probably climb (on top of the trees) along lianas.’ hm026

- b. *Ba-ti-kwe* =*pa* *ekatse*_O!
 see-GO.TEMP-IMP.SG =REP 3DL

‘(When I and my brother arrived at the bishop’s house, to ask for his protection, the sacristan announced us to him saying, “Father, there are two Cavineñas here who want to talk to you,) go and see them (dl)!”’ gu027

- (15.69) a. *Ekana*_S *ijawe=dya* *ju-kware*.
 3PL dance=FOC be-REM.PAST

‘They danced.’ mu032

- b. *E-ra*_A *duju-kware* *ekana*_O.
 1SG-ERG take-REM.PAST 3PL

‘I took them (my three sisters-in-law, to see the deer that I had killed).’ sl072

Ekatse ‘3DL’ and *ekana* ‘3PL’ share the following morpho-syntactic properties with independent nouns (but not with bound pronouns):

1 — they do not have a rigid position in the clause as shown by (15.69a,b), (15.71b) and (15.74);

2 — they can co-occur with bound pronouns referring to the same referent in the same clause, as can be seen in (15.70), with a referent in S function, and (15.71), with a referent in O function.

- (15.70) a. *Amena tume =tuna*_S *ka-tsuru-ti-ya* *ekana*_S.
 BM then =3PL REF-meet-REF-IMPV 3PL

‘So they (the hunters and their wives) would meet (lit. meet each other).’ ct044

- b. [*Ai*_O *tsuru-tsu=piisi=dya*] =*tuna*_S *ka-rikwa-ti-ya* *ekana*_S.
 INT meet-SS=JUST=FOC =3PL REF-bark.at-REF-IMPV 3PL

‘(My dogs were hunting very far away from me and I didn’t know where they were. But I thought:) when they find (lit. meet) something (i.e., some game animal), then they will bark right away (and I will know where they are).’ ba032

(15.71) a. *Jadya* =*pa* =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O *ekana*_O *mare-kware*.
 thus =REP =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) 3PL shoot.at-REM.PAST
 ‘That’s how they (the bad ones) shot at them (the rest of the village people).’ T1.93

b. [“*Buni* *ata=kwana*]_{CC} =*rena*_{CS}” *jadya*] =*pa* =*tu*_O
 partridge relative=PL =3PROX.PL thus =REP =3SG(-FM)
*peadya=ra*_A *ekana*_O *a-eti-kware*.
 one=ERG 3PL affect-COME.PERM-REM.PAST
 “‘These are the Chácobos (lit. the partridge relatives),” someone told them.’ cc034

3 — they can (optionally) occur in imperative clauses as in (15.68b), with *ekatsé*, and (15.72), with *ekana*.

(15.72) *Iyakwa* *ekana*_O *iya-ti-kwe!*
 now 3PL put-GO.TEMP-IMP.SG
 ‘(At the end of the workshop, the missionary lady asked the pilot:) now take (lit. go and put) them (to their community)!’ ri068

4 — they can occur in subordinate clauses as in (15.73).

(15.73) [“*Ita* *pa-ba-ti* *Pakawara=kwana*_O!”
 ATT.GETTER HORT.SG-see-GO.TEMP Pacahuara.person=PL
jadya]_{CC} [*e-kwe* *i-nime*]_{CS} *ju-kware*
 thus 1SG-GEN NPF-thought be-REM.PAST
 [*e-ra*_A *ekana*_O *adeba-ya=ama=tibu*].
 1SG-ERG 3PL know-IMPV=NEG=REASON
 “‘I will go and visit (lit. see) the Pacahuaras,” I thought (lit. thus were my thoughts), because I did not know them.’ pa016

However, there are at least three main differences between *ekatsé* ‘3DL’ and *ekana* ‘3PL’ and independent pronouns:

1 — they can co-occur with (at least) S/O NPs. Examples showing *ekatsé* and *ekana* co-occurring with S NPs are shown in (15.74).

- (15.74) a. [[**Mama Felicia**]_S, [**mama Mati**]_S *jadya*] *etsekwe=ju*
 madam Felicia madam Mati and OUTSIDE=LOC
ani-kware ekatse_S [e-tiki jiruru]...
 sit-REM.PAST 3DL NPF-fire AT.EDGE.OF
 ‘Mrs Felicia and Mrs Mati sat outside (of the house), next to the
 fire (to toast manioc).’ md002
- b. *E-na=ju ekatse_S beta=dya_S pakaka-kware.*
 NPF-water=LOC 3DL two=FOC fall-REM.PAST
 ‘The two of them fell in the water.’ ps040
- c. *Chapa=kwana_S iwa=ju ekana_S bade-ti-kware.*
 dog=PL tail=LOC 3PL hang-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST
 ‘My dogs ran (lit. went) to the anteater and hung on to its (ant-
 eater’s) tail.’ ba093

In (15.75), I give an example of *ekana* co-occurring with an O NP.

- (15.75) *Amena ba-ti-kware=dya =∅_A ekana_O*
 BM see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST=FOC (=1SG-ERG) 3PL
jadya_{CC}=kwana=ke_O.
 thus=PL=LIG

‘I went to see those who are like that.’ T1.97

2 — they never take phrasal particles (Chapter 17);

3 — they normally do not occur first in a clause — (15.69a) being a rare exception — whereas this position is the preferred one for independent pronouns.

These observations suggest that *ekatse* ‘3DL’ and *ekana* ‘3PL’, unlike independent pronouns, do not fill NP slot. Although these two morphemes are semantically associated with core arguments (S/O), they might function as adverbial/peripheral elements, similarly to independent particles (§16.1). Yet, there are differences between the two. For example, unlike independent particles, *ekatse* and *ekana* cannot be modified by phrasal particles. Therefore, the exact nature of these two morphemes will have to remain open at the present stage.

Note that *ekatse* ‘3DL’ and *ekana* ‘3PL’ are formally identical to the dual and plural number markers =*ekatse* ‘DL’ and =*ekana* ‘PL’ (§13.3). One could analyze them as being the same morphemes. This is not a satisfactory analysis, at least synchronically, for the following reasons:

- (15.77) a. **Re-wa** =*rena*_S *ani-ya*.
 here-LOC =3PROX.PL sit-IMP.FV
 ‘(When we reached the village of the Pacahuara people, my companion said to me:) “Here is where they₁ live”.’ pa029
- b. *Ina-ya=ama=dya* =*ekwana*_A **re-keja**
 grab-IMP.FV=NEG=FOC =1PL(-ERG) here-LOC.GNL
*sasu=kwana*_O.
 trough.mortar=PL
 ‘We (Cavineña women) don’t use (lit. grab) trough mortars around here (community of Galilea) anymore.’ ci111

In addition to *re-wa*, there is another ‘near’ locative demonstrative, *jee-ju*, which apparently has the same meaning, although *re-wa* is used more frequently than *jee-ju* in the available corpus. Examples illustrating the two ‘near’ locative demonstratives in (nearly) similar contexts are given in (15.78).

- (15.78) a. *Je-kwe* **re-wa!**
 come-IMP.SG here-LOC
 ‘Come here!’ n4.0483
- b. *Mi-ke*_S *ani-bute-kwe* **jee-ju**, **moto=ju!**
 2SG-FM sit-GO.DOWN-IMP.SG here-LOC motorcycle=LOC
 ‘Sit down here, on the motorcycle!’ me047

The ‘mid’ demonstrative root *tu-* ‘there’ is used to refer to places located away from the speaker and close to the addressee, or not close to the addressee but very familiar to both addressee and speaker. In (15.79), *tu-wa* refers to a location close to the addressee. This example is from the beginning of a conversation recorded at Ventura Mayo’s house. When I arrived (with the tape recorder recording), Ventura greeted me and invited me to sit, indicating a bench (located near me):

- (15.79) *Bandia* *Tata!* *Nubi-kwe!* *Ani-bute-kwe!*
 good.morning sir enter-IMP.SG sit-GO.DOWN-IMP.SG
Tu-wa=dya =*tu*_S *epereres*.
 there-LOC=FOC =3SG rack
 ‘Good morning Sir! Come in! Have a seat! There is a bench (lit. rack) there.’ ci003

In (15.80), *tu-wa* refers to a place close to neither speaker nor addressee (at the time of speech) but familiar to the addressee — the addressee has already heard about Alto Ivón and knows where it is.

- (15.80) *Kwa-kwe* *AltoIvón=ju!* *Ba-ti-kwe* *tu-wa*
 go-IMP.SG Alto.Ivón=LOC see-GO.TEMP-IMP.SG there-LOC

Chakubu=kwanao!
 Chácobo.person=PL

‘(One day the missionary sent me to the Chácobo village. He said to me:) “Go to Alto Ivón! Go and meet (lit. see) the Chácobo people there!”’ pa002

In (15.81), *tu-eke* refers to a place located away from both speaker and addressee but very close (and visible) to both of them.

- (15.81) *Aijama!* *Tu-eke=dya* *=tu_S* [*dutya moto*]_S
 not.exist.at.all there-PERL=FOC =3SG(-FM) all motorcycle

kueti-ya.
 pass-IMPFV

‘(I wanted the big woman to get down from the motorcycle I was driving so that we could cross that tiny bridge on foot but she refused and said:) “No! All the motorcycles cross (lit. pass) here (on that bridge, so don’t worry!)”’ mo019

The ‘far’ demonstrative root *yu-* ‘over there’ is used to refer to places located away from both addressee and speaker and unfamiliar to either speaker or addressee, or unfamiliar to both. In (15.82), *yu-wa* refers to a place which is far away from speaker and addressee, and unfamiliar to the addressees (but familiar to the speakers).

- (15.82) *Iye-wa* *=tu-ja* *=tu* *matuja_O.*
 kill-PERF =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) caiman

Yu-wa *=tu-ja* *=tu_O* *ijewe-ti-wa.*
 over.there-LOC =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) throw-GO.TEMP-PERF

‘(When we arrived at the village, back from a fishing expedition, my companions said to everybody, talking about me:) He has killed a caiman_i. He threw it_i away over there (on our way back here).’ lg046

The examples in (15.83) come from a recorded conversation between Cavineña men (doing community work) and me. The main topic of the conversation is me and my far away and unknown (perhaps unheard of) home country (France). The following examples are a sample of the questions that I was asked about France, to which they consistently refer with the ‘far’ demonstrative *yu-keja*.

- (15.83) a. *Tume* =*mis* *ejetupu* *diru-nuka=dya*
 then =2SG(-FM) INT:UP.TO go-REITR=FOC

yu-keja [*mi-kwe epu=ju*?]
 over.there-LOC.GNL 2SG-GEN village=LOC

‘So when are you going back there, to your country (lit. village)?’
 tb113

- b. *Ani-ya* =*datse* *eskupeta_S* *yu-keja?*
 sit-IMPV =FRUST shotgun over.there-LOC.GNL

‘But are there any shotguns over there (in your country, even though, as you said, you are not allowed to use shotgun for fishing?)’ tb200

- c. *Ji-da_{CC}* *yu-keja* *i-nime_{CS?}* [*Umada chipiru*]_S
 good-ASF over.there-LOC.GNL NPF-thought many money

ani-ya *yu-keja?*
 sit-IMPV over.there-LOC.GNL

‘Is the (economic) situation (lit. thought) good over there (in your country)? There’s a lot of money there, isn’t there?’ tb206

15.7.2. Case distinctions

Adverbial demonstratives fill the slot of three different types of postpositional phrases: (1) locative (§14.2.3), (2) general locative (§14.2.4) and (3) perlocative (§14.2.5).

The general locative and perlocative case suffixes, *-keja* ‘LOC.GNL’ and *-eke* ‘PERL’, are identical to the general locative and perlocative postpositions, *=keja* ‘LOC.GNL’ and *=eke* ‘PERL’. On the other hand, the locative suffix *-wa* ‘LOC’, which occurs on three of the roots, is different from the locative postposition *=ju*. But note that the locative postposition *=ju* is identical to the suffix *-ju* taken by the ‘near’ demonstrative *jee*.

In (15.84), I illustrate the three case distinctions. In each case, there is a full postpositional phrase in the same function in a preceding sentence or in the same sentence.

- (15.84) a. ... *kwa-kware* *ike_S* ***bei=ju*** *wikamutya=ra*.
 go-REM.PAST 1SG lake=LOC fish=PURP.MOT
Tu-wa =*tu-ke_O* = \emptyset _A *ba-ti-kware*
 there-LOC =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST
 [*peadya rau*]_O...
 one egret
 ‘... I went fishing at the lake. Arriving there, I saw an egret ...’
 sl012-013
- b. [*E-kwe* *dekachu*]_S ***Rure=keja*** *diru-kware*.
 1SG-GEN little.brother Rurrenabaque=LOC.GNL go-REM.PAST
Tu-keja=*dya* *wane-ki_{CC}* *ju-diru-kware*.
 there-LOC.GNL=FOC wife-WITH be-GO.PERM-REM.PAST
 ‘My little brother went to the area of Rurrenabaque (a town). (And) there he got married (lit. went and was with a wife).’ nk067-068
- c. ***Re-eke*** =*ri_{CS}* [*veinticinco kilometro=dya_{CC}*]_{CC}.
 here-PERL =3PROX.SG(-FM) twenty.five kilometer=APPROX
Riberalta=eke.
 kilometer=PERL
 ‘From here, it (the Cavineña community of Santa Ana) is about 25 km, from (here in) Riberalta.’ pa001

15.7.3. Anaphoric function

Adverbial demonstratives always have an anaphoric (but apparently not cataphoric) function. In other words, adverbial demonstratives are only used when the location is clearly identifiable from the context. As such they need not be accompanied by a pointing gesture. Typically, the place referred to has been mentioned in the preceding text. This can be clearly seen in (15.80) and (15.84a,b) where the places referred to by the demonstratives are expressed by full postpositional phrases in a preceding sentence. In (15.81), the addressee (taxi-driver) knows the place referred to by the ‘mid’ demonstrative *tu-eke* because he has mentioned this place (i.e., the bridge) himself to the addressee (the

big woman) when he asked her to get down from the motorcycle. In (15.82), the villagers can identify the place referred to by the ‘far’ demonstrative *yu-wa* because they already know where the speaker and his companions have been fishing.

The ‘near’ demonstratives, at least, can be used without previous mention of the place they refer to. This can be seen in (15.77a,b) and (15.78a,b), where the ‘near’ demonstratives refer to the location of the speaker.

15.8. Pointing demonstratives

Pointing demonstratives are used to draw the attention to new locations (not to entities). Unlike adverbial demonstratives, pointing demonstratives are never used anaphorically. In most cases, they are accompanied by a pointing gesture (either finger- or lip-pointing).

15.8.1. Deictic function

There are four pointing demonstratives which, similarly to adverbial demonstratives, distinguish three degrees of distance. They are given in (15.85).

(15.85)	<i>riya</i> ⁹ or <i>jee</i>	‘here, near speaker’
	<i>tume</i> ¹⁰	‘there, near or familiar to addressee’
	<i>yume</i>	‘over there, not near or not familiar to speaker or addressee’

Note that pointing demonstratives are clearly related to adverbial demonstratives. They are based on the same set of roots: *ri-* and *jee* ‘near’, *tu-* ‘mid’ and *yu-* ‘far’. These roots have exactly the same meaning in adverbial demonstratives and pointing demonstratives. In addition to the roots, pointing demonstratives include irregular formatives: *-ya* with *ri-* and *-me* with *tu-* and *yu-*. The origin of these formatives is unknown. They do not correspond to any recognizable postposition. In this study, they are not treated as independent suffixes but as parts of unitary roots.

The three distance distinctions, ‘near’, ‘mid’ and ‘far’, that distinguish the pointing demonstratives are illustrated below. The ‘near’ pointing demonstratives *riya* and *jee* are synonymous (similarly to the adverbial demonstratives *re-wa* ‘here-LOC’ and *jee-ju* ‘here-LOC’; see (15.78)). They are used while pointing

⁹ Note that this form is most likely related to the root of the 3PROX pronouns (§15.1.2 and §15.2.2).

¹⁰ When *tume* and *yume* are followed by the focus particle =*dya*, they have the alternate forms *tumi* and *yumi*, respectively; see §15.8.2.

to a place located near the speaker, as shown in (15.86). Note that in (a.), the speaker is also the addressee as he is talking to himself.

- (15.86) a. **Riya**=*dya* [*e-kwe eskupeta*]_{CC}.
 here=FOC 1SG-GEN shotgun

‘(I was very scared of the anteater but I said to myself:) “Here (in my hands) is my shotgun (so I should not be afraid).”’ ba115

- b. **Jee**=*dya* [*Antoni=ja tujuri*]_{CC}.
 here=FOC Antoni=GEN mosquito.net

‘Here (in the photo that we are looking at) is Antoni’s mosquito net.’ ft018

In a Cavineña village, when arriving at a house, looking for someone, one typically asks *are* ‘QUEST’ (§16.2.2) and the name of the person looked for, to which the person looked for responds *riya* ‘here’. This was recorded when Antonio Yubanera (A) and I arrived at Ventura Mayo (V)’s house once. They said (15.87).

- (15.87) A: *Are Hermano?*
 QUEST brother

‘Hello, Brother? Are you there? Where are you?’ ci001

- V: **Riya** *Hermano!*
 here brother

‘Hello Brother, I’m here!’ ci002

See also *jee=dya mikwana=ja misionero* ‘here is your missionary’ in (T1.56) and *jee=dya =mike =Ø isara-ya* ‘here I am talking to you’ in (T1.73).

The ‘mid’ pointing demonstrative *tume* is used while pointing to a place which is located away from the speaker, close to the addressee or not close to the addressee but visible/easily identifiable to him. In (15.88), a group of Cavineñas are ambushing their enemies. Someone spots the enemies coming and informs his companions:

- (15.88) *Abakata ne-ju-kwe!* **Tumi**=*dya ekana_S jeti-ya.*
 silent IMP.NSG-be-IMP.NSG there=FOC 3PL come-IMPFV

‘Be quiet! There they come!’ mk065

The ‘far’ pointing demonstrative *yume* is used to point to a place which is located away from both speaker and addressee and non-visible/difficult to identify. One night in Misión Cavinás, Alfredo and I were woken up by a porcupine that had entered our house. Alfredo went to Lucio Tavo, our closest neighbor, to ask him to come with his rifle and kill the animal. Alfredo said to Lucio:

- (15.89) *Ija*_O *iye-na-kwe!* *Yume* *ju-ani-ya.*
 porcupine kill-COME.TEMP-IMP.SG over.there be-SIT-IMPFV
 ‘Come kill a porcupine! Over there, it is sitting (on a beam).’ ij016

In Misión Cavinás, Rosmeri Tavo used to cook for both Alfredo Tavo and me. One day, Alfredo had been away the whole morning. Rosmeri came to ask me if he would be back for lunch (i.e., if she had to cook for him too). I did not know so we waited for Alfredo. Suddenly, Rosmeri saw Alfredo in the distance, pointed to him, and said to me:

- (15.90) *Yumi=dya* *jeti-ya.*
 over.there=FOC come-IMPFV
 ‘Over there, he is coming.’ n5.0152

15.8.2. Morpho-syntactic properties

Pointing demonstratives have the following morpho-syntactic properties:

1 — pointing demonstratives are peripheral (not core) elements. They do not fill any specific postpositional slots (unlike adverbial demonstratives, which fill locative, general locative and perlocative PP slots), even though they can only refer to locations (and are translated by the English adverbial demonstratives ‘here’, ‘there’ and ‘over there’);

2 — pointing demonstratives are most often used in main clauses;

3 — pointing demonstratives normally come first in the clause (as in all preceding examples). Example (15.91) is a rare exception, with the ‘mid’ pointing demonstrative *tume* used in the middle of a clause.

- (15.91) [*Ejebucha iye-e*] =*ri-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *tume*
 MAN.INT kill-MAN.INT =3PROX.SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) there
a-ya?
 affect-IMPFV

‘How am I going to kill it there (a giant anteater, hidden inside a

tremendously thick vegetation)?' ba058

4 — pointing demonstratives are very often marked with the phrasal particle =*dya* (§17.2.3), as in (15.86a,b) and (15.88); note however that this is not an obligation, as in (15.89) and (15.91). When this happens, =*dya* causes a non-predictable phonological change *e* → *i* on the last *e* vowel of *tume*, which becomes *tumi*=*dya*, as in (15.88), and *yume*, which becomes *yumi*=*dya*, as in (15.90); note that =*dya* does not trigger any changes with *riya* and *jee*, as can be seen in (15.86a,b).

15.8.3. Additional functions

Pointing demonstratives *tume* and *yume* (but not *jee* and *riya*) are very often used when there is the second position particle =*tukwe* 'CONT.EVID' (§16.3.3), as in (15.92).

(15.92) a. ***Tume*** =*tukwe* *ani-kware*
then =CONT.EVID sit-REM.PAST

[*bina* [i-ke_O *susu-ti-ya=ke*]]_S.
bat 1SG-FM suck-GO.TEMP-IMPV=LIG

'(When I went sleeping, I didn't know that) there was a (vampire)
bat that was going to suck me (during my sleep).' bi016

b. ***Yume*** =*tukwe* *amena* *e-riri=dya*_{CC} *ju-kware*
over.there =CONT.EVID BM RES-rot=FOC be-REM.PAST

emake=eke *pero* *dyake=eke* *paji-da=dya*_{CC} *ju-kware*.
UNDER=PERL but ON=PERL hard-ASF=FOC be-REM.PAST

'It happened that the bridge was rotten underneath. But on top, it
was hard. (So I crossed and of course the bridge broke.)'
wa071b

It is not clear what the exact function of *tume* and *yume* is in this context and why *tume* is used in (a.), while *yume* is used in (b.)

There is an interesting, although not fully understood, use of *riya* 'here' and *tume* 'there' in 'copula' clauses with an NP as CC, as follows:

1 — the construction only consists of the CC (an NP) followed (never preceded) by *riya*, as in (15.93), or *tume*, as in (15.94).

In (15.93), Griselda Cartagena and her family are taken back to their community, Bolivar, in the light plane of the missionaries. They have gotten lost in a storm. They spot a village that they think is Bolivar. But when they get closer, the pilot says:

- (15.93) *Bolivar=ama_{CC} riya!*
 Bolivar.village=NEG here
 ‘(Hold on,) this is not Bolivar!’ av019

The conversation turn in (15.94) was volunteered by Francisco Vaca.

- (15.94) A: *Ai=ja_{CC}=ke_{CC} =ri_{CS} anteojos_{CS}?*
 INT=DAT=LIG =3PROX.SG(-FM) glasses
 ‘Whose glasses are these?’
 B: *E-kwi_{CC}=ke_{CC} tume_{CS}!*
 1SG-DAT=LIG there
 ‘Those are mine!’ n1.0170

2 — the construction appears to never overtly express the CS; that is, there are no CS bound or independent pronouns or NPs;

3 — *riya* and *tume* in the construction can refer to a place, as in (15.93), but also to a thing, as in (15.94), or even to people, as in (15.95).

In (15.95), during the Chaco war against Paraguay (1932-1935), Cipriano Tavo and (his younger brother) Victor Tavo Mayo, were supposed to fight in the Bolivian army. However, they escaped and went to the town of Trinidad to ask for the bishop’s protection. The bishop (B) knew Cipriano (C) but not Victor (V). When they arrived, he asked Cipriano:

- (15.95) B: *Riya*¹¹=ri_{CS} *eje=ke_{CC}?* [*Mi-kwe jau*]_{CC}?
 here =3PROX.SG(-FM) INT=LIG 2SG-GEN younger.brother
 ‘Who is this? Your younger brother?’
 C: *Jejee, [e-kwe e-jau]_{CC} tume.*
 yes 1SG-GEN 1-younger-brother there
 ‘Yes, that’s my younger brother.’

¹¹ This *riya* is a regular pointing demonstrative and not part of the construction discussed here. This is because — although it is found in a copula clause with a NP as CC — (1) *riya* comes first in the clause and (2) there is a bound pronoun.

B: *Eje=ke*_{CC} *riya*? *Vitu*_{CC} *riya*?
 INT=LIG here Vitu here

‘Which (of your younger brothers) is this? Is this Vitu?’

V: *Vitu*_{CC} *tume*.
 Vitu there

‘(Yes,) that’s Vitu.’ gu031-033

4 — *riya* and *tume* in this construction are always anaphoric;

One wonders if in this construction, *riya* and *tume* are not special bound pronouns referring to the CS, that would come in addition to the two series of distance-neutral S/CS pronouns, i.e., =*tu-ke*, =*ta-tse* and =*tu-na*, and proximate S/CS pronoun, i.e., =*ri-ke*, =*re-tse* and =*re-na*. This issue needs more work.

Finally, we can note that the pointing demonstratives *riya* and *yume* are homophonous with, and possibly historically related to, two auxiliary-triggering markers used in slot B of the predicate: *riya* ‘STARTLING’ (§10.2.3) and *yume* ‘IMMEDIATELY’ (§10.2.2).

15.8.4. Nominal demonstrative strategies

Cavineña does not have specific demonstratives functioning within NPs, such as English ‘this’ and ‘that’. This is remedied by two strategies. The first strategy consists of marking a pointing demonstrative, which is a peripheral element, with the ligature morpheme =*ke* (i.e., the relative clause marker). The resulting constructs can then be used as modifiers to a noun within an NP (in slot A of the NP structure), as with *riya=ke* in (15.96a) and *yume=ke* in (15.96b).

(15.96) a. [*Riya*_{CC}=*ke upatiwiri=ja*] =*tu*_S *ani-nuka-ya=dya*
 here=LIG small.bird=DAT =3SG(-FM) sit-REITR-IMPV=FOC
kwatsabijis.
 story

‘This small bird (the vermilion flycatcher bird I am talking about) has a story too (it used to be a servant of the sun).’ hi006

b. [*Yume*_{CC}=*ke jipamu*]_{CS} *ji-u=piji*_{CC}.
 over.there=LIG papaya good-ASF=DIM

‘That papaya (tree) over there (that we see in the distance) is nice.’ n5.0466

See also *jee=ke* ‘this’ in (15.12c) and *tume=ke* ‘that’ in (15.45b).

In this work, I analyze the pointing demonstrative + ligature constructions as copula relative clauses; that is, the Cavineña equivalent of English ‘this/that X’ is literally ‘the X who/that is here/there’. For a justification of this analysis, see §13.6.2.

The second option is to use a pointing demonstrative in apposition to an NP, i.e., without any further marking, as in (15.97).

- (15.97) a. ... *kakemiti-nuka-ya* [[*tume*] [*peya ekwita*]=*tsewe*].
 get.married-REITR-IMPFV there other person=ASSOC
 ‘... she is getting re-married, with that other person there.’ mu036
- b. *Ai=dya*_{CC} =*di* =*tu*_{CS} [[*yume*] *ekwita*]_{CS}?
 INT=FOC =STRG.EMPH =3SG(-FM) over.there person
 ‘Who the heck is that person over there?’ hm189

For another example with *tume*, see (T1.78).

Note that when a pointing demonstrative occurs first in the clause, and is followed by an NP, and there are no second position clitics (to show the end of the first immediate constituent of the clause) it is not possible to decide whether the demonstrative is apposed or not, as in (15.98).

- (15.98) a. **Jee** *ebakwapiji=ra*_A *ina-ya*
 here small.child=ERG grab-IMPFV
 [*make wiri=kwana e-tutsu=ke*]_O...
 piranha tiny=PL RES-sew=LIG
 ‘This small child (here in the picture) is holding (lit. grabbing)
 small piranhas attached (lit. sewn) (on a string)...’ ft030
- b. ... *je-kwe!* **riya** *tsudi*_S *bade-ya*.
 come-IMP.SG here armadillo hang-IMPFV
 ‘Come! Here is (lit. hangs) an armadillo (in its burrow).’ tu023
- c. *Ne-diru-kwe!* **Tume** *avion je-ya*.
 IMP.NSG-go-IMP.NSG there plane come-IMPFV
 ‘Go (get ready)! There, the plane (that will pick you up) is coming.’ ri065

15.8.5. Conjunction function

The pointing demonstrative *tume* is very often used as a sentential conjunction meaning ‘then’, as in (15.99a), ‘so’, as in (15.99b), or ‘but’, as in (15.99c).

- (15.99) a. **Tume** =*pa* =*tu*_S *tawi-ya=ke*_S *jucha*
 then =REP =3SG(-FM) sleep-IMPV=LIG have.sex.with
 a-ta-karama *ju-kware.*
 affect-PASS-DESID.NEG be-REM.PAST

‘**Then**, when they (the woman and her husband) were sleeping (in the mosquito net), she refused to have sex.’ T2.2

- b. **Tume** =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O *tractor=kwana*_O
 then =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) tractor=PL
 tu-wa=dya *shana-mere-kware.*
 there-LOC=FOC leave-CAUS-REM.PAST

‘**So** they (the Araona people) scared them (the intruding loggers) away so that they were forced to abandon their tractors right there.’ T1.117

- c. ... *puru-kware.* **Tume** *uyuyu=kamadya*_S *ani-ya=dya.*
 dig-REM.PAST then mud=ONLY sit-IMPV=FOC

‘I dug (the length of my arm). **But** there was only mud (no water).’
 sd029

Chapter 16

Particles — independent, first position and second position particles

Particles are monomorphemic grammatical words uninflected for any grammatical categories. There are four different types of particles. They essentially differ in their degree of phonological and structural independence, as follows:

1 — independent particles (§16.1) have the highest degree of freedom. They form independent phonological words which can occur anywhere in any type of clause;

2 — first position particles (§16.2) also form independent phonological words but have distributional restrictions: they can only occur in main clauses and must be in first position;

3 — second position particles (§16.3) do not form independent phonological words: they are enclitics to the last phonological word of the first immediate constituent of a main clause (NP, PP, predicate, independent or first position particle, adverbial clause, etc.);

4 — phrasal particles (not discussed here but in Chapter 17) do not form independent phonological words either: they are enclitics to the last phonological word of an immediate constituent of any type of clause regardless of its position.

16.1. Independent particles

16.1.1. Introduction

Independent particles are independent phonological words which do not have any ordering restrictions; they behave like any clausal constituent in this respect. Unlike first and second position particles (but similarly to phrasal particles), independent particles can occur in any type of clause, whether main clause or subordinate.

The following tables list all attested independent particles found in the data, sorted by semantic field: sentence linkage (Table 16.1), aspect/manner (Table 16.2), time (Table 16.3), time of day (Table 16.4) and direction/location (Table 16.5).

Table 16.1. Independent particles encoding sentence linkage

<i>jutakiju</i>	‘therefore’
<i>tudya</i>	‘then’
<i>tuekedya</i>	‘then, next’
<i>tume</i>	‘then’
<i>tumebae</i>	‘also’

Table 16.2. Independent particles encoding aspect/manner

<i>aikwana/aikira</i>	‘FILL’
<i>amena</i>	‘BM’
<i>butseeju</i>	‘for the first time’
<i>chamakama</i>	‘finally, with difficulty’
<i>datse</i>	‘FRUST’
<i>dyake</i>	‘very, a lot’
<i>ebajarara</i>	‘quickly’
<i>ejebuchaju</i>	‘sometimes’
<i>jadya</i>	‘thus’
<i>muyajutidya</i>	‘suddenly’
<i>piyeju</i>	‘by chance’
<i>riyapiji</i>	‘a little bit’
<i>yanakana</i>	‘in vain’
<i>yaratupu</i>	‘for a short while’
<i>yudijidya</i>	‘again’

Table 16.3. Independent particles encoding time

<i>tumepatya</i>	‘at that time (long ago)’
<i>beru</i>	‘before, long ago’
<i>riyabarepa</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>riyakama</i>	‘now’
<i>iyakwa</i>	‘now, today, nowadays’
<i>jadyaatsu</i>	‘later today’
<i>metajudya</i>	‘tomorrow’

Table 16.4. Independent particles encoding time of day

<i>apudajudya</i>	‘early morning’
<i>barepatya</i>	‘at midday’
<i>barepatyawesuta</i>	‘in the afternoon’
<i>meta</i>	‘at night’
<i>meta(bare)patya</i>	‘at midnight’

Table 16.5. Independent particles encoding direction/location

<i>wiatsura</i>	‘upriver’
<i>tibabutya</i>	‘downriver’
<i>ikwene(ta)</i>	‘first’

Only three independent particles have been investigated in some depth in this study: *dyake* ‘very, a lot’ (§11.1.2), *datse* ‘FRUST’ (§16.1.2), *amena* ‘BM’ (§16.1.3) and *aikwana/aikira* ‘FILL’ (§16.1.4). The other particles require more work.

16.1.2. *datse* ‘FRUST’

The particle *datse* ‘FRUSTrative’ means that an action is performed in vain, i.e., without the expected results/consequences.¹ *Datse* is found both as an independent particle and as a second position particle.

I illustrate *datse* in various positions in the clause in (16.1).

- (16.1) a. ***Datse***=*dya* = \emptyset _A *iwa-chine*. *Aijama*=*dya*.
FRUST=FOC (=1SG-ERG) wait.for-REC.PAST not.exist.at.all=FOC

Je-wa=*ama* =*tu-ke*_S.
come-PERF=NEG =3SG-FM

‘I waited in vain for him. But nothing. He didn’t come.’ ka344

- b. *I-ke*_S *kwa-karama* ***datse*** *ju-kware*
1SG-FM go-DESID.NEG FRUST be-REM.PAST

[*baji-da*_{CC} *ju-atsu*].
scared-ASF be-SS

‘I didn’t want to go (to the Araona village) because I was scared (yet I eventually went there).’ T1.23

- c. *Tudya* =*tu*_O *chapa*=*ra*_A *karu-ti-wa* ***datse***.
then =3SG(-FM) dog=ERG bite-GO.TEMP-PERF FRUST

‘(When the porcupine Lucio had shot fell dead on the ground,) the dog bit it (in order to eat it; however he couldn’t because he filled his mouth with the porcupine needles).’ ij023

¹ The term ‘inconsequential’ is sometimes used in the literature for a similar category; see for example Haiman (1988: 53).

See also ‘we do get upset (but we never attempt to kill each other)’ in (T1.62).

In (16.2), I exemplify *datse* within an adverbial temporal clause.

- (16.2) *Tudya i-ke_S [datse iwa-tsu] ... kwa-kware amena*
 then 1SG-FM FRUST wait.for-SS go-REM.PAST BM
 [[*e-kwe e-bakujuna*]_O *tsuru=ra*].
 1SG-GEN 1-daughter meet=PURP.MOT

‘I went to meet my daughter after having waited in vain for her.’
 mt004

Datse can also function as a second position particle (with no meaning differences), as illustrated in (16.3).

- (16.3) a. *Ji-da =datse =tuna_A bajeje-wa.*
 good-ASF =FRUST =3PL(-ERG) prepare-PERF

‘(They wanted me to eat the caiman that I had killed, so) they cooked it properly. (However, I didn’t eat it.)’ lg050

- b. *Re-eke =datse =taa japa-dama=jipenee_{CC}.*
 here-PERL =FRUST =EMPH far-NEG=ALMOST

‘This way it (the community of Misión Cavinás) is not far (so we could get there very fast. However, since the path is flooded, it will still take us a lot of time to get there.)’ ka257

16.1.3. *amena* ‘BM’

The independent particle *amena* ‘Boundary Marker’ has a general meaning of completion. This particle is used extremely frequently by some speakers (see discussion below). It has essentially a discourse function of separating the information provided by subsequent sentences or sentence constituents; in this latter case, *amena* can be used more than once in a sentence. In Spanish, *amena* is often translated as *ahora* ‘now’ or *ya* ‘now, already’.

In (16.4), I show *amena* as a separator of sentences. It basically manifests the fact that an event does not overlap with the preceding or following event.

- (16.4) a. *Amena i-ke_S aje-ya.*
 BM 1SG-FM walk-IMPV

‘Now (that the bad stretch of path is finished) I’m going to walk (rather than sit in the cart).’ ka454

- b. **Amena** =*taa* =*yatse*_{CS} *japa-dama*_{CC}, *E-bakujuna*.
 BM =EMPH =1DL far-NEG 1-daughter

‘(After more than 10 hours of an exhausting ox-cart journey, as we were about to arrive, I cheered my daughter up:) “(Hang on) My Daughter! We (dl) are (finally) close (to arriving at Baqueti)!”’ ka089

- c. *Tudya* =*tus* **amena** [*nere* *ani-tsur*]
 then =3SG(-FM) BM VIGOROUSLY sit-GO.UP

ju-kware.
 be-REM.PAST

‘(The capuchin monkey was lying half dead. But when I grabbed its leg,) then, it suddenly sat up!’ aj022

See also ‘the man (who was very upset finally) turned better’ in (T1.78).

Amena can be used in CC function with the meaning ‘be ready’, as in (16.5).

- (16.5) *I-ke*_{CS} **amena**_{CC} *ju-wa*.
 1SG-FM BM be-PERF

‘I’m ready (we can go).’ n4.0033

Amena is often used between sentences, not counting as first clausal constituent for the purpose of second position clitic placement, as with its first instance in (16.6).

- (16.6) **Amena** *tuekedya* =*tus* *chamakama* *e-peres*
 BM then =3SG(-FM) finally NPF-side

a-tana-ya **amena**.
 affect-PASS-IMPV BM

‘And then finally the side (of the canoe) is made.’ ab179

Note that in this example both instances of *amena* reinforce meaning of the independent particle *chamakama* ‘finally’.

Some speakers sometimes insert *amena* between nearly every constituent of a sentence, as in (16.7).

- (16.7) a. **Amena** [tu-ke_S ukena-wa=ju] **amena** isha-ya
 BM 3SG-FM become.hot-PERF=DS BM put.in-IMPFV

amena.

BM

‘Once it (the water) is hot, they (our Cavineña grandmothers) would pour it (the grounded corn) (in the hot water, in order to prepare corn beer).’ ci086

- b. **Amena** kwaba=eke =ekwana_S **amena**
 BM canoe=PERL =1PL BM

ka-reke-ti-kware

amena ji-da.

REF-cross-REF-REM.PAST BM good-ASF

‘(The first time we tried to cross the Biata river with our handmade canoe, we almost all drowned. This time however,) we crossed with a canoe and it was alright (lit. good).’ ri021

The function of repeating *amena* between clausal constituents is not altogether clear. It is possibly used for clarity as a way to overtly mark the clausal constituents boundaries.

Amena can be used extremely frequently, depending on speakers. Some speakers like Alfredo Tavo tend to use *amena* rather sparingly.² In T1, for example, he only uses *amena* in 6 % of the sentences (9 instances of *amena* out of 153 sentences). Gregorio Yubanera, on the other hand, uses *amena* in 40 % of the sentences in T2 (6 instances of *amena* out of 15 sentences). More work is needed to determine whether any correlations can be made between the use of *amena* and sociolinguistic parameters such as age, sex, etc.

16.1.4. *aikwana/aikira* ‘FILL’

The two morphemes *aikwana* and *aikira* are lexical fillers. They are used in discourse as temporary/preparative substitutes for words that the speaker has difficulty remembering. No clear semantic or formal differences were found between *aikwana* and *aikira*. All I can say at this stage is that *aikwana* is used much more frequently than *aikira* (171 instances of *aikwana* against 58 instances of *aikira* in the whole corpus) and that *aikira* tends to be used by older speakers.

² Alfredo even disapproved once of the tendency of some speakers to overuse that particle.

As an illustration, *aikwana* in (16.8) is used when the speaker has difficulty remembering the term that refers to a specialist of canoe-making. Note that he does not manage to find a native Cavineña term and ends up using a Spanish loan, *maestro*:

- (16.8) *Pero e-ra=kwita_A =tu_O a-kware=ama,*
 but 1SG-ERG=RESTR =3SG(-FM) affect-REM.PAST=NEG
hermano. Aikwana maestro=ra_A =∅_O
 brother FILL master=ERG (=1SG-FM)
a-kere-kware.
 affect-CAUS.INVLT-REM.PAST

‘I didn’t make it (that canoe) alone, brother. I made it with a, what’s the name, a master (lit. a master made me do it with him).’ ab125-127

The examples in (16.9) provide additional instances of *aikwana* as a substitute for various sorts of words, such as the (borrowed) noun meaning ‘poncho’ in (a.), the quantifier meaning ‘seven’ in (b.), the noun phrase meaning ‘forest tip’ in (c.) and the transitive verb meaning ‘inform’ in (d.).

- (16.9) a. ... =ekwana_A *a-kara a-kware aikwana*
 =1PL(-ERG) affect-DESID affect-REM.PAST FILL
punchu_O.
 poncho
 ‘We wanted to make a, what’s the name, a poncho.’ ri005
- b. ... =ekwana_{CS} *aikwana pakaruku_{CC} =ekwana_{CS} ju-kware.*
 =1PL FILL seven =1PL be-REM.PAST
 ‘We were, what’s the word, seven (brothers and sisters).’ nk017
- c. [*Tume_{CC}=ke aikwana e-kike matina=ju*]
 there=LIG FILL NPF-forest tip=LOC
ju-nati-kware.
 be-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

‘(Then) I arrived at, what’s the name, a forest tip.’ mj097

d. <i>Jadya</i>	= <i>ekwana</i> _A	<i>a-chine</i>	<i>aikwana</i>
thus	=1PL(-ERG)	affect-REC.PAST	FILL
<i>kweja-wa</i>	= <i>ekwana</i> _A	<i>gringa</i> = <i>ekatse</i> _O .	
inform-PERF	=1PL(-ERG)	<i>gringa</i> =DL	

‘So did we say, what’s the word, inform the two gringas.’ ri034a

See also *aikwana* in (6.12c), with substitution of the noun *pere* ‘raft’, in (14.48), with substitution of the proper noun *Barrio Villa*, in (4.72b), with substitution of the (borrowed) noun *mono* ‘monkey’, in (15.12a), with substitution of the verb *keti-* ‘take out’, and in (15.34), with substitution of the (borrowed) noun *diccionario* ‘dictionary’.

Examples of *aikira* can be found in (4.60b), with substitution of the proper noun *Biri*, in (6.25b), with substitution of the derived adjective *e-wiru* (NPF-scatter) ‘scattered’, in (18.16a), with substitution of the (borrowed) noun *carga* ‘load’, in (T1.40) with substitution of the noun phrase *tuna-ja e-jiyu=ke* (3PL-DAT RES-make.friend.of=LIG) ‘their friend’, and in (T2.9), with substitution of the noun *jeme* ‘trumpeter bird’.

Note that in all these examples *aikwana* and *aikira* do not take case markers, even when they are used to substitute for nouns that do require such marking, as in (16.8), where *aikwana* substitutes for *maestro* ‘master’ in the ergative case. And when *aikwana* and *aikira* substitute for verb, they do not take verbal morphology either, as in (16.9d), where *aikwana* substitutes for the verb *kweja-* ‘inform’ inflected with perfect morphology.

The origin of *aikwana* is transparent; *ai* is most likely related to the interrogative noun *ai* (§12.5.3); as for *kwana* it is probably related either to the plural marker =*kwana* (§13.3) or the ‘uncertainty’ independent particle =*kwana* (§17.2.15). The origin of *aikira*, on the other hand is unknown.

16.2. First position particles

16.2.1. Introduction

First position particles, similarly to the independent particles, form one grammatical and one phonological word. However, they differ in that first position particles must occur as the first constituent of a main clause. First position particles do not occur in adverbial clauses.

Table 16.6 lists all first position particles attested in the data. The right column cross-references the sections where they are discussed.

Table 16.6. First position particles

<i>are</i>	‘QUEST’	§16.2.2
<i>ita</i>	‘ATT.GETTER’	§16.2.3
<i>deka</i>	‘POTENTIALLY’	§16.2.4
<i>masa</i>	‘SEEMINGLY’	§16.2.5
<i>jipakwana</i>	‘SEEMINGLY.NOT’	§16.2.6
<i>jipake</i>	‘LUCKILY’	§16.2.7

16.2.2. *are* ‘QUEST’

The first position particle *are* ‘QUESTion’ makes explicit that a clause is a polar question; recall that there is no specific intonation for questions in Cavineña.

In (16.10), Elio Tavo relates how he once was attacked by an anaconda snake. He comments that, when he returned to his community, limping and feeling terribly bad, one of the school teachers saw him and asked him:

- (16.10) *Ai=ra_A =mi_O karu-wa?*
 INT=ERG =2SG(-FM) bite-PERF
Are =mi_O bakwa=ra_A a-wa=ama?
 QUEST =2SG(-FM) viper=ERG affect-PERF=NEG
 ‘What bit you? Isn’t that a viper that bit you?’ mp069

In Cavineña society, at the end of a meal, the way the host asks the guest if s/he wants more food is by saying (16.11).

- (16.11) *Are =bakwe =mi_A biji-dama ba-nuka-ya?*
 QUEST =CONTR =2SG(-ERG) desirable-NEG see-REITR-IMPV
 ‘Do you you want more (food)? (lit. do you see food not desirable again?) n4.0533

Are is also used in clauses which inquire about information but do not make use of a question word, most often because the type of information requested is obvious from the context, as in (16.12), questioning time, and (16.13), questioning a location.

- (16.12) *Are ura_{CS} mikwana-ja? [Ai ura]?*
 QUEST hour 2PL-DAT INT hour
 ‘Could you (pl) give me the time? What time is it?’ ka203

In a Cavineña village, when arriving at someone's house, looking for someone, one says *are* and his name (or a term by which the person can be identified), to which the person looked for responds *riya* 'here', as in (16.13); this example is taken from a recorded conversation when Antonio Yubanera (A) and I arrived at Ventura Mayo (V)'s house once.

- (16.13) A: *Are Hermano?*
 QUEST brother
 'Hello, Brother? Are you there? Where are you?' ci001
- V: *Riya Hermano!*
 here brother
 'Hello Brother, I'm here!' ci002

16.2.3. *ita* 'ATT.GETTER'

The first position particle *ita* 'ATTention.GETTER' is only used with command clauses, either imperative or hortative. It is used to politely make an unexpected command/request or make a request that shifts the topic of discussion.

In (16.14), in the middle of the night, Alfredo Tavo and I are woken up by a strange noise inside the house where we are sleeping. Alfredo gets up and searches for it. When he finds out that it is a porcupine. He calls me:

- (16.14) *Ita* [jee_{CC}=ke bicho]_O ba-na-kwe!
 ATT.GETTER here=LIG beast see-COME.TEMP-IMP.SG
 'Come and see that beast!' ij012

In (16.15), Antonio Yubanera and I have come to Teresa Rutani's house to record some old traditions and practices. Antonio first talks with Ventura Mayo (Teresa's husband) about Ventura's bad health. Then Antonio turns to Teresa and says:

- (16.15) *Ita* =pa kwatsabiji riyapiji=kwita
 ATT.GETTER =REP tell.story.to a.little.bit=RESTR
a-kere-kwe, Hermana!
 affect-CAUS.INVLT-IMP.SG sister
 'I'm wondering if you could chat with us (no more than) a little bit, Sister (as requested by the linguist).' ci029

In (16.16), from a folktale narrated by Elio Tavo, the jaguar (J) wonders what the fox (F) is eating. The fox explains that he is eating motacu nuts. He then says (16.16F), which is an imperative clause, and the jaguar replies (16.16J), which is first person hortative clause.

(16.16) F: *Ita* =*taa* *chiba-kwe!*
 ATT.GETTER =EMPH taste-IMP.SG
 ‘But try it (yourself)!’ zo010

J: *Ita* =*taa* *pa-chiba* *e-ra!*
 ATT.GETTER =EMPH HORT.SG-taste 1SG-ERG
 ‘Alright, I will try it then!’ zo011

In (16.17), Alfredo Tavo has traveled to Alto Ivón, the community where the Chácobo people live. Nearby live the Pacahuara people. He is very curious about these indigenous people he has never met before so he says to himself, using the singular hortative.

(16.17) *Ita* *pa-ba-ti* *Pakawara=kwana_O!*
 ATT.GETTER HORT.SG-see-GO.TEMP Pacahuara.person=PL
 ‘I will go and visit (lit. see) the Pacahuaras!’ pa016

16.2.4. *deka* ‘POTENTIALLY’

The first position particle *deka* ‘POTentially’ indicates that the proposition could hold providing a condition is realized. It only occurs in (main) clauses with a predicate inflected with the semantically similar potential circumfix *e-...-u* ‘POT’ (see §6.1.5). The function of *deka* appears to reinforce the potential reading of a clause with a predicate already marked with *e-...-u*.

(16.18) a. *Deka* = \emptyset _O [*e-kwe* *e-awe=ra*]_A
 POTENTIALLY (=1SG-FM) 1SG-GEN 1-husband=ERG

nereda e-a-tsa-u.
 scold POT-affect-COME(O)-POT

‘(I’d better find the mosquito net that I’ve lost. Otherwise) my husband could well scold me (when I arrive home without it).’
 ka403

b. **Deka** =tu-ke_O =mi-ra_A =mi-kwe ebakwa=kwana_O
 POTENTIALLY =3SG-FM =2SG-ERG =2SG-DAT child=PL

e-iye-diru-u *ka-reke-ti-ya=ke_{A+O}*.
 POT-kill-GO.PERM-POT REF-cross-REF-IMPV=LIG

‘You might kill your children crossing the river.’ ri047

One night in Galilea, someone had stolen a number of ducks. Elio Tavo came to the health post, where I was sleeping, to inform me. Later, when Elio recounted (and recorded) the story, he said that he had said (16.19) to me.

(16.19) **Deka** =pa =tuna_S *e-nubi-u* *posta=ju*
 POTENTIALLY =REP =3PL POT-enter-POT health.post=LOC

[*ai_O chiri=ra*].
 INT steal=PURP.MOT

‘(Burglars have entered the village, so be alert!) They could enter into the health post to steal something.’ ml040

16.2.5. *masa* ‘SEEMINGLY’

I have very few examples of the particle *masa* and the following discussion is only tentative. Speakers appear to use *masa* when comparing similar propositions, to say that a proposition is similar to another proposition.

(16.20) a. **Masa**=*dya* =*di* [*e-kwe kuchiru*]_{CC} *jee_{CC}=ke_{CS}*.
 SEEMINGLY=FOC =STRG.EMPH 1SG-GEN machete here=LIG

‘This (machete) looks very much like my machete.’ di1926

b. **Masa**=*dya* =*di* *kuyukuyu_{CC}*.
 SEEMINGLY=FOC =STRG.EMPH granulated.catfish

‘(We, in the village, were wondering what animal the new professor looked like, in order to give him a nickname. I said:) He looks like a granulated catfish! (So we named him “kuyukuyu”!)’ ap038

c. **Masa**=*dya* =*di* [*nei mara=jari*]_{CC}.
 SEEMINGLY=FOC =STRG.EMPH rain time=STILL

‘(How come there is still so much water on the paths!) It is as if it were still the rainy season.’ ka292

Apparently, the particle *masa* is found as a second position clitic in questions.

- (16.21) *Ejebucha*_{CC} =*masa* *chapa=kwana*_{CS}
 INT:SIMLR =SEEMINGLY dog=PL
 [*i-ke*_S *maju-wa=j*_J] *e-ju-u?*
 1SG-FM die-PERF=DS POT-be-POT

‘What could my dogs have done if I had died?’ wa079

Note that *masa* is only found in copula clauses. Note also that when *masa* is a first position particle, as in (16.20) above, it always occurs with the phrasal particle =*dya* followed by the second position particle =*di*. More work is needed to determine whether =*dya* is necessarily present or not.

16.2.6. *jipakwana* ‘SEEMINGLY.NOT’

A handful of examples are available of a first position particle *jipa* that is possibly the negated version of *masa* ‘SEEMINGLY’, meaning that the proposition is likely not to occur.

Example (16.22) comes from a recorded conversation between Cavineña men doing community work. They were trying to have me buy them a new (but very expensive) radio transmitter. As I wasn’t giving any signs I would buy it, Vidal Mayo (the president of the community) said:

- (16.22) ***Jipakwana*** =*ekwana-ja* *radios* *ani-ya*.
 SEEMINGLY.NOT =1PL-DAT radio sit-IMPV

‘It sounds like we won’t have that radio (lit. seemingly a radio will not sit to us).’ tb088

16.2.7. *jipake* ‘LUCKILY’

Two examples are available of a first position particle *jipake*, shown in (16.23).

- (16.23) a. ***Jipake*** =*taa* [*peya* *kistyanu=kwana*]_{CS} *japa-dama*_{CC}
 LUCKILY =EMPH other person=PL far-NEG
 ju-chine.
 be-REC.PAST

‘Luckily there were people nearby to help me.’ mo029

- b. **Jipake** =*taa* [akwi e-rara_{CC}=ke]_s [*i-ke* peke]
 LUCKILY =EMPH tree RES-dry=LIG 1SG-FM AT.SIDE.OF
ani-kware.
 sit-REM.PAST

‘Luckily there was a dry stick close to me (so I grabbed it and used it to defend myself against the aggressive coaties).’ te017a

16.3. Second position particles

16.3.1. Introduction

Second position particles form independent grammatical words but not independent phonological words. Together with bound pronouns (§15.2), second position particles are enclitics to the last phonological word of the first immediate constituent of a main clause. Second position particles do not occur in adverbial clauses.

Table 16.7 lists all the second position particles attested in the data, provisionally sorted by semantic field. The right column cross-references the sections where they are discussed.

Table 16.7. Second position particles

Epistemic modality	= <i>ni</i>	‘MAYBE’	§16.3.2
	= <i>masa</i>	‘SEEMINGLY’	§16.2.5
Evidentiality	= <i>pa</i>	‘REP’	§16.3.4
	= <i>tukwe</i>	‘CONT.EVID’	§16.3.3
Discourse	= <i>di(dya)</i>	‘STRG.EMPH’	§16.3.5
	= <i>taa</i>	‘EMPH’	§16.3.7
	= <i>bakwe</i>	‘CONTR’	§16.3.8
Referential scope	= <i>jatsu</i>	‘EXACTLY’	§16.3.6
Speakers attitude	= <i>shana</i>	‘PITY’	§16.3.9
Manner	= <i>datse</i>	‘FRUST’	§16.1.2

As I said, the second position is also the locus of bound pronouns. When a (main) clause has both second position particles and bound pronouns, bound pronouns always come last in the chain, as in (16.24).

- (16.24) *Ai_O =jatsu =tu-ke_O =mi_A ara-wa?*
 INT =EXACTLY =3SG-FM =2SG(-ERG) eat-PERF
 ‘But what exactly did you eat?’ lv032

Several second position particles can also co-occur — note that 3 co-occurring second position particles is the maximum attested. When this happens, there are also ordering restrictions. This is the topic of §16.3.10 below.

Second position particles can also form a clitic chain with phrasal particles. This happens when a constituent marked by phrasal particles occurs first in a main clause. In this situation, as expected, the second position particles follow the phrasal particles, as in (16.25).

- (16.25) *Ami=kwita=dya_S =pa juri-ya e-rami=ju.*
 blood=RESTR=FOC =REP flow-IMPV NPF-flesh=LOC
 ‘It is said that (the wild turkey was not cooked at all so) it was full of blood (lit. nothing but blood was flowing on the meat).’
 hm097

In this study, for clarity, second position particles (but not phrasal particles) are separated from their host, and from each other when two or more second position particles co-occur, by a space. This helps the reader immediately distinguish second position particles from phrasal particles. This also helps visualize where the first clausal constituent ends.

16.3.2. =ni ‘MAYBE’

The second position particle =ni is used when the speaker is not fully certain of what he says. It translates in English as ‘maybe’, ‘probably’, ‘I think that’, ‘I guess that’, etc.

In (16.26), the speaker is guessing what his dogs’ thoughts were once he fell into a ditch.

- (16.26) [*“Maju-wa =ri-kes” jadya*] =ni
 die-PERF =3PROX.SG-FM thus =MAYBE
[chapa=ja i-nime]_S ju-kware.
 dog=GEN NPF-thought be-REM.PAST

‘(My dogs were desperately looking for me.) “He died!” my dogs were probably thinking (lit. thus was probably the dogs’ thoughts).’ wa087

In (16.27), from a folktale narrated by Elio Tavo, the tricky fox wants to have sex with the jaguar's (three) wives. One wife asks him where he wants to sleep. He refuses to answer (that he wants to sleep on top of her) so she tries to guess:

- (16.27) *Jutakiju eju =mis tawi-kara ju-ya?*
 therefore INT:LOC =2SG(-FM) sleep-DESID be-IMPV
Iyuka=keja =ni?
 head=LOC.GNL =MAYBE

'So where do you want to sleep? Next to my head maybe?' zo093

In (16.28), Teresa Rutani (an elderly woman) relates her childhood. At some point she was sent with her brother to work in a faraway farm. She cannot remember exactly how old she was so she says:

- (16.28) [*Dies años=kwana*]_{CC} =ni i-ke_{CS} ju-kware.
 ten years=UNCERT =MAYBE 1SG-FM be-REM.PAST

'(At that time,) I was maybe something like 10 years old.' nk031

In (16.29), Roberto Amapo is trying to prepare a soft drink, mixing (what he thinks is) the drink powder with water. In reality the powder he is using is leaven so the drink does not turn red/brown as normally expected. Roberto wonders why and (wrongly) guesses:

- (16.29) *Uma-dama=dya_O =di =ni*
 many-NEG=FOC =STRG.EMPH =MAYBE
=ri-ke_O =∅_A isha-wa?
 =3PROX.SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) put.in-PERF

'Maybe I haven't poured enough of it (the powder)!' lv024

In one text Alfredo Tavo relates his only visit to the Pacahuara indigenous people in 1990. He had been very surprised to see that, at that time, the Pacahuaras still kept many of their traditions, such as smoking fish and wearing bird feathers in their noses, etc. But at the end of the story, Alfredo, who had not heard about the Pacahuaras since, wonders how they might be in 2000, when this text was recorded. So he says:

- (16.30) *Jadi=dya=jari_{CC} =ni ekanacs.*
 thus=FOC=STILL =MAYBE 3PL

‘They might still be like that (like the way I saw them).’ pa107

Other examples are ‘we might kill each other’ in (T1.8), ‘perhaps he was scared’ in (T1.27) and ‘the tractors might still be there’ in (T1.117).

Clauses marked by *=ni* ‘MAYBE’ are occasionally translated by dependent conditional clauses in Spanish, which in English would be rendered as follows.

- (16.31) a. *Deka_{CC} =ni =mi-ke_{CS}. Tume =mi_S*
 male =MAYBE =2SG-FM then =2SG(-FM)

jekutana-ya=ama.
 be.scareded-IMPV=NEG

‘(Before transforming himself into a jaguar, he said to me:) If you are a man, you won’t be scared. (Lit. You are probably a man. So you won’t be scared.)’ ht014

- b. *Ani-ya =ni =mikwana-ja radios.*
 sit-IMPV =MAYBE =2PL-DAT radio

Ne-baka-kwe i-ke_O!
 IMP.NSG-hear-IMP.NSG 1SG-FM

‘If you (pl) have a radio transmitter, listen to me! (Lit. A radio transmitter probably sits to you. Hear me!)’ di1991

- c. *Tuna_S =ni atsa ju-nuka-ya.*
 3PL =MAYBE fish.with.barbasco be-REITR-IMPV

Tume =mi_S je-nuka-ya.
 then =2SG(-FM) come=REITR-IMPV

‘(The chief said to me:) if they fish again with barbasco (poison), then come back (and let me know, so that we will do something to prevent them). (Lit. They might fish with poison again. Then you come back.)’ en023

Note however that, structurally, there is no cogent reason to analyze those clauses as dependent in Cavineña (i.e., controlled by the following clause):³ they do not receive any specific marking (apart from the particle *=ni*) and the

³ Although these clauses might have a distinct intonational contour; this requires further study.

following clause is introduced by the particle *tume* which normally begins a new sentence.

Historically, the particle =*ni* ‘MAYBE’ might be related to the negator *ni*= ‘NOT.EVEN’ which is a borrowing from Spanish *ni* ‘not even’ (see §17.2.10).

16.3.3. =*tukwe* ‘CONT.EVID’

The second position particle =*tukwe* ‘CONTRary to EVIDence’ is a noteworthy morpheme. It expresses the fact that a proposition is true despite the evidence.

In (16.32), Eli Mayo relates how he killed his first deer with a rifle when he was 13. The deer was very heavy so he went back home to ask for help. But nobody wanted to believe him because it was the first time he had used a rifle. Eventually, they went and saw the deer. His sister-in-law said:

- (16.32) *Yuneri=dya =tukwe =ris ju-wa*
 be.right=FOC =CONT.EVID =3PROX.SG(-FM) be-PERF
e-jakwis.
 1-brother.in.law

‘Our brother in law told the truth (although we thought he was joking).’ sl075

In (16.33), Lucas Tavo relates how once he had his blood sucked by a vampire bat during his sleep without him noticing anything. He only found out when he woke up. When he realizes what had happened to him he said:

- (16.33) *Bina=ra_A =tukwe =∅_O susu-wa.*
 bat=ERG =CONT.EVID (=1SG-FM) suck-PERF

‘A (vampire) bat sucked me (but I didn’t feel it).’ bi033

In (16.34), Francisco Vaca relates how he fell from a mango tree when he was a young boy. He wanted to grab a beautiful mango fruit on top of the tree. After climbing, he managed to grab it, but:

- (16.34) *Tume =tukwe [[e-ra_A tapa-ya=ke] y-aa]_{CS}*
 there =CONT.EVID 1SG-ERG step.on-IMPV=LIG NPF-branch
e-rara_{CC} ju-kware.
 RES-dry be-REM.PAST

‘The branch I was stepping on was dry (but I didn’t know, so I stood on it and it broke).’ mg014

In (16.35), the Ese Ejja people have killed a Cavineña woman near her village. They make a lot of noise celebrating their killing. They are heard by the (Cavineña) villagers. The Cavineñas realize that the noise comes from their enemies but they cannot figure out what has happened. The narrator comments:

(16.35) *Yume =tukwe =pa [e-puna_O iye-tsu]*
 over.there =CONT.EVID =REP NPF-female kill-SS

ekana_{CS} pureama_{CC} ju-ya.
 3PL happy be-IMPV

‘They (the Ese Ejja) were happy because they had killed a (Cavineña) woman.’ vz026

See also ‘but in reality they were very upset’ in (T1.6) and ‘it was rheumatism’ in (T1.105).

The use of *=tukwe* with future events is noteworthy. This happens for presentiments, whether negative or positive. In (16.36) the brother of a woman has disappeared. When she feels her right arm palpitating, she says:

(16.36) *Ju-eti-ya =tukwe =tu-ke_S =e-kwe*
 be-COME.PERM-IMPV =CONT.EVID =3SG-FM =1SG-DAT

ea-tseweki=ke_S.
 1SG-sibling=LIG

‘I feel my brother is going to come back.’ tu039

In (16.26) Alfredo Tavo relates a long journey when he did not have water. At some point in the story, he is desperate to find any water or anybody to help him and says:

(16.37) *Maju-ya=jutidya =tukwe i-ke_S.*
 die-IMPV=RESTR =CONT.EVID 1SG-FM

‘(I have a presentiment that) I’m just going to die.’ sd061

16.3.4. *=pa* ‘REP’

The second position particle *=pa* ‘REPortative’ is used when the speaker has heard the information from someone else. It is the only category in Cavineña that specifies the source of knowledge one has of a particular proposition.

It is not altogether clear how obligatory the use of the reportative particle is and whether one can really talk about an ‘evidential system’. In some reported

stories, =*pa* occurs on every sentence (as in T2 for example). In some others, it is only sparingly used once in a while. Yet in some other stories (which have supposedly been heard), it is not used at all. It is possible that there are some variations between speakers. T2 for example is from a very old (over 80 years old) speaker which suggests that elderly speakers use the reportative particle more consistently. More work is required to clarify this issue.

The reportative particle is normally used when relating traditional stories as with (16.38):⁴

- (16.38) *Tuekedyā* =*pa* =*tu*_S *arina-aje-kware*
 then =REP =3SG(-FM) become.big-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST

*dii=kwanā*_S
 mosquito=PL

‘Then, the mosquitoes are reported to have been getting bigger and bigger (until they reached the size of a bird).’ T2.7

In (16.39), Cosme Mayo relates the traditional belief that the parents of a newborn baby should not eat monkey lest their baby die.

- (16.39) *E-maju-u* =*pa* [*e-kwe* *e-bakwa*]_S [*jadyā ju-atsu*].
 POT-die-POT =REP 1SG-GEN 1-child thus be-SS

‘It is said that my child could die if I did that (i.e., eating the monkey that I had killed the day my wife was giving birth).’ aj058

In (16.40), Antonio Yubanera relates an old practice of forcing children to bathe before dawn.

- (16.40) *Amena* [*tunā*_S *nawi-karama* *ju-ya=ju*] =*pa*
 BM 3PL bathe-DESID.NEG be-IMPV=DS =REP

 =*tunā*_A *katsa-kware*.
 =3PL(-ERG) beat-REM.PAST

‘It is said that when they (our ancestor’s children) refused to bathe, they (our ancestors) would beat them.’ bn012

The reportative particle is also used just to report information without mentioning someone specifically. In (16.41), Victoria Tavo and her daughter have

⁴ Note that, except in this section, in the translation of the examples that include =*pa* in this study, I have not attempted to systematically render the reported meaning, as this is often difficult to do in a natural way in English.

arrived at the community of Baqueti to fetch me with their ox-cart. They are asking around for some food to take with us on the trip. When I ask her if they have found anything Victoria says:

- (16.41) *Aijama*_{CC} =*pa* =*tuna-ja*
 not.exist.at.all =REP =3PL-DAT
 [*ni=jae ni=e-rami*]_{CS}.
 NOT.EVEN=fish EVEN.NOT=NPF-flesh
 ‘They say that they really don’t have any fish or meat.’ ka162

The reportative particle can also be used to repeat information heard from someone who is clearly identified, as in (16.42), where the source of the information, ‘the foreign lady’ is the A NP of the sentence.

- (16.42) *Runeshi* =*pa* =*ekwana*_O *gringa=ra*_A
 Monday =REP =1PL foreign.lady=ERG
iya-mere-ya avion=eke.
 put-CAUS-IMPFV plane=PERL
 ‘The lady said that she will have someone (pilot) taking us (back to our community) by plane on Monday.’ ri059

The ‘source’ person can still be present in the speech situation. Example (16.43) comes from a recorded conversation between Cavineña men doing community work. At some point, they ask me questions about the tape recorder — e.g., How much does it cost? Where did I buy it? Could I give it to them? etc. — and then comment on my answers among themselves. Vidal Mayo hasn’t heard the price and asks for it from his workmates. Carmelo Camaconi responds:

- (16.43) *Tsuje-ari-da*_{CC} =*pa* =*ri*_{CS} *jee*_{CC}=*ke*_{CS}.
 price-big-ASF =REP =3PROX.SG(-FM) here=LIG
 ‘He said that this (tape recorder) is very expensive (lit. high-priced).’ tb053

The reportative particle can be used with a first person subject. In (16.44), Francisco Vaca relates how, as a young boy, he fell from a mango tree (see earlier example (16.34)). After the fall, he was lying unconscious on the ground, but still holding a mango fruit firmly in his hand. He tells us that according to what people told him later:

- (16.44) *Ina-jaka-ya=ama* **=pa** *e-ra_A* *manga_O*.
 grab-STOP-IMPV=NEG =REP 1SG-ERG mango

‘They said that I didn’t want to let go of the mango.’ mg028

In (16.45) a tricky fox wants to have sex with the jaguar’s (three) wives (see earlier example (16.27)). To convince them, he lies saying that this is what their (jaguar) husband wants:

- (16.45) *Mikwana-tsewe* **=pa** *i-ke_S* *tawi-ya*.
 2PL-ASSOC =REP 1SG-FM sleep-IMPV

‘I am going to sleep with you (pl) (your husband said).’ zo073

The reportative particle can be used with command clauses: imperative in (16.46a), hortative in (16.46b), and jussive in (16.46c).

- (16.46) a. *Jeti-kwe* **=pa!** *Ba-diru-kwe* **=pa!**
 come-IMP.SG =REP see-GO.PERM-IMP.SG =REP

‘(My son came to tell me that the foreigner who had arrived in the plane was looking for me. My son said: Daddy,) come over, he says! Go see him, he says!’ me012

- b. *Waja-da_{CC}* **=pa** *pa-ju!*
 sweet-ASF =REP JUSS-be

‘(For the masticated corn to be good,) it has to be sweet, they say!’ ci200

- c. *Ka-taka-ti-kwe* *kamisa=kwana_E* *karusune=kwana_E!*
 REF-peel-REF-IMP.SG shirt=PL pants=PL

Ne-ba-ti **=pa!**
 HORT.DL-see-GO.TEMP =REP

‘Change (lit. peel) your shirt and pants. Let’s (dl) go to see him, he says!’ me182

The reportative particle can also be used with content questions to obtain some information that has been given by a non-speech act participant; note that I have no example of this use with polar questions but there is no reason why this should not be allowed. Following the command given by the son to his father in (16.46a), the father replies by (16.47) which is a question about the motives of the foreigner:

(16.47) *A=ishu =pa?*
do.what=PURP.GNL =REP

‘What for (did the foreigner say he wants to see me?).’ me013

Example (16.48) is a question-answer conversational turn volunteered by Francisco Vaca:

(16.48) A: *Eju =pa =tus diru-ya?*
INT:LOC =REP =3SG(-FM) go-IMPV

‘Where did he say he is going?’ n1.0415

B: *Diru-ya =pa =tus [tu-ja epu=ju].*
go-IMPV =REP =3SG(-FM) 3SG-GEN village=LOC

‘He said he is going back to his community.’ n1.0415

In Cavineña, the way one asks someone to repeat something not understood is by saying *ai=pa* [INT=REP] ‘What’s that? What did you say?’.

There is an interesting use of the reportative particle that I witnessed (but unfortunately did not record) while living in Cavineña communities. People (often women or children) who were too shy to talk to me directly would have someone else more confident report their questions or comments to me; even though sometimes they would be sitting or standing next to me. I thus heard the exact same sentence uttered twice, except for the use of the reportative particle in the repeated sentence.

16.3.5. *=di(dya)* ‘STRG.EMPH’

The particle *=di(dya)* is used for strong emphasis. In a majority of examples, it shows up as *=di*. Yet in a few others, one finds *=didya*. The two alternating forms do not have any clear meaning differences. In this study, they are treated as variants of the same morpheme in free variation.

The particle *=di(dya)* can first be used to express strong sensations, as in (16.49) and (16.50). When one feels affected by a very hot sun, one can comment to others, complaining (raising the pitch of the voice):

(16.49) *Uke-da=dya_{CC} =di!*
hot-ASF=FOC = STRG.EMPH

‘It’s very hot (and I am suffering from it).’ n5.1049

In (16.50) (reproduced from (16.29)), a man is trying to prepare a soft drink mixing (what he thinks is) drink powder with water. In reality the powder he is using is leaven so the drink does not turn red/brown as normally expected. When he thinks he knows why, he says:

- (16.50) *Uma-dama=dya =di =ni =ri-ke_O*
 many-NEG=FOC = STRG.EMPH =MAYBE =3PROX.SG-FM
 = \emptyset _A *isha-wa!*
 (=1SG-ERG) put.in-PERF

‘Maybe I haven’t poured enough of it (the powder).’ lv024

The particle =*di(dya)* can also be used to make a request more insistent, as in (16.51) and (16.52) (see also (16.55)). In (16.51), in the middle of a recording session, Julio Mayo, the son of Ventura Mayo, came for a visit. Concerned that this would disrupt the recording, Ventura said to him “Please don’t talk yet! We are doing a recording,” and then, contrasting with what he just said:

- (16.51) *Je-kwe=dya. Nubi-na-kwe=dya =di!*
 come-IMP.SG=FOC enter-COME.TEMP-IMP.SG=FOC = STRG.EMPH
 ‘But come! Do come in (lit. enter)!’ ct078

In (16.52), during a terrible drought, the horses are about to die from thirst. People are wondering where to find water. The horse owner said:

- (16.52) [*Yume nabade=ju*] =*di* =*taa*
 over.there swamp=LOC = STRG.EMPH =EMPH
ne-duju-ra ekana_O
 HORT.PL-take-HORT.PL 3PL
iji-mere-ti=ishu!
 drink-CAUS-GO.TEMP-PURP.GNL

‘Let’s (pl) take them (our horses) over there to the swamp so that we can make them drink (water).’ en011

Finally, =*di(dya)* can be used in a question when one really wants to know the answer, as in (16.53). Here a group of Cavineña men are spending a night out fishing. Suddenly they hear a noise nearby. They are very scared. Someone stands up and says:

- (16.53) *Ai=dya*_O =*di* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *baka-ya*
 INT=FOC = STRG.EMPH =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) hear-IMPV
 [*ekwita*_S *ju-neni-ya=bucha*]?
 person be-RANDOM-IMPV=SIMLR

‘What do I hear that sounds like a person walking.’ cc016

In most examples (as in those given above) the form used is =*di*. In a few examples, however, we find the form =*didya* without any difference in distribution or meaning. Until more work can clarify whether there is a difference, =*di* and =*didya* will be treated as two allomorphs of the same morpheme that occur in free variation. An example of =*didya* is given in (16.54). Here, Alfredo Tavo relates how, after having almost died from thirst during a journey, he finally found water at the end of the day. He was so thirsty that he spent the whole night drinking water. Alfredo comments that when he felt he had had enough water:

- (16.54) *Wekaka=wie*_{CC} =*didya* =*ni*.
 be.at.dawn=JUST.BEFORE = STRG.EMPH =MAYBE

‘Dawn might have been about to break.’ sd105

Another example is given in (16.75).

It is most likely that the *dya* formative that occurs in =*didya* is the phrasal particle =*dya* ‘FOC’ (§17.2.3). This particle cannot modify a second position particle but could have been modifying *di* at a stage where this particle was independent.

16.3.6. =*jatsu* ‘EXACTLY’

The particle =*jatsu* is only found in interrogative clauses, whether they are used to question content or polarity. This particle appears to express the fact that the speaker is requesting a very precise or honest answer.

In (16.24) (repeated), Roberto Amapo has drunk a refreshment made of leaven powder (see (16.29) above). As a result his stomach swells and he gets very sick. He still has no idea that he used leaven powder instead of the appropriate drink powder. When he goes to his friends, they try to find out what has happened so they ask him:

- (16.24) *Ai*_O =*jatsu* =*tu-ke*_O =*mi*_A *ara-wa?*
 INT =EXACTLY =3SG-FM =2SG(-ERG) eat-PERF
 ‘But what exactly did you eat?’ lv032

An example within a very similar context is (T1.104), where Alfredo Tavo is asked if he knows medicinal plants to treat a sick person. Alfredo says yes but he wants to know what the exact type of sickness is, so that he can think of the appropriate plant. So he asks, using =*jatsu*, “but what is it exactly that he (the sick person) has?”.

In (16.55), from the community work conversation (see (16.43)), Elio Tavo (E) has been doing all the talking with me. So he wants the others, who are much shyer, in particular Vidal Mayo (V), to ask me questions too:

- (16.55) E: *Kwatsabiji=dya* =*di* *a-kwe* *paja-da*_{CC}=*ke*_O!
 tell.story.to=FOC =STRG.EMPH affect-IMP.SG white-ASF=LIG
 ‘Talk to the white one, damn it!’ tb027

V: *Tume ai*_O =*jatsu* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *kwatsabiji*
 then INT =EXACTLY =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) tell.story.to
e-a-u?
 POT-affect-POT

‘But what exactly can I say (to him)?’ tb027

In preparation for a long trip, Victoria Tavo, her daughter and I had been looking for food (see (16.41)). A relative of Victoria, Maria Mayo, had monkey meat. But Maria was really wondering if I could really eat that type of food so she asked me:

- (16.56) [*Ara-aki=dya*] =*jatsu* =*mi-kwe* *aikwana* *mono*_S?
 eat-TYPICAL=FOC =EXACTLY =2SG-DAT FILL monkey
 ‘Can you really eat, what’s its name, monkey? (lit. is monkey typically eaten by you)’ ka167

When I answered that I had already eaten monkey meat, Maria was very surprised, so she asked me:

- (16.57) *Eju* =*jatsu* =*mi*_A *ara-chine?*
 INT:LOC =EXACTLY =2SG(-ERG) eat-REC.PAST
 ‘Where exactly did you eat that (monkey meat)?’ ka169

16.3.7. =*taa* ‘EMPH’

The particle =*taa* ‘EMPHatic’ expresses a mild surprise, whether positive or negative, for something that goes somewhat against what one would have expected.

The particle =*taa* expresses subjective (as opposed to objective) statements. In (16.58), Roberto Amapo is invited to drink a refreshment he had never tried before. He finds it very tasty. He says to his friends:

- (16.58) *Ji-da*_{CC} =*taa* [*jee*_{CC}=*ke* *refresco*]_{CS}!
 good-ASF =EMPH here=LIG soft.drink
 [*Ai bakani*]_{CC} =*tu-ke*_{CS}?
 INT name =3SG-FM

‘This soft drink is indeed very good! What is it called?’ lv008

In (16.59), Victoria Tavo and her daughter have left home with an ox-cart to fetch me at a nearby community. Their dog has followed them. They don’t want him to come along so the daughter accompanies him a little way back towards their home. Victoria waits a very long time but the daughter doesn’t seem to be coming back. She says:

- (16.59) *Diru-wa* =*ni* =*taa* [*e-kwe e-bakujuna*]_S.
 go-PERF =MAYBE =EMPH 1SG-GEN 1-daughter

‘(That’s strange.) It looks like my daughter has gone back (home) (and won’t come back)! ka011

In (16.60), Cosme Mayo relates the surprising behavior of his dogs once he had fallen into a ditch during a hunting expedition. He comments that, because they thought that he had died:

- (16.60) *Enapa-wa* =*taa* =*tuna-ra*_A =*i-ke*_O.
 cry.for-PERF =EMPH =3PL-ERG =1SG-FM

‘They (my dogs) cried for me!’ wa109

See also (16.4b).

The particle =*taa* is used to soften commands. In (16.61), in a folktale narrated by Elio Tavo, =*taa* is used when the fox begs the jaguar not to eat him.

- (16.61) *Aama =taa Kuku-chi! Ara-ume =taa i-keo!*
 not.exist =EMPH uncle.MB-AFFTN eat-IMP.SG =EMPH 1SG-FM

‘(The angry jaguar says to his nephew, the fox, who tricked him: “this time I am going to eat you!”. But the fox responds:) “No, Uncle. Don’t eat me! (But eat the beautiful cows over there!)”.
 zo037

The particle =*taa* is used in leave-taking formulas. The person who leaves says “I am going!” The person who stays responds: “go (=taa!)”. This can be illustrated with the conversation turn in (16.62) below. I was recording a conversation between Antonio Yubanera (A) and Ventura Mayo (V) (in Ventura’s house). At the end, Antonio indicated to me that we had talked enough and that it was time to leave. Then he said to Ventura:

- (16.62) A: *Yatse_S =yatse_S diru-nuka-ya.*
 1DL =1DL go-REITR-IMPFV
 ‘We are leaving (lit. going again).’ ab213

V: *Diru-aje-ya? Ne-diru-kwe =taa!*
 go-GO.DISTR-IMPFV IMP.NSG-go-IMP.NSG =EMPH

‘You want to go (lit. you are gradually going)? Alright you can leave (lit. go!).’ ab214

The particle =*taa* is used with questions which normally should not have to be asked because under normal circumstances, the information (requested by the question) is available. In (16.63), Victoria Tavo and her daughter have traveled an entire day with an ox-cart to fetch me, having arrived at a nearby community. When they arrive, they cannot find me. Victoria says to herself:

- (16.63) *Eju_{CC} =taa =ri_{CS}*
 INT:LOC =EMPH =3PROX.SG(-FM)
 [*ju-na-chine=ke hermano*]_{CS}?
 be-COME.TEMP-REC.PAST=LIG brother

‘Where on earth is the brother who has arrived (and who is supposed to be here!)?’ ka136

See also ‘I don’t know why (the pilot did not stay with me in the Araona village, as I thought he would)’ in (T1.27).

16.3.8. =*bakwe* ‘CONTR’

The particle =*bakwe* ‘CONTRastive’ is used for a contrastive proposition that goes against what holds true for a different participant or location or purpose, etc.

In (16.64) Francisco Vaca, a newcomer to the community, is being teased by his friends about a caiman he had killed. He comments:

- (16.64) *E-ra*_A =***bakwe*** *tukwana*_O *adeba-ya=ama...*
 1SG-ERG =CONTR that.stuff.there know-IMPV=NEG
 ‘Me (unlike my friends), I didn’t know those things (the caiman and other types of jungle animals)...’ lg027

In (16.65), Eli Mayo has been relating how he learned to use rifles. Then he says:

- (16.65) *Eskupeta*_O =***bakwe*** = \emptyset _A *ina-nuka-ya=dya.*
 shotgun =CONTR (=1SG-ERG) grab-REITR-IMPV=FOC
 ‘I handle (lit. grab) shotguns too.’ sl085

In (16.66), Alfredo Tavo has arrived (by light plane) at the village of the Ar-aonas. He will stay in the village while:

- (16.66) *Amena piloto*_S =***bakwe*** *kueti-kware* *Ixiamas=ju.*
 BM pilot =CONTR pass-REM.PAST Ixiamas=LOC
 ‘The pilot (unlike me) continued (lit. passed) (with the plane) to Ixiamas.’ T1.26

In (16.67), Griselda Cartagena recounts a plane trip. They have been caught by a terrible storm and search desperately for a place to land. They cannot land at the community of Las Mercedes because the airstrip is full of water. Then they reach Bolivar where the situation is better:

- (16.67) *Tu-wa* =***bakwe*** *e-na*_{CS} *aama*_{CC} *ju-kware*
 there-LOC =CONTR water not.exist be-REM.PAST
pista=ju.
 airstrip=LOC

‘There (in Bolivar, as opposed to Las Mercedes), there was no water on the airstrip (so we finally managed to land).’ av029

The particle =*bakwe* is found within questions in greeting turns, which typically go as in (16.68).

(16.68) A: *Eje-ji-u_{CC}* =*mi-ke_{CS}*?
 INT-good-EPEN =2SG-FM
 ‘How are you?’

B: *Ji-da_{CC}!* *Mi-ke_{CS}* =*bakwe*?
 good-ASF 2SG-FM =CONTR
 ‘I’m fine. What about you?’

A: *Ji-da=dya_{CC}!*
 good-ASF=FOC
 ‘I’m fine too!’ n1.0041

Sometimes, the two contrasted constituents are both stated in two subsequent main clauses both marked with =*bakwe* as in (16.69).

(16.69) *Amena tu-ke_S* =*bakwe* *ani-chine=dya.*
 BM 3SG-FM =CONTR sit-REC.PAST=FOC

I-ke_S =*bakwe* *jeti-chine* *e-tare=ju.*
 1SG-FM =CONTR come-REC.PAST NPF-house=LOC
 ‘Her, she stayed. Me, I went home.’ mo041-042

The origin of the particle =*bakwe* is possibly the verb *ba-* ‘see’ inflected with the singular imperative suffix *-kwe* ‘IMP.SG’, literally meaning ‘see!’.

16.3.9. =*shana* ‘PITY’

The particle =*shana* is used when the speaker feels pity/empathy for one of the participants.

(16.70) a. *Yawa=ju* =*shana* *ekana_S* *ani-ya.*
 ground=LOC =PITY 3PL sit-IMPV
 ‘(When they were preparing corn beer,) they (our Cavineña grandmothers) would sit (directly) on the ground, the poor women.’ ci079

- b. *Tu-ke=kamadya_O =shana =tatse_A aikwana*
 3SG-FM=ONLY =PITY =3DL(-ERG) FILL

kemi-kware.
 take.out-REM.PAST

‘(They spent a whole night fishing and only caught a tiny fish.)
 This is the only thing that they caught, the poor guys.’ ps013

- c. *Chapa=kwana_S =shana kastere-wa.*
 dog=PL =PITY become.tired-PERF

‘My poor dogs were (very) tired (having fought so much with the
 anteater in order to save me).’ ba146

In (16.71), Victoria Tavo and her daughter have managed to catch some fish.
 This is the only thing they would have to eat later. She says:

- (16.71) *Pureama=dya_{CC} =shana =yatse_{CS} ju-ya.*
 happy=FOC =PITY =1DL be-IMPFV

‘We (dl) were very happy, poor us.’ ka351

In (16.72) =*shana* is used within an imperative clause.

- (16.72) *Pisu-kwe=jari =shana juye=ekatse_O!*
 untie-IMP.SG=STILL =PITY ox=DL

Pa-kanajara ekatse_S!
 JUSS-rest 3DL

‘Untie the oxen (dl) for a while, the poor animals (who are suffer-
 ing so much pulling the cart)! Let them (dl) rest!’ ka301

The origin of the particle =*shana* is possibly the verb *shana-* ‘leave O, abandon O’, illustrated in (16.73).

- (16.73) [*Jadya a-atsu*] =*tu-ra_A =e-kwe e-nasi_O*
 thus affect-SS =3SG-ERG =1SG-DAT 1-older.sister

shana-kware.
 leave-REM.PAST

‘After telling her so (to sit down), she (my mother) left my older
 sister.’ ib055

Table 16.8. Second position particle co-occurrences attested in the data

	=datse	=tukwe	=di(dya)	=shana	=bakwe	=ni	=pa	=taa
=datse	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(16.3b)
=tukwe	?	?	?	?	?	?	(16.35)	?
=di(dya)	?	?	?	?	(16.74f)	(16.50)	(16.74e)	(16.74d)
=shana	?	?	?	?	(16.74g)	?	(16.74h)	?
=bakwe	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
=ni	?	?	?	?	?	?	(16.74b)	(16.59)
=pa	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(16.74a)
=taa	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

Notes:

- =datse 'FRUST'
 =tukwe 'CONT.EVID'
 =di(dya) 'STRG.EMPH'
 =bakwe 'CONTR'
 =shana 'PITY'
 =ni 'MAYBE'
 =pa 'REP'
 =taa 'EMPH'

16.3.10. Distribution

Second position particles appear to follow very strict ordering restrictions (unlike phrasal particles; see §17.3). When two (or more) second position particles co-occur, they are always found in the same order.

Table 16.8 summarizes all the situations of co-occurrence of two second position particles and the order in which they occur, as per the available data. Note that no attempt has been made to conduct elicitation on this topic. Note also that =*jatsu* ‘EXACTLY’ has not been included in the table, since it does not co-occur with any other particles in the data. Particles in the left column correspond to the first member of a sequence while particles in the top horizontal row correspond to the second member. The table cross-references the examples of attested combinations provided earlier or given in (16.74).

- (16.74) a. *Ba-u* =*pa* =*taa* *Kana*_O *e-tere*.
 see-EPEN =REP =EMPH Kana RES-finish
 ‘It is said that he saw Kana naked (lit. finished).’ hm192
- b. [*Tu-ke*_O *ba-tsa-tsu*] =*ni* =*pa* *iba*_S *diru-kware*.
 3SG-FM see-COME(O)-SS =MAYBE =REP jaguar go-REM.PAST
 ‘The jaguar might have run away when he saw him (the hunter), they say.’ se028a
- d. *Aama=dya* =*di* =*taa!*
 not.exist=FOC =STRG.EMPH =EMPH
 ‘You are welcome! / It’s nothing!’ n4.0512
- e. *Amena* *tume* *chapa=dya*_S =*di* =*pa*
 BM then dog=FOC =STRG.EMPH =REP
ka-rikwa-ti-aje-ya=dya.
 REF-bark.at-REF-GO.DISTR-IMPFV=FOC
 ‘The dog (that was carried by the man in a basket) was barking, they say.’ tg037
- f. *Tuna=dya*_S =*di* =*bakwe*
 3PL=FOC =STRG.EMPH =CONTR
tsajaja-ni-bare-kware=dya.
 run-RANDOM-DISTR-REM.PAST=FOC
 ‘They (the cattle, the sheep, the pigs, etc.) were all running all over

(frightened by the hurricane).’ hu022b

g. *I-kes* =*shana* =*bakwe* *tsa-ya=dya*
 1SG-FM =PITY =CONTR laugh-IMPV=FOC

[*peya tsa-u*].
 other laugh-EPEN

‘I was laughing too, poor me (who had fallen into that ditch), but differently (i.e., I was ashamed).’ mo048

h. *Pa* *esiri*_{CC}=*kes* =*shana* =*pa* *yu-keja*
 INTERJ old=LIG =PITY =REP over.there-LOC.GNL

katewa ju-wa
 hide be-PERF

‘They say that the elder (lit. the old one) was hiding over there, the poor guy!’ hm148

It is not clear whether two (or more) second position particles are in paradigmatic opposition. At first glance, this could be the case for =*tukwe* ‘CONT.EVID’ and =*ni* ‘MAYBE’ which encode different epistemic modality values. One observation I can nevertheless make is that there appears to be a clear template for the sequence involving =*di*(*dya*) ‘STRG.EMPH’, then =*ni* ‘MAYBE’, then =*pa* ‘REP’ then =*taa* ‘EMPH’. Note that only three — not four — of these particles were found in a sequence, as in (16.75), from a recorded conversation. Here, Ventura Mayo is explaining to Antonio Yubanera and me how to make traditional baskets. Antonio is amazed at the complexity of the procedure and says:

(16.75) [*Yanakana a-nuka=ama*] =*didya* =*ni* =*taa*.
 in.vain affect-REITR=NEG =STRG.EMPH =MAYBE =EMPH

‘(Boy), it looks to me that one does not make these (baskets) any which way (lit. in vain)!’ ab053

Chapter 17

Particles — phrasal particles

There are four different types of particles in Cavineña. The first three types, independent particles, first position particles, and second position particles have been discussed in the preceding chapter. The present chapter discusses the last type of particles: phrasal particles.

17.1. Introduction

Phrasal particles, similarly to second position particles, do not form independent phonological words. All phrasal particles but one (*ni=* ‘NOT.EVEN’) are enclitics to the last phonological word of a phrase and have scope over the phrase only; the particle *ni=* is a proclitic to the first phonological word of a phrase. Similarly to independent particles phrasal particles can occur in any type of clause.

Table 17.1 lists all the attested phrasal particles, provisionally sorted by semantics field. The right column cross-references corresponding sections.

Table 17.1. Phrasal particles

Aspect	= <i>jari</i>	‘STILL’	§17.2.1
	= <i>nuka</i>	‘REITR’	§17.2.2
Discourse function	= <i>dya</i>	‘FOC’	§17.2.3
Referential scope	= <i>kwita</i>	‘RESTR’	§17.2.4
	= <i>kamadya</i>	‘ONLY’	§17.2.5
	= <i>tere</i>	‘ONLY’	§17.2.6
	= <i>piisi</i>	‘JUST’	§17.2.7
	= <i>dyane</i>	‘APPROX’	§17.2.8
	= <i>ama</i>	‘NEG’	§17.2.9
	<i>ni=</i>	‘NOT.EVEN’	§17.2.10
Speaker attitude	= <i>piji</i>	‘DIM’	§17.2.11
	= <i>ebari</i>	‘INTENS’	§17.2.12
	= <i>jutidya/jutii</i>	‘RESTR’	§17.2.13
	= <i>jipenee</i>	‘ALMOST’	§17.2.14
Epistemic modality	= <i>kwana</i>	‘UNCERT’	§17.2.15

Most phrasal particles can occur on any type of phrases (NP, PP, predicate, independent particles, adverbial clause, etc.). A few do however show some restrictions; *=jari* ‘STILL’ and *=jipenee* ‘ALMOST’, for example, only occur on predicates and copula complements.

Similarly to second position particles, phrasal particles can co-occur. Unlike second position particles, however, phrasal particles do not have strong ordering restrictions, as discussed in §17.3.

If a phrase that is marked by phrasal particles comes first in a main clause, these phrasal particles can be followed by second position particles, if these are present. In (17.1), for example, we can see two phrasal particles followed by one second position particle. Recall that second position particles are separated from their host and from each other by a space.

- (17.1) *Ami=kwita=dya_s =pa juri-ya e-rami=ju.*
 blood=RESTR=FOC =REP flow-IMPV NPF-flesh=LOC

‘It is said that (the wild turkey was not cooked at all so) it was full of blood (lit. nothing but blood was flowing on the meat).’
 hm097

Note that this order (which cannot be reversed) is consistent with the fact that phrasal particles have a narrower scope than second position particles — phrasal particles have scope of over a clausal constituent while second position particles have scope over a whole main clause.

Phrasal particles can also form a clitic chain with postposition clitics, if they happen to modify a postpositional phrase, as with *=dyane* in (17.2).

- (17.2) *I-ke_s ju-kware edanaka=eke=dyane e-na=ju.*
 1SG-FM be-REM.PAST knee=PERL=APPROX NPF-water=LOC

‘I was (walking) in the water, (with water) somewhere up to my knees.’ Ig007

17.2. Phrasal particles

17.2.1. *=jari* ‘STILL’

The particle *=jari* means that a state or an event is not yet completed but is nearing completion. Unlike other phrasal particles, it is restricted to verbal predicates, copula complements (whatever they may be) and (less often) adjunct constituents. It is not attested with other types of constituents. See Table 17.2 below for a summary.

In past tense settings, =*jari* means that the state/event has begun before and was still holding at the story time but does not hold at the present time anymore. This is illustrated in (17.3).

- (17.3) a. *Tumepatya =tuna-ja =tu_s ani-kware=jari*
 at.that.time =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) sit-REM.PAST=STILL
ududus e-wikani=ju.
 feather NPF-nose=LOC
 ‘At that time (when I visited the Pacahuara people) they were still wearing feathers in their noses (but they don’t anymore).’
 pa104
- b. *Baji-da=jari_{CC} [tume_{CC}=ke tiempo] i-ke_{CS} ju-kware.*
 scared-ASF=STILL there=LIG time 1SG-FM be-REM.PAST
 ‘At the time (when I had my first experience with handling a rifle) I was still scared. sl022
- c. *Chacha-chacha=piji=jari_{CC} ju-kware [tume_{CC}=ke ura].*
 alive-REDUP=DIM=STILL be-REM.PAST there=LIG hour
 ‘It (the deer that I had shot) was still a little bit alive at the time.’
 sl046

At the beginning of one of the village meetings that I attended in Galilea, Antonio Mayo was missing. People were wondering where he was. Then someone said:

- (17.4) *Nawi-ti-wa=jari =pa.*
 bathe-GO.TEMP-PERF=STILL =REP
 ‘He has gone bathing (and is still there; but he will soon be back here).’ n4.0349

See also ‘when I was still a leader’ in (T1.1).

In present tense settings, =*jari* means that the state/event has begun in the past and will still hold true for some time in the future (although not forever). This is illustrated in (17.5).

- (17.5) a. *Eweebari=jari_{CC} =mi-ke_{CS}.*
 teenager=STILL =2SG-FM
 ‘You are still a teenager.’ tb102

- b. [*Mi-kwe epu=ju*] *maju-ma=jari*_{CC?}
 2SG-GEN village=LOC die-RES.NEG=STILL

‘Are they (your parents) still alive (lit. have they not died yet) in your country (lit. village)?’ tb119

- c. *Riyakama =ni =tu*_{CS} *tu-wa=jari=dya*_{CC}.
 now =MAYBE =3SG(-FM) there-LOC=STILL=FOC

‘Now, they (the tractors) might still be there.’ T1.117

- d. *Jadya=kamadya=jari*_{CC!}
 thus=ONLY=STILL

‘That’s all for now!’ n1.0024

In future tense settings =*jari* means that the state/event will soon be finished after it has started. This is illustrated in (17.6).

- (17.6) a. *Kwa-ya=jari =i-ke*_S.
 go-IMPV=STILL =1SG-FM

‘I’m going (but will come back soon).’ n4.0273

- b. *Tasi =∅_S ju-ya=jari metajadya=ishu*.
 drive.a.taxi (=1SG-FM) be-IMPV=STILL tomorrow=PURP.GNL

‘I will drive my (motorcycle) taxi a little bit for (me to have money) tomorrow.’ mo005

Similar meanings obtain in command settings such as in the imperative mood, as in (17.7a), in the hortative mood, as in (17.7b), or the jussive mood, as in (17.7c).

- (17.7) a. [*Kastere-wa=ke juatsu*] *jara-kwe=jari!*
 become.tired-PERF=CONDIT CONDIT lie-IMP.SG=STILL

‘If you are tired, rest for a while (lit. still lie)!’ (Camp and Liccardi 1989: 280)

- b. *Aama! Radio=ju pa-kwa=jari!*
 not.exist radio=LOC HORT.SG-go=STILL

‘No (I can’t come right now)! I’m going to the radio (house) for a while! (but don’t worry, I’ll come back later.)’ ct079

- c. *Pa-kastere=jari* *ekatses!*
 JUSS-become.tired=STILL 3DL

‘Let these (two monkeys) get tired (quarrelling) (and then I will kill them easily)!’ to007

Example (17.8) is a rare case where the particle =*jari* occurs on an adjunct constituent, a predicative adjective in ‘adverbial’ function.

- (17.8) *Ji-da=jari* =*yatse_s* *kwa-chine.*
 good-ASF=STILL =1DL go-REC.PAST

‘(At the beginning of the trip,) we (dl) were going pretty well (but soon after, it started to rain and the trip turned into a disaster).’
 lm012

Table 17.2 summarizes the types of constituents and word classes that can be marked by =*jari*. The right column cross-references illustrative examples.

Table 17.2. Summary of constituents that can be marked by =*jari* ‘STILL’

Constituent	Constituent head	Illustrative examples
predicate	inflecting verb	(17.3a), (17.4), (17.6a), (17.7a-c)
	non-inflecting verb	(17.6b)
CC	NP	(17.5a)
	predicative adjective	(17.3b), (17.5b)
	adverbial demonstrative	(17.5c)
	independent particle	(17.5d)
Adjunct	adjective	(17.8)

17.2.2. =*nuka* ‘REITR’

The phrasal particle =*nuka* ‘REITeRative’ expresses the fact that a referent, property, state, event, location, etc., is similar to some other referent, property, etc. mentioned earlier. In (17.9), =*nuka* modifies NPs in various syntactic functions.

- (17.9) a. *A-wa* =*tuna_A* *e-ju=ke=nuka_O.*
 affect-PERF =3PL(-ERG) 3-younger.brother=3=REITR

‘(The enemies had killed the elder brother.) And they had also killed his younger brother.’ hm147

- b. *Kwaju=kwana*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *upatiwiri=nuka=dya*_{CC}
 cacique=PL =3SG(-FM) small.bird=REITR=FOC
*Ari-ari=kwana=piji*_{CC} =*tuna*_{CS}.
 big-REDUP=UNCERT=DIM =3PL

‘Caciques are also small birds (like the squirrel cuckoo, the smooth-billed ani, etc., that we just talked about). (However) they are a little bit bigger (than the others).’ am001

In (17.10), =*nuka* modifies postposition phrases and time expressions.

- (17.10) a. *Tudya nubi-nati-nuka-chine* *ekwana*_S
 then enter-GO.TEMP-REITR-REC.PAST 1PL
 [*peya cantina=ju=nuka*].
 other store=LOC=REITR
 ‘We entered other stores.’ br036
- b. [*Tume*_{CC}=*ke e-spere=ju=nuka=dya*] =*tu-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A
 there=LIG NPF-stream=LOC=REITR=FOC =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG)
*peya*_O *ba-chine* [*sawa dyake ari-da*_{CC}=*ke*]_O.
 other see-REC.PAST trahira very big-ASF=LIG
 ‘In that same stream, we saw another very trahira (fish).’ ft027
- c. *Tu-wa=kwita=nuka=dya* *a-nuka-wa* *e-ra*_A.
 there-LOC=RESTR=REITR=FOC affect-REITR-PERF 1SG-ERG
 ‘I killed (a second peccary) right there (in the same burrow where I killed the first peccary).’ wa052
- d. *Amena NuevoMojo=ju* *ekwana*_S *ani-kware*
 BM Nuevo.Mojo=LOC 1PL sit-REM.PAST
 [*umada mara=nuka=dya*].
 many year=REITR=FOC
 ‘In Nuevo Mojo we lived many years (similarly to other places where we lived before).’ nk146

In (17.11) =*nuka* modifies non-finite adverbial clauses.

- (17.11) a. *Amena tuekedyā =tuna-ra_A =yatse_O tya-nuka-kware*
 BM then =3PL-ERG =1DL give-REITR-REM.PAST
*emiwe_O amena [yatse_S ka-duju-ti=ishu=**nuka**].*
 manioc.flour BM 1DL REF-take-REF=PURP.GNL=REITR

‘Then they gave us (dl) manioc flour, also for us to take it home (like the fish they had given us first).’ pa102

- b. ... *maju-jeri-kware=dya i-kes*
 die-ALMOST-REM.PAST=FOC 1SG-FM
*[ujeje-da_{CC} ju-atsu=**nuka**].*
 sick-ASF be-SS=REITR

‘I almost died from falling sick again.’ sd113

The phrasal particle =*nuka* is formally identical, and without doubt related to, the verbal Aktionsart suffix -*nuka* ‘REITR’ (§7.1.4). Both can actually co-occur in a single clause, as can be seen in (17.10a) and (17.11a).

17.2.3. =*dya* ‘FOC’

The particle =*dya* ‘FOCUS’ expresses a mild contrastive focus.¹ The function of this particle can be compared to stress-focus in English; see for example Givón (1990: 702). It singles out or gives a bit more prominence to one (or more) constituent(s) in a sentence because this (or these) constituent(s) carries information that contrasts with some other information or expectation.

The particle =*dya* can be used extremely frequently. In T1 for example, Alfredo Tavo uses =*dya* in 43 % of the sentences — 66 instances of =*dya* out of 153 sentences. Note that Gregorio Yubanera, on the other hand, does not use it once in T2.

In (17.12) I illustrate =*dya* on various types of constituents.

- (17.12) a. Verbal predicate

Juye_O nitya-nuka-wa. Neti-chine=dya juyes.
 ox stand-REITR-PERF stand-REC.PAST=FOC ox

‘I stopped (lit. stood) the oxen once again. (This time) they stopped (while earlier they wouldn’t; see (17.13)).’ ka019

¹ A stronger contrast can be obtained by fronting the constituent and using the second position particle =*bakwe* ‘CONTR’ (§16.3.8).

b. A argument

[*Jee*_{CC=ke} *ebakwapiji=ra=dya*]_A =*yatse*_O *duju-chine*.
 here=LIG small.child=ERG=FOC =1DL take-REC.PAST

‘This child (in the picture) took us (to the other side of the river in his canoe, which is quite an achievement because he is very young).’ ft010

c. Independent particle

Chamakama=dya = \emptyset _A [*akwi paji-da*_{CC=ke}]_O
 finally=FOC (=1SG-ERG) tree hard-ASF=LIG
dadi-kware.
 find-REM.PAST

‘Finally, I found a hard stick (to finish killing the deer that I had shot).’ sl057

d. ‘Similarity’ finite adverbial clause

... [*mi-ra*_A [*ekwana-ja y-ana*]_O
 2SG-ERG 1PL-GEN NPF-tongue
baka-ya=ama=bucha=dya] *i-ke*_S *bisu-ya*.
 hear-IMPV=NEG=SIMLR=FOC 1SG-FM be.ashamed-IMPV

‘I was shy (lit. ashamed) because I thought that (lit. as if) you didn’t understand (lit. hear) our (Cavineña) language. (And I didn’t know how to speak to you.)’ ka120

See also, among many other examples, =*dya* on the negated CS argument *dutya bina=ama* ‘not all bats’ in (17.38a), on the associative pro-form *tua-tsewe* ‘with him (rather than alone)’ in (T1.84) and on the locative pro-form *tu-wa* ‘there’ in (T1.116).

The particle =*dya* can occur more than once in a sentence, as shown in (17.13).

(17.13) *Juye*_{CC=tibu=dya} *kwa-kara=dya=jutidya* *ju-ya*.
 ox=REASON=FOC go-DESID=FOC=DISEMPH be-IMPV

‘(I wanted to stop the oxen but they wouldn’t stop.) It is because they are oxen (and for any other reason — like being upset or anything), that they just want to go (as opposed to stop.)’ ka015

The particle =*dya* has a strong tendency to lexicalize. Quite a few forms in Cavineña have a formative (synchronically non-segmentable) ending *dya*. It is likely that in many cases — although I cannot be fully sure at the present time — this formative is historically the focus particle. An exhaustive list of these forms is given in Table 17.3.

With the three words listed in (17.14), the particle =*dya* triggers the idiosyncratic phonological modifications *e* → *i* in (a.) and *dya* → *di* in (b.)

- (17.14) a. *tume* ‘there’ → *tumi=dya* (see (T1.3))
 yume ‘over there’ → *yumi=dya*
- b. *jadya* ‘thus’ → *jadi=dya*

The focus particle =*dya* triggers the deletion of the formative *-ke* ‘FM’ found with absolutive singular independent pronouns (§15.1.2), as shown in (17.15) and exemplified in (17.16).

- (17.15) *i-ke* ‘1SG’ → *i=dya* (**i-ke=dya*)
 mi-ke ‘2SG’ → *mi=dya* (**mi-ke=dya*)
 tu-ke ‘3SG’ → *tu=dya* (**tu-ke=dya*)

- (17.16) *Tume* =*tuna-ra*_A = \emptyset _O ***i=dya***_O *kwadisha-kware*.
 then =3PL-ERG (=*1SG-FM*) 1SG(-FM)=FOC send-REM.PAST
 ‘It is me whom they sent.’ T1.22

In fast speech, there is another phonological modification that is triggered by =*dya* whereby the TAM inflectional verbal suffix *-ya* ‘IMPFV’ turns into *-e* when the suffix is followed by =*dya*. Unlike the words in (17.14) however, this does not happen in slow and careful speech. See the full discussion in §6.1.3.

Table 17.3. Words containing a formative ending *dya*

Words	Word class	Origin of the base
<i>tadya</i> 'then'	independent particle (§16.1)	pronominal root <i>tu-</i> '3' or demonstrative root <i>tu-</i> 'there' (Chapter 15)
<i>tuekedya</i> 'then, next'	independent particle (§16.1)	perlative demonstratives <i>tu-eke</i> 'there-PERL' (§15.1.2)
<i>peadya</i> 'one'	quantifier (§13.5)	quantifier <i>peya</i> 'other' (§13.5)
<i>pidya</i> 'ONE.WHOLE'	postposition (§14.3.2)	quantifier <i>peya</i> 'other' (§13.5)
= <i>kamadya</i> 'ONLY'	phrasal particle (§17.6)	postposition = <i>kama</i> 'ONLY' (§14.3.3)
= <i>jutidya</i> 'DISEMPH'	phrasal particle (§17.14)	phrasal particle = <i>juiti</i> 'DISEMPH' (§17.14)
= <i>di(dya)</i> 'STRG.EMPH'	second position particle (§16.3.5)	second position particle = <i>di</i> 'STRG.EMPH' (§16.3.5)
<i>jadya</i> 'thus'	independent particle (§16.1)	?

17.2.4. =kwita ‘RESTR’

The particle =kwita ‘RESTRictive’ is used to restrict the referential scope of a category to its prototypical members. It translates as ‘no more/no less’ with quantities, ‘just’ with events or properties, ‘only/alone’ with entities, and ‘right/not before nor after’ with time.

In (17.17), I illustrate =kwita modifying predicates.

- (17.17) a. *Amena jipe-ti-kware=kwita e-ra_A.*
 BM approach-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST=RESTR 1SG-ERG
 ‘(The first time I shot at the deer I was too far so I missed it. But this time,) I got really close to it (lit. I really approached it). (And this time, I managed to kill it.)’ sl049
- b. *Bukuku-ya=ama=kwita=dya i-ke_S.*
 move-IMPV=NEG=RESTR=FOC 1SG-FM
 ‘(My dogs would not find me because) I was (lying down) perfectly still (lit. I was really not moving).’ wa081
- c. *Tawi-ume=kwita mi-ke_S!*
 sleep-IMP.SG.NEG=RESTR 2SG-FM
 ‘(Some burglars have entered the villages tonight, so be alert!) Don’t sleep at any time!’ ml039
- d. *A-ya=jari=kwita=dya.*
 affect-IMPV=STILL=RESTR=FOC
 ‘(That type of manioc beer,) they (the Cavineña women) still make it exactly like it used to be.’ ci165

In (17.18), I illustrate =kwita modifying other types of constituents.

- (17.18) a. Adjective in CC function
- Ushuri=kwita_{CC} =taa =i-ke_{CS}.*
 skinny=RESTR =EMPH =1SG-FM
 ‘I’m really skinny.’ bc002

b. Independent particle

Ita =*pa* *kwatsabiji* *riyapiji=kwita*
 ATT.GETTER =REP tell.story.to a.little.bit=RESTR

a-kere-kwe, *Hermana!*
 affect-CAUS.INVLT-IMP.SG sister

‘I’m wondering if you could chat with us (no more than) a little bit,
 Sister (as requested by the linguist).’ ci029

c. Finite temporal subordinate clause

[*Tu-ra_A* *ba-ya=ju=kwita*] =*pa* =*tu_A*
 3SG-ERG see-IMPV=DS=RESTR =REP =3SG(-ERG)

ina-chine *tu-ja* [*peadya juje*]_O.
 grab-REC.PAST 3SG-DAT one duck

‘Right (not before nor after) when she saw him (the burglar), he
 grabbed (and stole) one of her ducks.’ ml025

The particle =*kwita* is found in a few examples on NPs or independent pronouns, as illustrated in (17.19). Note that (17.19) is repeated from (17.1).

(17.19) a. Pronoun in A function

Pero e-ra=kwita_A =*tu_O* *a-kware=ama,*
 but 1SG-ERG=RESTR =3SG(-FM) affect-REM.PAST=NEG

Hermano.
 brother

‘I didn’t make it (a canoe) alone/myself, Brother. (I made it with
 someone who knew how to make it.) ab125

b. NP in S function

Ami=kwita=dya_S =*pa* *juri-ya* *e-rami=ju.*
 blood=RESTR=FOC =REP flow-IMPV NPF-flesh=LOC

‘It is said that (the wild turkey was not cooked at all so) it was full
 of blood (lit. nothing but blood was flowing on the meat).’
 hm097

c. NP in O function

[*Tatse-ja etawiki=kwana=**kwita**=kamadya*]_O = \emptyset _A
 3DL-GEN bed=PL=RESTR=ONLY (=1SG-ERG)

kemi-kware.
 take.out-REM.PAST

‘(I ran inside the house that was on fire and) could only remove their (dl) beds.’ tk022

The particle =*kwita* triggers an idiosyncratic phonological change *kw* → *j* on the time independent particle *iyakwa* ‘now, today, nowadays’ becoming *iyaja=kwita* ‘right now’.² This change looks like dissimilation, avoiding a sequence of two syllables with labial velar stop onsets. However, note that no such change occurs in other syllable sequences involving the same onset, as in *kwa-kwe* ‘go-IMP.SG’, *kwa-kware* ‘go-REM.PAST’, *jikwi-kwisha-* ‘cut.off-REDUP+CAUS’, etc.

17.2.5. =*kamadya* ‘ONLY’

The particle =*kamadya* restricts the reference to the members of a category (as opposed to any other members that could be associated with it).³

In (17.20), =*kamadya* modifies core NPs.

(17.20) a. *Elio=ra=**kamadya**_A =tu_O ji-da=kwita isara-ya.*
 Elio=ERG=ONLY =3SG(-FM) good-ASF=RESTR talk.to-IMPFV
 ‘Elio is the only one that talks to him (the linguist) very well.’
 tb074

b. *Trosadora=**kamadya**_S =tu_S ani-kware.*
 handsaw=ONLY =3SG(-FM) sit-REM.PAST
 ‘At that time (when I was young and we were making canoes)

² In a few instances this phonological change does apply, as in (10.69) and (10.78b), suggesting that the phonological change is not fully grammaticalized.

³ As we saw in §17.2.3, =*kamadya* possibly comes from the postposition =*kama* ‘ONLY’ (§14.3.3) and the focus particle =*dya* (§17.2.3). As I said in §14.3.3, =*kama* is probably a loan from Quechua (possibly via Aymara), where it has the related meaning ‘exclusively’. Note however that Quechua also has the form *kamalla* with the same meaning (W. Adelaar, p.c.), in which case Cavineña could have directly borrowed the two terms.

there were only handsaws (not the chainsaws that we use nowadays).’ ab173

- c. *Ara-wa* =*tu*_A *y-akwa=kamadya*_O.
eat-PERF =3SG(-ERG) NPF-chest=ONLY

‘He (the jaguar) had only eaten the chest (of the deer).’ se027c

- d. *Kuchiru=kamadya*_O =*tu*_O *e-ra*_A
machete=ONLY =3SG(-FM) 1SG-ERG

ina-jaka-kware=ama.
grab-STOP-REM.PAST=NEG

‘(When the anaconda attacked me, I dropped my rifle, my bag, etc.) My machete is the only thing that I didn’t lose (lit. stopped grabbing).’ mp039

Another example of =*kamadya* marking an NP in O function is *e-biti=kamadya* ‘only her skin’ in (T2.13).

In (17.21), =*kamadya* modifies an oblique NP.

- (17.21) [*Riya*_{CC}=*ke upatiwiri*]_S =*tu*_S *ejitaju ju-ya*
here=LIG small.bird =3SG(-FM) visible be-IMPFV

[*beni mara=ju=kamadya*].
south.wind time=LOC=ONLY

‘This small bird (the vermilion flycatcher) is only visible during the winter (lit. south wind) season (i.e., between May and September).’ hi002

In (17.22) from a recorded conversation between Teresa Rutani (T) and Antonio Yubanera (A), =*kamadya* modifies the locative pro-form *tu-wa* ‘there-LOC’.

- (17.22) T: *Tu-wa=kamadya*_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} *ju-kware*.
there-LOC=ONLY =3SG(-FM) be-REM.PAST

‘It was only there (in the old mission) that they would do (these big fiestas).’ ci039

- A: *Tu-wa=kamadya=dya!*
there-LOC=ONLY=FOC

‘(I see,) only there!’ ci040

In (17.23), =*kamadya* modifies constituents in ‘adverbial’/adjunct functions.

- (17.23) a. *Riyapiji=kamadya* = \emptyset_S *kanajeti-ya*.
 a.little.bit=ONLY (=1SG-FM) breath-IMPFV
 ‘(I was so thirsty that) I could only breath a little bit.’ sd035
- b. [*Riwi-jeri-riwi-jeri=kamadya*] *i-kes kwa-ya...*
 fall-ALMOST-REDUP-REDUP=ONLY 1SG-FM go-IMPFV
 ‘I would go, almost falling down many times (because the path was very slippery)...’ ka407
- c. *Jadya=kamadya* =*mi-ke_O* = \emptyset_A *kweja-ya*.
 thus=ONLY =2SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) inform-IMPFV
 ‘This is all I will tell you (i.e., I’m finished with my story and I won’t tell you anything else).’ nk154

In (17.24), =*kamadya* modifies a finite temporal subordinate clause.

- (17.24) *Imeta-ya=ju=kamadya e-ra_A ba-kware*.
 point.at-IMPFV=DS=ONLY 1SG-ERG see-REM.PAST
 ‘(When we asked the Pacahuara woman where the man was, she didn’t answer anything.) All I could see was her pointing (a finger to his direction).’ pa043

The particle =*kamadya* is scarcely found modifying a predicate. The only examples found are given in (17.25).

- (17.25) a. *Kastere-kware=kamadya i-kes betsa=ra*.
 become.tired-REM.PAST=ONLY 1SG-FM swim=CAUSE
 ‘I was extremely tired (lit. tired and nothing else) from swimming.’ mj178
- b. *Jekutana-ume=kamadya, Kupari!*
 be.scareded-IMP.SG.NEG=ONLY compadre
 ‘(I’m going to show you something but) don’t be scared (or anything), Compadre!’ ht013

The particle =*kamadya* is similarly hardly found on any copula complements. One such rare example is (17.26). Here we have a (derived) adjective in

CC function within a ‘similarity’ adverbial clause (marked by subordinator =*bucha* ‘SIMLR’; see §19.4).

- (17.26) ... =*tu-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A *inimetupu-kware*
 =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) think-REM.PAST
 [*tuna*_{CS} *e-kawaiti*=*kwana*=***kamadya***_{CC}=*bucha*].
 3PL RES-get.angry=UNCERT=ONLY=SIMLR

‘... we thought that it was not serious (lit. thought about them/the situation as if they (the Araonas) had gotten nothing more than a bit angry.)’ T1.5

In very few examples, *kamadya* is a phonologically independent word (not a phrasal particle) in fronted position. Its meaning as such is possibly ‘the only thing is that...’ as in (T1.13). More work is required on this topic.

17.2.6. =*tere* ‘ONLY’

The phrasal particle =*tere* is rare in the data; there are about 10 examples available. Its meaning is apparently the same as =*kamadya* ‘ONLY’, i.e., it restricts reference to the members of a category. It is found marking NPs in core functions, as in (17.27a-b), adjectives in CC function, as in (17.27c), and postpositional phrases, as in (17.27d).

(17.27) a. NP in CS function

- Ji-da=ke=tere*_{CS} =*tuna*_{CS} *e-mepe*_{CC}
 good-ASF=LIG=ONLY =3PL RES-pick
 [*pelota* *ijawe=ishu*].
 ball play.with=PURP.GNL

‘Only the best ones (players) have been selected (lit. picked) for playing (foot)ball.’ di1073

b. NP in CC function

- Tu-ke*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *amena* *kwawe=tere*=*kwita*_{CC} *amena*.
 3SG-FM =3SG(-FM) BM manioc=ONLY=RESTR FILL

‘That (type of beer) is only made of manioc.’ ci148

c. Adjective in CC function

[*Dutya uu=kwana*]_{CS} =*pa* *ushuri=tere*_{CC} *ju-kware*
 all domestic.animal=PL =REP skinny=ONLY be-REM.PAST

‘All the domestic animals were very skinny (because they had not been fed for a long time).’ ti005b

d. Postpositional phrase

Jacha=tsewe=tere=dya=jutidya.
 axe=ASSOC=ONLY=FOC=DISEMPH

‘(At the time there was no chain saw or anything so) it was only with axes (that one would work).’ ab170

The phrasal particle =*tere* is likely to be historically related to the intransitive verb *tere-* ‘finish’. Note that there is also a verbal Aktionsart suffix *-tere/-tirya* which indicates that the S/O argument is completely affected by the verb event (see §7.1.1) and which is quite transparently related to the same verb.

17.2.7. =*piisi* ‘JUST’

The particle =*piisi* is only found in a few examples. This particle is used to contrast the information that is expressed by the constituent it is attached to with some other information.

In (17.28), =*piisi* is found on an independent pronoun.

(17.28) *Mikwana=piisi*_O *e-ra*_A *iwa-ya.*
 2PL=JUST 1SG-ERG wait.for-IMPV

‘I will wait only for you (pl).’ di2238

Non-inflecting verbs derived from inflecting verb by Ø-marking (see §10.5) are often found marked with =*piisi*. An example is given in (17.29).

(17.29) a. *Diru=piisi* *ju-kwe,* *Baba-chi!*
 go=JUST be-IMP.SG grandfather-AFFTN

‘(Stop repeating that you are leaving and) just go, Grandpa!’
 n3.0504

- b. [Ai *iji=piisi=ama=dya*] =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A
 INT drink=JUST=NEG=FOC =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)

a-kware *e-na*_O.
 affect-REM.PAST NPF-water

‘I did not drink all the water right away (but little by little).’ sd080

In (17.30), =*piisi* is found on an independent particle.

- (17.30) *Metajudya=piisi* =*ekwana*_S *kwa-wekaka-nuka-ya*.
 tomorrow=JUST =1PL go-AT.DAWN-REITR-IMPFV

‘(It is getting late now so we will stop the trip.) Tomorrow (at sunrise), we will keep going (and finish the trip).’ vb031

In (17.31), =*piisi* occurs on a non-finite temporal subordinate clause.

- (17.31) [Ai_O *tsuru-tsu=piisi=dya*] =*tuna*_S *ka-rikwa-ti-ya* *ekana*_S.
 INT meet-SS=JUST=FOC =3PL REF-bark.at-REF-IMPFV 3PL

‘(My dogs were hunting very far away from me and I didn’t know where they were. But I thought:) when they find (lit. meet) something (i.e., some game animal), then they will bark right away (and I will know where they are).’ ba032

17.2.8. =*dyane* ‘APPROX’

The particle =*dyane* ‘APPROXimate’ is used to indicate that a quantity, a distance, a location or a time is only approximate.

In (17.32), =*dyane* modifies a quantified O NP.

- (17.32) a. *Jae*_O =*tu*_A *be-kware*, [*pishika jae=dyane*]_O.
 fish =3SG(-ERG) bring-REM.PAST five fish=APPROX

‘She brought (us) fish, something like five fish.’ pa091

- b. *Kwa-baka-tsu* =*yatse*_A *kemi-chine salteña*_O,
 go-SHORT.TIME-SS =1DL(-ERG) buy-REC salteña

[*peadya tunka salteña=dyane*]...
 one ten salteña=APPROX

‘We walked a little bit and we bought salteñas (a sort of meat pie), something like ten salteñas...’ vb017

In (17.33), =*dyane* modifies distances expressed by oblique phrases.

- (17.33) a. *Carretera=eke* =*tu*_{CS} *SantaElena*_{CS}
 dirt.highway=PERL =3SG(-FM) Santa.Elena

[*cuatro kilometro=dyane*]_{CC}.
 four kilometer=APPROX

‘From the dirt highway, Santa Elena is about four kilometers.’
 pa007

- b. ... [*pishika metro=tupu=dyane*] *e-ra*_A *bari*_O
 five metre=UP.TO=APPROX 1SG-ERG giant.anteater

ba-ya.
 see-IMPFV

‘I could see the anteater about 5 meters away (from me).’ ba118

In (17.2) (repeated), =*dyane* modifies a location encoded by a perlativ postpositional phrase.

- (17.2) *I-ke*_S *ju-kware* *edanaka=eke=dyane* *e-na=ju*.
 1SG-FM be-REM.PAST knee=PERL=APPROX NPF-water=LOC

‘I was (walking) in the water, (with water) somewhere up to my knees.’ lg007

In (17.34), =*dyane* modifies a time period encoded by a finite temporal subordinate clause.

- (17.34) *Tudya i-ke*_O [*e-kwe tata-chi=ra*]_A *escuela=ju*
 then 1SG-FM 1SG-GEN father-AFFTN=ERG school=LOC

isha-kware [*Misión.Cavina=ju*] *amena*
 put.in-REM.PAST Misión.Cavinas=LOC BM

[[*noviembre badi*]_S *tere-ya=ju=dyane*]...
 november month finish-IMPFV=DS=APPROX

‘My father put me in school, at Misión Cavinás, sometime at the end of November.’ mg003

17.2.9. =ama ‘NEG’

The particle =ama is the all purpose negation marker in Cavineña. Its most common function is to negate a verbal predicate, as illustrated in (17.35), where it negates transitive predicates, and (17.36), where it negates intransitive predicates.

(17.35) Negated transitive predicates

a. Declarative

*E-ra*_A =*tu*_O *baka-ya*=**ama**
1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) hear-IMPV=NEG

[*mi-ra*_A *isara-ya*=*ke*]_O.
2SG-ERG talk.to-IMPV=LIG

‘I don’t understand (lit. hear) what you are saying.’ cd040

b. Polar question

*Mi-ra*_A =*tu*_O *jiti*_O *a-kware*=**ama**, *Hermano*?
2SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) basket affect-REM.PAST=NEG brother

‘You didn’t make baskets, Brother?’ ab011

c. Content question

Ai=*ra*_A =*tu*_O *tiru-sha-wa*=**ama**
INT=ERG =3SG(-FM) burn-CAUS-PERF=NEG

[*Lizardu*=*ja* *arusu* *tee*]_O?
Lizardu=GEN rice garden

‘Who is it who did not let Lizardu’s rice garden burn?’ lz018

d. Hortative

Jadya *ne-a-ra*=**ama**!
thus HORT.PL-affect-HORT.PL=NEG

‘Let’s (pl) not do it that way.’ ao019

(17.36) Negated intransitive predicates

a. Declarative

Kwa-ya=ama =*tuna*_S *amena* *babi=ra*.
 go-IMPV=NEG =3PL BM hunt=PURP.MOT

‘(Nowadays) they (the younger generation) do not go hunting (anymore).’ ct023

b. Polar question

Je-nuka-ya=ama =*mi-ke*_S?
 come-REITR-IMPV=NEG =2SG-FM

‘Will you not come again?’ tb115

c. Content question

Ejebuchajuatsu *pudena-ya=ama*?
 INT:REASON become.red/brown-IMPV=NEG

‘Why is it that it (the soft drink I’m trying to prepare) does not turn red/brown (as it is normally supposed to do)?’ lv023

d. Jussive

Tumebae=dya [*mikwana-ja* *bakwa=kwana*]_S
 also=FOC 2PL-GEN child=PL

jakacha *pa-ju=ama* *escuela=ju!*
 be.absent JUSS-be=NEG school=LOC

‘Also, your children should not miss (lit. be absent at) school.’ di1648

The predicate of an imperative clause cannot be negated by =*ama* but requires special inflectional verbal affixes (-*ume* ‘IMP.SG.NEG’ and *ne-...-ume* ‘IMP.NSG.NEG’; see §6.2.1).

One verbal suffix, the Aktionsart *-jeri/-neri* is sensitive to the polarity of the predicate. The form *-jeri* occurs when the predicate is positive, as in *pakaka-jeri-chine* ‘I almost fell’, while the form *-neri* occurs when the predicate is negative, as in *tawi-neri-ya=ama=dya* ‘they almost did not sleep’; see §7.1.3 for the full examples.

The particle =*ama* is also used to negate NPs/independent pronouns, as shown in (17.37), where it negates one-word NPs or independent pronouns, and (17.38), where it negates multiple word NPs.

(17.37) a. A independent pronoun

Aama! *Mi-ra=ama_A* =*ri_O* *a-wa.*
 not.exist 2SG-ERG=NEG =3PROX.SG(-FM) affect-PERF
 ‘No! (I don’t believe you.) You are not the one who killed it.’
 hm081

b. O NP

... =*tuna-ja* =*tu_O* *dutya=ama_O* *nudya-kware.*
 =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) all=NEG make.enter-REM.PAST
 ‘(They were so cross that) they did not let all of them enter.’ vz099

c. CS NP

Are =*tu_{CS}* *jukuri=ama_{CS}* *jadya_{CC}* *ju-ya?*
 QUEST =3SG(-FM) coati=NEG thus be-IMPV
 ‘(When I heard “raj, raj” I said to myself:) Is it not a coati that is
 doing that?’ pe013

d. CC NP

Riya_{CC}=ke_{CS} =*taa* =*ri_{CS}* *chirije=ama_{CC}.*
 here=LIG =EMPH =3PROX.SG(-FM) tiger.catfish=NEG
 ‘(What is that fish?) This is not a tiger catfish!’ nn012

(17.38) a. CS NP with quantifier

[*Dutya bina*]=*ama=dya_S* =*tu_S* [*ami susu-ki*].
 all bat=NEG=FOC =3SG(-FM) blood suck-TYPICAL
 ‘Not all bats suck blood.’ bi048

b. O NP with relative clause

... *baka-wa* [*e-tsurī adeba-ya=ke_{RC}*]=*ama*_O.
 hear-PERF NPF-sound know-IMPV=LIG=NEG

‘(Suddenly) they heard a strange noise (lit. they heard not a sound that they knew).’ vo003

The examples in (17.39) illustrate negated postpositional phrases.

(17.39) a. *Dutya=tsewe=ama=dya =tuna_S jadya ju-ya.*
 all=ASSOC=NEG=FOC =3PL thus be-IMPV

‘It is not with everybody (but only with their close friends) that they would do thus (have these big drinking parties).’ ct057

b. *Iyakwa =mikwana_S e-wasi=eke=ama diru-ya.*
 now =2PL NPF-foot=PERL=NEG go-IMPV

‘Now you (pl) won’t go on foot (but by plane, because it’s too dangerous).’ ri041

The examples in (17.40) show negated non-finite adverbial clauses.

(17.40) a. Negated non-finite temporal subordinate clause

Jadya=tibu=dya =mikwana_O ba-na-wa
 thus=REASON=FOC =2PL see-COME.TEMP-PERF

[*ai mikwana_O ejebucha a-kara a-atsu=ama*].
 INT 2PL harm affect-DESID affect-SS=NEG

‘(I’m someone who works in the CIRABO organization.) This is the reason why I came to see you, not because I want to harm you.’ T1.69

b. Negated purpose of motion clause

[*Mi-ke_O ejebucha a=ra=ama*] *je-wa.*
 2SG-FM harm affect=PURP.MOT=NEG come-PERF

‘I didn’t come to harm you (lit. I came not in order to harm you).’
 T1.72

The example (17.41) shows a negated finite temporal subordinate clause.

- (17.41) *Muyajutidya* =*tu*_S *enashumaumakeamas*
 suddenly =3SG(-FM) storm
 ju-eti-kware, [*tuna-ra*_A *iwa-ya=ju=ama*].
 be-COME.PERM-REM.PAST 3PL-ERG wait.for-IMPV=DS=NEG
 ‘Suddenly a storm arrived when they were not expecting it.’
 di2574

The particule =*ama* is used to negate independent attributive adjectives (§11.3). Recall that these adjectives, unlike *da*-adjectives, cannot be negated via the suffix *-dama* ‘NEG’ (§11.2.4). An example of =*ama* negating *yukeneri* ‘intelligent’ is provided in (17.42).

- (17.42) *Amena* *eje=ja* =*ni* *ebakwa*_{CS}
 BM INT(=LIG)=DAT =MAYBE child
 *yukeneri=ama*_{CC} *ju-ya*.
 intelligent=NEG be-IMPV
 ‘Their child could be (born) stupid (lit. a child could be not intelligent to any of them).’ bn030

17.2.10. *ni*= ‘not.even’

The particle *ni*= is a borrowing from Spanish *ni* ‘not even’. It is used to reinforce the negative polarity of a negative clause. Some examples of *ni*= are given in (17.43).

- (17.43) a. *Tu-tataka* =*pa* *kwa-kware*. *Aijama*_{CC} *tu-ja*
 3SG-ALONE =REP go-REM.PAST not.exist.at.all 3SG-DAT
 *ni=chapa*_{CS} *ju-kware*
 NOT.EVEN=dog be-REM.PAST
 ‘He went alone. He didn’t even have a dog (lit. not even a dog did not exist at all).’ se012
- b. *Ara-kware=ama* = \emptyset _O *ni=matuja=ra*_A.
 eat-REM.PAST=NEG (=1SG-FM) NOT.EVEN=caiman=ERG
 ‘(God protected me during that trip because) not even a caiman ate me.’ mj067

- c. *Ekwana-ra_A iyakwa a-ya=ama*
 1PL-ERG now affect-IMPV=NEG

ni=riyapiji=kwana.

NOT.EVEN=a.little.bit=UNCERT

‘We do not use these (traditional ways of naming family members) nowadays, not even a little bit.’ fm003

In one example, (17.44), *ni=* is used as the only negator of the clause. In this case, it appears that *ni=* is negating the clause by itself. More work is required to determine if this is truly possible, if *ni=* in this clause should be analyzed as a different morpheme, or if this is a speech error.

- (17.44) *Ni=uwa_S ani-ya.*
 NOT.EVEN=solid.ground sit-IMPV

‘(The was water everywhere around me.) There was not a single piece of solid ground (lit. not even solid ground was sitting).’ mj075

17.2.11. =*piji* ‘DIM’

The phrasal particle =*piji* is an all purpose diminutive marker. It can be used in a broad range of situations, attached to all sort of constituents, with the effect of downplaying what is said. Some of the nuances that can be expressed by =*piji* will be illustrated by looking at various examples, ordered by the type of constituent marked.

In (17.45), =*piji* marks various types of NPs.

- (17.45) a. *Wesa-taki=ama =tatse_A ba-kware tatse-ra=piji_A*
 lift-ABIL=NEG =3DL(-ERG) see-REM.PAST 3DL-ERG=DIM

[[*jae ebari*]_{CC}=*tibu*].
 fish big=REASON

‘They (dl) (a grandfather and his little grandson, both not very strong) felt that they couldn’t lift it (a fish that they had caught) because it was a very big fish (so they asked for help).’ ps042

- b. *Ba-kware e-ra_A*
see-REM.PAST 1SG-ERG

[*kani=piji* [*bina=ra_A* *i-ke_O* *susu-wa=ke*]]_O.
hole=DIM bat=ERG 1SG-FM suck-PERF=LIG

‘(I looked at my hand and) I saw a little hole where the bat had sucked me (and couldn’t believe the bat could do that through such a small hole).’ bi032

- c. [*Ai ashasha=ke=piji=ama*]_O.
INT small=LIG=DIM=NEG

‘(In the olden days, when our Cavineña ancestors would go fishing, they would only bring back home the big fish,) not the little fish.’ ct116

In (17.46), =*piji* modifies predicates.

- (17.46) a. *Ara-nati-wa=piji* =*yatse_A* *tapeke_O*.
eat-GO.TEMP-PERF=DIM =1DL(-ERG) trip.food

‘We (dl) ate a little bit of the food.’ ka063

- b. *Tumi=dya ani-ya=piji=dya* *dami_s*.
there=FOC sit-IMPFV=DIM=FOC golden.trahira

Uma-da=kwita=ama_{CC}.
many-ASF=RESTR=NEG

‘There are a few golden trahiras (fish) there (in the stream). But not very many.’ ka443

See also *adeba-ya=piji=dya* ‘(I myself) know that a little bit’ in (T1.113).

In (17.47) =*piji* modifies adjectives in CC function.

- (17.47) a. *Ju-diru-kware ekwita_s*. *Baru-dama_{CC}*, *juji-u=piji_{CC}*
be-GO.PERM-REM.PAST person tall-NEG fat-ASF=DIM

dumijiti-ari-da_{CC}.
stomach-big-ASF

‘A man arrived; he was small (lit. not tall), a bit fat and with a big stomach (lit. big-stomached).’ ap034

- b. *Nereka-da*_{CC}, *ashasha=piji*_{CC} [*matuja jabakwa*]_{CS}.
 miserable-ASF small=DIM caiman baby.animal
 ‘The baby caiman (lost in the middle of the forest) looked (lit. was) miserable and so small.’ cd005
- c. *Naka-naka=piji=kamadya*_{CC} =*tu-ke*_{CS} =*mi-kwe ju-wa*...
 wet-REDUP=DIM=RESTR =3SG-FM =2SG-DAT be-REC.PAST
 ‘It (your shirt) is just a bit wet...’ di1104

In (17.48), =*piji* modifies the time particle *metajudya* ‘tomorrow’.

- (17.48) *Ne-diru-ume* *iyakwa!* *Metajudya=piji*
 IMP.NSG.NEG-go-IMP.NSG.NEG now tomorrow=DIM
ne-diru-kwe!
 IMP.NSG-go-IMP.NSG

‘Don’t go back now! Go back tomorrow early morning (lit. when it is not really tomorrow yet)!’ fg024

In (17.49), =*piji* modifies the postposition *emake* ‘UNDER’, here without a postpositional argument (§14.4.2).

- (17.49) *Emake=piji* =*ekwana*_S *jeti-chine*.
 UNDER=DIM =1PL come-REC.PAST

‘We (in the plane) went down a little bit (lit. not really down).’ br092

In (17.50), =*piji* modifies various argument-taking postpositions and postpositional pro-forms.

- (17.50) a. *Tume* =*tu-ke*_O =*yatse*_A *cortapluma=tsewe=piji*
 then =3SG-FM =1DL(-ERG) small.knife=ASSOC=DIM
wetsa-bare-ya.
 cut-DISTR-IMPFV

‘Then we (dl) cut it (the jichiqui leaf) into pieces with a simple little knife.’ ab077

- b. *E-puna*_S =*bakwe* *tu-tataka*=*piji*=*dya* *diru-kware*.
 NPF-female =CONTR 3SG-ONLY=DIM=FOC go-REM.PAST

‘(The man decided to stay fishing a bit more so) the woman went back alone and defenseless.’ vz016

- c. [*Ai jiteke*=*piji*] *je-kara* *i-ke*_S *ju-wa*?
 INT LOOKING.FOR=DIM come-DESID 1SG-FM be-PERF

‘(Because the trip was so tiring, I asked myself:) “Why (lit. looking for what insignificant thing) did I want to come?”’ ka030

In (17.51), =*piji* modifies various kinds of subordinate clauses.

- (17.51) a. *Amena* [*i-ke*_{CS} *tu-wa*_{CC}=*ju*=*piji*=*dya*] =*tu*_S
 BM 1SG-FM there-LOC=DS=DIM=FOC =3SG(-FM)

apuna-kware.
 be.at.dusk-REM.PAST

‘When I was almost there, dusk was falling.’ sd068

- b. [*I-ke*_{CS} *ashasha*_{CC}=*ju*=*piji*] [*e-kwe* *tata-chi*]_S
 1SG-FM small=LOC=DIM 1SG-GEN father-AFFTN

maju-kware.
 die-REM.PAST

‘When I was very little my father died.’ nk008

- c. *Amena* [*kimisha* *wekaka* *ju-atsu*=*piji*=*kwita*=*dya*]
 BM three day be-SS=DIM=RESTR=FOC

amena biji-da *ba-nuka-kware* *e-puna*=*ra*_A.
 BM desirable-ASF see-REITR-REM.PAST NPF-female=ERG

‘... after only three little days, the woman fell in love with him (lit. a newcomer to the community) (lit. the woman saw him desirable).’ mu024

There is some evidence that the particle =*piji* has lost its phrasal clitic status (and become lexicalized) in at least 4 words, listed in Table 17.4.

Table 17.4. Words containing a formative *piji*

Words	Word class	Origin of the base
<i>ebakwapiji</i> ‘small child’	ind. noun (§12.5)	noun <i>ebakwa</i> ‘child’ (§12.5)
<i>jidapiji</i> ‘beautiful’	ind. adjective (§11.3)	<i>da</i> -adjective <i>ji-</i> ‘good’ (§11.2)
<i>riyapiji</i> ‘a little’	ind. particle (§16.1)	demonstrative <i>riya</i> ‘here’ (§15.8)
<i>pijidyane</i> ‘CLOSE TO’	postposition (§14.4.9)	particle = <i>dyane</i> ‘APPROX’ (§17.2.8)

The lexicalization of =*piji* within *ebakwapiji* can be seen when this word is pluralized with the clitic marker =*kwana* (§13.3). This marker has its scope over an NP head only and, as a result, always comes before =*piji* ‘DIM’, as in (17.52a,b). But when =*kwana* marks *ebakwapiji*, =*kwana* follows *piji*, as in (17.52c).

- (17.52) a. *karusune=kwana=piji*
 pant=PL=DIM
 ‘little pants’ nk035
- b. *jae wiri=kwana=piji*
 fish tiny=PL=DIM
 ‘tiny little fish.’ di2874
- c. *ebakwapiji=kwana*
 small.child=PL
 ‘small children’

It is likely that *ebakwa=kwana=piji* might still be allowed, although not attested in the data. However, the point here is that the order *piji=kwana* should not be allowed if *piji* has not lost its phrasal clitic status.⁴

In the case of *jidapiji* ‘beautiful’, the lexicalization of =*piji* is suggested by the change in meaning, from ‘a bit good’ (diminutive reading). A similar argument holds for *riyapiji* ‘a little bit’, from *riya* ‘this, here’, and *pijidyane* ‘close to’, from =*dyane* ‘approximately’.

17.2.12. =*ebari* ‘INTENS’

The phrasal particle =*ebari* ‘INTENSifier’ is only found in a handful of examples where it is used with non-inflecting verbs, adjectives in CC function and (in one example) a locative pro-form in CC function. In all cases, it has an intensifying meaning.

⁴ It is possible that the same thing happens with *piji* within *ebakujuna(=)piji* ‘small girl’. Unfortunately I do not have examples of this word marked with the plural clitic.

The use of =*ebari* with adjectives is illustrated in (17.53).

- (17.53) a. *Juji-u-si=ebari*_{CC} *señora*_{CS}.
 fat-ASF-AUGM=INTENS lady
 ‘The lady was very very big.’ mo012
- b. *Gringo*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *ari-u-si=ebari=kwita*_{CC} *ju-wa*.
 gringo =3SG(-FM) big-ASF-AUGM=INTENS=RESTR be-PERF
 ‘(The canoe capsized, probably because it was very small and) the
 gringo (foreign white man) was very big.’ gr007

The particle =*ebari* is found occurring on non-inflecting verbs, as shown in (17.54).

- (17.54) a. *Kuji=ebari=kwita* *riyabarepa* *ju-jara-chine*.
 be.lost=INTENS=RESTR yesterday be-ADVERS-REC.PAST
 ‘Yesterday, you were very lost.’ n5.0591
- b. [*Etata Quispe=ra*]_A =*tu*_O *iye-kara=ebari*
 sir Quispe=ERG =3SG(-FM) kill-DESID=INTENS
 a-kware *matuja*_O.
 affect-REM.PAST caiman
 ‘Mr. Quispe really wanted to kill a caiman.’ cm002
- c. *Ijariba=ebari* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *a-wa*.
 make.fun.of=INTENS =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) affect-PERF
 ‘I laughed at him quite a lot.’ n5.0605

In (17.55), Cosme Mayo talks about an enormous anteater he once killed. With his hands, Cosme mimics (for the audience) the size of the anteater’s arms and says, using =*ebari* ‘INTENS’ on the locative pro-form *re-wa* ‘here-LOC’ (in CC function).

- (17.55) *Re-wa=ebari=kwana*_{CC} [*tu-ja* *e-bi*]_{CS}.
 here-LOC=INTENS=UNCERT 3SG-GEN NPF-arm
 ‘It’s arms were this big.’ ba056

Note that corresponding to the phrasal particle =*ebari* ‘INTENS’, there is also an attributive adjective *ebari* ‘big’ (§13.2).

17.2.13. =*jutidya/jutii* ‘DISEMPH’

The particle =*jutidya*/=*jutii* ‘DISEMPHatic’ indicates that a referent, property, state or event expressed by a constituent is not as good/impressive as one would have expected from the context. The form =*jutii* is only found in a few examples and with the exact same meaning; cf. (17.58a) and (17.60) below.

Note that =*jutidya*/=*jutii* resembles =*piji* ‘DIM’ in meaning. The main difference is that =*piji* ‘DIM’ never carries any sense of expectation not fulfilled.

In (17.56), =*jutidya*/=*jutii* modifies NPs/independent pronouns in core functions.

- (17.56) a. *Tume* [*ai emiwaki*]_O *iya-ya?* [*Ai emiwaki*]_{O?}
 then INT bait put-IMPV INT bait

*Jae=dya=jutidya*_{O?}
 fish=FOC=DISEMPH

‘So what type of bait do they use (in your country, to catch fish)?
 What type of bait? Just (the same) fish (or something more special)?’ tb203-204

- b. *I-ke=jutidya*_{CC!} *E-ra=jutidya*_A =*mi*_O *jadya*
 1SG-FM=DISEMPH 1SG-ERG=DISEMPH =2SG(-FM) thus

a-ya.
 affect-IMPV

‘(When they heard that strange sound, the Cavineñas thought it was from enemies. But it was just their friend Kana, who said to them:) It’s just me! It’s just me who is making that noise to you.’ hm122

- c. [*Datse* [*e-na e-ju-u=ke*]_O *iwa-tsu*] = \emptyset _A
 FRUST NPF-water POT-be-POT=LIG wait.for-SS (=1SG-ERG)

*uyuyuyu=dya=jutidya*_O *susu-kware.*
 mud=FOC=DISEMPH suck-REM.PAST

‘(I carved the ground to find water to drink.) I waited in vain for water to come out and (since there wasn’t any) I just sucked on the mud.’ sd026

In (17.57), =*jutidya*/=*jutii* modifies predicates.

- (17.57) a. *Ijiryawana-ya=jutidya* =*pa* =*ekwana-ra*_A.
make.fun.of-IMPV=DISEMPH =REP =1PL-ERG

‘(The new professor didn’t like the nickname we had given to him.) He said that all we were doing was making fun of him.’
ap050

- b. [[*Eskupeta tsuru*]_O *baka-tsu*] =*ni* *ekana*_S
shotgun sound hear-SS =MAYBE 3PL

diru-kware=dya=jutidya.
go-REM.PAST=FOC=DISEMPH

‘It looks like they (the strange people who were roaming around the camp at night) just went away (without trouble) when they heard the sound of the shotgun.’ cc042

In (17.58), =*jutidya*/=*jutii* modifies an adjective in CC function, in (a.), and in ‘adverbial’ function, in (b.)

- (17.58) a. *Jawa-da=jutii*_{CC} =*pa* *ekwita=kwana*_{CS} *ju-kware*.
yellow-ASF=DISEMPH =REP person=PL be-REM.PAST

‘It is said that (in very old times), people were yellow (because they didn’t eat cooked food).’ et016

- b. *Diji-ma=jutidya* *ekatse*_S *jeti-kara* *ju-ya*.
path-WITHOUT=DISEMPH 3DL come-DESID be-IMPV

‘All they (the pair of oxen that were pulling the cart) wanted was to walk (lit. come) off the path (but that is definitely not the best way).’ ka263

In (17.59), =*jutidya*/=*jutii* modifies a postpositional phrase.

- (17.59) [*Pista patya=keja=jutidya*] *diru-chine*.
airstrip IN.MIDDLE.OF=LOC.GNL=RESTR go-REC.PAST

‘(As the light plane was about to land, the stupid bullock) went somewhere near the middle of the airstrip.’ at012

In (17.60), =*jutidya*/=*jutii* modifies a locative pro-form.

- (17.60) *Tu-wa=dya=jutii* =*ekwana*_S *barepatya=tupu*
 there-LOC=FOC=DISEMPH =1PL at.midday=UP.TO
ani-kware.
 sit-REM.PAST

‘We just stayed there until midday (waiting for my sick children to get a little better, and then we resumed our trip).’ ri024

In (17.61), =*jutidya*/=*jutii* modifies a finite adverbial clause.

- (17.61) *Yawa=ju_{CC}=bucha=dya=jutidya* *ani-kware* *pisu=ju.*
 ground=LOC=SIMLR=FOC=RESTR sit-REM.PAST floor=LOC

‘(Because there were no seats available on the bus,) I sat on the (bus) floor, just as if I was (sitting) on the ground.’ ga024b

17.2.14. =*jipenee* ‘ALMOST’

The phrasal particle =*jipenee* is typically found on adjectives in CC function. It is also attested marking predicates (but not other types of constituents). Its function is to slightly attenuate the property manifested by an adjective or the intensity of an event expressed by a predicate.

In (17.62), =*jipenee* marks a predicate.

- (17.62) a. *Amena* [e-*kwe* *baji*]_S *kueti-wa=jipenee.*
 BM 1SG-GEN fear pass-PERF=ALMOST

‘My fear had almost passed (but I was still shivering).’ ba113

- b. *Ne-pakaratana-kwe=jipenee* *chapa!*
 IMP.NSG-move.away-IMP.NSG=ALMOST dog

‘Move away a little bit (from the anteater, so I can shoot at him without harming you), my dogs!’ ba086

In (17.63), =*jipenee* marks adjectives in CC function.

- (17.63) a. *Baji-da=jipenee*_{CC} *ju-kware* [*tu-ke*_O *peta-tsu*].
 scared-ASF=ALMOST be-REM.PAST 3SG-FM look.at-SS
 ‘I was a bit scared, looking at it (something moving among the manioc leaves).’ sl032
- b. [*Waparikwama=ja e-ka*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS}
 partridge(sp.)=GEN NPF-egg =3SG(-FM)
*pude-pude=jipenee*_{CC}.
 red/brown-REDUP=ALMOST
 ‘The eggs of the ‘waparikwama’ partridge are almost reddish (lit. with little spots of red/brown).’ di1378

17.2.15. =*kwana* ‘UNCERT’

The particle =*kwana* ‘UNCERTain’ indicates that the speaker is uncertain of the reference/property/state/event/etc. expressed by a constituent. The speaker makes a guess of what he thinks is the likely referent/property, etc. but leaves open the possibility that this might be different.

I illustrate the uncertainty marker with different types of constituents. In (17.64) =*kwana* marks NPs in core function.

- (17.64) a. *Dukweri=kwana*_S *e-ju-neni-u*.
 deer=UNCERT POT-be-RANDOM-POT
 ‘(I went inspecting the manioc garden very carefully as) there could be a deer or some other animals (that I could kill).’ sl029
- b. *Peadya=kwana*_O *pa-iyē!*
 one=UNCERT HORT.SG-kill
 ‘(When I heard the capuchin monkeys, I said to myself:) I am going to kill at least one!’ aj010

In (17.65), =*kwana* marks the predicate of the clause.

- (17.65) *E-iya-u=kwana=ama* =*mi-ra*_A =*ekwana-ja?*
 POT-put-POT=UNCERT=NEG =2SG-ERG =1PL-DAT
 ‘Couldn’t you leave (lit. put) it (your tape recorder) with us or

something? tb063

In (17.66), the particle =*kwana* marks a predicative adjective in CC function in (a.), and in ‘adverbial’ function in (b.)

- (17.66) a. ... [*tuna*_{CS} *ujeje-da=kwana*_{CC} *ju-atsu*].
3PL sick-ASF=UNCERT be-SS

‘(The Araonas would always call me by radio) when they were sick or something (i.e., or having other sorts of problems).’
T1.110

- b. *Bape-bape=kwana=kwita* =*taa* =*mi*_A
different-REDUP=UNCERT=RESTR =EMPH =2SG(-ERG)

jutu-ya *ejutuki=kwana*_O.
dress-IMPFV cloth=PL

‘You are dressing with cloth of many different colors.’ di0232

In (17.67), =*kwana* marks a postpositional phrase.

- (17.67) [*Peadya ura=tupu=kwana=dya*] =*ni* *kwa-nuka-chine*...
one hour=UP.TO=UNCERT=FOC =MAYBE go-REITR-REC.PAST

‘We might have kept going for about one hour.’ ka068

In (17.68), =*kwana* marks an oblique direct-speech constituent.

- (17.68) [*“I-ke*_{CS} [*mikwana=bae=ke=nuka=dya*]_{CC}” *jadya=kwana*]
1SG-FM 2PL=SIMLR=LIG=REITR=FOC thus=UNCERT
=*Ø*_A *kweja-kware*.
(=1SG-ERG) inform-REM.PAST

‘“I’m like you,” I told him, or something like that.’ T1.59

The particle =*kwana* is very often used in rhetorical questions, as in (17.69a), or in indefinite expressions, as in (17.69b), when what is questioned or referred to as indefinite is completely unknown to the speaker:

- (17.69) a. *Eju=kwana* =*tu*_S *kwa-wa* *e-punas*?
INT:LOC=UNCERT =3SG(-FM) go-PERF NPF-female

‘Where on earth did the woman go?’ pa035

- b. *Ai=ra=**kwana**_A =ekwana_O iye-kara a-ya.*
 INT=ERG=UNCERT =1PL kill-DESID affect-IMPV

‘(Frightened by the strange noise he had heard nearby, the man said:) someone (or something I have no idea what) wants to kill us.’ cc018

The particle =*kwana* is very often used to mark a constituent within a ‘similarity’ clause (§19.4), as illustrated in (17.70).

- (17.70) a. [*Muturu=ra=**kwana**_A duju-ya=bucha=**kwita**=**dya**]_{CC}
 motorboat=ERG=UNCERT take-IMPV=SIMLR=RESTR=FOC*

*kwaba*_{CS} *ju-kware*
 canoe be-REM.PAST

‘It was as if the canoe (that was pulled by the giant fish) pulled by a motorboat or something (lit. the canoe was as if a motorboat or something was taking it).’ ps031

- b. *E-ra_A =tu_O [tu-eke=**dya**=**kwana** ekwita_S*
 1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) there-PERL=FOC=UNCERT person

je-ya=bucha] datse ba-kware.
 come-IMPV=SIMLR FRUST see-REM.PAST

‘I thought that the man was going to come that way (where his wife had left to call him) or somewhere there (but he came from the other side).’ pa046

- c. *Ejekeja=**kwana**=jutidya =ekwana_S je-wa?*
 INT:LOC.GNL=UNCERT=DISEMPH =1PL come-PERF

‘(We had gotten lost in the storm. We reached a community but it wasn’t Bolivar. The pilot said:) where on earth are we (lit. have we arrived)? av019

See also (T1.5), reproduced and commented in (17.26).

Note that the particle =*kwana* ‘UNCERT’ is homophonous with the plural marker =*kwana* ‘PL’ (see §12.3). Although the two forms are possibly historically related, they are synchronically clearly different morphemes; they have quite different semantics; they also have a different distribution — the plural marker only occurs with an NP whereas =*kwana* ‘UNCERT’ marks all sorts of constituents.

17.3. Distribution

Co-occurring phrasal particles, unlike second position particles, do not appear to follow strict ordering principles vis-à-vis one another. However, there seem to be certain tendencies.

Table 17.5 lists all the combinations of phrasal particles attested in the available data. Particles in the left column correspond to the first member of a sequence while particles in the top horizontal row correspond to the second member. Illustrative examples available in the preceding sections are cross-referenced, as well as a few more examples provided below. Combinations which are attested in either orders are coded by cells with borders. Note that =*dyane* ‘APPROX’, =*ni* ‘NOT.EVEN’ and =*jipenee* ‘ALMOST’ are not included. This so because they never co-occur with any other phrasal particles in the data.

The combination of =*ama* ‘NEG’ and =*jari* ‘STILL’ is illustrated in (17.71).

- (17.71) *Ebakwapijis* =*tukwe* *ani-kware*
 small.child =CONT.EVID sit-REM.PAST

 [*peadya* *tsura-bade-ya=ke*]_s.
 one go.up-HANG-IMPV=LIG

*E-ra*_A =*bakwe* *ba-ya=ama=jari*.
 1SG-ERG =CONTR see-IMPV=NEG=STILL

‘There was a small child, one (small child) who was climbing (in the same mango tree as me). (But) I hadn’t seen him yet.’
 mg007-008

The combination =*dya* ‘FOC’ and =*jari* ‘STILL’ is illustrated in (17.72).

- (17.72) *Jadi=dya=jari*_{CC} =*ni* *ekana*_{CS}.
 thus=FOC=STILL =MAYBE 3PL

‘They (the Pacahuara people whom I visited in 1990) might still be like that (like the way I saw them).’ pa107

Table 17.5. Phrasal particle co-occurrences attested in the data

	=ebari	=tere	=piisi	=kwana	=piji	=kwita
=ebari		?	?	(17.55)	?	(17.53b)
=tere	?		?	?	?	(17.27b)
=piisi	?	?		?	?	?
=kwana	?	?	?		(17.9b)	(17.66b)
=piji	?	?	?	?		(17.51c)
=kwita	?	?	?	?	?	
=nuka	?	?	?	?	?	?
=ama	?	?	?	?	?	(17.17b)
=kamadya	?	?	?	?	?	?
=jari	?	?	?	?	?	(17.17d)
=dya	?	?	?	(17.70b)	?	?
=jutidya	?	?	?	?	?	?

	=nuka	=ama	=kamadya	=jari	=dya	=jutidya
=ebari	?	?	?	?	?	?
=tere	?	?	?	?	(17.27d)	(17.27d)
=piisi	?	(17.29b)	?	?	(17.31)	?
=kwana	?	(17.65)	(17.26)	?	(17.67)	(17.70c)
=piji	?	(17.45c)	(17.47c)	(17.3c)	(17.46b)	?
=kwita	(17.10c)	(17.73)	(17.19c)	?	(17.19b)	?
=nuka		?	?	?	(17.9b)	?
=ama	?		?	(17.71)	(17.38a)	?
=kamadya	?	?		(17.5d)	(17.22A)	?
=jari	?	?	?		(17.5c)	?
=dya	?	?	?	(17.72)		(17.56a)
=jutidya	?	?	?	?	?	

Notes: =ebari ‘INTENS’ =piji ‘DIM’ =kamadya ‘ONLY’
 =tere ‘ONLY’ =kwita ‘RESTR’ =jari ‘STILL’
 =piisi ‘JUST’ =nuka ‘REITR’ =dya ‘FOC’
 =kwana ‘UNCERT’ =ama ‘NEG’ =jutidya ‘DISEMPH’

According to the table, at least three pairs of particles are attested in either order; recall that these are indicated by borders around the cells in the table:

- (1) =ama and =kwita
- (2) =dya and =kwana
- (3) =dya and =jari.

A change in order indicates a change of scope and thus semantic differences.

For example =*ama=kwita* in (17.17b) (repeated below) means ‘really not (moving)’ while the reverse order, =*kwita=ama*, illustrated in (17.73), means ‘not really (good)’.

(17.17b) *Bukuku-ya=ama=kwita=dya i-ke_s.*
 move-IMPFV=NEG=RESTR=FOC 1SG-FM

‘(My dogs would not find me because) I was (lying down) perfectly still (lit. I was really not moving).’ wa081

(17.73) *Are =pa =mi_s ji-da=kwita=ama*
 QUEST =REP =2SG(-FM) good-ASF=RESTR=NEG
tawi-nuka-wa Hermano?
 sleep-REITR-PERF brother

‘I’ve heard you didn’t sleep all that well again, Brother, is that true?’ ci013

The dependency markers are all — with one exception — enclitics, as with =*ishu* ‘PURP.GNL’ in (18.1). Only one dependency marker is a suffix, *-(a)tsu*, which marks same-subject temporal clauses.

Arguments only surface when not co-referent with arguments of the controlling clause. When overtly expressed, S and O arguments are unmarked, as in main clauses. A arguments never surface within same-subject temporal clauses and purpose of motion clauses, a consequence of the fact that these clauses obligatorily share their subject with the subject of the controlling clause. In general purpose clauses, an overt A argument receives genitive/dative (instead of ergative) marking, as shown in (18.2).

- (18.2) *Tuekedyā* =*tu*_A *be-nuka-kware* *jae*_O *amena*
 then =3SG(-ERG) bring-REITR-REM.PAST fish BM
 [*yatse-ja*_A *ara=i****shu***].
 1DL-GEN eat=PURP.GNL

‘(The Pacahuara woman first gave us five fish to take away.) Then, she brought more fish, (this time) for us (dl) to eat there.’ pa097

Note that with the two remaining types of non-finite adverbial clauses, cause clauses and ‘just before’ clauses, there is insufficient data available to know how argument marking is realized.

18.1.2. Subordination

Non-finite adverbial clauses are subordinated (similarly to finite adverbial clauses; see Chapter 19). They have the status of main clause constituents (like an NP, a PP, the predicate, etc.).

The first piece of evidence is the freedom of positioning of non-finite adverbial clauses. They can occur last, as in (18.1) and (18.2), or first, as in (18.3a). Finally, they can occur between other main clause constituents, as in (18.3b) where the same-subject temporal clause *ebi rirutsu* ‘extending the arm’ occurs between the second constituent, the O argument *kuchiru* ‘machete’, and the third (and last) constituent, the verb *ina-kware* ‘grab-REM.PAST’.

- (18.3) a. [[*Babi=ra*] *kwa-atsu*] =*tu-ja* =*tu*_O
 hunt=PURP.MOT go-SS =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM)
 tsuru-kware [*peadya* *matuja*]_O.
 meet-REM.PAST one caiman

‘Going hunting, he met a caiman.’ cd003

b. <i>Chamakama</i>	= <i>pa</i>	= <i>tu-ja</i>	= <i>tu</i> _O	<i>kuchiru</i> _O
finally	=REP	=3SG-DAT	=3SG(-FM)	machete
	[<i>e-bi</i> _O	<i>riru-tsu</i>]	<i>ina-kware.</i>	
	NPF-arm	extend-SS	grab-REM.PAST	

‘Finally, he extended his arm and grabbed the machete.’ na018

The second piece of evidence is second position clitic placement. These are invariably attached to the last phonological word of the first main clause constituent. In (18.2), for example, the second position clitic =*tu* ‘3SG(-FM)’ is attached to the independent particle *tuekedyā*. In (18.3b), the sequence =*tu-ja tu* ‘=3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM)’ is attached to the independent particle *chamakama*. Crucially, when a non-finite adverbial clause comes first, the second position clitics are attached to the last of the phonological words of this clause. This can be seen in (18.3a), where the second position clitic sequence =*tu-ja tu* ‘3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM)’ is attached to *kwa-atsu*, i.e., the last phonological word of the same-subject temporal clause.

A non-finite adverbial clause can be embedded within another non-finite (or finite) adverbial clause. It is thus important to distinguish between ‘controlling’ clause and ‘main clause’. This is for instance the case in (18.3a), where we have a purpose of motion clause (*babi=ra*) embedded within (and controlled by) a same-subject temporal clause (*kwa-atsu*), which is itself embedded within (and controlled by) the main clause (... =*tuja tu tsuru-kware peadya matuja*). Three pieces of evidence suggest that the purpose of motion clause is embedded and controlled by the same-subject temporal clause and not by the main clause in this example. First, the second position clitics =*tuja tu* are attached to the same-subject temporal clause verb *kwa-atsu*, which suggest that the purpose of motion clause and the same-subject temporal clause form a single main clause constituent. Second, it is a fact that purpose of motion clauses can only be controlled by motion verbs (see §18.4); as such *babi=ra* can be controlled by *kwa-‘go’*, i.e., the same-subject temporal clause verb, but not by *tsuru-* ‘meet’, i.e., the main clause verb. Third, semantically, it is clear that ‘hunting’ is the purpose of ‘going’, not of ‘meeting (a caiman)’.

18.2. Same-subject temporal clause

The suffix *-(a)tsu* ‘Same-subject temporal clause marker’ fills the inflectional slot of the predicate (Slot K; see §5.1). It derives a verb that heads a non-finite adverbial clause.

Same-subject temporal clauses (SS-temporal clauses) are by far the most frequently used type of adverbial clause in Cavineña discourse, whether finite

or non-finite. In T1, for example, SS-temporal clauses are found in 17 % of the sentences (26 SS-temporal clauses out of 153 sentences).

The form *-atsu* occurs on monosyllabic verbal stems, as shown in (18.4a). The form *-tsu* occurs on polysyllabic verbal stems, as shown in (18.4b), with monomorphemic stems, and (18.4c), with bi-morphemic stems based on the same roots as in (18.4a).

- (18.4) a. *kwa-atsu* ‘go-SS’ b. *nawi-tsu* ‘bath-SS’
 ju-atsu ‘be-SS’ *iji-tsu* ‘drink-SS’
 je-atsu ‘come-SS’ *imeta-tsu* ‘point.at-SS’
- c. *kwa-baka-tsu* ‘go-SHORT.TIME-SS’
 ju-nati-tsu ‘be-GO.TEMP-SS’
 je-nuka-tsu ‘come-REITR-SS’

18.2.1. Function

SS-temporal clauses have three major functions. The first function is to encode sequences of events. As such, SS-temporal clauses always precede their controlling verb and, iconically, the event expressed by the SS-temporal clause immediately precedes in time the event expressed by the controlling verb. This function is illustrated in (18.5).

- (18.5) a. *Tudya =tu-ke_O =∅_A [imeta-tsu] mare-kware.*
 then =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) point.at-SS shoot.at-REM.PAST
 ‘Then I pointed (my rifle) at it (a peccary) and I shot at it.’ ch007
- b. *Tudya =tatse_S amena [kwaba=ju ani-bute-tsu]*
 then =3DL BM canoe=LOC sit-GO.DOWN-SS
 tsura-kware.
 go.up-REM.PAST
 ‘Then they sat (down) in their canoe and went up(river).’ ps008
- c. *Jutakiju [iwa=kamadya_O tubu-tsu] pa-duju!*
 therefore tail=RESTR cut-SS HORT.SG-take
 ‘(The anteater I had killed was too big for me to carry home so I said to myself:) “I will cut only the tail and take it!”’ ba165

‘I was a bit scared, looking at it (that thing that I couldn’t identify).’ sl032

Unlike preposed SS-temporal clauses, postposed SS-temporal clauses appear to allow for the repetition of much older information. In the story from which the following excerpts have been taken, for example, the event ‘falling from a mango tree’ which is expressed by the SS-temporal clause in (18.12b), is introduced 18 sentences earlier, as (18.12a).

(18.12) a. ... *i-kes* *amena* ***pakaka-kware*** *y-aa=tsewe*.
 1SG-FM BM fall-REM.PAST NPF-branch=ASSOC

‘I fell (from the mango tree) with the branch (which broke when I stepped on it).’ mg016

b. [...18 sentences...] [*Jadya maju-jeri-e*] = \emptyset _S
 MAN die-ALMOST-MAN (=1SG-FM)

ju-kware [*manga=eke* ***pakaka-tsu***].
 be-REM.PAST mango=PERL fall-SS

‘This is how I almost died, falling from a mango tree.’ mg034

The suffix *-(a)tsu* is a verbal suffix. Words from other word classes require a copula clause, in which case the copula verb *ju-* ‘be’ carries the suffix *-(a)tsu*. This is illustrated with an adjective in (18.13).

(18.13) *I-kes* *kwa-karama* *datse* *ju-kware*
 1SG-FM go-DESID.NEG FRUST be-REM.PAST
 [*baji-dacc* *ju-atsu*].
 scared-ASF be-SS

‘I didn’t want to go (to the Araona village) because I was scared.’ T1.23

An peculiar use of *tsu*-copula clauses is with time expressions, as in (18.14).

(18.14) a. [[*Una ura*]_{CC} *ju-atsu*] =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *chamakama*
 one hour be-SS =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) finally
mare-kware *e-ra*_A...
 shoot.at-REM.PAST 1SG-ERG

‘After one hour (lit. after I was one hour), I finally shot at it (an anteater)...’ ba074

- b. [[*Peadya tunka mara=kwana*]_{CC} *ju-atsu*] =*tu*_S
 one ten year=UNCERT be-SS =3SG(-FM)
*ekwita*_S *kwa-nuka-kware* *babi=ra* ...
 person go-REITR-REM.PAST hunt=PURP.MOT

‘After about ten years (lit. after he was ten years) or so, the man went hunting again.’ cd009

- c. *Tudya* =*tu*_S *amena* [*tsunu-dama=kwita*]_{CC} *ju-atsu*
 then =3SG(-FM) BM long-NEG=RESTR be-SS
*ekarekani*_S *muja-tere-kware*.
 belly swell-COMP-REM.PAST

‘Then, it wasn’t long (lit. his belly was not long) after his belly started to swell.’ lv029

18.2.2. Same-subject co-reference

A SS-temporal clause obligatorily shares at least its subject (S/CS or A) with the subject (S/CS or A) of the controlling clause. Table 18.1 summarizes the different combinations of S/CS and A arguments found in the examples illustrated above. Note that S and CS arguments, which behave in all respects similarly in Cavineña, have been lumped together under the label S.

Table 18.1. Co-reference possibilities between a SS-temporal clause and its controlling clause

SS-temporal Clause	Controlling Clause	Example number
S	S	(18.5b), (18.12b)
S	A	(18.8b)
A	S	(18.10b), (18.11b)
A	A	(18.5a,c), (18.9b) ¹

One corollary to the same-subject co-reference requirement is that the subject of a SS-temporal clause is always omitted. On the other hand, any other participants (core or oblique) and clausal constituents, can be expressed and if so, they receive the same marking as if they were in a main clause — see the object of a transitive verb in (18.10a) and (18.11b), a locative postpositional

¹ Note that in these three examples, the SS-temporal clause and its controlling clause also share their O argument. This is not a requirement, however, as shown by examples such as (18.3b).

phrase in (18.5b) and (18.9b), a perlocative postpositional phrase in (18.12b), and a purpose of motion (non-finite) clause in (18.8b).

18.3. General purpose clause

General purpose clauses are marked by =*ishu* ‘PURPose GeNeraL’. This type of clause is used to express a purpose towards which the event encoded by the controlling clause predicate is oriented. Unlike purpose of motion clauses — which have the requirement that their controlling verb be a verb of motion; see §18.4 below — general purpose clauses occur with any type of verb (including motion verbs).

General purpose clauses have two notable features. First, the A argument of a transitive verb, when overtly expressed, is marked with the genitive case (or dative case since these are homophonous), unlike in main clauses where it would receive ergative marking. This is discussed under §18.3.2. The second feature is the possibility to omit the verb. This is discussed under §18.3.3.

General purpose clauses are structurally very (but not entirely) similar to postpositional phrases. This is discussed under §18.3.4.

18.3.1. Function

In (18.15) I illustrate various intransitive general purpose clauses.

- (18.15) a. [*Camions nubi=ishu*] =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O *e-diji*_O
 truck enter=PURP.GNL =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) NPF-path

bajeje-ti-chine.
 prepare-GO.TEMP-REC.PAST

‘They went there to arrange the path so that the trucks can enter.’
 ft033

- b. *Kwaba*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *ji-da*_{CC}
 canoe =3SG(-FM) good-ASF

[*e-na=ju* *ju-neni=ishu*].
 NPF-water=LOC be-RANDOM=PURP.GNL

‘Canoes are convenient (lit. good) (for someone) to go anywhere on water.’ di0595

- c. ... =*tu-ke*_O =*yatse*_A [*jutu=ishu*_{CC}=*kwana=ke*
 =3SG-FM =1DL(-ERG) dress=PURP.GNL=PL=LIG
utsa-wa=ke]_O *petsa-chine* [*rara=ishu*].
 wash-PERF=LIG dry.in.sun-REC.PAST dry=PURP.GNL

‘(After we (dl) had bathed,) we put the clothes (lit. what is for dressing) that we had washed in the sun so that they would dry.’
 ft035

In (18.16), I illustrate various transitive purpose clauses. Note that (18.16c) is repeated from (18.2).

- (18.16) a. *CIRABO=ra*_A *bakanisha-chine*
 CIRABO=ERG name-REC.PAST

[*tu-ja*_A [*tume*_{CC}=*ke aikira carga*]_O *duju=ishu*].
 3SG-GEN there=LIG FILL load take=PURP.GNL

‘The CIRABO (indigenous organization) named her (that girl in the photo, so that she would be responsible) for taking that load (that we can also see in the picture) there (in a far remote community).’ ft008

- b. *Amena* [*e-kwe mama-chi*]_S =*bakwe deka*_{CC}=*bucha*
 BM 1SG-GEN mother-AFFTN =CONTR male=SIMLR

mere ju-kware [*ekwana*_O *jutu=ishu*].
 work be-REM.PAST 1PL dress=PURP.GNL

‘My mother worked like a man so that she could dress us.’ nk026

- c. *Tuekedyá* =*tu*_A *be-nuka-kware* *jae*_O *amena*
 then =3SG(-ERG) bring-REITR-REM.PAST fish BM

[*yatse-ja*_A *ara=ishu*].
 1DL-GEN eat=PURP.GNL

‘(The Pacahuara woman first gave us five fish to take away.) Then, she brought more fish, (this time) for us (dl) to eat there.’ pa097

- d. *Biju*_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *ji-da*_{CS} [*earaki=ju iya=ishu*].
 chilli =3SG(-FM) good-ASF food=LOC put=PURP.GNL

‘Chilli is good with the food (lit. good for someone to put it in the food).’ di0319

- e. [Arana kaka]_{CS} =*tuc*_S ji-*da*_{CC} [ara=*ishu*].
 ambaivo.tree fruit =3SG(-FM) good-ASF eat=PURP.GNL

‘The fruit of the ambaivo tree is good to eat (lit. for someone to eat it).’ di0117

Note the genitive marking on the overt A arguments in (18.16a,c).

In (18.17), a general purpose clause almost has the temporal meaning ‘before’; that is, the semantics of ‘purpose’ is lost between the two clauses.

- (18.17) *Tudya diru-baka-tsu kike-tere-aje-kware*
 then go-SHORT.TIME-SS shout-COMP-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST
 [*maju-diru=ishu*].
 die-GO.PERM=PURP.GNL

‘Then, he (the jaguar I had shot) went away a short distance, screaming with pain intermittently before he died.’ mt012

General purpose clauses with non-inflectional affixes can be seen in (18.15b), with *-neni* ‘RANDOM’, and (18.17), with *-diru* ‘GO.PERM’. See also the following two examples: (18.18), with *-baka* ‘SHORT.TIME’, and (18.1) (repeated), with *-mere* ‘CAUS’ and *-ti* ‘GO.TEMP’.

- (18.18) [*Mere ju-baka-tsu neti-tsura-wa*]
 work be-SHORT.TIME-SS stant-GO.UP-PERF
 [*kanajara-baka=ishu*].
 rest-SHORT.TIME=PURP.GNL

‘After working a little bit (bent down in his garden), he stood up to have little rest.’ dk004

- (18.1) ... *ne-duju-ra ekana*_O
 HORT.PL-take-HORT.PL 3PL
iji-mere-ti=ishu!
 drink-CAUS-GO.TEMP=PURP.GNL

‘Let’s (pl) take them (our horses, over there to the swamp) so that we can make them drink (water).’ en011

Questioning the general purpose of an event is realized by marking the non-inflecting verb *a(i) ju-* ‘do what’ with *=ishu*. Note first that the auxiliary is omitted. Note also the coalescence of the sequence of the two *i* vowels into one *i* vowel — this is an idiosyncratic process since other sequences of *i* vowels

occur elsewhere, e.g., *siiji-* ‘absorb’, *tatiine* ‘uncle’, =*piisi* ‘JUST’, etc.. This is illustrated in (18.19).

- (18.19) *A=ishu* =*mi*_S *bawe* *ju-kara* *ju-ya*
do.what=PURP.GNL =2SG(-FM) know be-DESID be-IMPFV
*[i-ke*_S *uju* *kwa-ya=ke*]_E.
1SG-FM INT:LOC go-IMPFV=LIG
‘Why do you want to know where I go?’ du014

18.3.2. Structure

A general purpose clause and its controlling clause often — but not necessarily — share one (or more) of their arguments. In the sample of examples provided above, in addition to the few that follow, we have the following situations — note that S and CS arguments have been lumped together under the label S.

Table 18.2. Co-reference possibilities between a general purpose clause and its controlling clause

General purpose clause	Controlling Clause	Example number
S	S	(18.17), (18.18), (18.20a)
S	O	(18.15c)
O	S	(18.16d), (18.16e)
O	O	(18.16c)
A	S	(18.16b)
A	O	(18.16a)
A	A	(18.20b)
A/O	A/O	(18.1), (18.20c)
no shared argument		(18.15a), (18.15b)

- (18.20) a. *Kadutyati-ya* =*tuna*_S [*kasa-da*_{CC} *ju=ishu*].
gather-IMPFV =3PL strong-ASF be=PURP.GNL
‘They gather together in order (for them) to be strong.’ di0405
- b. *Etibene=keja* =*tuna*_A *repe-kware* *amena*
BEHIND=LOC.GNL =3PL(-ERG) pull-REM.PAST BM
*[i-ke*_O *salva* *a-mere=ishu*].
1SG-FM save be+CAUS=PURP.GNL
‘They_i (my dogs) pulled him (a fierce anteater) backward in order
(for them_i) to save me.’ ba095

- c. *Kastirya-ya* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *kuchi*_O *ina=ishu*.
 tire.out-IMPV =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) pig grab=PURP.GNL

‘I am going to tire that pig out so that I can catch him.’ di0504

Note that the following two situations were not found, Controlling A - Purpose S and Controlling A - Purpose O, although these are logically not impossible.

A noteworthy aspect of general purpose clause structure is the genitive (or dative) marking of transitive subjects, as seen in (18.16a,c) and (18.21).

- (18.21) ... [*e-kwe* *ea-tseweki=ke* *e-puna=ra*]_A
 1SG-GEN 1SG-sibling=LIG NPF-female=ERG
tya-ti-chine *e-na*_O [*e-kwe*_A *iji=ishu*].
 give-GO.TEMP-IMPV NPF-water 1SG-GEN drink=PURP.GNL

‘(While I was sitting there,) my sister (lit. my woman sibling) went to give me water (for me) to drink.’ (Camp and Liccardi 1989: 279)

Note that this phenomenon is not attested in any other types of clauses in Cavineña.

18.3.3. Headless general purpose clauses

There is a peculiar phenomenon whereby the verbal head is omitted. We are left with the purpose marker =*ishu* attached directly to one constituent of the general purpose clause that has not been omitted (a core argument, an oblique argument or a particle).²

The argument which has been left out can be the transitive subject. It is then marked, as expected, with the genitive/dative marker =*ja*, as in (18.22).

- (18.22) a. [*Jadya* *ju-atsu*] =*tu-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A *secretaria*_O
 thus be-SS =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) secretary
a-mere-kware *kirika*_O *gobierno=ja*_A=*ishu*.
 affect-CAUS-REM.PAST paper government=GEN=PURP.GNL

‘After saying that, we made our secretary (of the Indigenous organization) type (lit. affect) a letter for the government (to help us solve the conflict in the Araona community).’ T1.16

² Note that, alternatively, one could say that =*ishu* simply functions as a postposition in these constructions. This possibility is discussed in §18.3.4 below.

- b. *Ebakwapiji=ja_A=ishu* *e-na_O* *baka-kwe*
 small.child=GEN=PURP.GNL NPF-water ask.for-IMP.SG

e-kwa=ke_O!
 3-mother=3

‘Ask (sg) for water for the child from his mother (so that he can drink)!’ n4.0465

The argument which has been left out can also be the transitive object or the intransitive subject. However, it is not possible to distinguish between the two formally. This can only be guessed on semantic grounds, considering the type of argument (human versus animate versus inanimate) and the context. In the examples in (18.23), for example, it is likely that the argument that is left out is a transitive object.

- (18.23) a. *Batsara_{CS}* =*tu_{CS}* *ji-da_{CC}* *kwaba_O=ishu.*
 Spanish.cedar =3SG(-FM) good-ASF canoe=PURP.GNL

‘The Spanish-cedar is good for (someone to make) canoes.’ di0261

- b. *Cursillo_O=ishu* =*tu-ra_A* =*ekwana_O* *iwara-kware.*
 course=PURP.GNL =3SG-ERG =1PL call-REM.PAST

‘She called us (pl) for (us to attend) a (training) course.’ av003

In (18.24), the argument that is left out is probably an intransitive subject. Note that we have two general purpose clauses in (18.24a) and that it is only in the second one that the verb has been omitted.

- (18.24) a. *Ji-da_{CC}* =*tu_{CS}* *ara_O=ishu.*
 good-ASF =3SG(-FM) eat=PURP.GNL

Ebakwa=kwana_S=ishu =*tu_{CS}* *ji-da_{CC}.*
 child=PL=PURP.GNL =3SG(-FM) good-ASF

‘(My companions who were trying to convince me to take the caiman I had killed told me:) this is good (for someone) to eat. This is good for children (to grow/to be healthy).’ lg036

- b. *Jadi_{CC}=ke* =*shana* *ekwita=ra_A* *biji-da=dya*
 thus=LIG =PITY person=ERG desirable-ASF=FOC

ba-kware [*tu-ja* *e-wane=ke_{CS}=ishu*].
 see-REM.PAST 3SG-GEN 3-wife=3=PURP.GNL

‘So sadly, this man_i wanted her (the wife of another man_j) (lit. saw her desirable) for (her to be) his_i wife.’ dm003

In (18.25) the only constituent left is the time particle *metajudya* ‘tomorrow’.

- (18.25) *Tasi* = \emptyset _s *ju-ya=jari* *metajudya=ishu*.
 drive.a.taxi (=1SG-FM) be-IMPV=STILL tomorrow=PURP.GNL
 ‘I will drive my (motorcycle) taxi a little bit for (me to have money) tomorrow.’ mo005

18.3.4. Nominalization?

There are striking similarities between general purpose clauses and noun phrases:

- 1 — the A argument of a general purpose clause, if expressed, takes a marker =*ja* which has the same form as the genitive marker =*ja* that is used to refer to a possessor within an NP (§13.4);
- 2 — the verb of a general purpose clause is non-finite. In §12.7.6, I show that many non-finite verbs can be used as nouns;
- 3 — the verb of a general purpose clause can be omitted, similarly to the head of an NP in certain contexts (see below). Verbs (except for the copula *ju-* ‘be’) are never omitted in any other types of clauses.

In light of these observations, one might want to propose an alternative analysis whereby the purpose construction is a nominalized clause (i.e., an NP) — comparable to *waka=j a e-tima tsau* ‘lower back bone of a cow’ in (18.26) below — and =*ishu* a postposition. As such the original verb becomes the head noun (comparable to *tsau* ‘bone’), the original S or O becomes a directly preposed modifier (comparable to *e-tima* ‘lower back’) and the original A becomes a possessor (comparable to *waka=j a* ‘of the cow’).

- (18.26) [*Waka=j a e-tima tsau*]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} *ari-da*_{CC}.
 cow=GEN NPF-lower.back bone =3SG(-FM) big-ASF
 ‘The lower back bone of a cow is very big.’ di1271

As such, the transitive general purpose clauses in (18.16a), (18.16c) and (18.21) could be literally translated as follows:

- (18.16a) ‘for her taking of the load’
 (18.16c) ‘for our eating’
 (18.21) ‘for my drinking’

As for an intransitive general purpose clause, (18.15a), for example, could literally be translated as:

- (18.15a) ‘for the entering of the trucks’

In this work, however, I have decided not to treat general purpose clauses as postpositional phrases for the following three reasons:

1 — in an NP, only a single noun can be directly preposed to the NP head — (noun) phrases and pronouns do not have this option. However, in the case of a general purpose clause, the S or O argument can be a full (noun) phrase. In other words, the S or O argument can include modifiers to the noun, as with the demonstrative *tume=ke* ‘that’ in *tume=ke aikira carga* ‘that load’ in (18.16a). Moreover the S or O argument can be a pronoun, as with *ekwana* ‘1PL’ in (18.16b) or *ike* ‘1SG’ in (18.20b).

2 — a possessor (genitive phrase within an NP) obligatorily requires a head noun whereas we have seen that the verb (head) of a general purpose clause can be omitted.

3 — an oblique phrase used as a modifier within an NP requires a relative clause strategy, as with *Reye=ju=ke* in (18.27).

- (18.27) *Jadya*_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} *ju-kware*
 thus =3SG(-FM) be-REM.PAST
 [*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *ekwita* *Reye=ju*_{CC}=*ke*_{RC}]_{CS}.
 there=LIG person Reyes=LOC=LIG

‘This is what happened to that man from Reyes. (Lit. Thus was that man who was in Reyes.) (He metamorphosed into a jaguar.)’
 ht030

On the other hand, oblique phrases within general purpose clauses receive exactly the same marking as in main clauses, as with *e-na=ju* ‘in the water’ in (18.15b) or *earaki=ju* ‘in the food’ in (18.16d).

18.4. Purpose of motion clause

Purpose of motion clauses specify a goal/intent/reason for a motion event that is encoded by the controlling clause verb. They are marked by the enclitic =*ra* ‘PURPOSE of MOTion’. This type of clause only occurs with (essentially intransitive) controlling verbs of motion, such as *kwa-* ‘go’, *je-* ‘come’, *tsura-* ‘go up’, *tsajaja-* ‘run’, *kwinana-* ‘emerge’, etc. The subject of the purpose of motion clause is normally co-referential with the subject of the controlling (intransitive) clause — but see discussion around (18.30) below.

18.4.1. Function

In (18.28), I illustrate purpose of motion clauses based on intransitive verbs.

- (18.28) a. *Tudya* [[*e-kwe e-mama*]_S [*e-kwe e-tata*]_S *jadya*]
 then 1SG-GEN 1-mother 1SG-GEN 1-father and
kwa-kware nawi=ra.
 go-REM.PAST bathe=PURP.MOT

‘My father and my mother went to bathe.’ tk006

- b. *Tudya i-ke_S kwinana-wa wira=ra.*
 then 1SG-FM emerge-PERF urinate=PURP.MOT

‘I went outside (of the house) to urinate.’ ij004

- c. *Tudya =∅_S diru-kware e-tare=ju*
 then (=1SG-FM) go-REM.PAST NPF-house=LOC
ara-ara=ra.
 eat-REDUP=PURP.MOT

‘Then I went back home to eat.’ hu005a

In (18.29) I illustrate purpose of motion clauses based on transitive verbs.

- (18.29) a. [*Tsunu-da ju-neni-tsu*] =*tu_S*
 long-ASF be-RANDOM-SS =3SG(-FM)
bute-ti-kware [*bei kaka=ju*]
 go.down-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST lake small.and.round=LOC
[e-na_O iji=ra].
 NPF-water drink=PURP.MOT

‘It (a deer that we were spying from the top of a tree) wandered for a long time and then went down to the little lake in order to drink.’ ms032

- b. ... *kwa-kware* [[*e-kwe familia=kwana*]_O *isara=ra*]
 go-REM.PAST 1SG-GEN family=PL talk.to=PURP.MOT
Bolivar=ju.
 Bolivar=LOC

‘I went to talk to my family in Bolivar.’ ga003

- c. *Tudya i-ke_S* [*tu-ke tupuju*] *tsajaja-aje-kware*
 then 1SG-FM 3SG-FM FOLLOWING run-GO.DISTR-REM.REM
 [*tu-ke_O ina-dadi=ra*].
 3SG-FM grab-GO(O)=PURP.MOT

‘Then I ran behind her (my daughter who was taken away by the hurricane) to grab her from behind.’ hu019a

With an intransitive controlling clause verb, the subject of the purpose of motion clause must be co-referential with the subject of the controlling clause (as in all the examples above). Thus we have S(controlling)=S(purpose) in (18.28a-c³) and S(controlling)=A(purpose) in (18.29a-c).

The situation with transitive controlling clause verbs, on the other hand, is problematic, firstly because this situation is only found in the data with two verbs (*duju-* ‘take’ and *kwadisha-* ‘send’), and secondly because I have very few examples of these. From the examples available, as from those given in (18.30) below, it seems that purpose of motion clauses require co-referentiality between their subject and the object of the controlling clause. More data is needed to make a more conclusive statement on this issue.

- (18.30) a. ... =*pa* =*tatse*_O *e-kuku=ke=ra_A* *duju-kware*
 =REP =3DL 3-uncle.MB=3=ERG take-REM.PAST
 [*aba, aba misa*]_O *sare=ra*].
 chontilla.palm chontilla.palm bark.strap look.for=PURP.MOT

‘Their_i (dl) uncle took them_j (dl) (his two nephews) to fetch chontilla palm, chontilla palm bark straps.’ hm030

³ Note that in (18.28c) the transitive verb *ara-* ‘eat’ has undergone a (detransitivizing) antipassive derivation by full reduplication (see §8.3.2).

- b. ... =pa =tu_A [tume_{CC}=ke semana=dya]
 =REP =3SG(-ERG) there=LIG week=FOC
 kwadisha-kware ekwari=ra_A [e-kike_O peta=ra].
 send-REM.PAST leader=ERG NPF-forest look.at=PURP.MOT

‘(After having decided to move to a new and more secure location,) that week, the (Cavineña) leader sent someone to search for (lit. look at) a place (lit. forest).’ fd044

18.4.2. Auxiliaries and copula

If =ra marks a complex predicate, then the auxiliary is obligatorily omitted. The intransitive auxiliary *ju-* is shown omitted in *babi ju-* ‘hunt’ in (18.31a), *wikamutya ju-* ‘fish with hook’ in (18.31b), *mere ju-* ‘work’ (18.31c) and *jae ju-* ‘fish with arrows’ in (18.31d).

- (18.31) a. *I-ke_S babi=ra kwa-ya.*
 1SG-FM hunt=PURP.MOT go-IMPV
 ‘(I told my wife:) I’m going hunting!’ mp006
- b. ... *kwa-kware i-ke_S bei=ju wikamutya=ra.*
 go-REM.PAST 1SG-FM lake=LOC fish.with.hook=PURP.MOT
 ‘I went to the lake to fish.’ sl012
- c. ... *y-awi=ke_S =pa kwa-wa=dya mere=ra.*
 3-husband=3 =REP go-PERF=FOC work=PURP.MOT
 ‘Her husband had gone working.’ dm037
- d. *Kwa-kware =pa =tu_S [ekwana-ja e-baba=ekana]_S*
 go-REM.PAST =REP =3SG(-FM) 1PL-GEN 1-grandfather=PL
jae=ra.
 fish.with.arrows=PURP.MOT
 ‘Our grandfathers went fishing (with arrows).’ cc002

The transitive auxiliary *a-* is shown omitted in *ordeña a-* ‘milk O’ in (18.32a) and *visita a-* ‘pay a visit to O’ in (18.32b), two non-inflecting verbs borrowed from Spanish.

- (18.32) a. *Mi-ra_A tsawa-na-kwe* [[*riya_{CC}=ke waka esiri⁴*]_o
 2SG-ERG help-COME.TEMP-IMP.SG here=LIG cow old
ordeña=ra!
 milk=PURP.MOT

‘(She said to me:) “Come and help me milk this old cow!”’ vc024

- b. [*Tuna_O visita=ra*] =*yatse_S kwa-ya.*
 3PL visit=PURP.MOT =1DL go-IMPFV

‘“We (dl) are going to visit them (our relatives),” (I told him).’
 lm060

In (at least) one case, in (18.33) below, it appears that a copula predicate *ju-* ‘be’ is omitted from a copula clause — *peadya semana ju-* ‘be one week’ — within a purpose of motion clause.

- (18.33) [*Peadya semana=ra*] =*rena_S je-chine*
 one week=PURP.MOT =3PROX.PL come-REC.PAST

‘They have come here for a week.’ ri068

Note that this is the only example available of a copula clause used within a purpose of motion clause.

18.4.3. Miscellaneous

There are no specific pro-forms associated with purpose of motion clauses, and the strategy used for this purpose is to mark the interrogative verb *a(i) ju-* ‘do what’ with =*ra* ‘PURP.MOT’. This is illustrated in (18.34b), a pedagogical end-of-story question (i.e., a question used at the end of a story aiming at verifying if the child-reader has understood the content) corresponding to (18.34a).

- (18.34) a. ... =*tu_S kwa-wa bei=ju wikamutya=ra.*
 =3SG(-FM) go-PERF lake=LOC fish=PURP.MOT

‘(My father, accompanied by Tito) went fishing in the lake.’ bj001

⁴ It is not clear why the morpheme meaning ‘old’ is *esiri* here and not *siri* (if it were the attributive adjective; see §13.2.2) or *esiri=ke* (with the ligature; if it were the predicative adjective).

- b. *Ai=ra* =*tatse*_S *kwa-wa?*
 do.what=PURP.MOT =3DL go-PERF
 ‘Where (lit. to do what) did they (dl) go?’ bj009

18.5. Minor non-finite adverbial clauses

18.5.1. Cause clause

Cause clauses only occur in the speech of elderly people and in the texts collected in the 1970’s by SIL. These clauses are marked by =*ra* ‘CAUSE’ which is homophonous with the purpose of motion clause marker =*ra* ‘PURP.MOT’ (§18.4) and the ergative marker =*ra* ‘ERG’.

From the few examples available, cause clauses have a verb stripped of its inflectional affixes — similarly to purpose of motion clauses. Unfortunately, I have too few examples to discuss argument marking.

One day, in Misión Cavinás, Alfredo Tavo had returned exhausted from a long excursion. As he arrived, he said to me:

- (18.35) *E-tsaka*_{CS} *uje-da*_{CC} *ju-ya* *aje=ra*.
 NPF-leg painful-ASF be-IMPV walk=CAUSE
 ‘My legs hurt from walking (so much).’ n5.0153

Two additional examples are given in (18.36).

- (18.36) a. *Kastere-kware=kamadya* *i-kes* *betsa=ra*.
 become.tired-REM.PAST=RESTR 1SG-FM swim=CAUSE
 ‘I was extremely tired from swimming.’ mj178
- b. *Tudya* =*tu*_A *e-puna*_O *duju-jeri-kware*
 then =3SG(-ERG) NPF-female take-ALMOST-REM.PAST
daka-daka=ra.
 spill-REDUP=CAUSE
 ‘It (the ground) almost carried away a woman with it, as it was giving way (lit. spilling repeatedly).’ tr039

The only example of a cause clause with a transitive verb is with *iji-* ‘drink’. Unfortunately *iji=ra* has the unexpected meaning ‘from thirst’ (not *‘from drinking’), as in (18.37).

- (18.37) a. *Tume diru-ya=ke=dya_S =∅_S iji=ra*
 then go-IMPV=LIG=FOC (=1SG-FM) drink=CAUSE
maju-jeri-kware.
 die-ALMOST-REM.PAST
 ‘On that trip (lit. as I was going there), I almost died of thirst.’
 sd008

- b. [*E-kwe familia=kwana=tsewe*] *iji=ra ekwana_S*
 1SG-GEN family=PL=ASSOC drink=CAUSE 1PL
tere-jeri-kware.
 finish-ALMOST-REM.PAST
 ‘With my family, we almost all died (lit. finished) from thirst.’
 en007

Note that the =*ra* marker in (18.36a,b) could be analyzed as the purpose of motion clause marker. This would make more sense semantically — ‘from thirst’ is semantically closer to ‘in order to drink’ (purpose of motion clause marker reading) than ‘from drinking’ (cause clause reading). However, *iji=ra* is here used with non-motion verbs such as *maju-* ‘die’ and *tere-* ‘finish’, which does not normally happen with purpose of motion clauses.

18.5.2. ‘Just before’ clause

‘Before’ clauses are marked by =*wie* ‘JUST BEFORE’. They are used to express an event that is on the brink of occurring when the event of the controlling clause verb occurs. There are no argument co-reference requirements.

I illustrate the marker =*wie* in (18.38).

- (18.38) a. ... =*tu-ke_O* =∅_A *ba-nati-kware* *awada_O*
 =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST tapir
 [*ikwene_{CC}=ke bei kaka=ju*]
 first=LIG lake small.and.round=LOC
 [*ijeti_S nubi=wie=kwita*].
 sun enter=JUST.BEFORE=RESTR

‘... I saw a tapir at the first small lake, when the sun was just about to set (lit. enter).’ ms009

- b. [*Marso badi_s tere=wie*] =*tu_s*
 March moon finish=JUST.BEFORE =3SG(-FM)
 [*peadya alumno*]_s *ju-eti-nuka-chine...*
 one student be-COME.PERM-REITR-REC.PAST
 ‘As the month of March was about to finish, a student arrived...’
 di0194
- c. *Kana-kicc* =*tu_{CS}* *ju-ya* *ekwita_{CS}*
 breathing-WITH =3SG(-FM) be-IMPV person
maju=wie.
 die=JUST.BEFORE
 ‘A man pants (lit. is with breathing) when he is about to die.’
 di0452

The marker =*wie* has been recruited in various expressions having to do with the time of the day. In the available data it is found on two verbs, in (18.39a), and two particles, in (18.39b).

- (18.39) a. *wekaka-* ‘be at dawn’ *wekaka=wie* ‘before dawn’
 apuna- ‘be at dusk’ *apuna=wie* ‘before dusk’
- b. *barepatya* ‘at midday’ *barepatya=wie* ‘before midday’
 metapatya ‘at midnight’ *metapatya=wie* ‘before midnight’

Chapter 19

Finite adverbial clauses

Finite adverbial clauses differ from non-finite clauses in that their verb must take a TAM inflectional marker — a non-finite clause verb cannot take any of these markers (see Chapter 18). A general overview of the morpho-syntax of finite adverbial clauses is given in §19.1.

I have identified four major types of adverbial clauses: (1) different-subject temporal clause, marked by *=ju* ‘DS’ (§19.2), (2) reason clause, marked by *=tibu* ‘REASON’ (§19.3), (3) ‘similarity’ clause, marked by *=bucha* ‘SIMLR’ (§19.4), and (4) conditional clause, marked by *=ke juatsu* ‘COND’ (§19.5). These types of clause are well attested in the available data and represent synchronically productive structures.

In addition to the major adverbial clauses, I briefly exemplify (and very tentatively discuss) a number of additional minor adverbial finite clauses: (1) ‘thanks to’ clause, marked by *=ademe* (§19.6.1), (2) concessive clause, marked by *amaka* or *pa-...=amabucha* ‘EVEN.THOUGH’ (§19.6.2), and (3) simultaneity clause, marked by *mekeeke* or *tsunumee* ‘WHILE’ (§19.6.3). These clauses are very scarce in the data and are likely to be archaic structures.

19.1. Morpho-syntactic introduction

19.1.1. Finiteness

Finite adverbial clauses have a finite verb, i.e., a verb inflected with a TAM marker, and a marker of dependency.

An example of a transitive reason clause is shown in (19.1).

- (19.1) [*E-ra_A butseeju salon_O ina-ya=tibu*]
 1SG-ERG first.time rifle grab-IMPFV=REASON
 =tu-ra_A =∅_O ejene-kware=ama.
 =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) believe-REM.PAST=NEG

‘Because it was the first time I was using (lit. grabbing) a rifle, she (my sister-in-law) did not believe me (when I told her that I had killed a deer).’ s1067

The dependency marker *=tibu* expresses the semantic relation of reason. The verb in this example takes the TAM inflectional suffix *-ya* ‘IMPFV’. Imperative

inflectional affixes (including imperative, hortative and jussive markers; §6.2) are never used in adverbial clauses. Reason clauses allow for the full range of TAM markers. Some other clause types can only take a selection of these markers. For example different-subject temporal clauses can only take the imperfective *-ya*, the perfect *-wa* and the potential *e-...-u*. In the case of non-inflectional affixes, they are potentially all possible with any type of adverbial clause.

The core argument NPs, when overtly expressed, receive the same (ergative/absolutive) marking as in a main clause. In (19.1), for example, the A is expressed by an ergative independent pronoun and the O by an unmarked NP. Finite adverbial clauses also have the same possibilities of taking adjunct constituents as in main clauses; see for example the independent particle *butseeju* ‘(for) the first time’ in (19.1).

However, adverbial clauses are not equivalent to a main clause. First, they are marked for dependency and cannot stand by themselves. Second, the verb of an adverbial clause always comes last whereas the verb of a main clause can occur anywhere. Third, finite adverbial clauses have fewer possibilities for expressing grammatical categories. Notably, first and second position morphemes, whether particles or bound pronouns, cannot be expressed.

19.1.2. Subordination

Finite adverbial clauses in Cavineña are subordinate because they function similarly to any main clause constituent (e.g., core NP, postpositional phrase, independent particle, etc.). The first piece of evidence for their subordinate status is the placement of second position clitics in sentences that include a finite adverbial clause. These clitics are invariably attached to the last phonological word of the first constituent of the main clause. Crucially, they are attached to the last phonological word of a finite adverbial clause if this clause comes first. In (19.2), for example, the second position reportative particle *=pa* is attached to *kayuama-wa=tibu* because the reason adverbial clause *barepa kayuamati-wa=tibu* is the first constituent of the main clause. If this were not the case, *ijeti* ‘sun’ would be the first constituent of the main clause and *=pa* would have been attached to it.

- (19.2) [Barepa_S kayuamati-wa=**tibu**] =pa ijeti_S aputa-wa.
 sky deteriorate-PERF=REASON =REP sun disappear-PERF
 ‘Because the weather (lit. sky) had turned bad, the sun had disappeared.’ se015b

The second piece of evidence comes from the fact that similarly to any main clause constituents, finite adverbial clauses have the possibility to ‘move

around' and occupy any possible position. The sentence in (19.3) for example shows the conditional clause *tawi-ya=ke juatsu* occurring between the first constituent *re-wa* 'here-LOC' and the second and last constituent *tawi-ya=dya*.

- (19.3) *Re-wa=dya =ni =metse_s [tawi-ya=ke juatsu]*
 here-LOC=FOC =MAYBE =2DL sleep-IMPV=CONDIT CONDIT
tawi-ya=dya.
 sleep-IMPV=FOC
 'If you (dl) are going to sleep, then you (dl) might as well sleep here (in my house).' ka115

Note however that first or final positions are generally preferred by most adverbial clauses.

19.2. Different-subject temporal clause

19.2.1. Semantics

Different-subject temporal clauses (DS-temporal clauses) are marked by the enclitic *=ju* 'DS'. Their main function is to express temporal settings for their controlling clause predicate.

Examples with preposed DS-temporal clauses are in (19.4).

- (19.4) a. *A-kware=dya =tuna_A tee_O.*
 affect-REM.PAST=FOC =3PL(-ERG) garden
*[Rarara-wa=**ju**] =tuna_A tucha-kware.*
 dry-PERF=DS =3PL(-ERG) burn-REM.PAST
 'They cleared a garden. When it (the garden) had dried, they burned it.' fd016
- b. *[Tu-ra_A mare-wa=**ju**] =tu_s pakaka-wa.*
 3SG-ERG shoot.at-PERF=DS =3SG(-FM) fall-PERF
 'He (Lucio) shot at it_i (the porcupine) and it_i fell down.' ij022

See also 'when I was still a leader...' in (T1.1).

Example (19.5) comes from a recorded conversation of a group of Cavineña men doing community work. In the middle of the conversation a foreigner (a merchant who does not speak Cavineña) arrived and everybody switched to Spanish. As the conversation (in Spanish) went on, I decided to turn the tape-

recorder off until the conversation was resumed in Cavineña. After this happened a couple of times, my turning-on-and-off of the tape recorder was noticed by Vidal Mayo, who informed his workmates as follows:

- (19.5) [Peyas_S kisarati-ya=**ju**] =tu-ja =tu_O
 other talk-IMPV=DS =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM)

tikwa-nuka-ya.
 extinguish-REITR-IMPV

‘When the other (the foreigner) talks, he (the linguist) turns it (his tape-recorder) off!’ tb046

Examples with postposed DS-temporal clauses are in given (19.6).

- (19.6) a. *Nereda* =tu-ra_A =∅_O *a-kware*
 scold =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) affect-REM.PAST

[*e-ra_A* *jadya* *kwatsabi* *a-wa=**ju***].
 1SG-ERG thus tell.story.to affect-PERF=DS

‘She (my aunty) scolded me when I had told her so (that my children almost drowned in the river).’ ri061

- b. *Ekwana-ja* =tu_S *ani-ya* *vacacion_S*
 1PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) sit-IMPV vacation

[*noviembre* *badi_S* *tere-ya=**ju***].
 November month finish-IMPV=DS

‘We (teachers in Bolivia) have a vacation at the end of November. (Lit. A vacation sits to us when the month of November is finishing.)’ ga002

Examples of DS-temporal clauses based on copula clauses (with omitted predicate) are given in (19.7a), with an NP as CC, (19.7b), with an adjective as CC, and (19.7b), with a locative / adverbial demonstrative pro-form as CC.

- (19.7) a. ... [*i-ke_{CS}* *CIRABO=**ju*** *dirigente=**jaricc=**ju*****] =tu_S
 1SG-FM CIRABO=LOC leader=still=DS =3SG(-FM)

*Arauna=**kwanas*** [*tuna-ja* *epu=**ju***]
 Araona.person=PL 3PL-GEN village=LOC

kawaiti-kware *tuna=**kama***.
 get.angry-REM.PAST 3PL=ONLY

‘... when I was still a leader at CIRABO, the Araonas became angry with each other in their village.’ T1.1

- b. [*I-ke*_{CS} *ashasha*_{CC}=*ju*=*piji*] [*e-kwe* *tata-chi*]_S
 1SG-FM small=DS=DIM 1SG-GEN father-AFFTN
maju-kware.
 die-REM.PAST

‘When I was little my father died.’ nk008

- c. *Amena* [*i-ke*_{CS} *tu-wa*_{CC}=*ju*=*piji*=*dya*] =*tu*_S
 BM 1SG-FM there-LOC=DS=DIM=FOC =3SG(-FM)
apuna-kware.
 be.at.dusk-REM.PAST

‘When I was (just about to arrive) there, dusk was falling.’ sd068

DS-temporal clause predicates make the most use of the aspectual inflectional markers *-ya* ‘IMPFV’ and *-wa* ‘PERF’ to express a simultaneous vs. sequential contrast between the temporal clause event and the controlling clause event. The marker *-ya* ‘IMPFV’ expresses simultaneity: both events occur at the same time, as in (19.5) and (19.6b) above. The marker *-wa* ‘PERF’ expresses sequence: the controlling clause event occurs/begins when the temporal clause event is completed, as in (19.4a,b) and (19.6a) above.

The tense inflectional markers *-chine* ‘REC.PAST’ and *-kware* ‘REM.PAST’ are not attested in DS-temporal clauses. The potential circumfix *e-...-u* ‘POT’, on the other hand does show up in a few examples, as shown in (19.8).

- (19.8) a. *Amena* [*tata Felipe*]_{CS} *baji-da*_{CC} *ju-wa*
 BM sir Felipe scared-ASF be-PERF
 [*tu-ja* *e-tare*_S *e-tiru-u=ju*].
 3SG-GEN NPF-house POT-burn-POT=DS

‘Mr. Felipe got scared as his house could burn.’ fe007

- b. [*Mikwana*_S *e-k-iye-ti-u=ju*] =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A
 2PL POT-REF-kill-REF-POT=DS =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)
isara-ya...
 talk.to-IMPFV

‘As you could end up killing each other, I will talk to them (the Araona family that is making trouble)...’ T1.52

See also (T1.61), (T1.70).

Phrasal particles that would normally cliticize on the predicate of a main clause can also be used within DS-temporal clauses, as with the negative particle =*ama* in (19.9).

- (19.9) [Salon_S pututa-ya=*ama*=*ju*] =*tu*_S kwa-nuka-wa
 rifle burst-IMPV=NEG=DS =3SG(-FM) go-REITR-PERF
 [peya e-tare=*ju*].
 other NPF-house=LOC

‘(The rifle of Lucio, who wanted to kill the porcupine, did not work.) As the rifle didn’t want to work (lit. burst), he (Lucio) went to another house (to ask for another rifle).’ ij019

See also =*jari* ‘STILL’ in (T1.1).

The reader will have probably noted that the DS-temporal clause marker =*ju* ‘DS’ is homophonous with the locative postposition =*ju* ‘LOC’; see, e.g., *peya e-tare*=*ju* ‘to another house’ in (19.9). Adding to this the fact that, in Cavineña, RCs are structurally similar to finite adverbial clauses and can have adverbial meanings (see Chapter 20), one might want to analyze DS-temporal clauses as relative clauses within locative phrases. A discussion of the evidence for treating these two types of constructions as different is in §20.6.2.

19.2.2. Tail-head linkage

Quite similarly to SS-temporal clauses (§18.2), DS-temporal clauses can be used to repeat information, typically the main predicate of the immediately preceding sentence. As discussed in §18.2, this is called ‘tail-head linkage’ or ‘lexical overlap’ in the literature (Thompson and Longacre 1985: 209 ff.). Two examples are provided in (19.10).

- (19.10) a. [Jadya ju-ya=*ju*] =*tu*_S matujas *jipetana*-kware.
 thus be-IMPV=DS =3SG(-FM) caiman approach-REM.PAST
 [*Jipetana*-ya=*ju*] =*tu*_A isara-nuka-kware.
 approach-IMPV=DS =3SG(-ERG) talk.to-REITR-REM.PAST

‘When he_i (the fox) said so (that he_i was a bit deaf and couldn’t hear), the caiman_j got closer. (The caiman_j) getting closer, he_i (the fox) talked to him_j again.’ cd042

- b. *Tudya amena =tuna-ra_A =∅_O e-tare=ju*
 then BM =3PL-ERG (=1SG-FM) NPF-house=LOC
- duju-kware.* [*Tuna-ra_A e-tare=ju duju-wa=ju*]
 take-REM.PAST 3PL-ERG NPF-house=LOC take-PERF=DS
- i-ke_S amena ka-ba-ti-diru-kware...*
 1SG-FM BM REF-see-REF-GO.PERM-REM.PAST

‘Then they took me (who was lying unconscious) home. After they had taken me home, I recovered consciousness (lit. I saw myself).’ mg020-030

19.2.3. ‘Switch-reference’

DS-temporal clauses are the only type of adverbial clause that require a different subject from their controlling clause. Apart from this restriction, the two clauses can share, or not share, any of their arguments, as shown in Table 19.1. Note that S and CS arguments are lumped together under the label S.

Table 19.1. Co-reference possibilities between a DS-temporal clause and its controlling clause

DS-temporal clause	Controlling Clause	Example number
S	O	(19.4a), (19.10a)
O	S	(19.4b), (19.10b)
O/A	A/O	(19.6a)
no shared argument		(19.5), (19.8a,b), (19.9)

Note that the pair made by dependent clauses marked by *-(a)tsu*, which have temporal meanings and must share their subject with the subject of the controlling clause (§18.2), and dependent clauses marked by *=ju* is functionally very close to a switch-reference system (as per Haiman and Munro 1983). Formally, however, these are clearly distinct clause types, in which case we don’t have, strictly speaking, a switch-reference system per se. In other words, Cavineña does not have a single clause type that would manifest both same-subject and different-subject situations. Rather, what we have are different co-reference constraints associated with different clause types.

19.3. Reason clause

The marker =*tibu* marks a clause that gives a reason for the occurrence of the event manifested by its controlling clause. Its semantics is roughly similar to the English subordinators ‘because’ or ‘since’.

19.3.1. Semantics

In (19.11) and (19.2) (repeated), I illustrate intransitive reason clauses.

- (19.11) a. *Ara-chine=ama* =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *ensalada*_O
eat-REC.PAST=NEG =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) salad

jeke-wa=tibu.
fill.up-PERF=REASON

‘I did not eat the salad because I was full (lit. I had filled up).’
br043

- b. [*E-kwe* *suerte*_S *ani-ya=tibu*] =*tu-ra*_A = \emptyset _O
1SG-DAT luck sit-IMPV=REASON =3SG-ERG (=1SG-ERG)

karu-kware=ama.
bite-REM.PAST=NEG

‘(After killing the viper, the soldier said to himself:) “I’m lucky it did not bite me.” (lit. Because luck sits to me, it did not bite me.) so011

- (19.2) [*Barepa*_S *kayuamati-wa=tibu*] =*pa* *ijetis* *aputa-wa.*
sky deteriorate-PERF=REASON =REP sun disappear-PERF

‘Because the weather (lit. sky) had turned bad, the sun had disappeared.’ se015b

Examples of reason clauses based on copula clauses (with an omitted copula predicate) are shown in (19.12).

- (19.12) a. [*Mi-ke*_{CS} [*chapa metse*]_{CC}=*tibu*] =*tu-ra*_A =*mi*_O
2SG-FM dog owner=REASON =3SG-ERG =2SG(-FM)

tupu-ya.
follow-IMPV

‘Since you are the dog_i’s owner, he_i will follow you (whereas he_i didn’t want to follow me).’ tg030

- b. [*Pae=kwana=tsewe=ama_{CC}=tibu*] =*tuna_{CS}* *Eseeja=kwana_{CS}*
 priest=PL=ASSOC=NEG=REASON =3PL EseEjja.person=PL
 [*dyake mure-da*]_{CC}.
 very fierce-ASF

‘Since they were not (living) with the priests, the Ese Ejja people were very fierce.’ hs018

In (19.1) (repeated) and (19.13) I illustrate transitive reason clauses.

- (19.1) [*E-ra_A butseeju salon_O ina-ya=tibu*]
 1SG-ERG first.time rifle grab-IMPV=REASON
 =*tu-ra_A* = \emptyset _O *ejene-kware=ama*.
 =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) believe-REM.PAST=NEG

‘Because it was the first time I was using (lit. grabbing) a rifle, she (my sister-in-law) did not believe me (when I told her that I had killed a deer).’ sl067

- (19.13) a. *Aama!* [*Mi-ra=dya_A iye-wa=tibu*] *duju-kwe!*
 not.exist 2SG-ERG=FOC kill-PERF=REASON take-IMP.SG
 ‘No! Since you killed it (a caiman), you take it (not us)!’ lg035

- b. *Yusurupai* =*mi-ke_O* =*ekwana_A* *a-ya*
 thank =2SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) affect-IMPV
 [[*riya_{CC}=ke semana kueti-chine=ju*]
 here=LIG week pass-REC.PAST=DS
mi-ra_A ekwana_O naru-nuka-chine=tibu]
 2SG-ERG 1PL take.care.of-REITR-REC.PAST=REASON

‘We thank you because you looked after us this past week (lit. when this week passed).’ (Camp 1985: 45)

Reason clause verbs can take the full range of verbal morphology. In the preceding examples, for instance, I have *-wa* ‘PERF’ in (19.11a) and *-ya* ‘IMPV’ in (19.11b). Unlike DS-temporal clauses, reason clause verbs also take the past marker *-chine* ‘REC.PAST’, as in (19.13b), and *-kware* ‘REM.PAST’, as in (19.14).

- (19.14) [Tu-ra=kamadya_A ijeti_O jipe-kware=**tibu**]
 3SG-ERG=RESTR sun approach-REM.PAST=REASON
 =pa =tu_{CS} pude-da_{CC}.
 =REP =3SG(-FM) red/brown-ASF

‘Because he (the vermilion flycatcher bird) is the only one who had approached the sun (in old times), he is red/brown.’ hi009

There are no co-reference restrictions between a reason clause and its controlling clause, as shown by Table 19.2, which summarizes the situations found in earlier examples. Note that S and CS arguments have been lumped together under the label S.

Table 19.2. Co-reference possibilities between a reason clause and its controlling clause

Reason Clause	Controlling Clause	Example number
S	S	(19.12b)
S	A	(19.11a)
S	O	(19.12a)
A	S	(19.14)
A	O	(19.1)
A/O	A/O	(19.13a)
O/A	A/O	(19.13b)
DAT	O	(19.11b)
no shared argument		(19.2)

19.3.2. Pro-form

There is a specific question marker meaning ‘why’, *ejebuchajuatsu*, which is a frozen form from a complex phrase involving the interrogative pro-form *eje-bucha* (see §19.4 below), the intransitive auxiliary *ju-* and the same-subject clause marker *-(a)tsu*, i.e., *ejebucha ju-atsu* [INT:SIMLR be-SS].

- (19.15) *Ba-na-kwe* *jee_{CC}=ke_O!* ***Ejebuchajuatsu***
 see-COME.TEMP-IMP.SG here=LIG INT:REASON
pudena-ya=ama?
 become.red/brown-IMPFV=NEG

‘(I called my wife:) “Come over to see this! Why is it that it (the soft drink I’m trying to prepare) does not turn red/brown (as it is normally supposed to do)? (Maybe I haven’t poured enough powder?)’ lv023

For another example see (T1.27).

19.4. Similarity clause

The enclitic =*bucha* ‘SIMiLaR’ marks a clause that expresses a situation the controlling clause event is (unexpectedly) similar to. It is roughly equivalent to the English subordinator ‘as (if), like, similar to’. As with reason clauses, there are no co-reference restrictions between the similarity clause and the controlling clause. There are also two (possibly) synonymous ‘similarity’ clause markers, =*bae* and =*jiu*, that will be briefly illustrated at this end of this section.

19.4.1. Semantics

An example of an intransitive ‘similarity’ clause is presented in (19.16).

- (19.16) *A-tana-kware* =*tu*_S *awada*_S. *Tudya* =*tu*_S
 affect-PASS-REM.PAST =3SG(-FM) tapir then =3SG(-FM)
a-tana-wa=ama=bucha *tsajaja-kware*.
 affect-PASS-PERF=NEG=SIMLR run-REM.PAST

‘(I shot at the tapir.) The tapir was wounded (lit. affected). But then, it ran, as if it had not been wounded.’ aw018

‘Similarity’ clauses based on copula clauses (with ellipsed copula predicate) are illustrated in (19.17a), with an NP complement, and (19.17b), with a post-positional phrase complement.

- (19.17) a. *Kurakwa*_{CC}=*bucha* =*pa* *ekana*_{CS} *sikaka-da*_{CC} *ju-ya*.
 parrot=SIMLR =REP 3PL noisy-ASF be-IMPFV

‘They (the Ese Ejja people) were noisy like (as if they were) parrots.’ vz031

- b. *Yawa=ju*_{CC}=*bucha*=*dya=jutidya* = \emptyset _S *ani-kware*
 ground=LOC=SIMLR=FOC=RESTR (=1SG-FM) sit-REM.PAST

pisu=ju.
 floor=LOC

‘(Because there were no seats available on the bus,) I sat on the (bus) floor, just as if I was (sitting) on the ground.’ ga024b

I illustrate transitive ‘similarity’ clauses in (19.18).

- (19.18) a. [[*Ikwene e-puna=ra*]_A *a-wa=bucha=dya*]
 first NPF-female=ERG affect-PERF=SIMLR=FOC
 =*shana* =*pa* =*tu*_A *a-nuka-wa*.
 =PITY =REP =3SG(-ERG) affect-REITR-PERF

‘Sadly, exactly like his first wife had cheated on (lit. affected) him, she (his new wife) cheated on him too.’ dm036

- b. ... =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *e-metuku=tsewe=jutidya*
 =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) NPF-hand=ASSOC=RESTR
 ina-kara *a-kware*
 grab-DESID affect-REM.PAST
 [[*make mure-da*_{CC}=*ke*]_O *adeba-ya=ama=bucha*].
 piranha fierce-ASF=LIG know-IMPV=NEG=SIMLR

‘(I really don’t know why but) I wanted to grab it (a piranha) with my hand, as if I did not know that piranhas are very dangerous. (And of course the piranha gave me a terrible bite.)’ wk011

- c. ... [*mi-ra*_A [*ekwana-ja y-ana*]_O]
 2SG-ERG 1PL-GEN NPF-tongue
 baka-ya=ama=bucha=dya] *i-ke*_S *bisu-ya*.
 hear-IMPV=NEG=SIMLR=FOC 1SG-FM be.ashamed-IMPV

‘I was shy (lit. ashamed) because I thought that (lit. as if) you didn’t understand (lit. hear) our (Cavineña) language. (And I didn’t know how to speak to you.)’ ka120

‘Similarity’ clauses are very frequently used with perception verbs such as *ba-* ‘see, feel internally’, *baka-* ‘hear, understand’, *adeba-* ‘know, remember’, etc., as illustrated in (19.18c). Other examples are provided in (19.19).

- (19.19) a. [*Diru-wa=bucha*] =*taa* =*mi-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *ba-wa*
 go-PERF=SIMLR =EMPH =2SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) see-PERF
 [*e-kwe* *e-bakujuna*].
 1SG-GEN 1-daughter

‘(When my daughter unexpectedly returned, I told her:) “I thought you had gone (for good), my daughter! (lit. I felt you as if you had gone.)”’ ka022

- b. [*Uru*_{CC}=***bucha***] =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *adeba-ya*.
 motmot=SIMLR =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) know-IMPV

‘I think that it was a motmot (bird) (lit. I know it as if it was a motmot).’ pa073

- (19.20) [*Ai=ra=kwana*_A *ara-ya=bucha*] =*datse* = \emptyset _A
 INT=ERG=UNCERT eat-IMPV=SIMLR =FRUST (=1SG-ERG)

ba-kware.
 see-REM.PAST

‘(When I heard my hunting dogs, making so much noise,) I thought that something, I had no idea what, was eating them, (lit. I felt them (my dogs) as if something was eating them).’ wa015

In all the examples available of ‘similarity’ clauses, there is always an argument in common with their controlling clause; more work is needed to determine whether this is obligatory. On the other hand, there does not appear to be any particular pattern of co-reference, as shown by the various argument sharing situations summarized in Table 19.3.

Table 19.3. Co-reference possibilities between a ‘similarity’ clause and its controlling clause

‘Similarity’ Clause	Controlling Clause	Example number
S	S	(19.16), (19.17a,b)
S	O	(19.19a,b)
A/O	A/O	(19.18b)
O	O	(19.18a), (19.20)
GEN	S	(19.18c)

A few examples are available of two additional similarity clause markers =*bae* ‘SIMLR’ and =*jiu* ‘SIMLR’. They are each illustrated with an example in (19.21).

- (19.21) a. *Tume diru-ya=ke=dya*_S [*tu-ra*_A *kweja-wa=bae=dya*]
 then go-IMPV=LIG=FOC 3SG-ERG inform-PERF=SIMLR

e-kwe ju-kware.
 1SG-DAT be-REM.PAST

*E-na*_{CS} =*e-kwe tupu=ama*_{CC} *ju-kware*.
 NPF-water =1SG-DAT sufficient=NEG be-REM.PAST

‘As I went, it happened to me exactly like he (my father) had told

me. (That is,) I ran out of water (lit. water was not sufficient to me).’ sd013

- b. [*Jadya ju-ya=ju*] =*pa* =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O
 thus be-IMPFV=DS =REP =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM)
- baka-tsa-kware* [*ekwita aje-ya=**bucha***]
 hear-COME(O)-REM.PAST person walk-IMPFV=SIMLR
- [*aje-ya=**jiu***] *yachi=ju...*
 walk-IMPFV=SIMLR pampa=LOC

‘After doing that (getting ready to sleep), they (our Cavineña ancestors) heard something like a person walking in their direction, like someone walking, in the pampa (near their camp)...’ cc014

These two subordinate clause markers need to be investigated. They are likely to show some semantic differences from =*bucha* and from each other. Note that in (19.21b) we have both markers =*bucha* and =*jiu* occurring in the same sentence.

19.4.2. Pro-form

‘Similarity’ clauses can be questioned with the specific pro-form *ejebucha* ‘INT:SIMLR’ as in (19.22).

- (19.22) ***Ejebucha*** =*mi*_A *jae*_O *a-wa?*
 INT:SIMLR =2SG(-ERG) fish affect-PERF

‘(The husband asked his wife:) “How did you cook (lit. affect) the fish?” (To which she answered: “I boiled it”).’ ap016

19.5. Conditional clause

Conditional clauses are marked by the combination of an enclitic =*ke* and the (grammatically and phonologically) independent word *juatsu*. This is illustrated in (19.23a), which comes from a recorded text, (19.23b), which comes from Camp and Liccardi’s (1989) grammar sketch, and (19.23c), which was volunteered by Francisco Vaca.

- (19.23) a. *Ita* [ani-ya=**ke** **juatsu**] =ri_S
 ATT.GETTER sit-IMPV=CONDIT CONDIT =3PROX.SG(-FM)
iyaja=kwita=dya “*drajj!* *drajj!*” *ju-nuka-ya*.
 now=RESTR=FOC ONOM ONOM be-REITR-IMPV

‘(After killing one peccary in the burrow, I was wondering if there would be a second peccary hiding inside. So I started to poke inside with my stick and I said to myself:) “Let’s see, if there is (another) one, he will grunt (lit. say “drajj, drajj”) right away.” wa043

- b. [*Kastere-wa=ke* **juatsu**] *jara-kwe=jari!*
 become.tired-PERF=CONDIT CONDIT lie-IMP.SG=STILL

‘If you are tired, you can rest for a while (lit. still lie).’ (Camp and Liccardi 1989: 280)

- c. [*Mi-ra_A* *i-ke_O* [*mi-kwe moto*]_O *presta*
 2SG-ERG 1SG-FM 2SG-GEN motorcycle lend
a-ya=ke **juatsu**] =∅_S *kwa-ya*
 affect-IMPV=CONDIT CONDIT (=1SG-FM) go-IMPV

Tumichucua=ju.
 Tumichucua=LOC

‘If you lend me your motorbike, I will go to Tumichucua.’ n1.0526

A conditional clause based on a copula clause is shown in (19.24).

- (19.24) [[*Ijike nana*]_{CC}=**ke** **juatsu**] =tuna_A *jere-ya*
 corn young=CONDIT CONDIT =3PL(-ERG) grate-IMPV
 [*ijike_O* *jere=ishu*]_{CC}=**ju**].
 corn grate=PURP.GNL(=LIG)=LOC

‘If it is fresh corn (lit. young corn), they grate it in a grater (lit. in what is used to grate corn).’ tm003

Conditional clauses tend to occur sentence-initially, as is the case in the preceding examples. However, this is not obligatory: the examples in (19.3) (repeated) and (19.25) show conditional clauses in other positions.

- (19.3) *Re-wa=dya =ni =metse_S [tawi-ya=**ke** juatsu]*
 here-LOC=FOC =MAYBE =2DL sleep-IMPV=CONDIT CONDIT

tawi-ya=dya.
 sleep-IMPV=FOC

‘If you (dl) are going to sleep, then you (dl) might as well sleep here (in my house).’ ka115

- (19.25) *Jady_{CC} =pa [tata-chi=ja i-nime]_{CS} ju-chine*
 thus =REP father-AFFTN=GEN NPF-thought be-REC.PAST

*[i-ke_S aputa-chine=**ke** juatsu].*
 1SG-FM disappear-REC.PAST=CONDIT CONDIT

‘This is what your father would have thought (lit. thus would your father’s thought be) if I had died.’ pf068

One example is available of a negated conditional clause. It is given in (19.26). It shows that the negation marker (the general phrasal particle =*ama*; §17.9) cliticizes on the =*ke* part of the conditional marker.

- (19.26) [*Weka-da_{CC}=ju a-ya=**ke=ama** juatsu]*
 bright-ASF(=LIG)=LOC affect-IMPV=CONDIT=NEG CONDIT

=tuna_S chine=ju ju-ya.
 =3PL night=LOC be-IMPV

‘If they (our Cavineña ancestors) didn’t catch (lit. affect) any (fish) during the day (lit. in what is bright), then they could do it (i.e., catch some fish) in the evening.’ ct088

Conditional clauses often share an argument with their controlling clause. However, this is not an absolute requirement, as shown by (19.25). Various attested combinations of co-referent arguments are listed in the following table.

Table 19.4. Co-reference possibilities between a conditional clause and its controlling clause

Conditional Clause	Controlling Clause	Example number
S	S	(19.3), (19.23a,b)
S	A	(19.26)
S	O	(19.24)
O	S	(19.23c)

The discontinuous marker *=ke juatsu* 'CONDIT' has probably evolved from a copula clause with its CS co-referent with the subject of the controlling clause and with a headless relative clause as its CC. If this hypothesis is correct, conditional clauses would have originally meant 'CS being one that V₁, S/CS/A V₂'. The details are as follows. First, the *=ke* part of the conditional clause marker is most likely the ligature marker *=ke*, whose function is to mark a relative clause; in (19.23b), for example *kastere-wa=ke* would literally mean 'one who has become tired'. Then, the *juatsu* part of the conditional clause marker is clearly made of the copula/auxiliary *ju-* followed by the same-subject clause marker *-(a)tsu*. We would thus have a copula clause; *kastere-wa=ke ju-* in (19.23b) would literally mean 'be one who has become tired' (i.e., a headless relative clause). If we assume that the same-subject clause marker *-(a)tsu* has a tail-head linkage / lexical overlap function (repeating preceding information for discourse coherence; see §18.2), we can hypothesize that the complete conditional clause *kastere-wa=ke ju-atsu* in (19.23b) would literally mean 'X being one who has become tired, X (can rest for a while)'. Similarly, the conditional clause in (19.23a) would literally mean 'being one that is (inside the burrow), he (the peccary)...'.

On these grounds, one might want to say that conditional clauses could simply be analyzed as copula clauses after all, and that it is not necessary to set up a distinct clause type. In this work, however, I recognize a separate conditional clause and I treat the combination of the two forms *=ke* and *juatsu* as a unique (although discontinuous) conditional morpheme marker. The problems with the copula-clause-with-headless-relative-clause-complement reading arise from the fact that conditional clauses do not require any core argument sharing with the controlling clause and this makes it impossible to have a same-subject reading. In (19.25), for example, a copula clause reading for the conditional clause could only be 'I being one who died' with 'I' as the subject. It cannot be co-referent to the main clause subject which is 'your father's thinking'. As a result it is best to recognize a separate conditional construction clause. Historically, however, the structural similarities between the two constructions makes it fairly clear that the conditional clause has evolved from the copula construction. This also nicely corroborates cross-linguistic findings that copulas are a well attested source for conditional markers (see for example Traugott 1985: 291).

Note that a detailed study of the semantics of conditional clauses in Cavineña remains to be undertaken. For example, it is not clear, at the present time, if and how these clauses can express different degrees of hypotheticality. Let us also remember that Cavineña has other ways to express conditional meanings, notably by way of independent clauses marked by the second position particle *=ni* 'MAYBE'. This was discussed in §16.3.2 and illustrated with examples such as (19.27) (repeated).

- (19.27) *Deka*_{CC} =*ni* =*mi-ke*_{CS}. *Tume* =*mi*_S
 male =MAYBE =2SG-FM then =2SG(-FM)

jekutana-ya=ama.
 be.scareded-IMPV=NEG

‘(Before transforming into a jaguar, he said to me:) If you are a man, you won’t be scared. (Lit. You are probably a man. So you won’t be scared.)’ ht014

19.6. Minor finite adverbial clauses

The types of adverbial clauses discussed below are considered minor in the sense that they are very scarce in the data. This is either because they are perhaps archaic constructions or they are very marked and only occur on rare occasions. The discussions that follow are only tentative and require more work.

19.6.1. =*ademe* ‘THANKS.TO’

The morpheme =*ademe* is found in about 15 examples. It marks a clause that expresses a reason for a happy situation expressed by the controlling clause. It is illustrated in (19.28a), where it marks a verbal clause, and in (19.28b), where it marks a copula clause (with omitted copula verb).

- (19.28) a. [*Mikwana*_S *ju-na-wa=ademe*] =*ekwana*_{CS}
 2PL be-COME.TEMP-PERF=THANKS.TO =1PL

*uma-da*_{CC}.
 many-ASF

‘It is good that you (pl) came because now we are many.’ di1990

- b. [*Yachi* *jika-da*_{CC}=*ademe*] =*taa* = \emptyset _S
 pampa lush-ASF=THANKS.TO =EMPH (=1SG-FM)

aje-ya=ama.
 walk-IMPV=NEG

‘The pampa is very lush (and could hurt my legs) so I won’t walk (and it’s a good reason for me to sit lazily in the cart).’ ka429

In some cases, =*ademe* is attached directly to an NP/noun, as in (19.29).

- (19.29) *Chapa=ademe* =*tu-ja* =*tu*_O *ina-kware=ama*.
 dog=THANKS.TO =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) grab-REM.PAST=NEG
 ‘(The anaconda missed the man but caught his dog.) Thanks to the
 dog, he (the man) did not get caught.’ si006b

It is not altogether clear how such examples should be analysed. If *chapa=ademe* is a clause, there needs to be an omitted predicate: underlyingly, *chapa=ademe* should then read something like ‘thanks to the dog (being there)’. Another possibility might be that =*ademe* can function both as a non-finite clauses marker, as in (19.28a,b) and as a postposition, as in (19.29).

More intriguing are cases where =*ademe* is attached directly to an ergative case marked NP as shown in (19.30).

- (19.30) a. *Yusurupai, Rubuiba! Mi-ra=ademe*_A = \emptyset _O
 thank.you maned.wolf 2SG-ERG=THANKS.TO (=1SG-FM)
chachane-wa.
 cure-PERF

‘Thank you, Maned Wolf! You saved (lit. cured) me.’ di0665

- b. *Akwi=ra=ademe*_A = \emptyset _O *pene-wa*
 tree=ERG=THANKS.TO (=1SG-FM) cover-PERF
 [*iba=ra*_A *e-ara-u=ke*]_O.
 jaguar=ERG POT-eat-POT=LIG

‘The tree protected me from being eaten by the jaguar.’ di2208

This suggests that in (19.30a,b) — and perhaps (19.29) as well — =*ademe* should be analyzed as a particle. It could then either function as a phrasal particle or as a second position particle; note that in all these examples, =*ademe* is attached to the last phonological word of the first immediate constituent of the main clause. The issue of the exact status of =*ademe* needs more work.

19.6.2. Concessive clauses

A few examples are available of two types of concessive finite clauses. The first one is marked by the independent marker *majaka*. The second one is marked by the bound marker =*amabucha*. In both types of clauses, the word *arepa* is optionally found at the initial of the clause. The restricted number of examples

available did not allow me to determine whether there are semantic differences between the two types of clauses.

Concessive finite clauses marked by *majaka* can be first illustrated with the following two sentences constructed by Alfredo Tavo.

- (19.31) a. [*Ba-da* *ba-ya* *majaka*] = \emptyset _S *kwa-wa*
cold-ASF see-IMPV EVEN.THOUGH (=1SG-FM) go-PERF

tee=ju.
garden=LOC

‘Even though I was feeling cold, I went (working) in my garden.’
n2.0904

- b. [*Arepa* *e-jeke*_{CC} *majaka*] =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A
EVEN.THOUGH RES-fill.up EVEN.THOUGH =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)

ara-wa.
eat-PERF

‘Although I was full, I ate it.’ n2.0905

In (19.32) I provide the only two textual examples available.

- (19.32) [*Uje-da* *ba-ya* *majaka*] =*pa* =*tu*_S
painful-ASF see-IMPV EVEN.THOUGH =REP =3SG(-FM)

shikwi-tana-aje-kware
scrub-PASS-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST

[*kuchiru* *jara-ya=kejaamaka*].
machete lie-IMPV=LOC.APPROX

‘(The man was lying half dead, the giant anteater on top of him, its claws hooked deep into his ribs.) Even though he (the man) was feeling great pain (lit. feeling it painful), he managed to pull (lit. scrub) himself little by little toward his machete (lit. toward where the machete was lying).’ na017b

- b. [*Neti-baka-neti-baka* *ju-ya* *majaka*]
stand-SHORT.TIME-REDUP-REDUP be-IMPV EVEN.THOUGH

*ekatse*_S *diru-chine.*
3DL go-REC.PAST

‘Even though they (dl) (the pair of oxen pulling our cart) kept stopping (lit. standing) for short periods all along the way, at

least they (dl) kept going.’ ka295

In a recorded text, I found two examples of *majaka* directly marking the abstract nouns *baji* ‘fear’ and *bisu* ‘shame’. These examples are given in (19.33).

- (19.33) a. *Muya-aje-ya* = \emptyset_A [*baji majaka*]...
 scare.away-GO.DISTR-IMPFV (=1SG-ERG) fear EVEN.THOUGH
 ‘(As we — in a cart pulled by oxen — entered a section of the path that was full of water), I kept guiding (lit. scaring) them (the oxen) although with fear.’ ka084
- b. [*Bisu majaka*] *ne-ju-nati!*
 shame EVEN.THOUGH HORT.DL-be-GO.TEMP
 ‘Let’s (dl) go there (and talk to that foreigner) even though we are feeling shy (lit. even though with shame)!’ ka091

The syntax of these examples is not altogether clear and more data is required.

The origin of the concessive marker is most likely the *e*-noun *-majaka* ‘place’, illustrated in (19.34).

- (19.34) *Tume =tuna-ra_A =ekwana_O tya-tsa-kware*
 then =3PL-ERG =1PL give-come(O)-REM.PAST
e-majaka_O.
 NPF-space
 ‘(When we arrived at the village of the Pacahuara people,) they gave us a place (lit. space) (where we could sleep).’ pa015

There are only three examples available of the second type of concessive clause, marked by the discontinuous morpheme (*arepa*) ...=*amabucha* ‘EVEN.THROUGH’. One example, in (19.35) below, is based on verbal clause.

- (19.35) [*Arepa karetu=tsewe jeti-wa=amabucha*]
 EVEN.THROUGH cart=ASSOC come-PERF=EVEN.THROUGH
 [*e-kwe e-tima=kwana*]_{CS} *uje-da_{CC}.*
 1SG-GEN NPF-lower.back=PL painful-ASF
 ‘Even though I’ve traveled (lit. come) in the cart (i.e., I have not walked), my lower back area (still) hurts.’ ka546

19.6.3. Simultaneity clauses

There are two attested markers of simultaneous clauses: *mekeeke* and *tsunumee*. They are both translated by ‘while’ in English. Too few examples are available to know if there are any semantic differences between the two. Here I provide both with the same glossing.

I have no recorded examples of simultaneity clauses marked by *mekeeke*. The example in (19.37) comes from a text written by Alfredo Tavo.

- (19.37) [Kati-ya **mekeeke**] =pa =tu_S e-na=tsewe
 fight-IMPV WHILE =REP =3SG(-FM) NPF-water=ASSOC
 ka-jibururu-ti-kware.
 REF-wash.the.face-REF-REM.PAST

‘(The face of the man was covered with the mud that the tricky imp had thrown on him.) As they kept fighting, he washed his face with water.’ du019

The following two examples were volunteered by Alfredo Tavo:

- (19.38) a. [Vaso_O ina-ya **mekeeke**] =∅_S wene-wene-ya.
 glass grab-IMPV WHILE (=1SG-FM) draw-REDUP-IMPV
 ‘I’m writing (lit. drawing) holding a glass of water (in my hand).’
 n2.0907
- b. [Utsa-utsa-ya **mekeeke**] =tu_S earaki ju-wa.
 wash-REDUP-IMPV WHILE (=3SG-FM) cook be-PERF
 ‘While she was washing, he was cooking.’ n2.0910

The origin of *mekeeke* is unknown. It possibly contains the perlocative postposition =*eke* ‘PERL’. However the formative *meke* is not found independently from *mekeeke*.

Three examples are available of simultaneity clauses marked by *tsunumee*: one comes from Camp and Liccardi’s (1989) dictionary; two comes from recorded texts. The two textual examples are unfortunately too complicated to be used as illustrations. The example from the dictionary is reproduced below.

- (19.39) [Mi-ke_S ara-ara-ya **tsunumee**] =tu-ke_O =∅_A
 2SG-FM eat-REDUP-MPFV WHILE =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)
 kirika_O wene-ya.
 paper draw-IMPV

‘While you will be eating, I will be writing (lit. drawing) a letter.’
 (Camp and Liccardi 1989: 278)

The *tsunu* part of *tsunumee* might be related to the adjective *tsunu*- ‘long (time)’. As for the *mee* part, it is not found independently from *tsunumee*.

Chapter 20

Relative clauses

Relative clauses (RCs) are structurally similar to finite adverbial clauses. They consist of a clause with an inflected verb and a dependency marker, =*ke* ‘LIG’ (§20.1).

The ligature morpheme =*ke* that marks an RC displays idiosyncratic behavior when it enters into certain clitic sequences. Notably it is deleted when it precedes a postpositional enclitic marker (§20.2).

There is a wide range of options for expressing the argument that is common to the RC and the main clause (MC): (1) in the MC but not in the RC, (2) in the RC but not in the MC and (3) neither in the MC nor in the RC (§20.3).

The common argument (CA) can have any function within the MC. Within the RC, there are tendencies — but no absolute requirement — for the CA to be in non-A function within the RC (§20.4).

The main function of relative clauses in Cavineña is to modify the head of an NP. But relative clauses in this language are also used with an adverbial meaning, in which case they rather modify the predicate of a controlling clause (§20.5).

Relative clauses show tendencies to grammaticalize into finite adverbial clauses (§20.6).

20.1. Morpho-syntactic introduction

20.1.1. Finiteness

Similarly to finite adverbial clauses (Chapter 19), a (verbal) RC has a finite verb, i.e., a verb inflected with a TAM marker, and a marker of dependency, =*ke* ‘LIGature’. In (20.1a), for instance, the RC verb is inflected with the remote past *-kware* ‘REM.PAST’ while in (20.1b) it is inflected with the potential circumfix marker *e-...-u* ‘POT’.

- (20.1) a. [Ai bakani]_{CC} =tu_{CS} ju-kware
 INT name =3SG(-FM) be-REM.PAST
- [pushi ekwita [[makei_O iye=ra] kwa-kware=*ke*]]_{CS}?
 four person enemy kill=PURP.MOT go-REM.PAST=LIG

‘What are the names of the four men who went to kill the enemies?’ mk098

- b. ... [*beta wekaka*] *iwa-kware*
 two day wait.for-REM.PAST
 [*camion=kwana e-kueti-u=ke*]_O.
 truck=PL POT-pass-POT=LIG

‘... we waited two days for trucks that could possibly pass (and give us a ride to Riberalta).’ ga014

The verb of an RC can take the full range of TAM inflectional markers; in addition to *-kware* and *e-...-u* illustrated above, see *-wa* ‘PERF’ in (20.6a), *-chine* ‘REC.PAST’ in (20.6b), and *-ya* ‘IMPFV’ in (20.6c).’’

Similarly to finite adverbial clauses, the verb of an RC can also take any non-finite verbal affix: see for example *-ti* ‘GO.TEMP’ in (20.18), *-diru* ‘GO.PERM’ and *-bare* ‘DISTR’ in (20.28d), *-aje* ‘GO.DISTR’ in (20.29), *-sha* ‘CAUS’ in (20.31a), *ka-...-ti* ‘REF’ in (20.39), etc.

Similarly to adverbial clauses, the verb of an RC (whether an inflecting verb, an auxiliary verb or a copula verb) obligatorily comes last in the clause. In copula RCs with an omitted copula verb, the copula complement comes last (see §20.1.2).

Similarly to finite adverbial clauses, RCs do not take first or second position particles. This means that RCs do not have bound pronouns. On the other hand, any other main clause constituent (NP, independent pronoun, PP, independent particle, adverbial clause, etc.) can occur in an RC and receive the exact same marking. See for example NPs in A function *juye=ra* in (20.22c), in S function *makina* ‘machine’ in (20.24a), independent pronoun in O function *ike* ‘1SG’ in (20.18), independent pronoun in A function *tura* ‘3SG.ERG’ in (20.29), independent particles *beru* in (20.3) and *iyaja=kwita* in (20.24a), non-finite purpose of motion clause *makei iye=ra* ‘to kill enemies’ in (20.1a), etc.

20.1.2. Copula relative clauses

In copula relative clauses, the copula verb is typically — although not obligatorily — omitted, regardless of the nature of the CC (predicative adjective, NP, etc.). As we saw, copula omission is also frequent in copula main clauses (§4.6.3). When the copula verb is omitted, the ligature marker =*ke* is attached to the copula complement which comes last in the RC. This is illustrated in (20.2).

- (20.2) a. *E-kwe ani-kware [maletero ari-da_{CC}=ke]*_S.
 1SG-DAT sit-REM.PAST bag big-ASF=LIG
 ‘I had a big bag (lit. a big bag sat to me).’ mj052

- b. *Chamakama=dya =∅_A* [akwi paji-da_{CC}=ke]_O
 finally=FOC (=1SG-ERG) tree hard-ASF=LIG

dadi-kware.
 find-REM.PAST

‘Finally, I found a hard stick (to finish killing the deer that I had shot).’ sl057

When not omitted, the copula verb must be inflected with a TAM marker, as shown in (20.3), an example volunteered by Alfredo. Note that this is again similar to what happens with copula main clauses (see §4.6.3).

- (20.3) [Ekwita [beru ujeje-da_{CC} ju-kware=ke]]_O
 person before sick-ASF be-REM.PAST=LIG
 =tu-ja =tu_O chachane-wa.
 =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) cure-PERF

‘He (the doctor) cured someone who had been sick for a long time.’ n5.0276

Copula RCs are extremely frequent. Copula RCs with adjectives as CC were illustrated in (20.2). Copula RCs with other types of CCs are exemplified below: NP CC in (20.4a), postpositional phrase CC in (20.4b), locative pro-form CC in (20.4c), independent particles CC in (20.4d) and (20.4e).

- (20.4) a. [Tume_{CC}=ke bawityabawityapuji¹]_S =tu_S baekwa
 there=LIG teacher =3SG(-FM) not.know
 ju-kware
 be-REM.PAST

[[ekwana-ja y-ana=eke] ai kuyukuyu_{CC}=ke]_E.
 1PL-GEN NPF-tongue=PERL INT granulated.catfish=LIG

‘That teacher didn’t know what “kuyukuyu” (granulated catfish) means (lit. is) in our language.’ ap041

- b. ... *rutu-kware* [waburasa kani=duku_{CC}=ke]_O
 poke-REM.PAST peccary hole=inside=LIG

‘... I poked the peccary that was inside the hole.’ ta013

¹ Derived as follows: *bawitya-bawitya-puji* [teach-REDUP-one.that] (see §12.7.1).

- c. *E-ra*_A =*bakwe* [*e-majaka tu-keja*_{CC=ke}]_O
 1SG-ERG =CONTR NPF-place there-LOC.GNL=LIG

adeba-ya=ama.
 know-IMPV=NEG

‘I didn’t know those places (lit. the places that were there).’ ka033

- d. ... *ekwana-ra*_A *a-ya=ama* [*jadi*_{CC=ke} *kisarati*]_O
 1PL-ERG affect-IMPV=NEG thus=LIG word

‘... we do not say (lit. affect) words like that (lit. which are thus).’
 fm034

- e. ... *ba-nati-kware* *awada*_O
 see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST tapir

[*ikwene*_{CC=ke} *bei kaka=ju*]_{...}
 first=LIG lake small.and.round=LOC

‘... I saw a tapir at the first small lake...’ ms009

Copula RCs based on dative oblique phrases are illustrated in (20.5).

- (20.5) a. [*E-tsuku tsau siwa=ja*_{CC=ke}]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} [*dyake tseri-da*]_{CC}.
 NPF-hip bone deer=DAT=LIG =3SG(-FM) very fat-ASF

‘The hip bone of the deer (lit. the hip bone which is to the deer) is very thick (lit. fat).’ di1319

- b. [*E-tare mi-kwi*_{CC=ke}]_{CS} =*tu*_{CS} [*dyake ari-da*]_{CC}.
 NPF-house 2SG-DAT=LIG =3SG(-FM) very big-ASF

‘That house of yours (lit. the house which is to you) is very big.’
 di1985

20.2. Ligature marker =*ke*

The relative clause marker =*ke* (the RC marker) presents a number of idiosyncratic properties when it comes into a sequence with other enclitics.

20.2.1. Ligature deletion rule

Similarly to adverbial clause markers, the relative clause marker =*ke* ‘LIG’ is attached to the last phonological word of the RC, thus to a verb (lexical verb,

auxiliary verb or copula verb) or to a copula complement.

When the CA (Common Argument) is not in S or O function (which are unmarked for case) within the MC, the NP formed by the CA and the RC will be marked by a postposition (ergative, genitive, locative, associative, etc.). As we know, most postpositions are enclitics to the last phonological word of the NP (see Chapter 14). We would then expect to have =LIG=PP clitic sequences. But curiously, this never happens. There is a morphological process of deletion of the ligature =ke morpheme when it occurs in the same clitic sequence with a postposition and when it precedes the postposition. This is illustrated in (20.6a), with the CA in A function within the MC, (20.6b), with the CA in locative function within the MC, and (20.6c), with the CA in associative function within MC.

- (20.6) a. [*E-puna ordeña=ra kwa-wa_{RC}=ra*]_A =yatse_O
 NPF-female milk=PURP.MOT go-PERF(=LIG)=ERG =1DL

ba-kware.

see-REM.PAST

‘The woman who had gone to milk saw us.’ n1.0585

- b. *Tudya [e-kwe ebadeki shana-chine_{RC}=ju]*
 then 1SG-GEN hammock leave-REC.PAST(=LIG)=LOC

bade-diru-wa [e-kwe e-wane]_S.

hang-GO.PERM-PERF 1SG-GEN 1-wife

‘My wife went to rest (lit. hang) in the (lit. my) hammock that I had left.’ gu109

- c. [*E-ra_A manga_O ina-ya_{RC}=tsewe=kwita*] *i-ke_S*
 1SG-ERG mango grab-IMPV(=LIG)=ASSOC=RESTR 1SG-FM

amena pakaka-kware...

BM fall-REM.PAST

‘I fell with the mango that I was grabbing.’ mg016

In (20.7), where the CA (‘someone’; omitted within both MC and RC) is a possessor within the MC, the ligature is deleted from a =LIG=GEN underlying sequence.

- (20.7) [*Maju-ya_{RC}=ja weruru*]_{CS} =tu_{CS} *basi-da_{CC}*.
 die-IMPV(=LIG)=GEN sweat =3SG(-FM) sticky-ASF

‘The sweat of someone who is dying is very sticky.’ di1418

Note that =*ke* is omitted even if it is not directly adjacent to a postposition, as long as they belong to the same clitic cluster and the ligature precedes the postposition. This is illustrated in (20.8), where the number clitic =*ekatse* ‘DL’ occurs between the ligature phrase and a case marker:²

- (20.8) [Tume eweebari weni-da_{CC/RC}=*ekatse*=*ra*]_A ara-ya.
 there teenager vigorous-ASF(=LIG)=DL=ERG eat-IMPV
 ‘These two vigorous teenagers were eating it (a raw wild turkey).’
 hm091

On the other hand, if the ligature does not belong to a clitic cluster together with a postposition, then the ligature does not drop. This happens, for example, in the context of preposed RCs, as in (20.9). Note that the ligature and the postposition are in boldface.

- (20.9) a. [Arusu=*kwana* a-wa=*ke*]_O =*tu*_A pa-ara =*shana*
 rice=PL affect-PERF=LIG =3SG(-ERG) JUSS-eat =PITY
 [ju-na-wa=*ke*_{RC} kwaine=*ra*]_A!
 be-COME.TEMP-PERF=LIG aunt.MZ=ERG
 ‘At least let your aunt, who has just arrived, eat some cooked rice
 (lit. rice that has been affected)!’ ka191
- b. [[Reunion tuna_S ju-ya=*ke*]_{RC} e-tare=*ju*]
 have.meeting 3PL be-IMPV=LIG NPF-house=LOC
 =*pa* =*mi*_S kwa-wa.
 =REP =2SG(-FM) go-PERF
 ‘(I couldn’t find you because) you had gone to the house where
 they were having a meeting.’ ka129
- c. [[Tuna-*ra*_A jee puru-kware=*ke*]_{RC} wede=*eke*] =*yatse*_O
 3PL-ERG here dig-REM.PAST=LIG ditch=PERL =1DL
 karetu=*ra*_A e-rumu-u...
 cart=ERG POT-overturn-POT
 ‘Here in that ditch (that we are going to cross) that they (the pigs)
 have dug, we (dl) might overturn (lit. the cart might overturn
 us)...’ ka080

² The interaction between number markers and RCs is discussed further in the next section.

The ligature is also retained when the postposition is not an enclitic but a separate phonological word, as with *jiteke* ‘LOOKING.FOR’ (§14.8.1) in (20.10a) and *tupuju* ‘FOLLOWING’ (§14.9.4) in (20.10b).

- (20.10) a. *Metajudya=kwita=dya* = \emptyset _S *kwa-ya*
 tomorrow=RESTR=FOC (=1SG-FM) go-IMPV
 [[*chapa=kwana* *diru-chine=ke*]_{RC} *jiteke*].
 dog=PL go-REC.PAST=LIG LOOKING.FOR
 ‘Tomorrow, I will go looking for the dogs that have gone.’ os006
- b. ... [*wana-ya=ke*_{RC} *tupuju=dya*] *diru-kware*.
 escape-IMPV=LIG FOLLOWING=FOC go-REM.PAST
 ‘... he (my grandfather’s friend) went following the ones (howler monkeys) that were escaping (trying to kill them).’ ts018

Finally, if the ligature =*ke* follows (rather than precedes) an enclitic postposition, it is not deleted. This happens when a postpositional phrase in CC function is made of a copula RC, as in (20.11).

- (20.11) *Jadya*_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} *ju-kware*
 thus =3SG(-FM) be-REM.PAST
 [*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *ekwita* *Reye=ju*_{CC}=*ke*_{RC}]_{CS}.
 there=LIG person Reyes=LOC=LIG
 ‘This is what happened to that man from Reyes. (Lit. Thus was that man who was in Reyes.) (He metamorphosed into a jaguar.)’ ht030

20.2.2. Ligature and number markers

Cavineña has three number markers which function within NPs (=kwana ‘PL’, =ekana ‘PL’ and =ekatse ‘DL’). These markers are enclitics to the head noun of the NP or to an NP modifier (see §13.3).

When the plural number marker =kwana ‘PL’ is attached to an RC, as normally happens when the NP head is ellipsed (see §13.3.1), the order is =PL=LIG (not the expected order =LIG=PL), as shown in (20.12).

- (20.12) a. [*Misión.Cavina=ju ani-ya=**kwana=ke**]*_S (**ani-ya=**ke=kwana***)
 Misión.Cavinas=LOC sit-IMPV=PL=LIG

kwa-ya=ama.
 go-IMPV=NEG

‘(We were very glad to hear the bishop saying:) the ones (men) who live (lit. sit) in Misión Cavinás won’t go to the war.’ gu037

- b. *Tu-ra=dya_A =tuna_O kweja-diru-kware*
 3SG-ERG=FOC =3PL inform-GO.PERM-REM.PAST

*epu=ju_{CC}=**kwana=ke**_O.*
 village=LOC=PL=LIG

‘He told the ones from the village.’ fd035

See also *CIRABO=ju=**kwana=ke*** ‘us from CIRABO’ in (T1.56) and *mi-ra ba-ya=**kwana=ke*** ‘the ones whom you see/care for’ in (20.16).

Note that with the dual marker =*ekatse*, the order must be =LIG=DL as expected, as shown in (20.13) (elicited) and (20.14) (from a text).

- (20.13) a. [*beta e-marikaka ari-da_{CC}=**ke=ekatse**]*_{NP}
 two NPF-cooking.pot big-ASF=LIG=DL

‘two big cooking pots’ n4.0296

- b. **beta e-marikaka ari-da=**ekatse=ke***
 two NPF-cooking.pot big-ASF=DL=LIG

n4.0297

- (20.14) *Eju =tu_S tawi-kware*
 INT:LOC =3SG(-FM) sleep-REM.PAST

[*ikwene jeti-kware=**ke=ekatse**]*_S?
 first come-REM.PAST=LIG=DL

‘Where did the two (men) who had returned first sleep?’ ts059

The plural marker =*ekana* is limited to kinship nouns. It never occurs on an RC in the data. More work is required to know if =*ekana* is allowed to mark an RC, and if so, how =*ekana* would interact with the ligature =*ke*.

- (20.17) *E-wane=ke=ra*_A *amena* *ba-ti-kware* *tu-ke*_O.
 3-wife=3=ERG BM see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST 3SG-FM

‘His wife went to see him.’ mu041

Note that the form *e-wane=ra* in (20.17) would be grammatical. However, it would then mean ‘my wife’, not ‘his wife’.

2 — semantically *=ke* ‘3’ (in conjunction with the prefix *e-*) encodes the person of the possessor whereas *=ke* ‘LIG’ is a relative clause marker, regardless of the person of the possessor of the NP head it qualifies (if any). In (20.9), for example, the head of the relative clause *ju-na-wa=ke* ‘who has arrived’ is ‘your aunt’, i.e., it is possessed by a second person.

20.3. Statement of common argument

Cavineña is a language where the common argument (CA) can be stated either within the main clause (MC) or the relative clause (RC) (but never within both) or not stated at all. Whether there are any semantic differences between the two alternatives remains to be investigated.

Three tests have been used to decide where the CA belongs in a particular example:

1 — constituency: when the CA and the RC form separate constituents, then the CA belongs to the MC. When the CA occurs between constituents that clearly belong to the RC (as opposed to the MC), then the CA belongs to the RC.

2 — nature of the CA: if the CA is an (independent) pronoun, then it must belong to the RC. This is so because pronouns cannot be modified in Cavineña (§15.1.1). As a result it is not possible to have an NP with its head as a pronoun and an RC as a modifier.

3 — case marking of the CA: when the function of the CA within the MC is different from the function of the CA within the RC and if both functions are marked differently, the case assigned to the CA indicates where it belongs.

20.3.1. Common argument in main clause, not in relative clause

The CA can be stated within the MC but not within the RC, in which case we have an externally-headed relative clause.

In the following two examples, case marking on the CA proves that the CA belongs to the MC. In (20.18) and (20.19), the CAs, *bina* ‘bat’ and *Rosa* respectively, are in S function within the MC and in A function within the RC. As we can see, *bina* ‘bat’ and *Rosa* are unmarked for case. This correlates with their S

function within the MC but not with their A function within the RC (since the A function requires overt ergative marking). This shows that both *bina* and *Rosa* belong to the MC but not to the RC.

- (20.18) *Tume =tukwe ani-kware*
 there =CONT.EVID sit-REM.PAST
 [***bina*** [*i-ke*_O *susu-ti-ya=ke*]]_S.
 bat 1SG-FM suck-GO.TEMP-IMPFV=LIG
 ‘(When I went sleeping, I didn’t know that) there was a (vampire)
 bat that was going to suck me (during my sleep).’ bi016

- (20.19) *Pa-kena-kware*
 cry-LEAVE-REM.PAST
 [***Rosa*** [[*tu-ja familia*]_O *shana-ya=ke*]]_S.
 Rosa 3SG-GEN family leave-IMPFV=LIG
 ‘Rosa cried as she was leaving her family.’ n2.0887

In (20.20), the CA, *kani* ‘hole’, is in O function within the MC and in LOC function within the RC. The CA is unmarked, accordingly to its O function but not accordingly to its LOC function (which would be marked by =*ju* or some related postposition). The CA thus belongs to the MC, not to the RC.

- (20.20) *Ba-kware e-ra_A*
 see-REM.PAST 1SG-ERG
 [***kani***=*piji* [*bina=ra_A i-ke_O susu-wa=ke*]]_O.
 hole=DIM bat=ERG 1SG-FM suck-PERF=LIG
 ‘(I looked at my hand and) I saw a little hole where the bat had
 sucked me.’ bi032

In (20.21), as in (20.20), the CA, *banekware* ‘upland terrain’, is in O function within the MC and in locative function within the RC. As we can see, *banekware* is unmarked, correlating with its O function within the MC but not with its locative function within the RC — locative function would be marked by =*ju*.

- (20.21) *Tudya =pa =tu-ke_O =ekwana_A ba-ya*
 then =REP =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG) see-IMPFV
 [***banekware***=*kwana* [*tuna_S ani-kware=ke=dya*]]_O.
 upland.terrain=PL 3PL sit-REM.PAST=LIG=FOC

‘(Our ancestors lived between the Beni and the Madidi rivers, on the banks of lakes and swamps). (Nowadays,) it is said that we see the upland terrain where they lived (a long time ago).’
hs004

In the following examples, constituency proves that the CA belongs to the MC. In (20.22), the CA is separated from the RC by a MC constituent. As a result, the CA must belong to the MC.

(20.22) a. CA is O in MC and CS in RC

*Tupari*_O =*mi*_A *iji-chine* *re-wa*_{CC}=*ke*_{O?}
chicha =2SG(-ERG) drink-REC.PAST here-LOC=LIG

‘Have you tried (lit. drunk) the local chicha (lit. the chicha that is from here)?’ tb186

b. CA is CS in MC and CS in RC

*Jadya*_{CC} =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_{CS} *kisarati*_{CS} *ju-kware*
thus =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) word be-REM.PAST

*beru*_{CC}=*ke*_{CS}.
before=LIG

‘It’s that kind of words that they (our Cavineña ancestors) would use in the past (lit. the words that were from before were like that to them).’ fm020

c. CA is S in MC and O in RC

Jadya=tibu =*tu*_S [*tume*_{CC}=*ke* *e-majaka=ju*]
thus=REASON =3SG(-FM) there=LIG NPF-space=LOC

[*jee*_{CC}=*ke* *karetu*]_S *tsume-tana-ya*
here=LIG cart use-PASS-IMPFV

[*juye=ra*_A *repe-ya=ke*]_S.
ox=ERG pull-IMPFV=LIG

‘For that reason (that in Cavineña communities, there aren’t any motorized vehicles), this (rudimentary) cart which is pulled by oxen is used in these places.’ ft023

In (20.23), the stated CA is postposed to the RC verb. Since, as we said, the verb in an RC obligatorily comes last, the CA must belong to the MC.

- (20.23) a. CA is CS in MC and O in RC

Tume =tukwe [[*e-ra*_A *tapa-ya=ke*] *y-aa*]_{CS}
 there =CONT.EVID 1SG-ERG step.on-IMPV=LIG NPF-branch
*e-rara*_{CC} *ju-kware*.
 RES-dry be-REM.PAST

‘The branch I was stepping on was dry (but I didn’t know, so I stood on it and it broke).’ mg014

- b. CA is CS in MC and S in RC

*Eju*_{CC} =*taa* =*ri*_{CS}
 INT:LOC =EMPH =3PROX.SG(-FM)
 [*ju-na-chine=ke* *hermano*]_{CS}?
 be-COME.TEMP-REC.PAST=LIG brother

‘Where on earth is the brother who has arrived (and who is supposed to be here!)?’ ka136

- c. CA is CS in MC and S in RC

*Ejeke*_{CC} =*ri*_{CS}
 INT:PERL =3PROX.SG(-FM)
 [[*Cavina=ju kwa-ya=ke*] *e-diji*]_{CS}?
 Cavinat=LOC go-IMPV=LIG NPF-path

‘Where is the path that leads (lit. goes) to Cavinat?’ n1.0570

- d. CA is CC in MC and CS in RC

[*Ji-dacc=ke vitamina*]_{CC} =*pa* =*taa* =*ri-ke*_{CS}.
 good-ASF=LIG vitamin =REP =EMPH =3PROX.SG-FM

‘It (the cod oil) is a good remedy (lit. vitamin).’ bc011

Note that the position of the RC vis-à-vis a CA stated externally is not rigid. The most common situation is for the RC to directly follow the CA, as in (20.18), (20.19), (20.20) and (20.21). But it can as well directly precede it, as in (20.23a-d), or be discontinuous, as in (20.22a-c).

20.3.2. Common argument in relative clause, not in main clause

The CA can be stated within the RC but not within the MC, in which case we have an internally-headed RC.³

In (20.24), evidence that the CA belongs to the RC comes from the fact that the CA occurs between constituents that belong to the RC (not to the MC).

(20.24) a. CA is CS in MC and S in RC

[*Ai bakani*]_{CC} =*tu*_{CS}
 INT name =3SG(-FM)
 [*iyaja=kwita makina_S ani-ya=ke*]_{CS}.
 now=RESTR machine sit-IMPV=LIG

‘What is the name of the machine (used to cut wood) that exists (lit. sits) nowadays?’ ab167

b. CA is O in MC and O in RC

[*Metse-ra_A encomienda=piji_O kwadisha-chine=ke*]_O
 2DL-ERG package=DIM send-REC.PAST=LIG
 =*ri-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *ina-tsa-chine*.
 =3PROX.SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) grab-COME(O)-REC.PAST

‘I received the little package that you (dl) sent me.’ di1550

c. CA is LOC in MC and O in RC

[*Tuna-ra_A i-ke_O e-tare_O tya-wa=ju*] = \emptyset _S
 3PL-ERG 1SG-FM NPF-house give-PERF(=LIG)=LOC (=1SG-FM)
kwa-nuka.
 go-REITR

‘I went to the house that they gave me.’ pa024

See also (20.4a) and (20.6c).

³ Note that it is not clear how internally-headed RCs relate to the slot model that I have proposed for the NP structure in Cavineña (§4.4.1 and §12.1). I do not know, for example, where NP modifiers would occur (providing they can occur), since no such modifiers happen to be present in the examples of internally-headed RCs available in the data. This requires additional work.

In (20.25), the CA is expressed by pronouns. As we saw earlier, this indicates that the CA belongs to the RC, since pronouns cannot head an NP.

(20.25) a. CA is O in MC and CS in RC

Peta-aje-kware=dya = \emptyset_A
look.at-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST=FOC (=1SG-ERG)

[*tuna*_{CS} *piya-ki=kwana*_{CC} *e-ju-u=ke*]_O.
3PL arrow-WITH=UNCERT POT-be-POT=LIG

‘I looked at them as they could be with (their) arrows (lit. I looked at them, who could be with arrows).’ T1.31

b. CA is O in MC and CS in RC

[*Tuna*_{CS} *ewikani*_{CC} *ju-kware=ke*]_O =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset_A
3PL tipsy be-REM.PAST=LIG =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)

a-ya=dya?
affect-IMPV=FOC

‘Will I talk about when they were getting drunk (lit. affect them, who were tipsy)?’ ci045

c. CA is LOC.GNL in MC and S in RC

[*I-ke*_S *ijawe* *ju-ani-ya*_{RC=keja}]
1SG-FM play.with be(ANTIPASS)-SIT-IMPV=LOC.GNL

kwa-kware.
go-REM.PAST

‘He (the priest) went towards where I was playing sitting (on the ground).’ es011

In (20.26), in addition to being expressed by pronouns (which is a sufficient criterion for saying that the CA belongs to the RC), the CA is case-marked according to its function within the RC (locative in a., reason in b.) but not according to its function within the MC (E — i.e. extended argument — in a., O in b.). Moreover, in a., the CA occurs within RC constituents while in b., the CA forms a constituent together with RC constituents with respect to the placement of the second position clitics.

(20.26) a. CA is E in MC and LOC in RC

A=ishu =*mi*_S *bawe* *ju-kara* *ju-ya*
do.what=PURP.GNL =2SG(-FM) know be-DESID be-IMPV
 [*i-ke*_S *eju* *kwa-ya=ke*]_E.
 1SG-FM INT:LOC go-IMPV=LIG

‘Why do you want to know where I go?’ du014

b. CA is O in MC and REASON in RC

[*Ejebuchajuatsu* *i-ke*_S *kwa-ya=ke*]_O =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A
INT:REASON 1SG-FM go-IMPV=LIG =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)
 kweja-kware.
 inform-REM.PAST

‘I told him (the missionary of the Araona people) why I had come.’
ao034

20.3.3. Common argument neither in main clause nor in relative clause

Finally, it can be the case that the CA is not stated within the RC nor within the MC, in which case we have an internally-and-externally headless RC. In (20.27), I show RCs with a CA in a core function within the MC.

(20.27) a. CA is O within MC and O within RC

*E-ra*_A =*tu*_O *baka-ya=ama*
1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM) hear-IMPV=NEG
 [*mi-ra*_A *isara-ya=ke*]_O.
 2SG-ERG talk.to-IMPV=LIG

‘I don’t understand (lit. hear) what you are saying.’ cd040

b. CA is O within MC and S within RC

[*Iji-iji=ra* *kwa-ya=ke*]_O =*tu*_O *matuja=ra*_A
drink-REDUP=PURP.MOT go-IMPV=LIG =3SG(-FM) caiman=ERG
 isara-kware.
 talk.to-REM.PAST

‘As he (the ox_i) was going to drink, the caiman talked to him_i (lit. the caiman talked to him_i, who_i was going to drink).’ cd028

- c. CA is CS within MC and CS within RC

Jutakiju re-wa_{CC}=ke=dya_{CC} =ri_{CS} ju-chine
 therefore here-LOC=LIG=FOC =3PROX.SG(-FM) be-REC.PAST
 [*juje chiri-puji*]_{CS}
 duck steal-ONE.THAT

‘Therefore, the duck-stealer is (someone) from here.’ ju018

- d. CA is CS within MC and LOC within RC

Re-wa=dya_{CC} =ni =taa
 here-LOC=FOC =MAYBE =EMPH
 [*e-kwe tata-chi maju-kware=ke*]_{CS}.
 1SG-GEN father-AFFTN die-REM.PAST=LIG

‘So maybe it is here where my father died.’ ka047

In (20.28), I show RCs with a CA in an oblique function within the MC.

- (20.28) a. CA is LOC in MC and LOC in RC

Amena kwinana-eti-kware =∅_S
 BM emerge-COME.PERM-REM.PAST (=1SG-FM)
 [*e-ra_A jukuri_O iye-wa_{RC}=ju=kwita*].
 1SG-ERG coati kill-PERF(=LIG)=LOC=RESTR

‘I arrived (lit. emerged) exactly where I had killed the coati.’ pe026

- b. CA is ASSOC in MC and S in RC

Ju-na-ya=kwana_{RC}=tsewe =ekwana_{CS}
 be-COME.TEMP-IMPV=PL(=LIG)=ASSOC =1PL
 [*dyake uma-da*]_{CC} ju-ya.
 very many-ASF be-IMPV

‘With the ones who will arrive, we will be very many.’ di1817

- c. CA is PERL in MC and LOC in RC

[*Sakwa-wa*_{RC}=*eke* *amis* *kwinana-tere-tsu*] = \emptyset _S
 pierce-PERF(=LIG)=PERL blood emerge-COMP-SS (=1SG-FM)

amena *pajata-tere-wa*.
 BM become.white-COMP-PERF

‘The blood gushed (lit. emerged completely) through where I had been punched (lit. pierced) and I paled (lit. became completely white).’ di1204

- d. CA is UP.TO in MC and LOC (time) in RC

Tu-wa=*dya* =*yatse*_S *iwa-iwa-chine*
 there-LOC=FOC =1DL wait.for-REDUP-REC.PAST

[*tuna*_S *ju-diru-bare-ya*_{RC}=*tupu*].
 3PL be-GO.PERM-DISTR-IMPV(=LIG)=UP.TO

‘(We arrived at the camp first.). There we (dl) waited until they all arrived, one after another.’ vb054

20.3.4. Ambiguity

In many cases, it is impossible to decide whether the CA belongs to the MC or the RC. In (20.29), for example, none of the tests provide any clue as to which, of the MC or of RC, the CA belongs to: the CA *jae* ‘fish’ is an O both within the MC and the RC; it is a noun (not a pronoun); it does not occur between MC or RC constituents.

(20.29) *E-wane=ke=ra*_A =*pa* *udu-kware*
 3-wife=3=ERG =REP cook.on.rack-REM.PAST

[*jae* *tu-ra*_A *a-aje-ya=ke*]_O.
 fish 3SG-ERG affect-GO.DISTR-IMPV=LIG

‘His_i wife was cooking the fish that he_i was catching.’ vz010

Similar situations are found with (20.1a), where the CA is in CS function within the MC and in S function within the RC (both being unmarked for case) and (20.1b), where the CA is in O function within the MC and in S function within RC (again, both being unmarked for case).

20.4. Common argument functions

There are no restrictions whatsoever as to which function the CA can play within the MC. As for the function of the CA within the RC, there are strong tendencies — but apparently no strict restrictions either — for the CA to be in non-A function and non-genitive function. This is shown in Table 20.1 below, which summarizes all the combinations attested in the data and corresponding examples. Note that S and CS arguments, which behave in all respects similarly in Cavineña, have been lumped together under the label S.

Table 20.1. Function of CA within MC and RC, and corresponding examples

MC	RC	Example number
S	S	(20.1a), (20.2a)
	O	(20.23a)
	A	(20.18), (20.31a)
	LOC	(20.27d)
O	S	(20.1b), (20.2b)
	O	(20.24b), (20.27a), (20.29)
	LOC	(20.21)
A	REASON	(20.26b)
	S	(20.6a), (20.8)
	A	(20.34)
GEN	S	(20.7)
LOC	O	(20.6b), (20.24c)
	LOC	(20.9b), (20.28a)
ASSOC	O	(20.6c)
	S	(20.28b)
PERL	O	(20.9c)
	LOC	(20.28c)
LOOKING.FOR	S	(20.10a)
FOLLOWING	S	(20.10b)

The tendency for Cavineña relativization to avoid having a CA in GEN function within the RC corroborates Keenan and Comrie's (1977) 'NP accessibility hierarchy' which states that possessors are the least relativizable of all grammatical functions. However, the tendency for avoiding a CA in A function in Cavineña does not fully corroborate their statement that subjects are more relativizable than other functions (notably objects). In Cavineña, S and O appear to be more relativizable than A. What would better account for the facts of Cavineña relativization is an ergative-type hierarchy (i.e., S/O > A > etc. rather than Subject > Object > etc.), as proposed by other authors such as Dixon (1994: 130) in his discussion of Dyirbal (Australian).

20.5. Relative clause functions

20.5.1. Restrictive vs. non-restrictive

Cavineña RCs can have a restrictive function, in which case their role is to help identify a unique referent among a choice of possible referents, as in (20.30).

(20.30) CA is O in MC and S in RC

Tudya amena =tu-ke_O =∅_A bare-kware
 then BM =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) pass-REM.PAST

[ebakwapiji tsura-ya=ke]_O.
 small.child go.up-IMPV=LIG

‘Then, I passed the child who was climbing (and I reached the fruit at the top of the tree first).’ mg011

See also (20.1a), (20.22a,b), (20.23a) and (20.24c).

Cavineña RCs can also have a non-restrictive function, in which case the CA already has unique reference and the RC simply provides additional information on that referent. Examples of non-restrictive RCs are given in (20.1b), (20.25a) and (20.25b).

Non-restrictive RCs often have adverbial meanings; that is, they sometimes can only be translated by adverbial clauses in English. Examples are provided in (20.31).

(20.31) a. CA is S in MC and A in RC

[Juye_O kanajara-sha-ya=ke]_S =yatse_S tawi-ya.
 ox rest-CAUS-IMPV=LIG =1DL sleep-IMPV

‘While we (dl) are letting the oxen rest, we (dl) will sleep (lit. we, who are letting the oxen rest, will sleep).’ ka116

b. CA is A in MC and S in RC

Tumi=dya =mi-ke_O =∅_A kueti-ya_{RC}=ra_A
 there=FOC =2SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) pass-IMPV(=LIG)=ERG

wesa-eti-nuka-ya.
 lift-COME.PERM-REITR-IMPV

‘When I come back (lit. I, who will pass), I will pick (lit. lift) you up.’ T1.28

c. CA is A in MC and S in RC

*Iwa*_O =*tuna*_A *bidubidu* *a-ya*
 tail =3PL(-ERG) wag affect-IMPV
 [*ebarukwe neti-ya=ra*]_A.
 top stand-IMPV(=LIG)=ERG

‘They (my dogs) were wagging their tails, as they were standing up
 (on the bridge).’ wa095

20.5.2. Tail-head linkage

Non-restrictive RCs can be used to repeat information for discourse coherence. Typically, the RC repeats the main predicate of the immediately preceding sentence — recall that this discourse function, called ‘tail-head linkage’ or ‘lexical overlap’ in the literature, is also performed by SS-temporal clauses (§18.2) and DS-temporal clauses (§19.2.2). In (20.32), for example, we have a sequence of two sentences. The RC from the second sentence consists of the repetition of the main verb of the first sentence.

(20.32) CA is A in MC and S in RC

Tume nubi-eti-nuka-wa.
 then enter-COME.PERM-REITR-PERF
*Nubi-eti-ya*_{RC}=*ra*_A =*tu-ke*_O = \emptyset _A
 enter-COME.PERM-IMPV(=LIG)=ERG =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)
*baka-nuka-wa waka*_{CC}=*bucha.*
 hear-REITR-PERF cow=SIMLR

‘I came back inside (the house). As I was coming back inside (lit. I, who was coming back), I heard again something that seemed like a cow (but I still couldn’t see it).’ ij007-008

The same phenomenon can be observed twice in (20.33). The first and the second sentences are separated by 2 intervening sentences (which provide side comments). The second and the third sentences follow one another.

(20.33) CA is S in MC and S in RC (in both RCs)

Jara-diru =*pa* *ekatses*. [...2 sentences...] *Tume*
 lie-GO.PERM =REP 3DL then
jara-ya=ke=dya_S =*pa* =*tu_S* *amena tawi-wa*.
 lie-IMPV=LIG=FOC =REP =3SG(-FM) BM sleep-PERF
Tawi-ya=ke_{RC}=dya_S =*pa* =*tu_S* *mari-tere-kware*.
 sleep-IMPV=LIG=FOC =REP =3SG(-FM) roar-COMP-REM.PAST

‘(After having finished exercising,) they (dl) **lay down**. [There were no mosquito nets at that time so I don’t know where they would lie down.] So as they **lay down** (lit. they, who had lain down), they **slept**. While they **were sleeping** (lit. they, who slept), they moaned.’ hm048, hm051-052

In (20.34), the CA of the RC that repeats the preceding sentence predicate is in A function within the MC.

(20.34) CA is A in MC and A in RC

Tume [*eweebari weni-da_{CC/RC}=ekatse=ra*]_A *ara-ya*.
 then teenager vigorous-ASF(=LIG)=DL=ERG eat-IMPV
Tume ara-ya_{RC}=ra_A =*pa* =*tu-ja* =*tu_O*
 then eat-IMPV(=LIG)=ERG =REP =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM)
ba-kware sawa-da.
 see-REM.PAST green/blue-ASF

‘These two vigorous teenager were eating it (a raw wild turkey). As they where eating it (lit. they, who were eating it), they found out that it was raw (lit. they saw it green).’ hm091-092

In (20.35), the CA of the RC that repeats the preceding sentence predicate is in O function within the MC. Note that this example includes (20.27b).

(20.35) *Iji-iji=ra* *kwa-kware juyes, peadyas*.
 drink-REDUP=PURP.MOT go-REM.PAST ox one
 [*Iji-iji=ra* *kwa-ya=ke*]_O =*tu_O*
 drink-REDUP=PURP.MOT go-IMPV=LIG =3SG(-FM)
matuja=ra_A isara-kware.
 caiman=ERG talk.to-REM.PAST

‘An ox_i **went to drink**, one ox. As he_i **was going to drink**, the caiman talked to him_i (lit. the caiman talked to him_i, who_i was going to drink).’ cd027-028

As I said tail-head linkage is also a function of SS-temporal clauses (§18.2) and DS-temporal clauses (§19.2.2). SS-temporal clauses and DS-temporal clauses have a complementary function and are used in complementary distribution — SS-temporal clauses are used when their subject is co-referential with the subject of the MC while DS-temporal clauses are used when their subject is different from the subject of the MC. It is not clear how RCs with a tail-head linkage function fit into this pattern. As it seems, an ‘adverbial’ RC whose subject is co-referential with the subject of the MC could be substituted by an SS-temporal clause. And an ‘adverbial’ RC whose subject is non-co-referential with the subject of the MC could be substituted with a DS-temporal clause. More work is required on this topic.

20.6. Grammaticalization of relative clauses

20.6.1. Relative clause relating to core argument

There are grounds to believe that RCs with adverbial meanings are developing into true independent adverbial clauses. The first piece of evidence is that, occasionally, speakers do not use ergative marking with RCs whose CA is in A function within the MC. This happens in (20.36), an example extracted from a text by Francisco Vaca. Here, there are two RCs with adverbial meanings. In both cases, the CA is in S function within the RC: ‘as I was going’ and ‘as they were passing by’. In the second RC, the CA is in O function within the MC and is accordingly unmarked for case. In the first RC, however, the A function of the CA is not marked as expected: it is unmarked whereas it should have received ergative marking (as in (20.31b) or (20.31c) above).

(20.36) *Tudya kwa-ya=ke_A =∅_A baka-aje-kware*
 then go-IMPFV=LIG (=1SG-ERG) hear-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST
amena [waburu kueti-ya=ke]_O.
 BM peccary pass-IMPFV=LIG

‘As I was going (lit. I, who was going), I could hear peccaries as they were passing by.’ ch004

In some examples, the CA can be a full pronoun outside of the RC; recall that a CA can only be expressed by a pronoun within an RC (see §20.3). This

can be seen in (20.37), for example.

- (20.37) [Tee=*ju* je-ya=*ke*_{RC}]_A e-ra_A ba-na-wa
 garden=LOC come-IMPV=LIG 1SG-ERG see-COME.TEMP-PERF
*chai*_O.
 bird
 ‘Coming from the garden (lit. I, who was coming...), I saw a bird.’
 di0993

Note that in this example, similarly to (20.36), the RC does not receive the expected ergative marking corresponding to the A function of the CA within the MC

With RCs with adverbial meanings, there are cases where there is not, strictly speaking, a CA between the RC and the MC or where the identity of the CA is quite unclear. In (20.38), for example, *juye* ‘an ox’ is the S referent within the MC but is (at best) only part of the S referent within RC (which also includes ‘us’ and the other ox).

- (20.38) [Yachi=*ju* kwa-ya=*ke*]_S =*tu*_S juye_S riwi-chine.
 pampa=LOC go-IMPV=LIG =3SG(-FM) ox fall-REC.PAST
 ‘As we were going our way in the pampa (along with a pair of oxen pulling our cart), an ox fell down.’ ft053

In (20.39), the referent of the S argument of the RC, ‘crossing the river’ includes the addressee ‘you’, in A function within the MC and ‘the children’, in O function within the MC. In other words, it is quite unclear what the grammatical function of the CA is within the MC.

- (20.39) *Deka* =*tu-ke*_O =*mi-ra*_A =*mi-kwe* ebakwa=*kwana*_O
 POTENTIALLY =3SG-FM =2SG-ERG =2SG-DAT child=PL
e-iye-diru-u ka-reke-ti-ya=*ke*_{A+O}.
 POT-kill-GO.PERM-POT REF-cross-REF-IMPV=LIG
 ‘You might kill your children crossing the river.’ ri047

20.6.2. Relative clause vs. different-subject temporal clauses

It was observed in §19.2 that the different-subject temporal clause marker =*ju* ‘DS’ is homophonous with the locative postposition =*ju* ‘LOC’. It was also noted in §20.1.1 that RCs in Cavineña are structurally similar to finite adverbial

clauses, and in §20.5 that RCs can have adverbial meanings. As such, one might want to analyze DS-temporal clauses as relative clauses within locative phrases.

The differences between the two types of constructions and the rationale for analyzing them as distinct are as follows:

- 1 — DS-temporal clauses have the requirement that their subject (S or A) be different from the subject (S or A) of the controlling clause. RCs do not have this requirement (see §20.4);
- 2 — semantically, RCs within locative postpositional phrases always have spatial meanings. DS-temporal clauses, on the other hand, always have temporal meanings;
- 3 — the full range of TAM verbal inflectional affixes is attested in RCs within locative postpositional phrases (see §20.1.1). Verbs of DS-temporal clauses, on the other hand, only take aspectual *-wa* ‘PERF’ and *-ya* ‘IMPFV’ and modal *e-...-u* ‘POT’;
- 4 — In terms of frequency, RCs within locative postpositional phrases are rather rare. A total of 48 examples are available in the total corpus of texts (21 examples in my own corpus of recordings, 4 in my own corpus of written texts, 23 in the corpus of SIL published texts). By contrast, DS-temporal clauses are extremely frequent. In a single text like T1 for example, there are 19 such clauses out of 153 sentences (12.5 %).

These four pieces of evidence strongly suggest that RCs within locative postpositional phrases and DS-temporal clauses be treated synchronically as different constructions. On historical grounds, however, it is most likely that the second has evolved from the first, in the face of their structural and semantic similarities.

Texts

Text 1 — When the Araonas became angry with each other

This text was recorded by Alfredo Tavo in the town of Riberalta on 24 May 2001. Alfredo relates his visit in 1995 to Puerto Araona, the main village of the Araona people, while he was a leader of the local indigenous organization CIRABO (Central Indígena de la Región Amazónica de Bolivia). The story runs for 13 min 20 sec. It was transcribed and translated with Alfredo himself.

- (T1.1) [Mil.noveciento.noventa.y.cinco mara=ju]
nineteen.ninety.five year=LOC
- [i-ke_{CS} CIRABO=ju dirigente=jari_{CC}=ju] =tu_S
1SG-FM CIRABO=LOC leader=STILL=DS =3SG(-FM)
- Araona=kwana_S [tuna-ja epu=ju]
Araona.person=PL 3PL-GEN village=LOC
- kawaiti-kware tuna=kama.
get.angry-REM.PAST 3PL=ONLY

‘In the year 1995, when I was still a leader at CIRABO, the Araonas became angry with each other in their village.’

- (T1.2) Kawaiti-tsu =tuna_S ka-mare-ti-kware
get.angry-SS =3PL REF-shoot.at-REF-REM.PAST
- [piya=tsewe salon=tsewe jadya].
arrow=ASSOC rifle=ASSOC and

‘They became angry and shot at each other with arrows and rifles.’

- (T1.3) Tumi=dya {=tu-ra =ekwana}¹ =tuna-ra_A =ekwana_O
then=FOC =3PL-ERG =1PL =3PL-ERG =1PL
- kweja-kware radio=eke. Ji-dama_{CC} =pa ekana_{CS}.
inform-REM.PAST radio=PERL good-NEG =REP 3PL

‘Then, they informed us by (shortwave) radio (transmitter) (that they were having problems). The situation was (lit. they were) very bad, as they said.’

¹ The brackets { } refer to false starts requiring repair.

- (T1.4) *E-kawaiti*_{CC} =*pa* *ekana*_{CS} *tuna=kama*.
RES-get.angry =REP 3PL 3PL=ONLY

‘They said that they had become angry with each other.’

- (T1.5) [*Jadya tuna-ra*_A *kweja-wa=ju*] =*tu-ke*_O =*ekwana*_A
thus 3PL-ERG inform-PERF=DS =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG)

inimetupu-kware
think-REM.PAST

[*tuna*_{CS} {*kawa*} *e-kawaiti=kwana=kamadya*_{CC}=*bucha*_{CC}].
3PL get.angry RES-get.angry=UNCERT=ONLY=SIMLR

‘When they told that to us, we (first) thought that it was not serious (lit. thought about them as if they had not really become angry).’

- (T1.6) *Yume* =*tukwe* *ekana*_{CS} [*dyake e-kawaiti*]_{CC}
over.there =CONT.EVID 3PL very RES-get.angry

ju-kware *peya=kwana*_{CS}.
be-REM.PAST other=PL

‘But in reality they had gotten very upset.’

- (T1.7) [*Peya wekaka bakadura-nuka-tsu*] =*tuna-ra*_A =*ekwana*_O
other day ask-REITR-SS =3PL-ERG =1PL

kweja-kware:
inform-REM.PAST

‘The next day, we asked them about it and they told us:’

- (T1.8) “*K-iyē-ti-ya=dya* =*ni* *ekwana*_S.
REF-kill-REF-IMPV=FOC =MAYBE 1PL

[*Dyake ji-dama*]_{CC} *ekwana*_{CS}.”
very good-NEG 1PL

‘‘We might kill each other. We are in a very bad situation.’’

- (T1.9) “*Ani-ya* =*ri*_S [*peya kware=piji*]_S
sit-IMPV =3PROX.SG(-FM) other group=DIM

[*ekwana-ja epu peke*] *yueketibene=piji*
1PL-GEN village AT.SIDE.OF FARTHER.BEHIND=DIM

[*dyake mure-da_{CC}=ke*]_S.”
 very fierce-ASF=LIG

“There is a group (of people) here, next to our village, a little bit farther, who are very dangerous.”

(T1.10) “*Tuna-ra_A =ekwana_O iye-kara a-ya.*”
 3PL-ERG =1PL kill-DESID affect-IMPV

“They want to kill us.”

(T1.11) “*Tawi-wa=ama=dya =ekwana_S. Meta=tupu =ekwana_S*
 sleep-PERF=NEG=FOC =1PL night=UP.TO =1PL

ka-naru-ti-sisa-wa.”

REF-take.care.of-REF-ALL.NIGHT-PERF

“(This night) we haven’t slept. We’ve stayed alert (lit. we’ve taken care of ourselves) the whole night.”

(T1.12) [*Jadya tuna-ra_A kweja-wa=ju*] {=*tu-ke_O =ekwana_A*}
 thus 3PL-ERG inform-PERF=DS =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG)

{*ekwana_A*} [*ekwana_{CS} directiva=ju_{CC}=kwana=ra*]_A
 1PL(-ERG) 1PL leader.board=LOC=PL(=LIG)=ERG

=*ekwana_A dyake inimetupu-kware:*
 =1PL very think-REM.PAST

“When they told that to us, we, who were on the board of leaders (at the CIRABO organization), we thought about it a lot:”

(T1.13) “*Jutakiju =tuna_{CS} [dyake ji-dama]_{CC}.*
 therefore =3PL very good-NEG

E-k-iye-ti-u =tuna_S.”
 POT-REF-kill-REF-POT =3PL

“So, they are doing very bad. They could kill each other.”

(T1.14) [*Tuna-ra_A jadya kweja-wa=ju*] =*tu-ke_O =ekwana_A*
 3PL-ERG thus inform-PERF=DS =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG)

inimetupu-kware: “*Jutakiju gobierno_O*
 think-REM.PAST therefore government

ne-baka-ra [ekwana_O tsawa=ishu].”
 HORT.PL-ask-HORT.PL 1PL help=PURP.GNL

- (T1.20) *Jutakiju* [re-wa_{CC}=ke CIRABO=ju_{CC}=ke]_S pa-kwa
 therefore here-LOC=LIG CIRABO=LOC=LIG JUSS-go
dirigentes! Tuna-ra_A pa-isara-ti!"
 leader 3PL-ERG JUSS-talk.to-GO.TEMP

‘So let the CIRABO leaders go! They (rather than the government) will talk to them (the Araona people).’

- (T1.21) [*Jadya a-wa=ju*] =tu-ke_O =ekwana_A
 thus affect-PERF=DS =3SG-FM =1PL(-ERG)
sare-kware avioneta_O.
 look.for-REM.PAST light.plane

‘After saying that, we looked for a plane (to go to the Araona village).’

- (T1.22) *Tume* =tuna-ra_A =∅_O i=dya_O kwadisha-kware.
 then =3PL-ERG (=1SG-FM) 1SG(-FM)=FOC send-REM.PAST

‘It is me whom they sent.’

- (T1.23) *I-kes* kwa-karama datse ju-kware
 1SG-FM go-DESID.NEG FRUST be-REM.PAST
 [*baji-da_{CC} ju-atsu*].
 scared-ASF be-SS

‘I didn’t want to go because I was scared.’

- (T1.24) *Amena tuekedy*a [“Pa-kwa=dya i-kes!” jadya]
 BM then HORT.SG-go=FOC 1SG-FM thus
ju-kware.
 be-REM.PAST

‘But then (as nobody wanted to go) I said: “I’ll go!”’

- (T1.25) *Kwa-kware=dya* =∅_S avioneta=tsewe.
 go-REM.PAST=FOC (=1SG-FM) light.plane=ASSOC
Ju-ti-kware=dya =∅_S
 be-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST=FOC (=1SG-FM)
 [*Arauna=kwana=ja epu=ju*].
 Araona.person=PL=GEN village=LOC

‘I went by plane. I arrived at the village of the Araonas.’

- (T1.26) *Amena pilotos =bakwe kueti-kware Ixiamaju.*
 BM pilot =CONTR pass-REM.PAST Ixiamas=LOC

‘But the pilot, he continued (lit. passed) to Ixiamas.’

- (T1.27) *Ejebuchajuatsu=kwana =taa? [Baji-da_{CC} ju-atsu] =ni?*
 INT:REASON=UNCERT =EMPH scared-ASF be-SS =MAYBE

Tu-keja=dya =tus kwa-kware.
 there-LOC.GNL=FOC =3SG(-FM) go-REM.PAST

‘I don’t know why (the pilot did not stay with me)? Perhaps he was scared? So he went there (somewhere around Ixiamas).’

- (T1.28) [*Tumi=dya =mi-ke_O =∅_A kueti-ya=ra_A*
 there=FOC =2SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) pass-IMPV (=LIG)=ERG

wesa-eti-nuka-ya” jadya] =tu-ra_A =∅_O
 lift-COME.PERM-REITR-IMPV thus =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM)

a-kware.
 affect-REM.PAST

‘‘When I come back (lit. pass) (from Ixiamas), I will pick you up (lit. lift),’’ he (the pilot) told me.’

- (T1.29) *Ju-ti-kware=dya =∅_S*
 be-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST=FOC (=1SG-FM)

[Arauna=kwana=ja epu=ju].
 Araona.person=PL=GEN village=LOC

‘(So,) I arrived at the village of the Araonas.’

- (T1.30) *Pista=ju =ekwana_A ba-nati-kware.*
 airstrip=LOC =1PL(-ERG) see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

Uma-da_{CC} ekana_{CS} e-puna_{CS}, deka_{CS}.
 many-ASF 3PL NPF-female male

‘We saw them (the Araonas) on the airstrip. There were many women and men.’

- (T1.31) *Peta-aje-kware=dya =∅_A*
 look.at-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST=FOC (=1SG-ERG)

[tuna_{CS} piya-ki=kwana_{CC} e-ju-u=ke]_O
 3PL arrow-WITH=UNCERT POT-be-POT=LIG

peta-aje-kware.

look.at-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST

‘I looked at them, who could have been with (their) arrows.’

(T1.32) *Amena tuekedyā =∅_O [e-kwe e-adeba_{CC}=ra]_A*
 BM then (=1SG-FM) 1SG-DAT RES-know(=LIG)=ERG

duju-kware. Tibu=ra_A =∅_O duju-kware
 take-REM.PAST Tibu=ERG (=1SG-FM) take-REM.PAST

[tuna-ja epu=ju].
 3PL-GEN village=LOC

‘Then an (Araona) friend (lit. someone who is known to me) took me (there). Tibu took me to their (the Araona’s) village.’

(T1.33) *Ju-ti-kware. Tuekedyā =∅_A*
 be-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST then (=1SG-ERG)

misionero=tsewe kisarati-kware.
 missionary=ASSOC talk-REM.PAST

‘I arrived. After that I talked with the missionary.’

(T1.34) [*Ejebuchajuatsu i-ke_S kwa-ya=ke]_O =tu-ke_O =∅_A*
 INT:REASON 1SG-FM go-IMPV=LIG =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)

kweja-kware.
 inform-REM.PAST

‘I told him why I came.’

(T1.35) *“Jutakiju ji-da=dya_{CC}. Jadi=dya_{CC} =renacs ju-chine.*
 therefore good-ASF=FOC thus=FOC =3PROX.PL be-REC.PAST

Dyake =renacs e-kawaiti_{CC}.”
 very =3PROX.PL RES-get.angry

‘(The missionary said:) “Alright. This is what happened to a number of people here. They are very upset.”’

(T1.36) [*“Jee yume=piji=dya ekana_S ani-ya” jadya*
 here over.there=DIM=FOC 3PL sit-IMPV thus

ju-atsu] =tu-ra_A =∅_O ba-mere-kware.
 be-SS =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) see-CAUS-REM.PAST

““These (people) live there,” he told me, and then he showed them

to me.’

- (T1.37) “*Japa-dama =renas ani-ya*”.
far-NEG =3PROX.PL sit-IMPFV

“They live very close.”

- (T1.38) [“*Tuna=dyaCS =tunaCS [dyake ji-damaCC=ke]*” *jadya*]
3PL=FOC =3PL very good-NEG=LIG thus
=∅_O *misionero=ra_A a-kware*.
(=1SG-ERG) missionary=ERG affect-REM.PAST

“These are the bad ones,” the missionary told me.’

- (T1.39) “*Jutakiju iwara-mere-kwe!*”
therefore call-CAUS-IMP.SG

“So, (please) have someone call them!” (I asked the missionary)

- (T1.40) “*Ani-ya=dya =ris aikira*”
sit-IMPFV=FOC =3PROX.SG(-FM) FILL

[*tuna-ja e-jiyu=ke*]_S.”
3PL-DAT RES-be.friendly.to=LIG

“They have a good friend (here).”

- (T1.41) “*Kwa-ya=dya =ri-kes*”
go-IMPFV=FOC =3PROX.SG-FM

Ejebucha=ama =tuna-ja =tu_O a-tsa-ya.”
harm=NEG =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) affect-COME(O)-IMPFV

“He will go. They won’t do him any harm.”

- (T1.42) [*Jadya ju-atsu*] =*tu-ke_O =∅_A isara-ti-kware*
thus be-SS =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) talk.to-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST
[*profeso Tsimi*]_O, [*tu-waCC=ke profeso*]_O.
professor Tsimi there-LOC=LIG professor

‘After I said that, I talked to professor Tsimi, the professor from there.’

- (T1.43) *Tu-ra=dya_A =∅_O tsawa-kware.*
 3SG-ERG=FOC (=1SG-FM) help-REM.PAST
 ‘He helped me.’
- (T1.44) *Kwadisha-kware =tu_A [peadya e-puna]_O*
 send-REM.PAST =3SG(-ERG) one NPF-female
[tuna_O kweja-ti=ishu].
 3PL inform-GO.TEMP=PURP.GNL
 ‘He (Tsimi) sent a woman to go and tell them.’
- (T1.45) “*Ju-na-wa =ri_S CIRABO=ju_{CC}=ke_S.*
 be-COME.TEMP-PERF =3PROX.SG(-FM) CIRABO=LOC=LIG
Ne-ba-na-kwe!”
 IMP.NSG-see-COME.TEMP-IMP.NSG
 “Someone from CIRABO has arrived. Come and see him!”
- (T1.46) “*Ejebucha=ama =tu-ra_A =mikwana_O a-ya” jadya.*
 harm=NEG =3SG-ERG =2PL affect-IMPV thus
Ji-da=dya =tu_A kweja-mere-kware.
 good-ASF=FOC =3SG(-ERG) inform-CAUS-REM.PAST
 “‘He won’t do anything to you,” (Tsimi asked the woman to tell them). He made her explain that to them very well.’
- (T1.47) *Tume [e-puna=ra_A jadya kweja-ti-wa=ju]*
 then NPF-female=ERG thus inform-GO.TEMP-PERF=DS
ju-na-kware=dya Araunas.
 be-COME.TEMP-REM.PAST=FOC Araona.people
 ‘After the woman had gone to talk to them_i, the Araonas_i came.’
- (T1.48) [*Tuna-ja e-tare jadya=ishu_{CC}=ju*] =ekwana_S
 3PL-GEN NPF-house thus=PURP.GNL(=LIG)=LOC =1PL
ka-sita-ti-kware.
 REF-approach-REF-REM.PAST
 ‘We gathered in their meeting house (lit. their house which is for that).’

(T1.49) *Isara-kware=dya e-ra_A.*
 talk.to-REM.PAST=FOC 1SG-ERG

‘I talked to them.’

(T1.50) *Tudya =tu-ke_O =∅_A Tsimi_O a-kware:*
 then =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) Tsimi affect-REM.PAST

“*Mi-ra_A [e-ra_A kweja-ya=ke]_O*
 2SG-ERG 1SG-ERG inform-IMPV=LIG

kweja-aje-kwe!”
 inform-GO.DISTR-IMP.SG

‘Then I said to Tsimi: “You translate for them (lit. inform them lit-
 tle by little) what I will say (lit. what I will inform you)!’

(T1.51) “*Ji-da =tu_A pa-baka!*
 good-ASF =3SG(-ERG) JUSS-hear

Ejebucha=ama =tu-ke_O =∅_A a-ya.”
 harm=NEG =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) affect-IMPV

“They must listen carefully (lit. well)! I won’t do anything to
 them,” (I said to Tsimi).

(T1.52) “[*Mikwana_S e-k-iyē-ti-u=ju*] =tu-ke_O =∅_A
 2PL POT-REF-kill-REF-POT=DS =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)

isara-ya [tuna_{CS} e-kawaiti_{CC}=tibu].”
 talk.to-IMPV 3PL RES-get.angry=REASON

“As you (pl) (the Araonas) could kill each other, I will talk to
 them, because they have gotten very upset,” (I said to Tsimi).

(T1.53) [*Jadya a-wa=ju*] =tu_A *ji-da=dya*
 thus affect-PERF=DS =3SG(-ERG) good-ASF=FOC

kweja-aje-kware
 inform-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST

[{*e-ra_A*} *e-ra_A isara-ya=ju*].
 1SG-ERG 1SG-ERG talk.to-IMPV=DS

‘After I told him so, he (Tsimi) translated it for them very well,
 while I was talking to them.’

- (T1.54) *Ji-da=dya* =*tu*_A *baka-kware.*
 good-ASF=FOC =3SG(-ERG) hear-REM.PAST
 ‘They understood (lit. listened) well.’
- (T1.55) “*Jadya ne-ju-ume!* *Mikwana=kama*_{CC}
 thus IMP.NSG.NEG-be-IMP.NSG.NEG 2PL=ONLY
*mikwana*_{CS}. *Ne-k-iye-ti-ume!*”
 2PL IMP.NSG.NEG-REF-kill-REF-IMP.NSG.NEG
 “Don’t (pl) be like that! You are only among yourselves. Don’t (pl)
 kill one another!”
- (T1.56) “*Jee=dya*_{CS} [*mikwana-ja misionero*]_{CC}.
 here=FOC 2PL-GEN missionary
*Ekwana*_{CS} =*bakwe* [*mikwana tsawa-ki=ke*]_{CC}
 1PL =CONTR 2PL help-TYPICAL=LIG
 [*Riya=dya CIRABO=ju*_{CC}=*kwana=ke*]_{CC}.”
 here=FOC CIRABO=LOC=PL=LIG
 “Here is your missionary. We are here to help you, us here from
 CIRABO.”
- (T1.57) “*Ekwana*_S =*ekwana*_S [*jadya ani-e=ama*] *ju-ya.*
 1PL =1PL MAN sit-MAN=NEG be-IMPV
*I-ke*_{CS} *Cavineño*_{CC}.”
 1SG-FM Cavineña.person
 “We do not live like that. I’m a Cavineña.”
- (T1.58) “*Re-wa* =*ri-ke*_S =*e-kwe* *ata*_S *ani-ya=dya*
 here-LOC =3PROX.SG-FM =1SG-DAT relative sit-IMPV=FOC
mikwana=duku.”
 2PL=INSIDE
 “Here I have a relative, amongst you.”
- (T1.59) [“*I-ke*_{CS} [*mikwana=bae*_{CC}=*ke=nuka=dya*]_{CC}” *jadya=kwana*]
 1SG-FM 2PL=SIMLR=LIG=REITR=FOC thus=UNCERT
 = \emptyset _A *kweja-kware.*
 (=1SG-ERG) inform-REM.PAST
 “I’m someone who is also like you,” I told him, or something like

that.’

- (T1.60) “*Ekwana*_{CS} =*ekwana*_{CS} *kawaiti-tsu*
 1PL =1PL get.angry-SS
*mikwana*_{CC}=*bucha*=*ama*_{CC} *ekwana*_{CS}.”
 2PL=SIMLR=NEG 1PL
 “When we (Cavineñas) get upset, we are not like you.”
- (T1.61) “[*Dyake ji-da*] =*ekwana*_S *ka-naru-ti-ya*
 very good-ASF =1PL REF-take.care.of-REF-IMPFV
 [*peya*=*kwana*=*ra*_A *ejebucha e-a-u=ju*].”
 other=PL=ERG harm POT-affect-POT=DS
 “We support each other when others harm us.”
- (T1.62) “*Ejebuchaju* =*ekwana*_S *kawaiti-ya=dya datse.*”
 sometimes =1PL get.angry-IMPFV=FOC FRUST
 “Sometimes we do get upset with each other.”
- (T1.63) “*Jadya*=*kwita=dya* =*di* =*ekwana*_S *ju-ya=ama*
 thus=RESTR=FOC =STRG.EMPH =1PL be-IMPFV=NEG
 [*mikwana*_S *ju-ya=bucha*]” *jadya*=*kwana* = \emptyset _A
 2PL be-IMPFV=SIMLR thus=UNCERT (=1SG-ERG)
a-kware.
 affect-REM.PAST
 “But we are definitely not like that, like you are,” I told him, or something like that.’
- (T1.64) “*Ani-nuka-ya=dya* =*tu*_S [*peya kware=kwana*]_S
 sit-REITR-IMPFV=FOC =3SG(-FM) other group=PL
Chakubu=*kwana*_S, *Eseeja*=*kwana*_S.”
 Chácobo.person=PL EseEjja.person=PL
 “There are other groups, the Chácobos, the Ese Ejas.”
- (T1.65) “*Aijama*_{CC} =*tu*_{CS} *tuna-ja=dya* =*di*
 not.exist.at.all =3SG(-FM) 3PL-DAT=FOC =STRG.EMPH
*jadi*_{CC}=*ke*_{CS}.”
 thus=LIG

“They aren’t like that (lit. what is thus does not exist at all to them).”

- (T1.66) “[*Jadya ani-e*] *ne-ju-ume!*
 MAN sit-MAN IMP.NSG.NEG-be-IMP.NSG.NEG
Iyuwe-da ne-ka-ba-ti-kwe!
 lovable-ASF IMP.NSG-REF-see-REF-IMP.NSG

“Don’t live like that! Love each other (lit. see yourselves lovable!)”

- (T1.67) [*Iyuwe-da ka-ba-ti-tsu*] *ne-ani-kwe!*
 lovable-ASF REF-see-REF-SS IMP.NSG-sit-IMP.NSG
Ata=kama_{CC} mikwana_{CS}.
 relative=ONLY 2PL
Mikwana_{CS} =mikwana_{CS} Arauna=kwana_{CC}.
 2PL =2PL Araona.person=PL

“Live (lit. sit) loving each other! You are on your own (lit. you are only relatives). You are Araonas.”

- (T1.68) “*Jadya=tibu=dya =ekwana_S kadutyati-wa.*
 thus=REASON=FOC =1PL gather-PERF
Ani-ya ekwana-ja organizaci_{NS} CIRABO_S
 sit-IMPFV 1PL-DAT organization CIRABO
[ekwana-ja iyuka_{CC}=buchi_{CC}=ke]_S.
 1PL-DAT head=SIMLR=LIG

“For that reason (i.e., to be united) we have gathered. We (indigenous people) have the organization CIRABO which is like our head (i.e., the governing organization).”

- (T1.69) “*I-ke_{CS} [tu-wa mere ju-ya=ke]_{CC}.*
 1SG-FM there-LOC work be-IMPFV=LIG
Jadya=tibu=dya =mikwana_O ba-na-wa
 thus=REASON=FOC =2PL see-COME.TEMP-PERF
[ai mikwana_O ejebucha a-kara a-atsu=ama].
 INT 2PL harm affect-DESID affect-SS=NEG

“I am someone who works there (at CIRABO). This is the reason why I have come to see you (pl), not because I want to harm

you.”

- (T1.70) “[*Mikwana*_{CS} *ji-dama*_{CC} *e-ju-u=ju*
 2PL good-NEG POT-be-POT=DS
e-k-iye-ti-u=ju *jadya ju-atsu*
 POT-REF-kill-REF-POT=DS thus be-SS
 =*tuna-ra*_A = \emptyset _O *kwadisha-wa.*”
 =3PL-ERG (=1SG-ERG) send-PERF

“They sent me because you could be bad and you could kill each other.”

- (T1.71) “*Jadya=tibu* =*mi-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *isara-na-ya.*”
 thus=REASON =2SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) talk.to-COME.TEMP-IMPV

“That is why I came to talk to you.”

- (T1.72) “*Ji-dama i-nime*_O *ba-ume!*
 good-NEG NPF-thought see-IMP.SG.NEG
 [*Mi-ke*_O *ejobucha a=ra=ama*] *je-wa.*”
 2SG-FM harm affect=PURP.MOT=NEG come-PERF

“Don’t feel bad (lit. don’t see the thought bad)! I didn’t come to harm you (lit. I came not in order to harm you).”

- (T1.73) “*Jee=dya* =*mi-ke*_O = \emptyset _A *isara-ya.*”
 here=FOC =2SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) talk.to-IMPV

“Here I am talking to you.”

- (T1.74) [*E-ra*_A *jadya isara-aje-ya=ju*] =*tu*_O
 1SG-ERG thus talk.to-GO.DISTR-IMPV=DS =3SG(-FM)

*Tsimi=ra*_A *ji-da=dya* {*tu-ja*}
 Tsimi=ERG good-ASF=FOC 3SG-GEN

[*tuna-ja y-ana=eke*] *kweja-aje-kware.*
 3PL-GEN NPF-tongue=PERL inform-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST

*Tume*_{CC}=*kwana=ke*_O *isara.*
 there=PL=LIG talk.to

‘As I was talking to them, Tsimi was translating nicely, {in his} in their (the Araona’s) language.’

- (T1.75) [Tu-wa e-ka-sita-ti_{CC}=kwana=ke]_O =∅_A
 there-LOC RES-REF-approach-REF=PL=LIG (=1SG-FM)

isara-kware=dya.
 talk.to-REM.PAST=FOC

‘I also talked to the (other) ones who had gathered there.’

- (T1.76) [Jadya ju-atsu] =tu-ra_A =∅_O [“ji-da=dya!” jadya]
 thus be-SS =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) good-ASF=FOC thus

a-kware [tuna-ja y-ana=eke].
 affect-REM.PAST 3PL-GEN NPF-tongue=PERL

E-ra_A kweyane-ya=ama=dya.
 1SG-ERG recognize-IMPV=NEG=FOC

‘After I said that, he (the Araona man who was leading the troublesome group) said to us, “That’s alright!” in their language. I didn’t understand (what he said).’

- (T1.77) [Tsimi=ra_A kweja-ya=ju] e-ra_A
 Tsimi=ERG inform-IMPV=DS 1SG-ERG

baka-aje-nuka-ya=dya.
 hear-GO.DISTR-REITR-IMPV=FOC

‘I managed to understand (lit. hear) it when Tsimi translated it for me.’

- (T1.78) *Amena ji-da=dya_{CC} ju-kware*
 BM good-ASF=FOC be-REM.PAST

[*tume ekwita [dyake ji-dama_{CC}=ke]=pa*]_{CS}.
 there person very good-NEG=LIG=REP

‘Then that man who was said to be very bad became better.’

- (T1.79) *Tu-ra=dya_A =pa ekana_O jadya*
 3SG-ERG=FOC =REP 3PL thus

a-kere-ya jadi_{CC}=ke_O.
 affect-CAUS.INVLT-IMPV thus=LIG

‘He was the one, I was told, who was leading them (the bad family).’

- (T1.80) [Jadya ju-atsu] =tu-ra_A =∅_O a-kware
 thus be-SS =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) affect-REM.PAST
 “Jutakiju e-tare=ju ne-kwa!”
 therefore NPF-house=LOC HORT.DL-go
 ‘After he said that, he said to me: “Let’s (dl) go to my house!”’
- (T1.81) I-ke_S [tu-ra_A [ejebucha a-kara a-atsu=kwana]
 1SG-FM 3SG-ERG harm affect-DESID affect-SS=UNCERT
 duju-ya=bucha] kabati-kware.
 take-IMPV=SIMLR think-REM.PAST
 ‘I thought he was taking me to do something (probably bad) to me.’
- (T1.82) Baji-da=dya_{CC} ju-kware.
 scared-ASF=FOC be-REM.PAST
 ‘I was afraid.’
- (T1.83) [Tu-ra_A duju-ya=tibu] =∅_A Tsimi_O
 3SG-ERG take-IMPV=REASON (=1SG-ERG) Tsimi
 [“Ne-kwa!” jadya] a-kware.
 HORT.DL-go thus affect-REM.PAST
 ‘Since Tsimi was taking me, I told him “Let’s (dl) go!”’
- (T1.84) Tua-tsewe=dya =∅_S kwa-kware.
 3SG-ASSOC=FOC (=1SG-FM) go-REM.PAST
 ‘I went with him.’
- (T1.85) Yume =tukwe =tu_S ani-ya
 over.there =CONT.EVID =3SG(-FM) sit-IMPV
 [tuna-ja eaniki_S ju-nati=ishu] [yawa epedeta]_S.
 3PL-GEN house be-GO.TEMP=PURP.GNL ground clearing
 ‘There was a clearing before arriving at their house.’
- (T1.86) {[Tume_{CC}=ke bute-nati tsura-nati jadya ju-atsu]
 there=LIG go.down-GO.TEMP go.up-GO.TEMP and be-SS
 [tuna-ja e-tare=kwana]}
 3PL-GEN NPF-house=PL

{Having gone down and gone up, their house}

- (T1.87) *Peya=ju=piji=dya ekana_S ani-ya.*
 other=LOC=DIM=FOC 3PL sit-IMPFV

'They live a bit apart.'

- (T1.88) *Amena =∅_O Tsimi=ra_A kweja-aje-kware*
 BM (=1SG-FM) Tsimi=ERG inform-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST
e-diji=ju “{*Jee*} *Jee_{CC}=kwana=ke=dya_{CS} =rena_{CS}*
 NPF-path=LOC (here) here=PL=LIG=FOC =3PROX.PL
[dyake ji-dama=ke]_{CC}.”
 very good-NEG=LIG

'Tsimi told me as we went on the path: “These are the very bad ones.”’

- (T1.89) *Jadya=tibu =rena_S ekwana-keja kueti-karama*
 thus=REASON =3PROX.PL 1PL-LOC.GNL pass-DESID.NEG
ju-ya.”
 be-IMPFV

“That’s why they don’t want to cross (over the clearing) to our side.”

- (T1.90) *Tu-wa=dya =tuna_S ani-ya.*”
 there-LOC=FOC =3PL sit-IMPFV

“They live there.”

- (T1.91) *Masa-dama =tuna_S kawaiti-ya*
 hard-NEG =3PL get.angry-IMPFV
[ejebucha a-ya=ju].”
 harm affect-IMPFV=DS

“They get upset very easily when someone criticizes (lit. harms) them.”

- (T1.92) *Jadya =tu-ra_A =∅_O kweja-aje-kware.*
 thus =3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) inform-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST

‘Thus he told me as we went.’

- (T1.93) {*Yume =tukwe =pa ekana_S kawaiti-tsu ka-mare-ti*}
 there =CONT.EVID=REP 3PL get.angry-SS REF-shoot.at-REF

Tuna-ra=dya_A ekana_O mare-kware salon=tsewe
 3PL-ERG=FOC 3PL shoot.at-REM.PAST rifle=ASSOC

piya=tsewe. Jadya =pa =tuna-ja =tu_O ekana_O
 arrow=ASSOC thus =REP =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) 3PL

mare-kware.
 shoot.at-REM.PAST

‘{It had happened that they got angry and shot} They (the bad ones) shot at them with rifles and arrows. This is how they shot at them.’

- (T1.94) *Mu-da=dya_{CC} ekana_S ju-kware.*
 scary-ASF=FOC 3PL be-REM.PAST

‘They were scary.’

- (T1.95) *Jadya =tuna_O ba-ti-kware.*
 thus =3PL see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

Ji-da=dya =tuna-ra_A =Ø_O ba-tsa-kware.
 good-ASF=FOC =3PL-ERG (=1SG-FM) see-COME(O)-REM.PAST

Ejebucha=ama=dya.
 harm=NEG=FOC

‘That’s how I went to see them. They received me (lit. saw me as I came) very well. There weren’t any problems.’

- (T1.96) *Ju-neni-ti-kware=dya*
 be-RANDOM-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST=FOC

[*tuna-ja e-tare=kwana=ju*].
 3PL-GEN NPF-house=PL=LOC

‘I went to a number of their houses.’

- (T1.97) *Amena ba-ti-kware=dya =Ø_A ekana_O*
 BM see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST=FOC (=1SG.ERG) 3PL

{*tume “ji-dama” jadya*} *jadya_{CC}=kwana=ke_O.*
 that good-NEG thus thus=PL=LIG

‘I went to see {those whom they say are very bad} those who are like that.’

- (T1.98) [Tuna_O *peta-ti-tsu*] = \emptyset _S
 3PL look.at-GO.TEMP-SS (=1SG-FM)
jeti-nuka-kware=dya.
 come-REITR-REM.PAST=FOC
 ‘After seeing them, I came back (to where the missionary was living).’
- (T1.99) *Ju-eti-nuka-kware.* *Ju-neni-kware=dya*
 be-COME.PERM-REITR-REM.PAST be-RANDOM-REM.PAST=FOC
 {*tuna*} {*tuna-ja e-tare=kwana=ju*}
 3PL 3PL-GEN NPF-house=PL=LOC
 [*peya=kwana=ja e-tare=kwana=ju*].
 other=PL=GEN NPF-house=PL=LOC
 ‘I came back. I went around visiting {them} {their houses} the houses of others.’
- (T1.100) *Amena tuekedyá* = \emptyset _S *misionero=keja*
 BM then (=1SG-FM) missionary=LOC.GNL
ju-diru-nuka-kware.
 be-GO.PERM-REITR-REM.PAST
 ‘Then I went back to the missionary.’
- (T1.101) *Tumepatya* =*tu*_S *ani-nuka-kware* *ujeje-da*_{CC}=*kes*.
 at.that.time =3SG(-FM) sit-REITR-REM.PAST sick-ASF=LIG
 ‘At that time there was someone sick (lit. a sick one).’
- (T1.102) *Tuekedyá* = \emptyset _O [*tuna-ja ekwari=ra*]_A
 then (=1SG-FM) 3PL-GEN leader=ERG
 [*tuna_O kwatsasha-ki=ra*]_A *bakadura-kware:*
 3PL order-TYPICAL=ERG ask-REM.PAST
 “[*Mi-kwe epu=ju*] *aijama*_{CC} *kasamati=kwana*_{CS},
 2SG-GEN village=LOC not.exist.at.all medicine=PL
 [[*ai akwi jaki*]_{CS} *jadyaamajuatsu* [*akwi tiri*]_{CS} {*ai=tsewe*}]
 INT tree leaf or tree root INT=ASSOC
 ‘Then, their leader, the one that gives them orders, asked me: “In your (Cavineña) village, don’t you have medicines, some tree leaves or tree roots {with which (one can cure)}?”’

- (T1.103) [“*Ani-ya=dya =tu-ke_S. E-ra_A =tu_O*
 sit-IMPV=FOC =3SG-FM 1SG-ERG =3SG(-FM)
adeba-ya=piji=dya” jadya] a-kware.
 know-IMPV=DIM=FOC thus affect-REM.PAST

“(Yes) there are. I myself know that a little bit,” I told him.’

- (T1.104) *Amena tume =tu-ke_O =∅_A*
 BM then =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG)
 [“*Ai_S =jatsu =tu-ja =tu_S ani-ya?” jadya]*
 INT =EXACTLY =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) sit-IMPV thus
a-kware.
 affect-REM.PAST

‘However I asked him: “What is it exactly that he (the sick person) has?”’

- (T1.105) *Yume =tukwe reumatismo_{CC}. Ai=kwana =taa?*
 over.there =CONT.EVID rheumatism INT=UNCERT =EMPH
Ekwitabaneke_{CC}.
 flu

‘It was rheumatism. Or was it? (No, it was) the flu.’

- (T1.106) [“*Jee_{CC}=ke_{CS} =tu_{CS} ji-da_{CC}” jadya] =∅_A*
 here=LIG =3SG(-FM) good-ASF thus (=1SG-ERG)
a-kware. Atsaka biti sapa.
 affect-REM.PAST jatoba skin boil
Tume_{CC}=ke_O iji-mere-kwe!”
 there=LIG drink-CAUS-IMP.SG

“This is good!” I told him. “Boiled bark (lit. skin) of the jatoba (tree). That is what you have to make him drink.”’

- (T1.107) [“*E-na_{CC}=bucha iji] =tu_A pa-a!*
 NPF-water=SIMLR drink =3SG(-ERG) JUSS-affect
[Iji-kara ju-atsu] [iji jadya] =tu_A
 drink-DESID be(ANTIPASS)-SS drink thus =3SG(-ERG)
pa-a!”
 JUSS-affect

“He has to drink it with water! When he is thirsty (lit. when he wants to drink), he has to drink it!”

- (T1.108) [*Jadya a-atsu*] = \emptyset _S *diru-nuka-kware=dya*.
 thus affect-SS (=1SG-FM) go-REITR-REM.PAST=FOC
Ba-mere-ti-kware=dya = \emptyset _A *atsaka*_O
 see-CAUS-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST=FOC (=1SG.ERG) jatoba
 [*ejebucha kemi-e*] =*tus* *e-bitio*
 MAN.INT take.out-MAN.INT =3SG(-FM) NPF-skin
e-a-u=ke.
 POT-affect-POT=LIG

‘After I told him this, we went back. I showed him jatoba (trees) and how he could take off the bark.’

- (T1.109) [*Jadya situne-e*] =*tuna-ra*_A = \emptyset _O
 MAN make.friend-MAN =3PL-ERG (=1SG-FM)
a-kware=dya =*di* *i-ke*_O.
 affect-REM.PAST=FOC =STRG.EMPH 1SG-FM

‘This is how they (the Araona people) made me their friend.’

- (T1.110) *Radio=eke* =*tuna-ra*_A = \emptyset _O *sare-bawe*
 radio=PERL =3PL-ERG (=1SG-FM) look.for-ALWS
ju-kware [*tuna*_{CS} *ujeje-da=kwana*_{CC} *ju-atsu*].
 be-REM.PAST 3PL sick-ASF=UNCERT be-SS

‘(Later) they would always call me by radio (transmitter) when they were sick or something.’

- (T1.111) [*Jadya ba-ti-e*] =*tuna*_O *a-kware*
 MAN see-GO.TEMP-MAN =3PL affect-REM.PAST
 [*tuna*_S *k-iye-ti-kara* *ju-wa=ju*].
 3PL REF-kill-REF-DESID be-PERF=DS

‘This is how I went to see them when they were about to kill each other.’

- (T1.112) *Tuekedyā* [hasta riyakama] =tuna_{CS} baka-nuka-ma=dya_{CC}
 then until now =3PL hear-REITR-NEG=FOC
 {ej} [ejebucha e-ju-u=ke]. Ji-da=dya_{CC} =tuna_{CS}.
 harm harm POT-be-POT=LIG good-ASF=FOC =3PL

‘After that, until now, we haven’t heard from them, of anything that could have happened. They are doing well.’

- (T1.113) *Kamadyā*, wirakucha=kwana=kamadyā_O =tuna-ja =tu_O
 ONLY white.man=PL=RESTR =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM)
 [riya_{CC}=ke mara] [ju-chine=ke mara=ju]
 here=LIG year be-REC.PAST=LIG year=LOC

iye-jeri-nuka-chine=dya
 kill-ALMOST-REITR-REC.PAST=FOC

[[tuna-ra_A kawaiti-sha-tsu] [tuna-ja yawa=ju]
 3PL-ERG get.angry-CAUS-SS 3PL-GEN ground=LOC

nubi-wa=ju.
 enter-PERF=DS

‘The only thing is that this year, or last year, they almost killed white men when they (the white men) made them upset by entering their territory.’

- (T1.114) {*Akwi kemi* =tuna_S} [*Akwi kemi-kara ju-atsu*]=tuna_S
 tree take.out =3PL tree take.out-DESID be-SS =3PL
nubi-chine [tuna-ja makina=kwana=tsewe].
 enter-REC.PAST 3PL-GEN machine=PL=ASSOC

‘{As they were taking trees out} As they wanted to take trees out, they (the white men) entered with their (logging) machines.’

- (T1.115) *Tume nubi-wa=ju* =tuna-ja =tu_O
 then enter-PERF=DS =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM)
 [piya=tsewe salon=tsewe jadya] mare-re+sha-tsu
 arrow=ASSOC rifle=ASSOC and shoot.at-REDUP+CAUS-SS
tsajaja-sha-chine.
 run-CAUS-REC.PAST

‘Having entered (the Araona territory), they (the Araonas) shot at them with arrows and rifles and made them run.’

- (T1.116) *Tume* =*tuna-ja* =*tu*_O *tractor*=*kwana*_O *tu-wa*=*dya*
 then =3PL-DAT =3SG(-FM) tractor=PL there-LOC=FOC

shana-mere-kware.
 leave-CAUS-REM.PAST

‘So they (the Araona people) scared them (the intruding loggers) away so that they were forced to abandon their tractors right there.’

- (T1.117) *Riyakama* =*ni* =*tu*_{CS} *tu-wa=jari*=*dya*_{CC}.
 now =MAYBE =3SG(-FM) there-LOC=STILL=FOC

‘They (the tractors) might still be there.’

- (T1.118) *Keti-ma*=*dya* =*ni* =*tuna-ja*.
 fetch-RES.NEG=FOC =MAYBE =3PL-DAT

Ejebucha=*kwana* =*taa*.
 INT:SIMLR=UNCERT =EMPH

‘They (the tractors) might not have been removed (lit. fetched) by them (the white men). I don’t know how it is (lit. how would that be?).’

- (T1.119) *Jadya*=*piji*=*kamadya* =*tu*_S *wirakucha*=*kwana*=*tsewe*
 thus=DIM=RESTR =3SG(-FM) white.man=PL=ASSOC

*ekana*_S [*ju-chine*=*ke* *mara*=*ju*] *ju-nuka-chine*.
 3PL be-REC.PAST=LIG year=LOC be-REITR-REC.PAST

‘This is the only thing that happened, last year, with the white men.’

- (T1.120) *Pero* *tuna*=*kama* =*tuna*_{CS} *jadya* *ju-nuka-ma*=*dya*_{CC}.
 but 3PL=ONLY =3PL thus be-REITR-RES.NEG=FOC

‘But amongst them, nothing has happened again.’

- (T1.121) *Jadya* =*tuna*_S *ju-kware*. *Jadya*=*kamadya*.
 thus =3PL be-REM.PAST thus=RESTR

‘This is what happened to them. That is it.’

Text 2 — The woman who was eaten up by giant mosquitoes

This text was recorded by Gregorio Yubanera in the community of Galilea on 28 February 2001. Gregorio was 81 years old at the time of the recording. He relates a traditional story. The story runs for 1 min 39 sec. It was transcribed and translated with Antonio Yubanera (one of Gregorio's sons).

(T2.1) [Wane-kicc ju-atsu] =pa =tu_S kwa-kware
 wife-WITH be-SS =REP =3SG(-FM) go-REM.PAST

babi=ra.
 hunt=PURP.MOT

‘Having got married, he (a man) went (on a) hunting (expedition) (together with his wife).’

(T2.2) *Tume* =pa =tu_S *tawi-ya=ke_S*
 then =REP =3SG(-FM) sleep-IMPFV=LIG

[*jucha a-ta-karama*] *ju-kware.*
 have.sex.with affect-PASS-DESID.NEG be-REM.PAST

‘Then, when they were sleeping (in the mosquito net), she refused to have sex (with him).’

(T2.3) [*Jucha a-ta-karama ju-ya=ju*] =pa
 sin affect-PASS-DESID.NEG be-IMPV=DS =REP

=tu-ja =tu_O *tujuri=ju_{CC}=ke_O*
 =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM) mosquito.net=LOC=LIG

kwinana-sha-kware *kawaiti-tsu.*
 emerge-CAUS-REM.PAST get.angry-SS

‘As she was refusing to have sex (with him), he pushed her out of the mosquito net (lit. made her, who was in the mosquito net, emerge), as he was very upset.’

(T2.4) *Tudya* =pa =tu_A *tujuri_O* *tyana-kware.*
 then =REP =3SG(-ERG) mosquito.net cap-REM.PAST

Ji-da ka-tyana-ti-kware.
 good-ASF REF-cap-REF-REM.PAST

‘Then he adjusted (lit. capped) the mosquito net. He adjusted it very well (so that neither mosquitoes nor his wife could enter).’

(T2.5) {*Tu-ke*_{CS} *e-nubi*_{CC}} {*Nubi-kara ju-ya=ju =pa =tu...*}
 3SG-FM RES-enter enter-DESID be-IMPV=DS =REP =3SG(-FM)

Datse =pa nubi-kara ju-kware.
 FRUST =REP enter-DESID be-REM.PAST

‘{When she had entered...} {As she wanted to enter, he...} She wanted to go back inside (the mosquito net) but she couldn’t.’

(T2.6) *Tuekedy a =pa =tu_O dii=ra_A amena*
 then =REP =3SG(-FM) mosquito=ERG BM

tirya-kware, dii=kwana=ra_A aikwana.
 finish-REM.PAST mosquito=PL=ERG FILL

‘And then the mosquitoes ate (lit. finished) her up, the mosquitos.’

(T2.7) *Tuekedy a =pa =tu_S arina-aje-kware*
 then =REP =3SG(-FM) become.big-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST

dii=kwanas, Amena =pa [upatiwiri=kwana ari-e]
 mosquito=PL BM =REP small.bird=PL big-MAN

ju-aje-kware diis.
 be-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST mosquito

‘The mosquitoes were getting bigger and bigger. They gradually reached the size of small birds.’

(T2.8) *Tuekedy a =pa amena arina-aje-kware dii=kwanas.*
 then =REP BM big-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST mosquito=PL

‘The mosquitoes were getting bigger and bigger.’

(T2.9) *Amena ari-da_{CC}=ke_S =pa ju-ti-kware diis,*
 BM big-ASF=LIG =REP be-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST mosquito

aikira jeme=tupu_{CC}=ke_S =pa.
 FILL trumpeter=UP.TO=LIG =REP

‘Big mosquitoes arrived, the size of trumpeters (birds) (i.e., approximately the size of a chicken).’

- (T2.10) *Jeme=tupu_{CC}=ke_S =pa =tu_S*
trumpeter=UP.TO=LIG =REP =3SG(-FM)
ju-ti-kware amena [dii ebari]_S.
be-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST BM mosquito big
‘Big mosquitoes the size of trumpeters (birds) arrived.’
- (T2.11) *Tu-ra_A =pa =tu_O amena tirya-kware*
3SG-ERG =REP =3SG(-FM) BM finish-REM.PAST
[tu-ja e-rami]_O.
3SG-GEN NPF-flesh
‘They (the trumpeter-sized mosquitoes) are what finished her flesh.’
- (T2.12) *[E-rami tirya-wa=ju] =pa =tu_S maju-kware.*
NPF-flesh finish-PERF=DS =REP =3SG(-FM) die-REM.PAST
‘After they finished her flesh, she died.’
- (T2.13) *Maju-wa=ju wekaka-tsu y-awi=ke=ra_A*
die-PERF=DS be.at.dawn-SS 3-husband=3=ERG
ba-wekaka-kware e-biti=kamadya_O ju-jara-ya=ju.
see-AT.DAWN-REM.PAST NPF-skin=RESTR be-LIE-IMPV=DS
‘After she (the woman) had died, her husband woke up (lit. was at dawn) and all he could see (of his wife) was her skin lying (on the ground).’
- (T2.14) *Jadya =pa =tu_S ju-kware. Jadya=piji=kamadya.*
thus =REP =3SG(-FM) be-REM.PAST thus=DIM=RESTR
‘So it happened. That is it.’

Vocabulary

1. Introduction

The Cavineña-English vocabulary in section 2 lists the 1912 lexical and grammatical words which appear in the preceding grammatical description and/or the two illustrative texts. They are drawn from a current lexicon of about 4200 entries.

The entries are given in their root form most of the time. Occasionally some entries are morphologically complex, involving a derived form, a compound, or a reduplicated form. This happens when the derivation, the compound or reduplication process is not productive, or when it has idiosyncratic meanings.

The entries are written according to the Cavineña alphabet discussed in §2.10 and used throughout this study, complemented by some Spanish graphemes for borrowed terms which have not (or not fully) integrated the Cavineña phonological system. The graphemes are listed in the following order (with the graphemes specific of Spanish in bold face):

a, b, **c**, ch, d, dy, e, **f**, **g**, **h**, i, j, k, kw, **l**, **ll**, m, n, ny, **o**, p, **qu**, r, ry, s, sh, t, ts, ty, u, **v**, w, y

Each entry minimally consists of a headword, a word class and one or more glosses in English. The list of word class abbreviations is provided in the table below; the table also provides a cross-reference to the place where the word classes are discussed in the grammar.

When relevant, additional information is provided on the meaning of a particular entry, the origin of a borrowing,¹ the internal morphological structure of a morphologically complex word, the variant forms of a particular entry and the synonymy relation between two entries. Particular sections that

Words that are the topic of an individual section in the grammar are cross-referenced.

A question mark between parentheses indicates that the information provided is uncertain and that more work is needed to confirm it.

Section 3 is an English-Cavineña index to the preceding vocabulary.

¹ I thank Willem Adelaar for helping me identify such words and providing me with the spelling of the word in the source language.

Table. List of word class symbols

adj.attr	attributive adjective	§4.4.3, §13.2
adj.idpt	predicative independent adjective	§4.3, §11.3
da-adj	predicative <i>da</i> -adjective	§4.3, §11.2
coord	coordinator	§4.8
dem.adv	adverbial demonstrative	§4.5.3, §15.7
dem.point	pointing demonstrative	§4.5.3, §15.8
e-noun	<i>e</i> -noun	§4.4.2, §12.3
n.idpt	independent noun	§4.4.2, §12.5
n.kin	kinship noun	§4.4.2, §12.4
interj	interjection	§4.5.7
num	number marker	§4.4.4, §13.3
onom	onomatopoeia	§4.5.8
postp	postposition	§4.5.1, Ch. 14
prep	preposition	§4.5.1
pron.bnd	bound pronoun	§4.5.2, §12.4.2, §15.2
pron.idpt	independent pronoun	§4.5.2, §15.1
ptcl.first	first position particle	§4.5.5, §16.2
ptcl.idpt	independent particle	§4.5.5, §16.1
ptcl.phr	phrasal particle	§4.5.5, Ch. 17
ptcl.sec	second position particle	§4.5.5, §16.3
qtf	quantifier	§4.4.5, §13.5
sub	subordinate clause marker	§4.5.6, Ch. 18-20
v.atr	inflecting ambitransitive verb	§4.2.2, §5.2
v.dtr	inflecting ditransitive verb	§4.2.2, §5.2
v.dtr.nif	non-inflecting ditransitive verb	§4.2.2, §5.3.6
v.itr	inflecting intransitive verb	§4.2.2, §5.2
v.itr.nif	non-inflecting intransitive verb	§4.2.2, §5.3
v.modif	verb modifier	§4.2.3, §10.2-10.4
v.tr	inflecting transitive verb	§4.2.2, §5.2
v.tr.nif	non-inflecting transitive verb	§4.2.2, §5.3

2. Cavineña-English vocabulary

A - a

- a** *interj.* hearer follows/understands speaker. *Variant: aa.*
- a-** *v.tr.* 1) affect O. Generic verb with a very broad range of meanings, all referring to highly transitive events with a volitional/controlling A and an affected O argument, such as ‘kill’, ‘beat’, ‘bite’, ‘sting’, ‘catch (e.g., a fish while fishing)’, ‘build (e.g., a house)’, ‘cook’, etc. 2) tell O. 3) affect. Auxiliary used with transitive non-inflecting verbs.
- a ju-** *v.itr.nif.* do what. *Variant: ai ju-*
- aa** *interj.* hearer follows/understands speaker. *Variant: a.*
- aa** *e-noun.* branch.
- aaje-** *v.tr.* chase O, pursue O. *Morph: a-aje.*
- aama** *interj.* not exist.
- aama** *adj.idpt.* not exist.
- aatubu-** *v.tr.* cut the branch of O. *Morph: aa-tubu.*
- aba** *n.idpt.* chontilla palm. *Bactris riparia.*
- abaka-** *da-adj.* silent, quiet.
- abakata** *adj.idpt.* silent, quiet.
- abakatana-** *v.itr.* be silent.
- abari** *n.idpt.* chonta palm. *Astrocaryum chonta.*
- Abranchu** *n.idpt.* Abranchu. *From: Spanish Abraham.*
- abu-** *v.tr.* carry O.
- aceite** *n.idpt.* oil. *From: Spanish aceite.*
- accepta a-** *v.tr.nif.* accept O. *From: Spanish aceptar.*
- achí** *interj.* speaker feels disgusted.
- achacha** *adj.idpt.* small. *Variant: ashasha.*
- ada-** *v.tr.* add something to O.
- adeba-** *v.tr.* know O, remember O, understand O.
- Adela** *n.idpt.* Adela. *From: Spanish Adela.*
- =ademe** *sub.* THANKS.TO. See §19.6.1.
- adya-** *v.tr.* contaminate O, infect O, cast a bad spell on O, cause O to be sick.
- ai** *n.idpt.* INT. See §12.5.3.
- ai ju-** *v.itr.nif.* do what. *Variant: a ju-*
- aijama** *adj.idpt.* not exist at all.
- aijama** *interj.* not exist at all.
- aikira** *ptcl.idpt.* FILL. See §16.1.4.
- aikwana** *ptcl.idpt.* FILL. See §16.1.4.
- aja** *n.idpt.* capuchin monkey. *Cebus.*
- ajabana** *n.idpt.* jabiru. *Jabirú mycteria.*
- ajapara** *e-noun.* wing.
- aje-** *v.itr.* walk.
- ajipa** *n.idpt.* scorpion.
- ajj** *onom.* cry of cuyabo bird. *Variant: kwajj.*
- Akapu** *n.idpt.* Akapu. *From: Spanish Agapo.*
- akere-** *v.tr.* be+CAUS. See §8.4.1. *Morph: a-kere.*
- akuri** *n.idpt.* round leaf palm.
- akwa** *e-noun.* chest.
- akwasetana-** *v.itr.* turn downside up.
- akwatsuru-** *v.tr.* face O. *Morph: akwa-tsuru.*
- akwe** *interj.* speaker feels sorry.
- akwi** *n.idpt.* tree, stick, log, pole, trunk, twig.
- akwijakini** *n.idpt.* place with many thorns. *Morph: akwija-kini.*

- akwikini** *n.idpt.* place with many trees. *Morph:* **akwi-kini**.
- Alejandro** *n.idpt.* Alejandro. *From:* Spanish *Alejandro*.
- AltoIvón** *n.idpt.* Alto Ivón. Chácobo community. *From:* Spanish *Alto Ivón*.
- aluja ju-** *v.itr.nif.* put oneself up. *From:* Spanish *alojar*.
- alumno** *n.idpt.* student. *From:* Spanish *alumno*.
- =**ama** *ptcl.phr.* NEG. See §17.2.9.
- =**amabucha** *sub.* EVEN.THOUGH. See §19.6.2.
- amatsa** *n.idpt.* motacucillo palm.
- amena** *ptcl.idpt.* BM. See §16.1.3.
- amere-** *v.tr.* be+CAUS. See §8.4.1. *Morph:* **a-mere**.
- ami** *n.idpt.* blood.
- amidiji** *n.idpt.* vein. *Morph:* **ami-diji**.
- amiku-** *v.itr.* bleed.
- ana** *e-noun.* tongue, language.
- anape** *n.idpt.* different language.
- ani** *n.idpt.* life.
- ani-** *v.itr.* sit, stay, live, exist, be located.
- antejo** *n.idpt.* glasses. *From:* Spanish *antejo*.
- Antoni** *n.idpt.* Antoni. *From:* Spanish *Antonio*.
- Antonio** *n.idpt.* Antonio. *From:* Spanish *Antonio*.
- Antuku** *n.idpt.* Antuku. *From:* Spanish *Antonio*.
- anu** *n.kin.* grandmother.
- anuai** *n.idpt.* sweet potatoe (?).
- anuchi** *n.idpt.* grandma.
- años** *n.idpt.* years. *From:* Spanish *años*.
- Apechu** *n.idpt.* Apechu. *From:* Spanish *Alfredo*.
- aprovecha a-** *v.tr.nif.* take advantage of O. *From:* Spanish *aprovechar*.
- apu-** *v.tr.* cover O.
- apu-** *da-adj.* dark.
- apudajudya** *ptcl.idpt.* early morning.
- apukwina-** *v.itr.* slowly become dark. *Morph:* **apu-kwina**.
- apuna** *n.idpt.* night.
- apuna-** *v.itr.* 1) become very dark. 2) be at dusk. *Morph:* **apu-kwina**.
- apupu-** *v.itr.* darken.
- aputa** *n.idpt.* shade (e.g., under a tree), dark area (e.g., in a burrow).
- aputa-** *v.itr.* disappear. *Morph:* **apu-ta**.
- aputura-** *v.tr.* darken O. *Morph:* **apu-tura**.
- ara-** *v.tr.* eat O.
- araara** *n.idpt.* eating.
- arana** *n.idpt.* ambaibo tree. *Cecropia polystachya*.
- Arauna** *n.idpt.* Araona person. Member of the Araona ethnic group, linguistically related to the Cavineñas (Tacanan family). *From:* Spanish *Araona*.
- are** *ptcl.first.* QUEST. See §16.2.2.
- arepa** *sub.* EVEN.THOUGH. See §19.6.2.
- ari** *n.idpt.* size.
- ari-** *da-adj.* big.
- arina-** *v.itr.* become very big. *Morph:* **ari-na**.
- aritura-** *v.tr.* make O big. *Morph:* **ari-tura**.
- armario** *n.idpt.* cupboard. *From:* Spanish *armario*.
- Arteaga** *n.idpt.* Arteaga. *From:* Spanish *Arteaga*.
- arusu** *n.idpt.* rice. *From:* Spanish *arroz*.
- asika-** *da-adj.* dirty.
- asikatura-** *v.tr.* dirty O. *Morph:* **asika-tura**.
- Asunta** *n.idpt.* Ascension fiesta.

From: Spanish *Asunta*.

ashasha *adj.idpt.* small. *Variant:* **achacha**.

ata *n.idpt.* relative.

-atanana *e-noun.* 1) shadow, silhouette. 2) spirit, soul.

atape *n.idpt.* foreigner, non-Cavineña person.

aterisa ju- *v.itr.nif.* land. *From:* Spanish *aterrijar*.

atuka- *da-adj.* excellent hunter (person or dog).

-atuka *e-noun.* eye.

atukapuri- *v.tr.* poke O in the eye. *Morph:* **atuka-puri**.

atsa *n.idpt.* barbasco.

atsa ju- *v.itr.nif.* fish with barbasco (poison). This consists in dropping barbasco poison in the water for killing fish.

atsaka *n.idpt.* jatoba tree. *Hymenaea courbaril*.

-atsanaka *e-noun.* inside part of the mouth.

atsapuji *n.idpt.* someone good at fish-

ing with poison.

atsu *n.idpt.* breast.

Australia *n.idpt.* Australia. Community of Australia, located on the dirt highway, about halfway between Riberalta and Reyes, where the path that leads to northern Cavineña communities starts. *From:* Spanish *Australia*.

avion *n.idpt.* plane. *From:* Spanish *avión*.

avioneta *n.idpt.* light plane. *From:* Spanish *avioneta*.

awada *n.idpt.* tapir. *Tapirus terrestris*.

awadaijaka *n.idpt.* water hyacinth. *Eichhornia* *sp.* *Morph:*

awada-ijaka.

awe *n.kin.* husband. *Variant:* **awi**.

awi *n.kin.* husband. *Variant:* **awe**.

awiine *n.kin.* brother-in-law (husband's brother).

Awiku *n.idpt.* Awiku. *From:* Spanish *Aureliano*.

ayuda a- *v.tr.nif.* help O. *From:* Spanish *ayudar*.

B - b

ba- *v.tr.* see O, feel O, sense O.

ba- *da-adj.* cold.

baara *adj.idpt.* feverish.

baara *n.idpt.* fever.

baaratura- *v.tr.* cause O to have fever. *Morph:* **baara-tura**.

baba *n.kin.* grandfather.

baba *adj.attr.* big, old, respected, exceptional or unique of its type. See §13.2.2.5.

babachi *n.idpt.* grandpa.

babi *n.idpt.* hunting.

babi- *v.tr.* hunt O.

babipuji *n.idpt.* good hunter.

badi *n.idpt.* month.

badi *n.idpt.* moon.

badu- *da-adj.* wet (e.g., clothes).

=bae *sub.* SIMLR. See §19.4. *Syn:* **=bucha; =jiu**.

baekwa ju- *v.itr.nif.* not know E, not have the knowledge of E.

bajeje- *v.tr.* prepare O, arrange O.

baji *n.idpt.* fear.

baji- *da-adj.* scared.

bajiji- *v.tr.* arrange O, fix O.

bajitura- *v.tr.* scare O. *Morph:* **baji-tura**.

bajiyu- *v.tr.* turn the head and see O.

baju- *v.tr.* toast O.

baka- *v.tr.* 1) hear O, listen to O. 2) understand O.

baka- *v.dtr.* ask O for O (e.g., ask

- someone for water).
- bakadura-** *v.tr.* ask O for O (e.g., ask someone for some information).
- bakajume** *n.idpt.* spotted paca. *Cuniculus paca*.
- bakani** *e-noun.* name.
- bakanipe** *n.idpt.* different name.
- bakanisha-** *v.tr.* name O.
- bakujuna** *n.kin.* daughter.
- bakujunapuji** *n.kin.* adopted daughter.
- bakwa** *n.idpt.* viper, snake.
- bakwa** *n.kin.* child.
- bakwa** *e-noun.* peduncular bract.
- bakwakwi** *n.idpt.* jacaranda (tree). *Jacaranda sp.*
- bakwapuji** *n.kin.* adopted son.
- =bakwe** *ptcl.sec.* CONTR. See §16.3.8.
- bakwina-** *v.itr.* slowly become cold. *Morph: ba-kwina.*
- bandia** *interj.* good morning. *From: Spanish buenas días.*
- bane-** *v.itr.* become very cold. *Morph: ba-ne.*
- banekware** *n.idpt.* upland terrain which is never flooded.
- banu** *n.idpt.* salt.
- banuchi** *interj.* good night. *From: Spanish buenas noches.*
- Banzer** *n.idpt.* Banzer. *From: Spanish Banzer.*
- bape** *adj.idpt.* different.
- bapeshu-** *v.tr.* not recognize O (e.g., not recognize someone who is dressed differently from usual).
- Barbarita** *n.idpt.* Barbarita. *From: Spanish Barbarita.*
- bare-** *v.tr.* pass O, go past O, overtake O.
- barepa** *n.idpt.* sky, weather, heaven.
- barepatya** *ptcl.idpt.* at midday, at noon.
- barepatyawesuta** *ptcl.idpt.* in the afternoon.
- barere-** *v.itr.* feel dizzy.
- bari** *n.idpt.* giant anteater. *Myrmecophaga tridactyla.*
- barrio** *n.idpt.* suburb. *From: Spanish barrio.*
- baru** *n.idpt.* height.
- baru** *adj.attr.* tall.
- baru-** *da-adj.* tall.
- barukwina-** *v.itr.* slowly become tall. *Morph: baru-kwina.*
- baruna-** *v.itr.* become very tall. *Morph: baru-na.*
- basi-** *da-adj.* sticky (e.g., like honey).
- bastare** *interj.* good afternoon. *From: Spanish buenas tardes.*
- batakiaama** *adj.idpt.* missing.
- batería** *n.idpt.* battery. *From: Spanish batería.*
- bati-** *da-adj.* humid (e.g., like the soil after the rain).
- Batuku** *n.idpt.* Batuku. *From: Spanish Bartolome.*
- batsara** *n.idpt.* Spanish-cedar. *Cedrela odorata.*
- bawa** *e-noun.* face.
- bawapaja-** *v.tr.* slap the face of O. *Morph: bawa-paja.*
- bawe** *n.idpt.* custom, habit, practice, tradition.
- bawe ju-** *v.itr.nif.* know E, have knowledge of E.
- bawene-** *v.tr.* trust O, be accustomed to O.
- bawitya-** *v.dtr.* teach O to O. *Morph: bawe-tya.*
- bawityabawityapuji** *n.idpt.* teacher. *Morph: bawitya-bawitya-puji.*
- be-** *v.tr.* bring O.
- bebakwa** *e-noun.* back.
- bei** *n.idpt.* oxbow lake.
- bei** *n.idpt.* lesser anteater. *Tamandua tetradactyla.*
- beje-** *da-adj.* thin (e.g., like a small canoe easy to maneuver).

- beji** *n.idpt.* burp.
beji- *v.itr.* burp.
Beni *n.idpt.* Beni river.
beni *n.idpt.* cold wind that blows from the South during winter time (April to October).
benu *n.idpt.* bend (e.g., of a road, a river, etc.).
benu- *v.itr.* turn.
benubenu *adj.idpt.* with many bends (e.g., of a path). *Morph:* **benu-benu**.
bere- *v.tr.* pierce O.
beru *ptcl.idpt.* before, long ago.
beta *qtf.* two.
beta *v.modif.* TWICE. See §10.4.
beta *postp.* TWO.WHOLE. See §14.3.2.
beta *n.idpt.* swimming.
beta *v.itr.* swim.
bewai ju- *v.itr.nif.* be cursed.
-bi *e-noun.* arm.
bia *n.idpt.* louse, tiny bug, germ, microorganism.
biaje *n.idpt.* trip. *From:* Spanish *viaje*.
biaje ju- *v.itr.nif.* travel. *From:* Spanish *viaje*.
Biata *n.idpt.* Biata river. *Variant:* **Diata**.
bicho *n.idpt.* beast. *From:* Spanish *bicho*.
bida- *da-adj.* fast.
bidi- *da-adj.* continuous.
bidubidu a- *v.tr.nif.* wag O (e.g., dog wagging his tail).
bidutana- *v.itr.* wriggle (like a fish).
bien *interj.* speaker feels positive. *From:* Spanish *bien*.
bii *n.idpt.* moriche palm. *Mauritia flexuosa*. Known in local Spanish as palma real.
biikini *n.idpt.* grove of real palms. *Morph:* **bii-kini**.
biji *n.idpt.* desire, wish, will.
biji *n.idpt.* balsa tree. *Ochroma pyra-*
pyramidale.
biji- *da-adj.* desirable.
bijiji *n.idpt.* gray-fronted dove. *Lep-*
totila rufaxilla.
biju *n.idpt.* chilli.
bikwa *n.idpt.* tarantula.
bikwe *n.idpt.* weight.
bikwe- *da-adj.* heavy.
bikwetura- *v.tr.* make O heavy. *Morph:* **bikwe-tura**.
bina *n.idpt.* bat.
bira *n.idpt.* wasp.
Biri *n.idpt.* Biri.
biribiri *n.idpt.* parakeet species (unidentified).
bisu *n.idpt.* shame.
bisu- *v.itr.* be ashamed.
bisuta- *da-adj.* shameful.
bisutura- *v.tr.* make O ashamed. *Morph:* **bisu-tura**.
-biti *e-noun.* skin, fur, leather, shell, bark.
bitubu- *v.tr.* cut the arm of O. *Morph:* **bi-tubu**.
biwami *n.idpt.* cichlid fish species. *Cichlasoma boliviense*. Known in local Spanish as serepapa.
Bolivar *n.idpt.* Bolivar. Cavineña community. *From:* Spanish *Bolivar*.
bolsa *n.idpt.* bag. *From:* Spanish *bolsa*.
Brasil *n.idpt.* country of Brazil. *From:* Spanish *Brasil*.
bu *n.kin.* nephew. *Variant:* **bui**.
=bucha *sub.* SIMLR. See §19.4. *Syn:* **=bae; =jiu**. *Variant:* **=buchi**.
=buchi *sub.* SIMLR. See §19.4. *Variant:* **=bucha**.
buda *n.idpt.* wild plantain. *Heliconia sp.* Known in local Spanish as patuju.
budakini *n.idpt.* grove of patuju palms. *Morph:* **buda-kini**.
budari *n.idpt.* banana, plantain (plant

- or fruit).
- budarijæ** *n.* flatwhiskered catfish. *Pinirampus pinirampu.*
- budarikini** *n.idpt.* grove of bananas. *Morph: budari-kini.*
- bueno** *interj.* speaker feels positive. *From: Spanish bueno.*
- bui** *onom.* cry of maurí bird. *Variant: pi.*
- bui** *n.kin.* nephew. *Variant: bu.*
- buiji-** *v.tr.* swallow O.
- buje** *n.idpt.* stain, dirt spot.
- bujebuje** *adj.idpt.* with many stains/dirt spots. *Morph: buje-buje.*
- bujj** *onom.* sound of person falling on the ground.
- buju** *n.idpt.* diarrhea.
- buju-** *v.itr.* have diarrhea.
- buka** *n.idpt.* tayra. *Eira barbara.*
- bukuku-** *v.itr.* move.
- buna** *n.idpt.* bullet ant. *Paraponera clavata.*
- buni** *n.idpt.* tinamou species (unidentified). *Tinamidae fam.* Known in local Spanish as perdiz.
- bunyari** *n.idpt.* tinamou species (un-
- identified). *Tinamidae fam.* Known in local Spanish as nambú; lays eight to nine eggs which have a blue color.
- burara-** *v.itr.* germinate.
- huri-** *v.itr.* break, crack.
- burinapa** *n.* smooth-billed ani. *Crotophaga ani.*
- bururu** *n.idpt.* toad.
- busabusa** *n.idpt.* glow-worm.
- busu** *e-noun.* bottom (e.g., of a basket, a person, etc.).
- bushuisha-** *v.tr.* wake O up. *Variant: bushusha-.*
- bushusha-** *v.tr.* wake O up. *Variant: bushuisha-.*
- bute-** *v.itr.* go down, descend, go downriver.
- bututu** *n.idpt.* madidi ant (unidentified). Known in local Spanish as hormiga madidi (madidi ant).
- butseeju** *ptcl.idpt.* for the first time.
- butsekini** *e-noun.* face.
- butya-** *v.tr.* lower O, put O down, make O go down. *Morph: bute-a.*

C - c

- cajón** *n.idpt.* box. *From: Spanish cajón.*
- camion** *n.idpt.* truck. *From: Spanish camión.*
- camioneta** *n.idpt.* van. *From: Spanish camioneta.*
- campo** *n.idpt.* room, space. *From: Spanish campo.*
- cantina** *n.idpt.* store. *From: Spanish cantina.*
- carajo** *interj.* speaker feels impressed. *From: Spanish carajo.*
- caramba** *interj.* speaker feels concerned. *From: Spanish caramba.*
- carga** *n.idpt.* load, luggage. *From: Spanish carga.*
- Carlos** *n.idpt.* Carlos. *From: Spanish Carlos.*
- carretera** *n.idpt.* dirt highway. *From: Spanish carretera.*
- cartilla** *n.idpt.* learning book. *From: Spanish cartilla.*
- casabe** *n.idpt.* rattlesnake. *Crotalus ps.* *From: Spanish cascabel.*
- caso a-** *v.tr.nif.* take O into account. *From: Spanish hacer caso.*
- catre** *n.idpt.* bed. *From: Spanish catre.*
- Cavador** *n.idpt.* Cavador. Commu-

- nity where some Cavineña families live. *From:* Spanish *Cavador*.
- Cavina** *n.idpt.* Cavinás. Name of the Franciscan mission Misión (Jesús de) Cavinás where the Cavineñas were confined at the end of the 18th century (and where some Cavineñas still live today). *From:* Spanish *Cavinás*.
- Cavineño** *n.idpt.* Cavineña person. *From:* Spanish *Cavineño*.
- cebolla** *n.idpt.* onion. *From:* Spanish *cebolla*.
- cien** *qtf.* hundred. *From:* Spanish *cien*.
- ciento** *qtf.* hundred. *From:* Spanish *ciento*.
- cinco** *qtf.* five. *From:* Spanish *cinco*.
- CIRABO** *n.idpt.* CIRABO. Central Indígena de la Región Amazónica de BOLIVIA (indigenous organization of the Amazonian region of Bolivia). *From:* Spanish *CIRABO*.
- cocina** *n.idpt.* kitchen. *From:* Spanish *cocina*.
- confite** *n.idpt.* candy. *From:* Spanish *confite*.
- contagia a-** *v.tr.nif.* infect O. *From:* Spanish *contagiar*.
- convida a-** *v.tr.nif.* invite O politely. *From:* Spanish *convidar*.
- cortapluma** *n.idpt.* small knife. *From:* Spanish *cortaplumas*.
- creyente** *n.idpt.* believer. *From:* Spanish *creyente*.
- cuartel** *n.idpt.* barracks. *From:* Spanish *cuartel*.
- cuatro** *qtf.* four. *From:* Spanish *cuatro*.
- curso** *n.idpt.* course. *From:* Spanish *curso*.

Ch - ch

- chacha** *adj.idpt.* alive, live, healthy.
- chachane-** *v.tr.* cure O, heal O, save O. *Morph:* **chacha-ne**.
- chadi** *n.idpt.* boil, ulcer, sore, cyst.
- chai** *n.idpt.* small bird (generic).
- chai** *n.idpt.* brother-in-law.
- chaja-** *v.tr.* tear O (e.g., tear piece of cloth).
- Chakubu** *n.idpt.* Chácobo person. Member of the Chácobo ethnic group, linguistically possibly related to the Cavineñas (Panoan family). *From:* Spanish *Chácobo*.
- chamakama** *ptcl.idpt.* finally, eventually, with difficulty.
- chapa** *n.idpt.* dog.
- chariki** *n.idpt.* meat salted and dehydrated in the sun, charque. *From:* Aymara or Quechua *ch'arki*.
- chenu** *n.idpt.* daughter.
- chere** *n.idpt.* scabies.
- chi** *onom.* cry of piscua bird.
- chiba-** *v.tr.* taste O, try O.
- chichi** *n.idpt.* meat. *From:* Aymara *chichi* 'cooked meat', 'meat' (children's expression).
- chika-** *v.tr.* bump into O.
- chine** *n.idpt.* fiesta, feast, festivity, party.
- chine** *n.idpt.* night.
- chine ju-** *v.itr.nif.* have a fiesta.
- chinepuji** *n.idpt.* party goer. *Morph:* **chine-puji**.
- chipi** *n.idpt.* spot, mark.
- chipi-** *v.tr.* stamp O, make a spot on O.
- chipichipi** *adj.idpt.* spotty, with many

spots. *Morph:* **chipi-chipi**.
chipiru *n.idpt.* money.
chipiru- *da-adj.* rich, with a lot of money.
chiri- *v.tr.* steal O, rob O.
chirije *n.idpt.* tiger catfish. *Pseudoplatystoma tigrinum*. Known in local Spanish as pintado o surubí.

chiripuji *n.idpt.* thief.
chiwe *n.idpt.* chigger. Tiny worm that develops under the skin of people or animals.
chiwechiwe *adj.idpt.* with many chiggers. *Morph:* **chiwe-chiwe**.
churu *n.idpt.* bonnet. *From:* Aymara or Quechua *ch'ullu*.

D - d

dadi- *v.tr.* find O, come across O, discover O. *From:* Quechua *tari* (?).
dadu- *v.tr.* make O move (e.g., wind making a tree move).
daji- *da-adj.* coquettish.
daka- *v.tr.* spill O.
dameki *adj.idpt.* lucky.
dami *n.idpt.* golden trahira (fish). *Hoplerhythrinus unitaeniatus*. Known in local Spanish as yayu.
-dana *e-noun.* horn.
Danchu *n.idpt.* Danchu. *From:* Spanish *Eldan*.
dane *n.idpt.* height.
dane- *v.itr.* grow.
dati *n.idpt.* turtle, tortoise.
datse *ptcl.idpt.* FRUST. See §16.1.2.
=datse *ptcl.sec.* FRUST. See §16.1.2.
dawapa *n.idpt.* squirrel. *Sciurus*.
de- *da-adj.* deep.
defile ju- *v.itr.nif.* march. *From:* Spanish *desfile*.
deka *n.idpt.* male.
deka *ptcl.firist.* POTENTIALLY. See §16.2.4.
dekachu *n.idpt.* little brother.
deke- *v.tr.* fence O.
Demetrio *n.idpt.* Demetrio. *From:* Spanish *Demetrio*.
despedida ju- *v.itr.nif.* say goodbye. *From:* Spanish *despedida*.

detura- *v.tr.* deepen O. *Morph:* **de-tura**.
=di *ptcl.sec.* STRG.EMPH. See §16.3.5. *Variant:* **=didya**.
Diata *n.idpt.* Biata river. *Variant:* **Biata**.
diccionario *n.idpt.* dictionary. *From:* Spanish *diccionario*.
=didya *ptcl.sec.* STRG.EMPH. See §16.3.5. *Variant:* **=di**.
dies *qtf.* ten. *From:* Spanish *diez*.
dii *n.idpt.* mosquito.
diibina *n.idpt.* small bat species. *Morph:* **dii-bina**.
-diji *e-noun.* path.
dijine- *v.tr.* open a path in O. *Morph:* **diji-ne**.
directiva *n.idpt.* board of leaders ; leaders, board of. *From:* Spanish *directiva*.
dirigente *n.idpt.* leader. *From:* Spanish *dirigente*.
diru- *v.itr.* go permanently.
doce *qtf.* twelve. *From:* Spanish *doce*.
Don *n.idpt.* Mr. *From:* Spanish *Don*.
drajj *onom.* sound of animal moving inside a hole. *Variant:* **tajj**.
-duchi *e-noun.* shamanic stone.
dudu *n.idpt.* beam.
dudu- *v.tr.* 1) knock on O (e.g., knock on a door, a bell, etc.). 2) play O (a musical instrument).

duju- *v.tr.* take O (somewhere), transport O, lead O.

duka- *da-adj.* murky (e.g., water), muddy.

dukakwina- *v.itr.* slowly become murky. *Morph:* **duka-kwina**.

=duku *postp.* INSIDE. See §14.4.3.

duku- *da-adj.* with seed.

dukwadukwa *n.idpt.* titi monkey. *Callicebus*.

dukweri *n.idpt.* red brocket deer. *Mazama americana (Cervidae)*.

dukweriiba *n.idpt.* puma. *Puma concolor*. *Morph:* **dukweri-iba**.

dumi *n.idpt.* excrement.

dumi- *v.itr.* defecate.

-dumijiti *e-noun.* stomach (organ). *Morph:* **dumi-jiti**.

Dumiku *n.idpt.* Dumiku. *From:* Spanish *Domingo*.

dunu- *v.tr.* surround O.

dure *n.idpt.* belt.

durepuji *n.idpt.* someone good at making belts.

dusha- *v.tr.* dilute O (e.g., dilute soil with water in order to make paint).

dyta *qtf.* all.

duu *n.idpt.* howler monkey. *Alouatta*.

Dy - dy

=dya *ptcl.phr.* FOC. See §17.2.3.

dyai- *da-adj.* lazy.

dyaikwina- *v.itr.* slowly become weak. *Morph:* **dyai-kwina**.

dyake *postp.* ON. See §14.4.2.

dyake *ptcl.idpt.* very, a lot.

dyaketana- *v.itr.* become worse.

=dyane *ptcl.phr.* APPROX. See §17.2.8.

dyawa- *v.tr.* kiss O.

dyuru- *v.tr.* shorten O.

E - e

e *pron.idpt.* 1SG. See §15.1.2. *Variant:* **i; ea**.

=e *pron.bnd.* 1SG. See §15.2.2. *Variant:* **=i**.

ea *pron.idpt.* 1SG. See §15.1.2. *Variant:* **e; i**.

eaniki *n.idpt.* house outside of a village. *Morph:* **e-ani-ki**.

eanikware *n.idpt.* place to stay temporarily. *Morph:* **e-ani-kware**.

eararakware *n.idpt.* temporary place to eat (away from home). *Morph:* **e-ara-ara-kware**.

earakana *n.idpt.* unit.

earaki *n.idpt.* food. *Morph:* **e-ara-ki**.

earaki a- *v.tr.nif.* cook O.

ebadeki *n.idpt.* hammock. *Morph:* **e-bade-ki**.

ebajarara *ptcl.idpt.* quickly, fast.

ebakujunapiji *n.idpt.* small girl.

ebakwa *n.idpt.* child, offspring.

ebakwapiji *n.idpt.* small child.

ebakwatare *e-noun* (?). uterus. *Morph:* **e-bakwa-tare**.

ebanataki *n.idpt.* planting stick. Stick for making holes in the ground when planting (e.g., corn).

ebari *adj.attr.* big. See §13.2.2.6.

=ebari *ptcl.phr.* INTENS. See §17.2.12.

ebarukwe *n.idpt.* top.

ebipukaka *e-noun* (?). fist. *Morph:* **e-bi-pukaka**.

- ebubuki** *n.idpt.* broom made of palm leaves.
- ebute** *n.idpt.* port. Access to a river. *Morph: e-bute.*
- edanaka** *e-noun* (?). knee.
- eduki** *n.idpt.* cotton string.
- eduku** *postp.* INSIDE. See §14.4.3.
- eijiki** *n.idpt.* drink. *Morph: e-iji-ki.*
- eiyumataki** *n.idpt.* settlement. *Morph: e-iyumata-ki.*
- eja** *n.idpt.* 1) nest. 2) diaper.
- ejapupu** *n.idpt.* henhouse.
- ejarakware** *n.idpt.* animal's resting place. *Morph: e-jara-kware.*
- ejaruna** *e-noun* (?). tendon.
- eje** *interr.* INT. See §13.6.2.
- ejebucha** *v.modif.* MAN.INT. See §10.3.
- ejebucha** *interr.* INT:SIMLR. See §19.4.2.
- ejebucha a-** *v.tr.nif.* harm O, criticize O, do something to O.
- ejebuchaju** *ptcl.idpt.* sometimes.
- ejebuchajuatsu** *interr.* INT:REASON. See §19.3.2.
- ejedyane** *ptcl.first.* QUEST. This morpheme only occurs in very few examples, as in (9.7c); it seems to be formally and semantically similar to the first position particle *are*; it is not discussed in the grammar.
- ejeeke** *interr.* INT:PERL. See §14.2.5.2.
- ejekeja** *interr.* INT:LOC.GNL. See §14.2.4.2.
- ejene-** *v.tr.* believe O, believe in O.
- ejetupu** *interr.* INT:UP.TO. See §14.2.6.2.
- ejeuma** *qtf.* how many/much.
- ejitaju** *adj.idpt.* visible.
- eju** *interr.* INT:LOC. See §14.2.3.2.
- ejuri** *e-noun* (?). (river) current.
- ejutuki** *n.idpt.* cloth. *Morph: e-jutu-ki.*
- ekana** *pron.idpt.* 3PL. See §15.6.
- =ekana** *num.* PL. See §13.3.
- ekanajarakware** *n.idpt.* resting place. *Morph: e-kanajara-kware.*
- ekapaja** *e-noun* (?). egg white. *Morph: e-ka-paja.*
- ekarekani** *e-noun* (?). belly. *Morph: e-kare-kani.*
- ekari ju-** *v.itr.nif.* make a track. *Morph: e-kari ju.*
- ekatse** *pron.idpt.* 3DL. See §15.6.
- =ekatse** *num.* DL. See §13.3.
- =eke** *postp.* PERL. See §14.2.5.
- =ekeamaka** *postp.* PERL.APPROX. See §14.2.5.3.
- eketi** *e-noun* (?). face.
- ekiniki** *n.idpt.* container.
- ekwana** *pron.idpt.* 1PL. See §15.1.2.
- =ekwana** *pron.bnd.* 1PL. See §15.2.2.
- ekwari** *e-noun* (?). leader, chief, guide.
- ekwatsabiti** *e-noun* (?). lips. *Morph: e-kwatsa-biti.*
- ekweduku** *e-noun* (?). chin.
- ekwejaki** *n.idpt.* news. *Morph: e-kweja-ki.*
- ekwejikini** *e-noun* (?). face.
- ekwi** *e-noun* (?). middle part of a river.
- ekwita** *n.idpt.* person.
- ekwitabaneke** *n.idpt.* flu. *Morph: e-kwita-bane-ke.*
- elicoptero** *n.idpt.* helicopter. *From: Spanish helicóptero.*
- Elio** *n.idpt.* Elio. *From: Spanish Elio.*
- Eliuduru** *n.idpt.* Eliuduru. *From: Spanish Eleodor.*
- Elsa** *n.idpt.* Elsa. *From: Spanish Elsa.*
- emake** *postp.* UNDER. See §14.4.2.
- ematse** *n.idpt.* urucú (plant or seeds). The seeds of this plant produce a red color that it used in food preparation.
- Emechu** *n.idpt.* Emechu. *From: Spanish Emerenciano.*

emeyaemeya *n.idpt.* drawing, photo, picture.

emiwaki *n.idpt.* bait (e.g., piece of meat for fishing). *Morph:* **e-miwa-ki.**

emiwaki a- *v.tr.nif.* put O as a bait.

emiwe *n.idpt.* toasted manioc flour, chive.

emiwe ju- *v.itr.nif.* make toasted manioc flour (chive).

enajewe *n.idpt.* alcohol.

enapa- *v.tr.* cry for O. *Morph:* **e-na-pa.**

enari *e-noun* (?). eddy.

enashumaumakeama *n.idpt.* storm.

enawikware *n.idpt.* (public) place to bathe. *Morph:* **e-nawi-kware.**

enawitiki *n.idpt.* (personal) place to bathe. *Morph:* **e-nawi-ti-ki.**

encomienda *n.idpt.* package. *From:* Spanish *encomienda.*

endya a- *v.tr.nif.* say yes to O.

enero *n.idpt.* January. *From:* Spanish *enero.*

enetikware *n.idpt.* place to stand (e.g., bus stop). *Morph:* **e-neti-kware.**

engaño a- *v.tr.nif.* deceive O, cheat on O. *From:* Spanish *engaño.*

enibu *e-noun* (?). pubis.

enijukani *e-noun* (?). artery. *Morph:* **e-niju-kani.**

ensalada *n.idpt.* salad. *From:* Spanish *ensalada.*

epedeta *e-noun* (?). clearing.

epekaka *e-noun* (?). kidney.

eperekatse *e-noun* (?). rib.

eperere *n.idpt.* rack.

epidi *n.idpt.* cusi (palm), babassu palm. *Orbignya phalerata.*

epidikini *n.idpt.* grove of cusi palms. *Morph:* **epidi-kini.**

epiki *n.idpt.* fan. *Morph:* **e-pei-ki.**

epititsau *e-noun* (?). spine. *Morph:*

e-piti-tsau.

epu *n.idpt.* village, community.

eri- *v.tr.* grind O (e.g., grind corn).

Ermo *n.idpt.* Ermo. *From:* Spanish *Ermo.*

eruru *e-noun* (?). goiter.

esamaki *n.idpt.* medicine, remedy. *Morph:* **e-sama-ki.**

escuela *n.idpt.* school. *From:* Spanish *escuela.*

escuela ju- *v.itr.nif.* teach. *From:* Spanish *escuela.*

Eseeja *n.idpt.* Ese Ejja person. Member of the Ese Ejja ethnic group, linguistically related to the Cavineñas (Tacanan family). *From:* Ese Ejja *Ese Ejja.*

esiri *adj.idpt.* old.

eskupeta *n.idpt.* shotgun. *From:* Spanish *escopeta.*

espejo *n.idpt.* mirror. *From:* Spanish *espejo.*

espereyaa *n.idpt.* stream tributary. *Morph:* **e-spere-yaa.**

espiki *n.idpt.* wall, fence. *Morph:* **e-sipi-ki.**

espikine- *v.tr.* provide O (e.g., house) with walls, fence O (e.g., fence a garden). *Morph:* **espiki-ne.**

estaca *n.idpt.* peg. *From:* Spanish *estaca.*

Estados Unidos *n.idpt.* United States of America. *From:* Spanish *Estados Unidos.*

eshu a- *v.tr.nif.* cut the hair of O.

etajiki *n.idpt.* friend. *Morph:* **e-taji-ki.**

etamu *e-noun* (?). cheek.

etamurami *e-noun* (?). cheek flesh. *Morph:* **etamu-rami.**

etaruki *n.idpt.* paddle. *Morph:* **e-taru-ki.**

etata *n.idpt.* sir. *Variant:* **tata.**

etawiki *n.idpt.* bedding. *Morph:* **e-tawi-ki.**

etawikware *n.idpt.* camp. *Morph:*
e-tawi-kware.

etemiki *n.idpt.* food sweetener. In a meal, foodstuffs that accompany the meat to 'sweeten' its strong taste (e.g. rice, manioc, plantain, etc.). *Morph:* **e-temi-ki.**

eteriki *n.idpt.* door. *Morph:* **e-teri-ki.**

etibukuru *e-noun* (?). ankle.

etijaki *n.idpt.* ember.

etikimuru *n.idpt.* ashes. *Morph:*
e-tiki-muru.

etikune *e-noun* (?). back of the knee.

etimakwija *e-noun* (?). (insect's) sting. *Morph:* **etima-kwija.**

etiperuru *e-noun* (?). slope (e.g., of elevated river banks).

etipukaka *e-noun* (?). kneecap.

etisarara *e-noun* (?). fin.

etiwesu *e-noun* (?). elevated banks of a river.

etununu *n.idpt.* bow.

etsa ju- *v.itr.nif.* blossom, bloom.

Morph: **e-tsa ju.**

etsawa *e-noun* (?). edge (e.g., of a wood).

etsawaki *n.idpt.* helper, assistant.

Morph: **e-tsawa-ki.**

etsekunu *e-noun* (?). (teeth) gum.

etsubaju *n.idpt.* toasted corn.

etsujeki *n.idpt.* money. *Morph:*
e-tsuje-ki.

etsurikani *e-noun* (?). throat, back of the mouth. *Morph:* **e-tsuri-kani.**

etsurikani ju- *v.itr.nif.* have a throat ache. *Morph:* **e-tsuri-kani ju.**

ewasimare *e-noun* (?). tibia.

ewebari *n.idpt.* teenager, adolescent.

eweji *e-noun* (?). ceiling gutter.

ewijituki *n.idpt.* seal, stopper, cork.

Morph: **e-wijitu-ki.**

ewikani *adj.idpt.* tipsy. *Morph:*
e-wi-kani.

ewirakware *n.idpt.* place to urinate.

Morph: **e-wira-kware.**

eyu *n.idpt.* palm heart.

F - f

familia *n.idpt.* family. *From:* Spanish *familia.*

Felicia *n.idpt.* Felicia. *From:* Spanish *Felicia.*

Felichu *n.idpt.* Felichu. *From:* Spanish *Feliz.*

Felipe *n.idpt.* Felipe. *From:* Spanish *Felipe.*

Feliz *n.idpt.* Feliz. *From:* Spanish

Feliz.

firma a- *v.tr.nif.* sign O (e.g., a letter). *From:* Spanish *firmar.*

flota *n.idpt.* bus. *From:* Spanish *flota.*

Francia *n.idpt.* Francia. Cavineña community. *From:* Spanish *Francia.*

Francisco *n.idpt.* Francisco. *From:* Spanish *Francisco.*

G - g

Galilea *n.idpt.* Galilea. Cavineña community. *From:* Spanish *Galilea.*

gana ju- *v.itr.nif.* receive (money). *From:* Spanish *ganar.*

gobierno *n.idpt.* government. *From:* Spanish *gobierno.*

grawane- *v.tr.* record O. *Morph:*
grawa-ne. *From:* Spanish *grabar* 'record' and Cavineña *-ne*

‘VBLZ’.

gringa *n.idpt.* gringa, foreign woman of Caucasian type. *From:* Spanish *gringa*.

gringo *n.idpt.* gringo, foreign man of Caucasian type. *From:* Spanish *gringo*.

H - h

hangar *n.idpt.* warehouse. *From:* Spanish *hangar*.

From: Spanish *hasta*.

hasta *prep.* until, up to, as far as.

hermano *n.idpt.* brother in Christ. *From:* Spanish *hermano*.

I - i

i *pron.idpt.* 1SG. See §15.1.2. *Variant:* **e**; **ea**.

=i *pron.bnd.* 1SG. See §15.2.2. *Variant:* **=e**.

iba *n.idpt.* jaguar. *Pantera onca*.

ibe- *v.tr.* keep O.

ibe- *da-adj.* hard to understand.

ibekwina- *v.itr.* slowly become hard to understand. *Morph:* **ibe-kwina**.

idu- *v.tr.* resist O (e.g., resist the sleepiness).

idyake *postp.* ABOVE. See §14.4.2.

ija *n.idpt.* porcupine. *Coendu*.

ijaka *n.idpt.* ear.

ijakabaka- *v.tr.* listen carefully to O. *Morph:* **ijaka-baka**.

ijariba- *v.tr.* make fun of O.

ijawa *n.idpt.* devil, evil spirit.

ijawakaka- *da-adj.* noisy.

ijawe a- *v.tr.nif.* play with O, betray O, win upon O.

ijawe ju- *v.itr.nif.* dance.

ijawepuji *n.idpt.* good (soccer) player. *Morph:* **ijawe-puji**.

ijeti *n.idpt.* sun.

ijewe- *v.tr.* throw O.

iji- *v.tr.* drink O.

ijike *n.idpt.* corn.

ijime- *da-adj.* fragrant (e.g., like the smell of perfume).

ijine- *v.itr.* stray.

ijiryawana- *v.tr.* make fun of O, insult O.

ikwaya- *v.tr.* miss O, fail to hit O.

ikwene *ptcl.idpt.* first. *Variant:* **ikweneta**.

ikweneta *ptcl.idpt.* first. *Variant:* **ikwene**.

imeta- *v.tr.* point at O (e.g., point a shotgun at a game animal).

ina- *v.tr.* grab O, catch O, hold O, handle O, use O.

inije- *da-adj.* stingy.

inimetupu- *v.tr.* think about O.

inyakwa *n.idpt.* grass louse. Microscopic parasite that leaves in the grass; known in local Spanish as *japutamu*.

inyukwija *n.idpt.* armpit.

irisha *n.idpt.* church. *From:* Spanish *iglesia*.

iruru- *v.tr.* thresh O (e.g., thresh corn).

isaani- *v.tr.* ride O (e.g., ride a horse), sit on top of O.

isara- *v.tr.* talk to O.

isara- *v.tr.* read O.

isawe *adj.idpt.* deaf.

iserere- *v.itr.* stretch (e.g., rubber band stretching).

=**ishu** *sub.* PURP.GNL. See §18.3.

ishusha a- *v.tr.nif.* help O (e.g., help someone in his work).

ita *ptcl.first.* ATT.GETTER. See §16.2.3.

itata- *v.tr.* shake O.

itinu- *v.tr.* stretch O, tighten O.

itusha- *v.tr.* push O.

iwa *n.idpt.* tail.

iwa- *v.tr.* wait for O.

iwara- *v.tr.* call O.

iwi- *da-adj.* smelly (like the horrible smell of a dead body).

iwina- *v.itr.* become very smelly, decay, rot, putrefy. *Morph:*

iwi-na.

Ixiamas *n.idpt.* Ixiamas. Tacana com-

munity. *From:* Spanish *Ixiamas.*

iya- *v.tr.* put O on something, leave O somewhere.

iyaja *ptcl.idpt.* now. *Variant:* **iyakwa.**

iyakwa *ptcl.idpt.* now, today, nowadays. *Variant:* **iyaja.**

iye- *v.tr.* kill O.

iyepuji *n.idpt.* good hunter.

iyue- *da-adj.* lovable. *Variant:* **iyuwe-**

iyuka *n.idpt.* head.

iyukamuru *n.idpt.* dandruff. *Morph:*
iyuka-muru.

iyumata- *v.itr.* roll oneself up, coil up (e.g., snake coiling up).

iyuwe *n.idpt.* love.

iyuwe- *da-adj.* lovable. *Variant:* **iyue-**

J - j

=**ja** *postp.* DAT. See §14.2.2.

=**ja** *postp.* GEN. See §13.4.

jaajaa *n.idpt.* guan species. *Penelope sp.* Turkey-like species known in local Spanish as pava pampeña.

jaba- *v.tr.* touch O.

jabakwa *n.idpt.* baby animal, cub.

jabirijabiri *n.idpt.* kite.

jabu *n.idpt.* soap. *From:* Spanish *jabón.*

jabu- *v.tr.* sweep O.

jabune- *v.tr.* soap O. *Morph:*
jabu-ne.

jacha *n.idpt.* axe. *From:* Spanish *hacha.*

jadi *ptcl.idpt.* thus. *Variant:* **jadya.**

jadya *ptcl.idpt.* thus. *Variant:* **jadi.**

jadya *coord.* and.

jadya *v.modif.* MAN. See §10.3.

jadyaamajuatsu *coord.* or.

jadyaatsu *ptcl.idpt.* later today.

jae *n.idpt.* fish. Generic term for any fish.

jae ju- *v.itr.nif.* fish with arrow.

Jaime *n.idpt.* Jaime. *From:* Spanish *Jaime.*

Jaimechu *n.idpt.* Jaimechu. *From:* Spanish *Jaime.*

jaja- *v.tr.* sieve O.

jaka- *v.tr.* abandon O, leave O, move away from O.

jakacha ju- *v.itr.nif.* be absent.

jakatana- *v.itr.* move away from O. *Morph:* **jaka-tana.**

-jaki *e-noun.* leaf.

jaku- *da-adj.* sour.

jakuna- *v.itr.* become very sour, ferment. *Morph:* **jaku-na.**

jakwi *n.kin.* brother-in-law (sister's husband).

jamani *n.idpt.* vulture.

jana *n.kin.* younger sister.

japa- *da-adj.* far.

japadama *postp.* CLOSE.TO. See §14.4.9. *Syn:* **pijidyane.**

japakwina- *v.itr.* slowly go far. *Morph:* **japa-kwina.**

japipi *n.idpt.* butterfly.

- jara-** *v.itr.* lie.
- jarere** *n.idpt.* algodoncillo tree.
Cochlospermum sp.
- =**jari** *ptcl.phr.* STILL. See §17.2.1.
- jari-** *da-adj.* painful (e.g., like a thorn in the foot).
- jasa-** *da-adj.* decomposed, rotten, spongy (e.g., like a dead tree).
- jasa** *e-noun.* lung.
- jata-** *da-adj.* light (e.g., like cotton, balsa wood, etc.).
- =**jatsu** *ptcl.sec.* EXACTLY. See §16.3.6.
- jau** *onom.* cry of dog.
- jau** *n.kin.* younger brother. *Variant:* ju.
- jawa** *adj.attr.* yellow.
- jawa-** *v.tr.* paint O yellow.
- jawa-** *da-adj.* yellow.
- jawakwina-** *v.itr.* slowly become yellow. *Morph:* jawa-kwina.
- jawane-** *v.itr.* become very yellow, ripen. *Morph:* jawa-ne.
- jawatsu-** *v.itr.* begin to become yellow. *Morph:* jawa-tsu.
- jawawa-** *v.itr.* ripen.
- je-** *v.itr.* come temporarily.
- jebu-** *da-adj.* strong (e.g., noise).
- jechiu ju-** *v.itr.nif.* sneeze.
- jee** *dem.point.* here.
- jeej** *onom.* cry of anteater.
- jejee** *interj.* yes.
- jeke-** *v.itr.* fill up.
- jekusha-** *v.tr.* scare O.
- jekutana-** *v.itr.* be scared.
- jeme** *n.idpt.* trumpeter sp. (bird). *Pso-phia sp.*
- jemi-** *v.tr.* grate O (soft material; e.g., grate cheese).
- jemi-** *da-adj.* powder-like.
- jemitura-** *v.tr.* make O powdery. *Morph:* jemi-tura.
- Jenewayá** *n.idpt.* Geneshuaya river. *From:* Spanish *Geneshuaya*.
- jepe-** *da-adj.* flat.
- jere-** *v.tr.* grate O (hard material; e.g., grate corn).
- jeri-** *da-adj.* slippery (e.g., like a path after the rain).
- jeru** *n.idpt.* prayer.
- jeru-** *v.itr.* sing.
- jerujeru** *n.idpt.* song.
- jeta-** *v.itr.* float, fly.
- jeteke** *postp.* LOOKING.FOR. See §14.3.1. *Variant:* jiteke.
- jeti-** *v.itr.* come permanently.
- jetiamá** *qtf.* many, numerous, a lot of. *Syn:* umada.
- jetiamá** *adj.idpt.* many, numerous, in a great quantity.
- jeu** *onom.* cry of capuchin monkey.
- ji-** *da-adj.* good, well.
- jibi** *n.idpt.* wrinkle.
- jibijibi** *adj.idpt.* wrinkled. *Variant:* ribiribi.
- jibu-** *v.tr.* roll O up, wrinkle O.
- jibururu-** *v.tr.* wash the face of O.
- jidapiji** *adj.idpt.* beautiful. *Morph:* ji-da-piji.
- jiesha-** *v.tr.* make O better.
- jietana-** *v.itr.* get better, improve.
- jiish** *onom.* sound of animal suddenly running. *Variant:* juj.
- jiji** *n.idpt.* garbage.
- jiji-** *da-adj.* spicy.
- jiji-** *v.itr.* burn (e.g., spicy food, injury, etc.), have a painful hot/stinging feeling.
- jika** *n.idpt.* lush vegetation.
- jika** *adj.attr.* lush (e.g., jungle), luxuriant, untidy, entangled, impentriable, thick, dense.
- jika-** *da-adj.* lush (e.g., jungle), luxuriant, untidy, entangled, impentriable, thick, dense.
- jikajika-** *v.itr.* scratch one's head.
- jikakwina-** *v.itr.* slowly become lush. *Morph:* jika-kwina.

- jikwi-** *v.tr.* cut off.
- jimimisha-** *v.tr.* pull out O (e.g., pull plants of sweet potatoes out of the soil).
- jina-** *v.itr.* cook (e.g., manioc roots cooking in boiling water).
- jpake** *ptcl.first.* LUCKILY. See §16.2.7.
- jpakwana** *ptcl.first.* SEEMINGLY.NOT. See §16.2.6.
- jpamu** *n.idpt.* papaya (plant or fruit).
- jppe-** *v.tr.* approach O, move closer to O.
- =**jpenee** *ptcl.phr.* ALMOST. See §17.2.14.
- jpetana-** *v.itr.* approach O, move closer to O.
- jirikini** *e-noun.* river bed.
- jiru-** *v.tr.* smell O, sniff O.
- jiruru** *postp.* AT.EDGE.OF. See §14.4.7.
- jiruru** *e-noun.* edge (e.g., of a river), rim, border, banks.
- jirurusha-** *v.tr.* go along the edge of O (e.g., go along the edge of a river).
- jiteke** *postp.* LOOKING.FOR. See §14.3.1. *Variant:* **jeteke.**
- jiti** *n.idpt.* basket.
- jitsu** *n.idpt.* mold.
- jitsu-** *v.itr.* grow moldy.
- =**jiu** *sub.* SIMLR. See §19.4. *Syn:* =**bucha**; =**bae.**
- jiyu-** *v.tr.* be friendly to O.
- José** *n.idpt.* José. *From:* Spanish *José.*
- ju** *n.kin.* younger brother. *Variant:* **jau.**
- =**ju** *sub.* DS. See §19.2.
- =**ju** *postp.* LOC. See §14.2.3.
- ju-** *v.itr.* 1) be, exist, be located. 2) say. 3) be. Auxiliary used with intransitive non-inflecting verbs; copula verb.
- Juan** *n.idpt.* Juan. *From:* Spanish *Juan.*
- Juanchu** *n.idpt.* Juanchu. *From:* Spanish *Juan.*
- jucha** *n.idpt. sin.* *From:* Aymara or Quechua *hucha* 'sin'.
- jucha a-** *v.tr.nif.* have sex with O, fuck O. *From:* Aymara or Quechua *hucha* 'sin'.
- juj** *interj.* speaker feels impressed.
- juj** *onom.* sound of animal suddenly running. *Variant:* **jiish.**
- juj** *interj.* signal uttered to signal oneself when approaching a house for a visit.
- juje** *n.idpt.* domestic duck.
- juji-** *da-adj.* fat.
- jujikwina-** *v.itr.* slowly become fat. *Morph:* **juji-kwina.**
- juju-** *v.itr.* burn, blaze.
- juku-** *da-adj.* loose.
- jukukusha-** *v.tr.* loosen O.
- jukuri** *n.idpt.* coati. *Nasua nasua.*
- julio** *n.idpt.* July. *From:* Spanish *julio.*
- jumuru-** *da-adj.* hunched.
- juneni** *n.idpt.* way of walking.
- junio** *n.idpt.* June. *From:* Spanish *junio.*
- junu-** *da-adj.* long.
- jununa-** *v.itr.* become very long. *Morph:* **junu-na.**
- jupu-** *v.tr.* extract O (e.g., extract a tooth, extract a hook from a fish's mouth), remove O.
- juri-** *v.itr.* flow.
- jurijuri** *adj.idpt.* striped (e.g., like a strong rain). *Morph:* **juri-juri.**
- jusu-** *da-adj.* muddy (e.g., like a swamp).
- juta** *n.idpt.* threespot leporinus (fish). *Leporinus friderici.* Known in local Spanish as *ruta.*
- jutakiju** *ptcl.idpt.* therefore.
- =**jutidya** *ptcl.phr.* RESTR. See §17.2.13. *Variant:* =**jutii.**

=**jutii** *ptcl.phr.* RESTR. See §17.2.13.

Variant: =**jutidya**.

jutu- *v.tr.* dress O, put O on oneself.

juwaaba *interj.* speaker does not

know.

juwejuwe *interj.* speaker orders the hearer to hurry up.

juye *n.idpt.* ox.

K - k

-ka *e-noun.* egg.

kaanati- *v.itr.* talk (e.g., parrot talking). *Morph:* **ka-ana-ti**.

kaatsanakati- *v.itr.* yawn, open the mouth. *Morph:* **ka-atsanaka-ti**.

kabakanishatipuji *n.idpt.* good nickname-giver.

kabakwati- *v.itr.* have a child. *Morph:* **ka-bakwa-ti**.

kabati- *v.itr.* think. *Morph:* **ka-ba-ti**.

kabeti- *v.itr.* come. *Morph:* **ka-be-ti**.

kachachanetipuji *n.idpt.* someone good at curing, doctor, medicine man.

kachipiruti- *v.itr.* become rich. *Morph:* **ka-chipiru-ti**.

kadakati- *v.itr.* vomit. *Morph:* **ka-daka-ti**.

kadeneti- *v.itr.* transform oneself into E (e.g., a man transforming himself into a jaguar by magic).

kadujuti- *v.itr.* go. *Morph:* **ka-duju-ti**.

kadutyati- *v.itr.* gather. *Morph:* **ka-dutya-ti**.

kadyati- *v.itr.* have an accident (e.g., a man having an accident while hunting).

kaekae *n.idpt.* macaw. *Ara sp.*

kainimeti- *v.itr.* be alert. *Morph:* **ka-i-nime-ti**. *Variant:* **kanimeti-**.

kajikati- *v.itr.* tangle up.

kajiruti- *v.itr.* choke.

kajuchati- *v.itr.* sin. *Morph:* **ka-jucha-ti**.

kaka *adj.attr.* small and round. See

§13.2.2.1.

kaka- *v.tr.* tie O.

-kaka *e-noun.* 1) small and round fruit (e.g., of various palm trees), berry. 2) testicle.

kakaditi- *v.itr.* coagulate.

kakakati- *v.itr.* give fruit. *Morph:* **ka-kaka-ti**.

kakasati- *v.itr.* exert force (eg. when carrying a heavy load). *Morph:* **ka-kasa-ti**.

kakemiti- *v.itr.* get married. *Morph:* **ka-kemi-ti**.

kakweyati- *v.itr.* transform oneself into E (e.g., a caterpillar transforming itself into a butterfly). *Morph:* **ka-kweya-ti**.

Kalachu *n.idpt.* Kalachu. *From:* Spanish *Carmelo*.

=**kama** *postp.* ONLY. See §14.3.3. *From:* Quechua *kama* 'exclusively' (possibly via Aymara).

kamadya *ptcl.idpt.* ONLY. See §17.2.5. *From:* Quechua *kamalla* (?).

=**kamadya** *ptcl.phr.* ONLY. See §17.2.5. *From:* Quechua *kamalla* (?).

kamakeiti- *v.itr.* become enemy. *Morph:* **ka-makei-ti**.

-kamawa *e-noun.* rooftop.

kamisa *n.idpt.* shirt. *From:* Spanish *camisa*.

Kana *n.idpt.* Kana. Name of a protagonist of a traditional Cavineña story.

kana *n.idpt.* breathing.

- kana-** *v.itr.* breath.
- kanajara-** *v.itr.* rest.
- kanajeti** *n.idpt.* breathing.
- kanajeti-** *v.itr.* breath.
- kanakana-** *v.itr.* pulsate (e.g., a boil pulsating), pant (e.g., a dog panting in a very hot weather).
- kanana-** *v.itr.* cry (?).
- kanapui** *n.idpt.* cicada. *Variant:* **pui**.
- kaneku** *n.idpt.* mug. *From:* Spanish *caneco*.
- kani** *n.idpt.* hole.
- kanikani** *adj.idpt.* with many holes (e.g., like an old thatch roof).
- kanimeti-** *v.itr.* be alert. *Morph:* **ka-nime-ti**. *Variant:* **kainimeti-**.
- kanine-** *v.tr.* make a hole in O. *Morph:* **kani-ne**.
- kanise** *n.idpt.* peanut.
- kapana** *n.idpt.* bell. *From:* Spanish *campana*.
- kape** *n.idpt.* coffee. *From:* Spanish *café*.
- kapunati-** *v.itr.* become an adult woman. *Morph:* **ka-puna-ti**.
- kare** *e-noun.* half.
- karene-** *v.tr.* make O one's friend. *Morph:* **kare-ne**.
- kareta-** *v.itr.* run aground.
- karetu** *n.idpt.* traditional cart pulled by oxen. *From:* Spanish *carretón*.
- karetupuji** *n.idpt.* someone good at making carts.
- kari** *e-noun.* track.
- karine-** *v.tr.* clear a track in O (e.g., clear a track in a forest). *Morph:* **kari-ne**.
- karu-** *v.tr.* bite O.
- karusune** *n.idpt.* pants. *From:* Spanish *calzones*.
- karya-** *v.tr.* hook O.
- kasa** *n.idpt.* strength.
- kasa-** *da-adj.* strong.
- kasakwina-** *v.itr.* slowly become strong. *Morph:* **kasa-kwina**.
- kasamati** *n.idpt.* medicine, remedy. *Morph:* **ka-sama-ti**.
- kasana-** *v.itr.* become very strong. *Morph:* **kasa-na**.
- kasaseka-** *v.tr.* weaken O. *Morph:* **kasa-seka**.
- kasatura-** *v.tr.* strengthen O. *Morph:* **kasa-tura**.
- kastere-** *v.itr.* become tired. *Morph:* **kasa-tere**.
- kastirya-** *v.tr.* tire O out. *Morph:* **kasa-tirya**.
- kashashati-** *v.itr.* blossom, bloom. *Morph:* **ka-shasha-ti**.
- kashi** *n.idpt.* sweet banana.
- kata** *e-noun.* feather.
- katapananati-** *v.itr.* sprout (for a new leaf). *Morph:* **ka-tapanana-ti**.
- Katamaru** *n.idpt.* Katamaru. Name of a Cavineña traditional heroine.
- katewa ju-** *v.itr.nif.* hide.
- kati** *n.idpt.* fight.
- kati** *n.idpt.* sting, bite, action of stinging/biting (e.g., the sting of wasp, the bite of a viper).
- kati-** *v.itr.* fight. *Morph:* **k-a-ti**.
- kati-** *v.tr.* sting O (e.g., wasp stinging someone).
- katibuti-** *v.itr.* start E.
- katipuji** *n.idpt.* good fighter.
- katsa-** *v.tr.* beat O, whip O.
- katsati-** *v.itr.* blossom, bloom. *Morph:* **ka-tsa-ti**.
- katsatsa-** *v.itr.* drizzle.
- katsukawijati-** *v.itr.* sprout back (for a plant, after having been damaged).
- katyati-** *v.itr.* sell. *Morph:* **ka-tya-ti**.
- kawaiti-** *v.itr.* get angry/upset.
- kawakawa** *n.idpt.* yellow-billed tern. *Sterna superciliaris*.
- kawashiri-** *v.itr.* lie in ambush, wait in ambush, hide in ambush.

- kawayu** *n.idpt.* horse. *From:* Spanish *caballo*.
- kayuamati-** *v.itr.* deteriorate, break down, decay. *Morph:* **ka-yuama-ti**.
- =**ke** *pron.bnd.* 3. See §12.4.2.
- =**ke** *sub.* LIG. See §13.6 and §20.2.
- =**ke juatsu** *sub.* COND. See §19.5.
- =**keja** *postp.* LOC.GNL. See §14.2.4.
- =**kejaamaka** *postp.* LOC.APPROX. See §14.2.4.3.
- kejeneti** *n.idpt.* belief.
- keke** *n.idpt.* shout. *Variant:* **kike**.
- keke-** *v.ATR.* shout, shout at O, yell, yell at O. *Variant:* **kike-**.
- kemi-** *v.tr.* 1) take O out (of something), catch O (in something). 2) buy O.
- kenekwa** *n.kin.* niece.
- kere-** *v.tr.* tie O (e.g., tie firewood with a rope).
- keti-** *v.tr.* fetch O.
- ketsekwa** *n.kin.* grandchild (male or female). *Variant:* **utsekwa**.
- kijawati-** *v.itr.* be agitated. *Morph:* **k-ijawa-ti**.
- kike** *n.idpt.* shout. *Variant:* **keke**.
- kike-** *v.ATR.* shout, shout at O, yell, yell at O. *Variant:* **keke-**.
- kike** *e-noun.* forest, jungle.
- kilometro** *n.idpt.* kilometer. *From:* Spanish *kilometro*.
- kimisakaruku** *qtf.* eight. *From:* Aymara *kimsaqallqu*.
- kimisha** *qtf.* three. *From:* Aymara *kimsa*.
- kimisha** *postp.* THREE.WHOLE. See §14.3.2.
- kimisha** *v.modif.* THREE.TIMES. See §10.4.
- kini-** *da-adj.* wide.
- kini** *e-noun.* inside surface (e.g., of a plate, a canoe, etc.).
- kirika** *n.idpt.* paper, letter, notebook, book. *From:* Aymara or Quechua *qillqa* 'writing'.
- kisarati** *n.idpt.* word, talk, speech. *Morph:* **k-isara-ti**.
- kisarati-** *v.itr.* talk. *Morph:* **k-isara-ti**.
- kistryanu** *n.idpt.* person. *From:* Spanish *crisiano*.
- kisha-** *v.tr.* open O (e.g., open a bag, open the mouth).
- kiyetipuji** *n.idpt.* criminal.
- kubu** *onom.* sound of something falling in water. *Variant:* **tsupu**.
- kububu** *e-noun.* small wood in the middle of the pampa.
- kuchara** *n.idpt.* spoon. *From:* Spanish *cuchara*.
- kuchi** *n.idpt.* pig. *From:* Quechua *khu-chi* (originally from Spanish *coche*).
- kuchiru** *n.idpt.* machete. *From:* Spanish *cuchillo*.
- kueti-** *v.itr.* pass.
- kujakuja** *n.idpt.* balloon.
- kuje-** *v.tr.* cheer on O (typically one's dogs when hunting, by shouting at them "kuje! kuje!"). *From:* Spanish *coger* 'catch'.
- kujemere-** *v.dtr.* make O chase O (typically make one's dogs chase a game animal while hunting). *Morph:* **kuje-mere**.
- kuji ju-** *v.itr.nif.* be lost.
- kujisha-** *v.tr.* confound O.
- kujuta-** *v.itr.* have blisters (e.g., someone having blisters on its feet from walking too much).
- kuku** *n.kin.* uncle (mother's brother).
- kukuchi** *n.idpt.* beloved uncle (mother's brother).
- kultu ju-** *v.itr.nif.* have a service. *From:* Spanish *culto*.
- kumari** *n.kin.* comadre. Relation between the mother and the god-mother of a child. *From:* Spanish

Spanish *comadre*.
kumukumu *n.idpt.* drum.
kununida *n.idpt.* community. *From:*
 Spanish *comunidad*.
kunu *n.idpt.* liana, vine.
kunukaji *n.idpt.* sweet potato. *Ipo-*
moea batatas.
kunukini *n.idpt.* place with many
 lianas. *Morph:* **kunu-kini**.
kupari *n.kin.* *compadre*. Relation be-

tween the father and the godfather of a child. *From:* Spanish *compadre*.

kurakwa *n.idpt.* parrot species (unidentified).
kuru- *v.tr.* chew O.
kutarau *n.* horned screamer (bird).
Anhima cornuta.
kuyukuyu *n.idpt.* granulated catfish.
Pterodoras granulosus.

Kw - kw

kwa *n.kin.* mother. *Variant:* **kwaa**.
kwa- *v.itr.* go temporarily.
kwaa *n.kin.* mother. *Variant:* **kwa**.
kwaapuji *n.kin.* godmother. *Variant:*
kwakepuji.
kwaba *n.idpt.* canoe.
kwadisha- *v.tr.* send O, make O go
 somewhere.
kwaine *n.kin.* aunt (mother's sister).
kwaj *onom.* sound of water boiling.
kwaji- *v.tr.* 1) spy on O, hunt O.
 2) visit O (e.g., visit a friend).
kwajj *onom.* cry of cuyabo bird.
Variant: **ajj**.
kwaju *n.idpt.* cacique sp. *Cacicus sp.*
 Known in local Spanish as *aimaristo* or *tojo*. Builds a bag-shaped nest in a tree near a wasp nest and feeds from the wasps.
kwakepuji *n.kin.* stepmother. *Variant:*
 kwaapuji.
kwamitana- *v.itr.* be crushed.
=kwana *num.* PL. See §13.3.
=kwana *ptcl.phr.* UNCERT. See
 §17.2.15.
kwanubi *n.idpt.* animal. Generic
 term for any wild animal that
 lives on the ground (e.g., peccary,
 jaguar, deer, etc.).
kware *n.idpt.* group (e.g., of people),
 herd (e.g., of peccaries).

kware- *v.tr.* change O, replace O (by
 something else).
kware- *v.tr.* avenge O, defend O.
kwareru- *da-adj.* round.
kwarurusha- *v.tr.* entangle O.
kwasha- *v.tr.* chip O (e.g., hard chonta
 wood chipping the blade of an
 axe).
kwati *n.idpt.* firewood.
kwati ju- *v.itr.nif.* fetch firewood.
-kwatsa *e-noun.* mouth, outside part
 of the mouth.
kwatsabiji *n.idpt.* story.
kwatsabiji a- *v.tr.nif.* tell O a story,
 chat with O.
kwatsabijipuji *n.idpt.* good story-
 teller. *Morph:* **kwatsabiji-puji**.
kwatsasha- *v.tr.* order O to do some-
 thing, give O an order.
kwawe *n.idpt.* manioc, cassava, yuca.
kwawi- *v.tr.* cook O on embers.
-kwedi *e-noun.* saliva.
kwee *onom.* cry of dog.
kweja- *v.dtr.* inform O of O, tell O O.
kwejataki *adj.idpt.* respectful, well-
 educated. *Morph:* **kweja-taki**.
kweji *n.idpt.* bad smell.
kweji- *v.itr.* fart.
kweji- *da-adj.* fetid (e.g., like the
 smell of fish).
kwejiji *n.idpt.* wind.

kwejipa *n.idpt.* hurricane, strong wind.

kwere- *v.tr.* cut O (e.g., cut a tree), chop O.

kwerekwere *adj.idpt.* striped (e.g., like eagle feathers).

kweri *n.idpt.* river.

kweru- *v.tr.* make O pointed (e.g., make a stick pointed).

kweru- *da-adj.* sharp (e.g., like the blade of a machete).

kwirutura- *v.tr.* sharpen O. *Morph:* **kweru-tura.**

kwesa *n.idpt.* facial hair, beard, whiskers.

kwesakwesa *adj.idpt.* with a lot of facial hair.

kweya *n.idpt.* spirit.

kweyakweya *n.idpt.* picture.

kweyane- *v.tr.* recognize O, understand O. *Morph:* **kweya-ne.**

kwi *onom.* cry of pig.

kwii *interj.* speaker orders the hearer to go first.

-kwija *e-noun.* thorn, sting, needle.

kwijakwija *adj.idpt.* thorny, with many thorns.

kwina- *v.atr.* give birth, give birth to O, lay O (e.g., lay an egg).

kwinana- *v.itr.* emerge, go out, be born.

=kwita *ptcl.phr.* RESTR. See §17.2.4.

-kwita *e-noun.* body.

L - l

lanueve *ptcl.idpt.* at nine o'clock. *From:* Spanish *la nueve.*

laonce *n.idpt.* at eleven o'clock. *From:* Spanish *la once.*

Lechu *n.idpt.* Lechu. *From:* Spanish *Gregorio.*

Lidika *n.idpt.* Lidika. *From:* Spanish *Lidia.*

litro *n.idpt.* 1) liter (volume). 2) bottle. *From:* Spanish *litro.*

Lizardu *n.idpt.* Lizardu. *From:* Spanish *Lizardo.*

Luca *n.idpt.* Luca. *From:* Spanish *Lucas.*

lucha ju- *v.itr.nif.* fight. *From:* Spanish *lucha.*

Ll - ll

llanta *n.idpt.* tire. *From:* Spanish *llanta.*

M - m

Machaku *n.idpt.* Machaku. *From:* Spanish *Marcelino.*

mada *n.idpt.* common agouti. *Dasyprocta variegata.*

madada *n.idpt.* rat trap.

madi- *da-adj.* sappy, with a lot of sap.

-madi *e-noun.* sap, resin, latex.

Maechu *n.idpt.* Maechu. *From:* Spanish *Ismael.*

maestro *n.idpt.* master, teacher. *From:* Spanish *maestro.*

majaka *sub.* EVEN.THOUGH. See §19.6.2.

-majaka *e-noun.* space, place, area.

- maju-** *v.itr.* die.
- makaka-** *v.tr.* hug O.
- makana** *n.idpt.* gravel, small stone.
- makanakini** *n.idpt.* place with a lot of gravel. *Morph:* **makana-kini**.
- make** *n.idpt.* piranha.
- makei** *n.idpt.* enemy, barbarian, indigenous person, indian.
- maki** *adj.idpt.* pregnant.
- makina** *n.idpt.* machine. *From:* Spanish *maquina*.
- maletero** *n.idpt.* bag. *From:* Spanish *maletero*.
- Malili** *n.idpt.* Malili. *From:* Spanish *Mario*.
- malla** *n.idpt.* fishing net. *From:* Spanish *malla*.
- mama** *n.kin.* mother.
- mama** *n.idpt.* madam.
- mamachi** *n.idpt.* mommy.
- mamita** *n.idpt.* mommy. *From:* Spanish *mamita*.
- manga** *n.idpt.* mango (plant or fruit). *From:* Spanish *manga*.
- mani** *n.idpt.* 1) rubber tree. *Hevea brasiliensis*. 2) rubber center.
- Manuku** *n.idpt.* Manuku. *From:* Spanish *Manuel*.
- manunu** *n.idpt.* sandbox tree, ochoo tree. *Hura crepitans*.
- manunu-** *v.itr.* shrivel, dry up (e.g., a corn plantation drying up in drought time).
- manyari** *n.idpt.* sling.
- mapa-** *v.tr.* shoulder O (e.g., shoulder a beam), carry O on one's shoulder.
- mapisi** *n.idpt.* anaconda.
- mara** *n.idpt.* 1) time, season. 2) year. *From:* Aymara *mara* 'year'.
- mara** *n.idpt.* mahogany tree, mara tree. *Swietenia macrophylla*. *From:* local Spanish *mará*.
- marape** *n.idpt.* following year.
- mare-** *v.tr.* shoot at O.
- mare-** *da-adj.* ripe.
- mari-** *v.itr.* roar.
- marikaka** *e-noun.* cooking pot.
- mariku** *n.idpt.* bag. *From:* Spanish *marico*.
- marso** *n.idpt.* March. *From:* Spanish *marzo*.
- marteshi** *n.idpt.* Tuesday. *From:* Spanish *martes*.
- masa** *ptcl.first.* SEEMINGLY. See §16.2.5.
- =masa** *ptcl.sec.* SEEMINGLY. See §16.3.5.
- masa-** *da-adj.* hard, difficult, tiring, arduous, demanding, slow.
- masatura-** *v.tr.* annoy, upset, exasperate. *Morph:* **masa-tura**.
- mateka** *n.idpt.* margarine. *From:* Spanish *mantequilla*.
- Mati** *n.idpt.* Mati. *From:* Spanish *Matilde*.
- matina** *e-noun.* tip (e.g., of a tree, wood, etc.).
- matuja** *n.idpt.* caiman or yacare. *Caiman sp.*
- Mayo** *n.idpt.* Mayo. *From:* Spanish *Mayo*.
- mayuwa** *n.idpt.* woodpecker.
- mechi** *n.idpt.* soil, clay.
- mechiki** *e-noun.* owner (e.g., of a house, a dog, a garden, etc.). *Variant:* **-metse**.
- mechiki** *e-noun.* owner (e.g., of a house, a dog, a garden, etc.). *Variant:* **-mechiki**.
- medeke-** *v.tr.* help O with one's arms.
- mee** *n.idpt.* saltlick.
- mejji** *n.idpt.* (river) beach.
- mekeke** *sub.* WHILE. See §19.6.3.
- mekware-** *da-adj.* track-leaving. Said of someone or some animal that leaves many tracks on the ground (e.g., peccaries).

-mekware *e-noun*. tracks, footprint.

Melchu *n.idpt*. Melchu. *From*: Spanish *Melchior*.

mema *adj.idpt*. empty (container), empty-handed, carrying nothing, having nothing.

mepe- *v.tr*. pick O (e.g., pick fruits on a tree), collect O, gather O, select O.

Mercede *n.idpt*. Las Mercedes. Cavineña community. *From*: Spanish *Mercedes*.

mere *n.idpt*. work.

mere *v.tr*. work for O, serve O.

mere ju- *v.itr.nif*. work.

merepuji *n.idpt*. good worker.

mesa *n.idpt*. table. *From*: Spanish *mesa*.

-meshuru *e-noun*. fingernail, toenail, claw.

meta *ptcl.idpt*. at night.

meta *n.idpt*. night.

metabarepatya *ptcl.idpt*. at midnight. *Variant*: **metapatya**.

metajudya *ptcl.idpt*. tomorrow.

metapatya *ptcl.idpt*. at midnight. *Variant*: **metabarepatya**.

metara *n.idpt*. ring (jewellery). *From*: Spanish *metal*.

metebaba *n.idpt*. armadillo species (unidentified). *Dassipus sp.* Known in local Spanish as *quirquincho*; has long claws and is an excellent digger; is difficult to encounter and is hardly ever hunted or eaten.

metro *n.idpt*. meter. *From*: Spanish *metro*.

-metuku *e-noun*. hand, finger.

metukukaru- *v.tr*. bite the hand of O. *Morph*: **metuku-karu**.

metukutake- *v.tr*. hack the finger of O. *Morph*: **metuku-take**.

metukutubu- *v.tr*. cut the finger of O.

Morph: **metuku-tubu**.

metse *pron.idpt*. 2DL. See §15.1.2.

=metse *pron.bnd*. 2DL. See §15.2.2.

metsene- *v.tr*. make oneself the owner of O. *Morph*: **metse-ne**.

mi *pron.idpt*. 2SG. See §15.1.2. *Variant*: **mia**.

=mi *pron.bnd*. 2SG. See §15.2.2.

mia *pron.idpt*. 2SG. See §15.1.2. *Variant*: **mi**.

midi *adj.attr*. tight, dense (e.g., like a corn or rice plantation, a braided mat, etc.).

midi- *da-adj*. tight, dense (e.g., braided mat).

Miguel *n.idpt*. Miguel. *From*: Spanish *Miguel*.

mikwana *pron.idpt*. 2PL. See §15.1.2.

=mikwana *pron.bnd*. 2PL. See §15.2.2.

mil *qtf*. thousand. *From*: Spanish *mil*.

miri- *v.tr*. strike O, hit O.

misa *n.idpt*. bark strap. Piece of bark from different kinds of trees or palms used like a rope to tie and carry things.

misi *n.idpt*. tamale. Sort of bread made of rice or corn mixed with cheese and cooked in a leaf.

misi- *da-adj*. thick (e.g., like the bark of certain trees), dense (e.g., like a storm cloud).

misikwina- *v.itr*. slowly become thick. *Morph*: **misi-kwina**.

mision *n.idpt*. mission, reduction. *From*: Spanish *misión*.

misionero *n.idpt*. missionary. *From*: Spanish *misionero*.

mishi *n.idpt*. cat. *From*: Aymara or Quechua *misi* (originally from Spanish).

miwa- *v.tr*. feed O, give food to O.

-miwekaka *e-noun*. bird crop.

mochila *n.idpt.* bag. *From:* Spanish *mochila*.

mono *n.idpt.* monkey. *From:* Spanish *mono*.

moto *n.idpt.* motorcycle. *From:* Spanish *motocicleta*.

motoru *n.idpt.* motorboat. *Variant:* **muturu**. *From:* Spanish *motor*.

mu- *da-adj.* scary.

mui- *da-adj.* serious.

muiba- *v.tr.* worship O, respect O.

muja- *v.itr.* swell.

muke *n.idpt.* brazil nut.

mukekini *n.idpt.* grove of brazil nuts. *Morph:* **muke-kini**.

mumi- *da-adj.* smooth.

murawawa *n.idpt.* pampa fly. Small fly that lives in the pampa, well-known for harassing people.

mure- *v.tr.* protect O fiercely (e.g., a cow protecting her baby calf).

mure- *da-adj.* fierce, ferocious, wild, threatening, aggressive, hostile.

muriri- *v.itr.* bubble.

muru *n.idpt.* dust, powder.

muruta- *v.itr.* become ashes. *Morph:* **muruta-**.

murya- *v.tr.* soak O (e.g., soak corn shoots in water when preparing traditional beer).

musu- *da-adj.* thickly forested.

mutiru *n.idpt.* hat.

mutura- *v.tr.* make O dangerous. *Morph:* **mu-tura**.

muturu *n.idpt.* motorboat. *Variant:* **motoru**. *From:* Spanish *motor*.

mutsu- *v.tr.* pull O, pluck O, uproot O.

mutya- *v.tr.* dip O in water.

muu *n.idpt.* assai palm, cabbage palm. *Euterpe precatória*.

muu *onom.* cry of cow.

muwawa *n.idpt.* tall grass.

muwewe- *v.itr.* gush, spurt (e.g., water spurting out of a spring).

muya- *v.tr.* 1) scare O away. 2) urge on O (e.g., urge on a pair of oxen pulling a cart).

muyajutidya *ptcl.idpt.* suddenly.

N - n

-na *e-noun.* water.

nabade *n.idpt.* swamp. *Morph:* **na-bade**.

naje- *da-adj.* diluted.

naji *n.kin.* older sister. *Variant:* **nasi**.

Najiji *n.idpt.* Madidi river.

naka- *da-adj.* wet (e.g., baby's diaper).

-nakaka *e-noun.* (fruit) juice, nectar, honey. *Morph:* **na-kaka**.

nakata- *v.itr.* get wet.

-name *e-noun.* soup.

nana *adj.attr.* young, new, baby, recently born/created entities, entities at the earliest stage of their development. See §13.2.2.3.

nana- *da-adj.* young, new, baby,

recently born/created entities, entities at the earliest stage of their development.

nanata *n.idpt.* electric eel. *Electrophorus electricus*.

Nancho *n.idpt.* Nancho. *From:* Spanish *Ernan*.

napa- *da-adj.* insipid (e.g., water without sugar).

naru- *v.tr.* take care of O, look after O.

nasi *n.kin.* older sister. *Variant:* **naji**.

nasu- *da-adj.* watery (?).

Navi *n.idpt.* Navi. *From:* Spanish *Navi*.

-nawa *e-noun.* down.

nawanawa *adj.idpt.* downy, with a lot of down.

nawi- *v.itr.* bathe.
nawipuji *n.idpt.* good bather, someone who bathes very early morning.
nei *n.idpt.* rain.
nene *n.kin.* aunt (father's sister).
nenechi *n.idpt.* aunty (father's sister).
nere *v.modif.* VIGOROUSLY. See §10.2.1.
nereda a- *v.tr.nif.* scold O.
nereka *n.idpt.* suffering.
nereka- *da-adj.* miserable, pitiful, poor, suffering.
nerekapane *adj.idpt.* pitiful.
nerekape *n.idpt.* deceased person.
nerekatura- *v.tr.* make O suffer. *Morph: nereka-tura.*
Nestuku *n.idpt.* Nestuku. *From:* Spanish *Nestor.*
neti- *v.itr.* stand, stop, be located.
ni= *ptcl.phr.* NOT.EVEN. See §17.2.10. *From:* Spanish *ni.*
=ni *ptcl.sec.* MAYBE. See §16.3.2.
-niju *e-noun.* heart.
nijuki *adj.idpt.* drunk.
nijukupuji *n.idpt.* drunkard.
nijukisha- *v.tr.* make O drunk.
nime- *da-adj.* wild, untamed, fearful.
-nime *e-noun.* thought.
nimearitura- *v.tr.* console O, comfort O. *Morph: nime-ari-tura.*
nimekwina- *v.itr.* slowly become

wild. *Morph: nime-kwina.*
nimetura- *v.tr.* make O wild. *Morph: nime-tura.*
nimewarya- *v.tr.* discourage O. *Morph: nime-warya.*
nitya- *v.tr.* stand O, stop O. *Morph: neti-a.*
noticia *n.idpt.* news, information. *From:* Spanish *noticia.*
noveciento *qtf.* nine hundred. *From:* Spanish *novecientos.*
noventa *qtf.* ninety. *From:* Spanish *noventa.*
noviembre *n.idpt.* November. *From:* Spanish *noviembre.*
nubi- *v.itr.* enter, go into.
Nuchu *n.idpt.* Nuchu. *From:* Spanish *Norberto.*
nudya- *v.tr.* make O enter. *Morph: nubi-a.*
NuevoMojo *n.idpt.* Nuevo Mojo. Cavineña community. *From:* Spanish *Nuevo Mojo.*
=nuka *ptcl.phr.* REITR. See §17.2.2.
nuka- *v.tr.* fold O, wrap O (e.g., wrap a vine around some logs to tie them together).
nusanusa *n.idpt.* alphabet.
nutsa *n.idpt.* grass.
nutsakini *n.idpt.* place with a lot of grass. *Morph: nutsa-kini.*
nuu *n.kin.* sibling.

Ny - ny

nyuwiri *n.idpt.* stinging hair caterpillar (unidentified). Known in lo-

cal Spanish as *quemaquema* (burn-burn).

O - o

ocho *qtf.* eight. *From:* Spanish *ocho.*
once *qtf.* eleven. *From:* Spanish *once.*
ordeña a- *v.tr.nif.* milk O. *From:*

Spanish *ordeñar.*
organización *n.idpt.* organization. *From:* Spanish *organización.*

otubre *n.idpt.* October. *From:* Spanish

octubre.

P - p

pa *interj.* speaker feels impressed.

=pa *ptcl.sec.* REP. See §16.3.4.

pa- *v.itr.* cry. *Variant:* **paa-**.

paa- *v.itr.* cry. *Variant:* **pa-**.

pabejerere *n.idpt.* toaster pan.

padredefamilia *n.idpt.* parent. *From:* Spanish *padre de familia.*

paē *n.idpt.* priest. *From:* Spanish *padre.*

paja *adj.attr.* white.

paja- *v.tr.* palm O, slap O with the palm.

paja- *da-adj.* white.

pajaka- *v.itr.* fall. *Variant:* **pakaka-**.

pajakwina- *v.itr.* slowly become white. *Morph:* **paja-kwina.**

pajana- *v.itr.* become very white. *Morph:* **paja-na.**

pajata- *v.itr.* become extremely white. *Morph:* **paja-ta.**

pajatsu- *v.itr.* begin to become white. *Morph:* **paja-tsu.**

paji- *da-adj.* hard (e.g., like tortoise shell).

pajitura- *v.tr.* make O hard. *Morph:* **paji-tura.**

pajitsu- *v.itr.* begin to become hard. *Morph:* **paji-tsu.**

pajuani *interj.* speaker disagrees.

paka- *v.tr.* hew O, cut O with an axe.

pakaka- *v.itr.* fall. *Variant:* **pajaka-**.

pakaratana- *v.itr.* move away.

pakaruku *qtf.* seven. *From:* Aymara *paqallqu.*

pakasha- *v.tr.* open O, unfasten O, unlock O, unbutton O. *From:* Quechua *paski- / paska- (?)*.

Pakawara *n.idpt.* Pacahuara person. Member of the Pacahuara ethnic group, linguistically possibly re-

lated to the Cavineñas (Panoan family). *From:* Spanish *Pacahuara.*

pana *v.modif.* PROPERLY. See §10.2.4.

Panchu *n.idpt.* Francisco. *From:* Spanish *Francisco.*

papa- *v.tr.* cover O with something, coat O with something, paint O with something. *Variant:* **pepa-**.

Paraíso *n.idpt.* Paraíso. Cavineña community. *From:* Spanish *Paraiso.*

paru- *v.tr.* hoe O (e.g., hoe weeds around a house).

pasa- *da-adj.* grey.

pasa ju- *v.itr.nif.* happen. *From:* Spanish *pasar.*

pasaje *n.idpt.* ticket. *From:* Spanish *pasaje.*

pasakwina- *v.itr.* slowly become grey. *Morph:* **pasa-kwina.**

pasatsu- *v.itr.* begin to become grey. *Morph:* **pasa-tsu.**

pasensha *n.idpt.* patience. *From:* Spanish *paciencia.*

patata- *v.itr.* drip.

patsa- *v.tr.* split O (e.g., split firewood).

patse- *da-adj.* bitter, salty.

-patse *e-noun.* bile.

patya *postp.* IN.MIDDLE.OF. See §14.4.8. *Variant:* **patyapatya.**

patyapatya *postp.* IN.MIDDLE.OF. See §14.4.8. *Variant:* **patya.**

peadya *qtf.* one.

pedepede ju- *v.itr.nif.* twitch (eg. arm muscle that twitches involuntarily).

pei- *v.tr.* fan O, blow air onto O.

pejiji- *v.itr.* lean (e.g., an old house

leaning).

pejupeju ju- *v.itr.nif.* cut with axe.
Syn: **taataa ju-**.

peke *postp.* AT.SIDE.OF. See §14.4.6.

peke- *v.tr.* carry O on one's side.

pelota *n.idpt.* ball. *From:* Spanish *pelota*.

pene- *v.tr.* cover O (e.g., a fallen tree covering the path), protect O.

pepa- *v.tr.* cover O with something, coat O with something, paint O with something. *Variant:* **papa-**.

pere *n.idpt.* 1) raft. 2) rack.

-pere *e-noun.* side (e.g., of a canoe), flank (e.g., of an animal).

pero *ptcl.idpt.* but. *From:* Spanish *pero*.

Peru *n.idpt.* Pedro. *From:* Spanish *Pedro*.

peseketana- *v.itr.* turn on the side.

pesitana- *v.itr.* flood.

peta- *v.tr.* look at O.

petutu- *v.itr.* boil.

petsa- *v.tr.* put O (e.g., clothes) in the sun to make it dry.

peya *qtf.* other.

peya- *v.tr.* make O cry.

peyainime *adj.idpt.* sad.

Peyuku *n.idpt.* Peyuku. *From:* Spanish *Pedro*.

pi *onom.* cry of maurí bird. *Variant:* **bui**.

pidi- *da-adj.* viscous (e.g., like mucus).

pidikwina- *v.itr.* slowly become viscous. *Morph:* **pidi-kwina**.

pidya *postp.* ONE.WHOLE. See §14.3.2.

pidya *v.modif.* ONCE. See §10.4.

=piisi *ptcl.phr.* JUST. See §17.2.7.

=piji *ptcl.phr.* DIM. See §17.2.11.

pijidyane *postp.* CLOSE.TO. See §14.4.9. *Syn:* **japadama**.

pika- *v.tr.* braid O (e.g., braid a lasso).

piloto *n.idpt.* pilot. *From:* Spanish

piloto.

pin *onom.* cry of any small bird.

pirichuchiwa *n.idpt.* snake species (unidentified).

piriri- *v.itr.* shiver.

piruri- *v.tr.* wrap something around O, tie something around O (e.g., tie a diaper around a baby's waist). *Variant:* **piruru**.

piruru- *v.tr.* wrap something around O, tie something around O (e.g., tie diapers around a baby's waist). *Variant:* **piruri-**.

pisisi- *v.itr.* drip from a small hole (?).

piskwa *onom.* cry of piscua bird.

pista *n.idpt.* airstrip. *From:* Spanish *pista*.

pisu *n.idpt.* floor. *From:* Spanish *piso*.

pisu- *v.tr.* untie O (e.g., untie a pair of oxen from the cart they are pulling).

pisusu *n.idpt.* iguana.

pishika *qtf.* five. *From:* Aymara *phisqa*.

-piti *e-noun.* neck.

pitikaru- *v.tr.* bite the neck of O. *Morph:* **piti-karu**.

pтитubu- *v.tr.* cut the neck of O. *Morph:* **piti-tubu**.

piya *n.idpt.* arrow.

piye- *v.tr.* imitate O (e.g., imitate the cry of an animal).

piyeju *ptcl.idpt.* by chance.

posta *n.idpt.* health post. *From:* Spanish *posta*.

Prado *n.idpt.* military post of El Prado. Located near the town of Riberalta, on the dirt highway to Guayaramerín. *From:* Spanish *Prado*.

prepara a- *v.tr.nif.* prepare O (e.g., prepare a dish). *From:* Spanish *preparar*.

presidente *n.idpt.* president. *From:*

- Spanish *presidente*.
- presta ju-** *v.dtr.nif.* lend O to O.
From: Spanish prestar.
- profeso** *n.idpt.* professor. *From: Spanish profesor.*
- puchari** *onom.* sound of water boiling.
- pude** *adj.idpt.* stupid.
- pude** *adj.attr.* red/brown.
- pude-** *v.tr.* 1) paint O red/brown. 2) paint O.
- pude-** *da-adj.* red/brown.
- pudekwina-** *v.itr.* slowly become red/brown. *Morph: pude-kwina.*
- pudena-** *v.itr.* become very red/brown. *Morph: pude-na.*
- pudetsu-** *v.itr.* begin to become red/brown. *Morph: pude-tsu.*
- pudi-** *v.tr.* pound O, press O (e.g., press a fruit to make its juice go out of it).
- pui** *n.idpt.* cicada. *Variant: kanapui.*
- pukaka-** *v.tr.* make O round, give O a round shape.
- pukaka-** *da-adj.* round.
- puki** *n.idpt.* small ant species (unidentified; perhaps a generic term).
- puku-** *v.tr.* crack O (e.g., crack an egg, a glass, etc.).
- puna** *e-noun.* female.
- punchu** *n.idpt.* poncho. *From: Spanish poncho.*
- pupi-** *v.tr.* clean O, scrub O, polish O (e.g., polish the handle of an axe).
- pupi-** *da-adj.* clean.
- pupu** *n.idpt.* owl.
- purapura** *adj.idpt.* spotty, with many spots (e.g., like the fur of a fawn).
- pure-** *da-adj.* astringent, taste of unripe fruits (e.g., taste of green banana).
- pureama** *adj.idpt.* happy.
- pureamatura-** *v.tr.* make O happy. *Morph: pureama-tura.*
- puri-** *v.tr.* poke O.
- puru-** *v.tr.* dig O (e.g., dig a hole).
- purupuru** *n.idpt.* ibis-like bird (unidentified).
- pusari** *n.idpt.* scissor-tailed nightjar (bird). *Hydropsalis torquata.*
- pusese** *n.idpt.* abscess. *From: Aymara or Quechua punki* 'to swell' (?).
- pusi** *interj.* speaker is amused.
- pusi** *e-noun.* penis.
- puskuruku** *qtf.* nine. *From: Aymara pusiqallqu.*
- pusha a-** *v.tr.nif.* lie to O.
- pushi** *qtf.* four. *From: Aymara pusi.*
- putaputa** *adj.idpt.* spotty, with many spots (e.g., like the skin of someone infected with smallpox).
- putisha-** *v.tr.* scare O off.
- putitana-** *v.itr.* get scared off.
- pututa-** *v.itr.* burst (e.g., tire bursting), detonate (e.g., shotgun detonating).
- putsutsu-** *v.itr.* lose the sensation (?).

Qu - qu

Quispe *n.idpt.* Quispe. *From: Spanish Quispe.*

R - r

- =ra** *sub.* PURP.MOT. See §18.4.
- =ra** *postp.* ERG. See §4.6.2.
- =ra** *sub.* CAUSE. See §18.5.1.
- rada-** *v.tr.* gather O (e.g., gather firewood), collect O, mass O.
- radio** *n.idpt.* shortwave radio transmitter. *From:* Spanish *radio*.
- rajj** *onom.* sound of vegetation moving.
- rajutana-** *v.itr.* detach (e.g., hammock detaching from its hook).
- rake-** *v.tr.* break O. Break hard material (e.g., break a stick, a bone, etc.). *From:* Quechua *raki* ‘to separate, to split off’ (?).
- rama-** *v.tr.* cover O with something (e.g., cover someone with a blanket).
- rami-** *da-adj.* fleshy.
- rami** *e-noun.* meat, flesh.
- Ramiku** *n.idpt.* Ramiku. *From:* Spanish *Ramiro*.
- Ramón** *n.idpt.* Ramón. *From:* Spanish *Ramón*.
- rapa** *n.idpt.* termite.
- rara-** *v.itr.* dry.
- rarara-** *v.itr.* dry.
- raru-** *v.tr.* cut O.
- rasu** *n.idpt.* lasso. *From:* Spanish *lazo*.
- rau** *n.idpt.* great white egret. *Ardea alba*.
- re** *dem.adv.* here.
- =re** *pron.bnd.* 3PROX.SG. See §15.2.2. *Variant:* =ri; =riya.
- recibi a-** *v.tr.nif.* receive O. *From:* Spanish *recibir*.
- refresco** *n.idpt.* soft drink. *From:* Spanish *refresco*.
- reke-** *v.tr.* 1) cross O (e.g., cross a stream). 2) make O cross (e.g., make a young child cross a stream), take O across. *Variant:* rike-.
- rekwana** *n.idpt.* this stuff here.
- rena** *pron.idpt.* 3PROX.PL. See §15.1.2.
- =rena** *pron.bnd.* 3PROX.PL. See §15.2.2.
- Reneku** *n.idpt.* Nestuku. *From:* Spanish *René*.
- repe-** *v.tr.* pull O horizontally (e.g., oxen pulling a cart).
- retse** *pron.idpt.* 3PROX.DL. See §15.1.2.
- =retse** *pron.bnd.* 3PROX.DL. See §15.2.2.
- reumatismo** *n.idpt.* rheumatism. *From:* Spanish *reumatismo*.
- reunion ju-** *v.itr.nif.* have a meeting. *From:* Spanish *reunión*.
- Reye** *n.idpt.* Reyes. Town on the dirt highway between Riberalta and La Paz, which used to be a Jesuit mission, Los Santos Reyes, where the Reyesano ethnic group was reduced at the beginning of the 18th century (and where some Reyesanos still live today). *From:* Spanish *Reyes*.
- ri** *onom.* cry of peccary.
- =ri** *pron.bnd.* 3PROX.SG. See §15.2.2. *Variant:* =re; =riya.
- ribariba** *n.idpt.* toasted corn flour.
- Riberalta** *n.idpt.* Riberalta. Important town located at the northernmost part of Bolivia, which concentrates most the economic activity of northern Bolivia. *From:* Spanish *Riberalta*.
- ribiribi** *adj.idpt.* wrinkled. *Variant:* jibijibi.
- rike-** *v.tr.* 1) cross O (e.g., cross stream). 2) make O cross (e.g.,

make a young child cross a stream), take O across. *Variant:* **reke-**

rikwa- *v.tr.* bark at O.

rikwirikwi- *v.itr.* twitch (eg. arm muscle that twitches involuntarily).

rikwisha- *v.tr.* startle O, make O tremble.

rikwitana- *v.itr.* startle, tremble.

rimu *n.idpt.* lemon. *From:* Spanish *limón*.

ri-ri- *v.itr.* rot.

ri-ru- *v.tr.* extend O, stretch O.

ri-si *n.idpt.* knot.

ri-si- *v.tr.* tie O, fasten O.

ri-wi- *v.itr.* fall.

ri-ya *dem.point.* here.

ri-ya *v.modif.* STARTLING. See §10.2.3.

ri-ya *pron.idpt.* 3PROX.SG. See §15.1.2.

=**ri-ya** *pron.bnd.* 3PROX.SG. See §15.2.2. *Variant:* =**ri**; =**re**.

riyabarepa *ptcl.idpt.* yesterday.

riyakama *ptcl.idpt.* now.

riyapiji *ptcl.idpt.* a little bit.

Roberto *n.idpt.* Roberto. *From:* Spanish *Roberto*.

Rosa *n.idpt.* Rosa. *From:* Spanish *Rosa*.

Rosalino *n.idpt.* Rosalino. *From:* Spanish *Rosalino*.

rubuiba *n.idpt.* maned wolf. *Chryso-*

cyon *brachyurus*. *Morph:*

rubu-iba. *From:* Spanish *lobo* ‘wolf’ and Cavineña **iba** ‘jaguar’.

rudurudu- *v.itr.* limp.

rujusha- *v.tr.* go through O (e.g., go through a forest), go across O, traverse O.

rujutana- *v.itr.* emerge (?). Exact meaning unclear (too few examples available).

ruke- *v.tr.* stir O (e.g., stir a fire).

rukwitana- *v.itr.* stretch.

rumu- *v.tr.* overturn O, capsize O.

-rumu *e-noun.* throat, front part of the neck.

rumupudi- *v.itr.* pound the throat of O, strangle O. *Morph:*

rumu-pudi.

rumutubu- *v.tr.* cut the throat of O. *Morph:* **rumu-tubu**.

runeshi *n.idpt.* Monday. *From:* Spanish *lunes*.

Rure *n.idpt.* Rurrenabaque. Important town at the foot of the Andes, where the dirt highway crosses the Beni river. *From:* Spanish *Rurrenabaque*.

rure- *v.tr.* carve O, make a hole in O.

rururu- *v.itr.* flow.

rutu- *v.tr.* poke O (e.g., poke a peccary inside its burrow with a stick to make it go out).

Ry - ry

ryu- *v.tr.* comb O.

S - s

sabu- *v.tr.* grasp O with one’s fingernails.

saka- *da-adj.* stinging (e.g., like the

hair of the tarantula).

sakwa- *v.tr.* pierce O, perforate O. *From:* Quechua *fi: sakwa* ‘to

- have sexual intercourse' (?).
- salon** *n.idpt.* rifle. *From:* Spanish *salón*.
- salteña** *n.idpt.* small pie made of meat and vegetables, sold and eaten in the streets in the morning. *From:* Spanish *salteña*.
- salva ju-** *v.itr.nif.* save oneself. *From:* Spanish *salvar*.
- sama-** *v.tr.* cure O, treat O. *From:* Quechua *sama* 'to stop', 'to rest' (?).
- samasamapuji** *n.idpt.* doctor. *Morph:* **sama-sama-puji**.
- sami-** *v.tr.* flatten O (e.g., flatten a basket).
- Samuku** *n.idpt.* Samuku. *From:* Spanish *Samuel*.
- SanMiguel** *n.idpt.* San Miguel. Cavineña community. *From:* Spanish *San Miguel*.
- SantaElena** *n.idpt.* Santa Elena. Cavineña community. *From:* Spanish *Santa Elena*.
- Santiago** *n.idpt.* Santiago. *From:* Spanish *Santiago*.
- SantoNico** *n.idpt.* Santo Nico. *From:* Spanish *Santo Nico*.
- sapa-** *v.tr.* boil O.
- sapara** *n.idpt.* small stick (?), finger (?). Meaning unclear.
- saparatana-** *v.itr.* startle with arms up.
- sapu** *n.idpt.* tambaqui. *Colossoma macroponum*.
- sare-** *v.tr.* look for O, search for O.
- saru-** *da-adj.* toasted.
- sarutana-** *v.itr.* break.
- sasa-** *da-adj.* fermented.
- sasana-** *v.itr.* become very fermented. *Morph:* **sasa-na**.
- sasu** *n.idpt.* trough mortar.
- sawa** *n.idpt.* trahira. *Hoplias malabaricus*.
- sawa** *adj.attr.* green/blue.
- sawa-** *v.tr.* paint O green/blue, dye O green/blue.
- sawa-** *da-adj.* green/blue, raw (meat).
- sawakwina-** *v.itr.* slowly become green/blue. *Morph:* **sawa-kwina**.
- sawana-** *v.itr.* become very green/blue. *Morph:* **sawa-na**.
- sawaru** *n.idpt.* Saturday. *From:* Spanish *sábado*.
- secretaria** *n.idpt.* secretary. *From:* Spanish *secretaria*.
- seka-** *v.dtr.* take O away from O, deprive O of O.
- semana** *n.idpt.* week. *From:* Spanish *semana*.
- Señor** *n.idpt.* Lord, God. *From:* Spanish *Señor*.
- señora** *n.idpt.* lady. *From:* Spanish *señora*.
- señorita** *n.idpt.* lady. *From:* Spanish *señorita*.
- sepere** *e-noun.* stream. *Variant:* **-spere**.
- sepiryune-** *v.tr.* brush O. *Morph:* **sepiryu-ne**. *From:* Spanish *cepillo* 'brush' and Cavineña **-ne** 'VBLZ'.
- sere** *e-noun.* intestine.
- Sergio** *n.idpt.* Sergio. *From:* Spanish *Sergio*.
- serwieju** *n.idpt.* elder. *From:* Spanish *ser viejo*.
- sesenta** *qtf.* sixty. *From:* Spanish *sesenta*.
- sewe** *adj.attr.* black.
- sewe-** *v.tr.* blacken O, paint O black.
- sewe-** *da-adj.* black.
- sewekwina-** *v.itr.* slowly become black. *Morph:* **sewe-kwina**.
- sewena-** *v.itr.* become very black. *Morph:* **sewe-na**.
- siba-** *da-adj.* sticky (e.g., like honey).
- siete** *qtf.* seven. *From:* Spanish *siete*.

- sigue a-** *v.tr.nif.* continue doing O.
From: Spanish sigue.
- siiji-** *v.tr.* absorb O (e.g., rug absorbing water).
- sika** *n.idpt.* squirrel cuckoo. *Piaya cayana.*
- sika-** *v.tr.* mass O (e.g., mass flour in order to make bread), gather O.
- sikaka-** *da-adj.* noisy.
- sikakatura-** *v.tr.* make O noisy.
Morph: sikaka-tura.
- silla** *n.idpt.* chair. *From: Spanish silla.*
- sipi-** *v.tr.* repair O, fix O.
- sipita-** *v.itr.* stick to something, be attached to something, cling to something (e.g., monkey clinging to someone's leg).
- sirara-** *v.tr.* undo O, remove O (e.g., remove the roof of a house).
- siri** *adj.attr.* old. See §13.2.2.4.
- siri-** *v.tr.* break O, tear O.
- sisewani** *n.idpt.* fog.
- sita-** *v.tr.* approach O (e.g., approach a game animal in order to shoot at it).
- situ** *n.idpt.* friend.
- situne-** *v.tr.* make O one's friend.
Morph: situ-ne.
- siu** *onom.* cry of dog.
- siwa** *n.idpt.* marsh deer. *Blastocerus dichotomus.*
- spere** *e-noun.* stream. *Variant: -sepere.*
- sudaru** *n.idpt.* soldier. *From: Spanish soldado.*
- sududu** *n.idpt.* capybara.
- suerte** *n.idpt.* luck. *From: Spanish suerte.*
- sukururu-** *v.itr.* drip (e.g., blood dripping from an injury).
- sura** *n.idpt.* jug.
- sururu** *n.idpt.* waterfall.
- susu-** *v.tr.* suck O (e.g., a baby sucking his mother's breast).
- suu** *n.idpt.* belly button, navel, umbilical cord.

Sh - sh

- shabi-** *da-adj.* tender, soft, smooth.
- shabita-** *v.itr.* become extremely tender/soft/smooth. *Morph: shabi-ta.*
- shabitura-** *v.tr.* make O tender/soft/smooth. *Morph: shabi-tura.*
- shajj** *onom.* sound of leaf falling.
- shaka-** *v.tr.* pull shaking O.
- =shana** *ptcl.sec.* PITY. See §16.3.9.
- shana-** *v.tr.* leave O, abandon O.
- shasha** *n.idpt.* flower that is nice enough to be used as ornament.
From: Quechua sisa 'blossom, flower(ing)'.
- sheishei** *n.idpt.* nocturnal cicada.
- shekwi** *n.idpt.* rhinoceros beetle.
- shikwi-** *v.tr.* scrub O (e.g., scrub a pan in order to clean it).
- shipi** *n.idpt.* eyebrow.
- shita** *n.idpt.* sugarcane.
- shitara** *n.idpt.* bag.
- shiwishiwi** *n.idpt.* wild duck species (unidentified). Known in local Spanish as patillo; described as being small, with a red/brown bill, a brown head and grey wings.
- shudiritana-** *v.itr.* slip.
- shukuta** *qtf.* six. *From: Aymara suxta.*
- shukwishukwi a-** *v.tr.nif.* giggle at O.
- shun** *onom.* cry of duck.
- shupushupu** *n.idpt.* cichlid fish spe-

cies (unidentified). *Cichlasoma* sp. Known in local Spanish as serepapa grande (big serepapa).
shura- *v.tr.* hang O (e.g., hang a pic-

ture on the wall).
shurumai *n.idpt.* bag.
shuwi *adj.idpt.* blind.

T - t

=**taa** *ptcl.sec.* EMPH. See §16.3.7.
taajj *onom.* sound of stick breaking.
taataa ju- *v.itr.nif.* cut with axe. *Syn:*
pejupeju ju-
tabubu *n.idpt.* hurricane, tornado.
tachi- *v.tr.* block O, obstruct O (e.g., obstruct the entrance of a peccary's burrow with sticks in order to prevent it from going out).
-tada *e-noun.* butt, buttocks.
tadada- *v.itr.* shiver.
tadata- *v.itr.* solidify, freeze, coagulate.
taji- *v.tr.* accompany O.
Tajibu *n.idpt.* Tajibu. Suburb of the town of Riberalta. *From:* Spanish *Tajibo*.
tajina *n.idpt.* rainbow.
tajita *n.idpt.* lightning.
tajj *onom.* sound of animal moving inside a hole. *Variant:* **drajj**.
=**taka** *postp.* ALONE. See §14.3.4.
taka- *v.tr.* peel O, skin O.
take- *v.tr.* hack O.
take- *v.tr.* step on O, put a foot on O.
takure *n.idpt.* chicken.
-takwa *e-noun.* palm (of hand or foot).
-takwa *e-noun.* liver.
takwiri *n.idpt.* calf.
taller *n.idpt.* workshop. *From:* Spanish *taller*.
tama *n.idpt.* calabash.
tapa *n.idpt.* lid. *From:* Spanish *tapa*.
-tapanana *e-noun.* new leaf.
tapeke *n.idpt.* trip food. *From:* Bolivian Spanish *tapeque*.
tarafa *n.idpt.* casting net. *From:*

Spanish *atarraya*.
taraka *n.idpt.* corral (for keeping cattle), fence (e.g., around a garden).
tarakane- *v.tr.* build a corral around O (e.g., build a corral around a plantation to protect it against cattle), fence O. *Morph:* **taraka-ne**.
tarara- *v.itr.* snore.
-tare *e-noun.* house, home, dwelling.
tarepe ju- *v.itr.nif.* visit.
tarepepuji *n.idpt.* someone who likes to visit their friends or relatives very often. *Morph:* **tarepe-puji**.
taru- *v.tr.* stir O (e.g., stir food in a pan to prevent it from burning).
tasatasa *n.idpt.* black ant species (unidentified). Known in local Spanish as *culilarga*.
tasi ju- *v.itr.nif.* drive a taxi. *From:* Spanish *taxi*.
tasha- *v.tr.* burst O, break O open.
tata *n.kin.* father. *From:* Old Spanish *tata* 'father', 'priest (vocative)'.
tata *n.idpt.* sir. *Variant:* **etata**.
tata- *v.tr.* nail O.
tatachi *n.idpt.* daddy.
tatapuji *n.kin.* stepfather.
tatiine *n.kin.* uncle (father's brother).
tatse *pron.idpt.* 3DL. See §15.1.2.
=**tatse** *pron.bnd.* 3DL. See §15.2.2.
tawi *n.idpt.* sleepiness.
tawi- *v.itr.* sleep.
tawi ju- *v.itr.nif.* dream.
tedi- *v.tr.* rub O.
tedu *n.idpt.* guan species. *Penelope*

- sp.* Turkey-like species known in local Spanish as pava roncadora.
- tee** *n.idpt.* garden, slash-and-burn garden, swidden.
- tee ju-** *v.itr.nif.* clear/make a slash-and-burn garden/swidden.
- tekwa-** *v.tr.* shoot O.
- temi-** *v.tr.* sweeten O (normally coca leaves). Process of sweetening the bitter taste of coca leaves one is chewing, by adding ashes from a particular plant into one's mouth.
- temu-** *da-adj.* stiff.
- temusha-** *v.tr.* raise O, breed O.
- temutsu-** *v.itr.* begin to become stiff.
Morph: temu-tsu.
- tepatu** *n.idpt.* leaf cutter ant.
- terati** *n.idpt.* beam. *From: Spanish tirante.*
- =tere** *ptcl.phr.* ONLY. See §17.2.6.
- tere-** *v.itr.* finish, end.
- teri-** *v.tr.* close O, shut O.
- tewa-** *v.tr.* hide O.
- Teyuku** *n.idpt.* Teyuku. *From: Spanish Elioterio.*
- tibabutya** *ptcl.idpt.* downriver.
- tibarirya-** *v.tr.* go around O.
- tibene** *postp.* BEHIND. See §14.4.4.
- tibi-** *v.tr.* detach O (e.g., detach the dead skin from an injury).
- Tibu** *n.idpt.* Tibu. *From: Araona Tibu.*
- =tibu** *sub.* REASON. See §19.3.
- tibu** *e-noun.* base (e.g., of a tree), foot, rear (e.g., of a canoe), bottom, back.
- tibune-** *v.tr.* start O, begin O. *Morph: tibu-ne.*
- tichira** *n.idpt.* container used to collect latex from the cut made on a rubber tree. *From: Spanish tichela.*
- tiempo** *n.idpt.* time. *From: Spanish tiempo.*
- tijerutana-** *v.itr.* step_back (?).
- tiki-** *v.tr.* punch O, poke O.
- tiki-** *da-adj.* shiny.
- tiki** *e-noun.* fire.
- tikikwina-** *v.itr.* slowly become bright. *Morph: tiki-kwina.*
- tikiritikiri ju-** *v.itr.nif.* gallop.
- tikwa-** *v.tr.* extinguish O (e.g., extinguish a fire), put out O, switch off O, turn off O.
- tima** *e-noun.* lower back.
- timatipuse** *n.idpt.* scorpion.
- time-** *da-adj.* thick (e.g., like chicha), dense.
- tin** *onom.* sound of action of grabbing.
- tinu-** *v.tr.* pull O (e.g., pull someone who has fallen into a ditch).
- tipare** *e-noun.* yard, field.
- tipesi** *n.idpt.* horsefly.
- tipirutana-** *v.itr.* turn upside down.
- tipirutipiru ju-** *v.itr.nif.* turn upside down.
- tipusetana-** *v.itr.* somersault ; jump and make a loop ; loop, jump and make a ; somersault, jump and make a loop in the air.
- tiri** *e-noun.* root.
- tiriri** *n.idpt.* spider.
- tiritiri** *adj.idpt.* with many roots.
- tiritiri** *n.idpt.* traditional dance.
- tiru-** *v.itr.* burn.
- turya-** *v.tr.* finish O, end O. *Morph: tere-a.*
- tisaiyuka** *n.idpt.* vermilion flycatcher. *Pyrocephalus rubinus.*
- tisu** *e-noun.* rope, string, strap.
- tisune-** *v.tr.* put a strap on O (e.g., put a strap on a bunch of bananas to carry them). *Morph: tisu-ne.*
- torta** *n.idpt.* cake. *From: Spanish torta.*
- tractor** *n.idpt.* tractor. *From: Spanish tractor.*

tronca *n.idpt.* log. *From:* Spanish *tronca*.

trosadora *n.idpt.* handsaw. *From:* Spanish *trosadora*.

tu *dem.adv.* there.

tu *pron.idpt.* 3SG. See §15.1.2. *Variant:* **tua**.

=tu *pron.bnd.* 3SG. See §15.2.2.

tua *pron.idpt.* 3SG. See §15.1.2. *Variant:* **tu**.

tubu- *v.tr.* cut O, chop O.

-tuchaki *e-noun.* twig.

tuchakine- *v.tr.* put a twig on O (e.g., put a twig on a mosquito net to make it stand). *Morph:* **tuchaki-ne**.

tudya *ptcl.idpt.* then.

tuekedy *ptcl.idpt.* then, next.

tujj *onom.* sound of shooting a gun.

tujuri *n.idpt.* mosquito net.

tuku *onom.* sound of bone breaking.

tukwana *n.idpt.* that stuff there.

=tukwe *ptcl.sec.* CONT.EVID. See §16.3.3.

tume *ptcl.idpt.* then.

tume *dem.point.* there. *Variant:* **tumi**.

tumebae *ptcl.idpt.* also.

tumepatya *ptcl.idpt.* at that time (long ago).

tumi *n.idpt.* motacú palm. *Scheelea princeps*.

tumi *dem.point.* there. *Variant:* **tume**.

Tumichucua *n.idpt.* Tumichucua. Community located near the town of Riberalta. Tumichucua used to be the headquarters of the Summer Institute of Linguistics between the fifties and the eighties. *From:* Spanish *Tumichucua*.

tuna *pron.idpt.* 3PL. See §15.1.2.

=tuna *pron.bnd.* 3PL. See §15.2.2.

tunka *qtf.* ten. *From:* Aymara *tunka*.

tupari *n.idpt.* chicha, traditional beer, fermented beverage made of corn or manioc.

tupu *adj.idpt.* sufficient, enough.

=tupu *postp.* UP.TO. See §14.2.6.

tupu- *v.tr.* follow O.

tupuju *postp.* FOLLOWING. See §14.4.4.

туру *adj.attr.* big male.

туру *n.idpt.* bull. *From:* Spanish *toro*.

tutsu- *v.tr.* sew O, attach O.

tuyu *adj.idpt.* straight.

tuyune- *v.tr.* straighten O (e.g., straighten a crooked road). *Morph:* **tuyu-ne**.

Ts - ts

tsa- *v.itr.* laugh. *Variant:* **tsaa-**.

tsa- *da-adj.* scarce.

-tsa *e-noun.* flower (of any plant, whether nice or not).

tsaa- *v.itr.* laugh. *Variant:* **tsa-**.

tsabuna *n.idpt.* peacock bass (fish). *Cichla ocellaris*.

tsajaja- *v.itr.* run.

tsajj *onom.* sound of shooting an arrow.

-tsaka *e-noun.* leg.

tsakatubu- *v.tr.* cut the leg of O.

Morph: **tsaka-tubu**.

tsape- *v.tr.* spread O (e.g., spread rice on the ground to make it dry).

-tsapuna *e-noun.* brain.

-tsaru *e-noun.* body hair.

tsarumutsu- *v.tr.* pull the hair of O. *Morph:* **tsaru-mutsu**.

tsarutsaru *adj.idpt.* hairy, with a lot of hair.

tsatura- *v.tr.* make O laugh. *Morph:* **tsa-tura**.

tsatsa *n.idpt.* cacaré bird (unidenti-

- fied). Black bird that sings when it sees people.
- tsau-** *da-adj.* with many bones.
- tsau** *e-noun.* bone.
- tsawa-** *v.tr.* help O.
- tse** *e-noun.* tooth.
- tseka-** *da-adj.* discontinuous (e.g., like the cry of the howler monkey), loose (e.g., like the way certain mats are braided), spaced.
- tseke-** *da-adj.* rough (e.g., like the skin of certain fish).
- tsekwe** *postp.* OUTSIDE. See §14.4.3.
- tsekwe** *e-noun.* outside, outside area of a house, area around a house that is kept cleaned from the constantly invading forest.
- tsena** *e-noun.* worm, hairy worm, caterpillar, parasitic worm that nests under the skin.
- tseri-** *da-adj.* fat.
- tseri** *e-noun.* fat.
- tserikwina-** *v.itr.* slowly become fat. *Morph: tseri-kwina.*
- tseritsu-** *v.itr.* begin to become fat. *Morph: tseri-tsu.*
- =tsewe** *postp.* ASSOC. See §14.2.1.
- tseweki** *adj.idpt.* sibling. *Morph: tsewe-ki.*
- Tsimi** *n.idpt.* Tsimi. *From: Araona*
- Tsimi.*
- tsudi** *n.idpt.* nine-banded armadillo. *Dasypus novemcinctus.*
- tsuijiniki** *n.idpt.* traditional braided mat.
- tsuje** *e-noun.* price, value.
- tsujeari-** *da-adj.* expensive. *Morph: tsuje-ari.*
- tsujebaka-** *v.dtr.* charge O O. *Morph: tsuje-baka.*
- tsujetya-** *v.dtr.* pay O to O. *Morph: tsuje-tya.*
- tsujj** *interj.* signal uttered when discovering enemies nearby.
- tsuku** *postp.* AT.CORNER.OF. See §14.4.5.
- tsuku** *e-noun.* 1) hip. 2) corner.
- tsume-** *v.tr.* use O, utilize O.
- tsunu-** *da-adj.* long (time).
- tsunumee** *sub.* WHILE. See §19.6.3.
- tsunuta-** *v.itr.* take time. *Morph: tsunu-ta.*
- tsupu** *onom.* sound of something falling in water. *Variant: kubu.*
- tsura-** *v.itr.* go up, ascend, go upriver.
- tsure** *e-noun.* handle (e.g., of an axe, a hoe, a knife, etc.).
- tsuri** *e-noun.* sound, voice, noise.
- tsuru-** *v.tr.* meet O, encounter O.

Ty - ty

- tya-** *v.dtr.* give O to O.
- tyakariri** *n.idpt.* gecko. *Hemidactylus mabouia.*
- tyana-** *v.tr.* cap O.
- tyubu** *adj.idpt.* short.
- tyunu** *n.idpt.* worm, parasitic worm that lives in the intestines or excrements.
- tyuwi** *n.idpt.* nape.

U - u

- u** *coord.* or. *From: Spanish o.*
- uba** *n.idpt.* foam.
- ubuubu ju-** *v.itr.nif.* forage, search for food with one's snout (e.g., pec-

- cary searching for food in the ground with its snout).
- uda-** *v.tr.* light O up, shine light on O.
- ude** *n.idpt.* light.
- udu-** *v.tr.* cook O on a rack.
- ududu** *n.idpt.* feather.
- uje-** *da-adj.* painful.
- ujeje** *n.idpt.* disease.
- ujeje-** *da-adj.* sick.
- ujeje ju-** *v.itr.nif.* be sick.
- ujepa** *interj.* speaker is angry.
- ujera** *adj.idpt.* painful.
- ujera** *n.idpt.* pain.
- uji** *n.kin.* older brother. *Variant:* **usi**.
- ujuuju ju-** *v.itr.nif.* cough. *From:* Quechua *uhu* (?).
- uke** *n.idpt.* heat.
- uke** *adj.attr.* hot.
- uke-** *da-adj.* hot.
- ukekwina-** *v.itr.* slowly become hot. *Morph:* **uke-kwina**.
- ukena-** *v.itr.* become very hot. *Morph:* **uke-na**.
- uketsu-** *v.itr.* begin to become hot. *Morph:* **uke-tsu**.
- ukwa** *n.kin.* nephew.
- uma-** *da-adj.* many, numerous, in a great quantity.
- umada** *qtf.* many, numerous, a lot of. *Syn:* **jetiama**.
- umae** *qtf.* few.
- umajapurari** *n.idpt.* firefly.
- umakwina-** *v.itr.* slowly become numerous. *Morph:* **uma-kwina**.
- umana-** *v.itr.* become very numerous. *Morph:* **uma-na**.
- umashi** *n.idpt.* nickname.
- umashine-** *v.tr.* give O a nickname. *Morph:* **umashi-ne**.
- una** *n.idpt.* clothes, dress.
- una** *qtf.* one. *From:* Spanish *una*.
- uno** *qtf.* one. *From:* Spanish *uno*.
- upati** *n.idpt.* animal. Generic term for any wild animal that lives above the ground (e.g., birds, monkeys, etc.).
- upatiwiri** *n.idpt.* small bird (generic). *Morph:* **upati-wiri**.
- ura** *n.idpt.* hour, time. *From:* Spanish *hora*.
- ura-** *v.itr.* dry.
- ura-** *da-adj.* dry.
- urekada a-** *v.tr.nif.* tease O.
- urisha-** *v.tr.* soften O (e.g., soften hard meat by boiling it a long time, to make it more edible).
- uru** *n.idpt.* blue-crowned motmot (bird). *Momotus momota*.
- Uruka** *n.idpt.* Uruka. *From:* Spanish *Olga*.
- usi** *n.kin.* older brother. *Variant:* **uji**.
- ushuri** *adj.idpt.* skinny. *From:* Ay-mara *usuri* 'ill'.
- ushuta-** *v.itr.* deflate.
- utsa-** *v.tr.* wash O.
- utsekwa** *n.kin.* grandchild (male or female). *Variant:* **ketsekwa**.
- uu** *n.idpt.* domestic animal.
- uu-** *da-adj.* tasty.
- uune-** *v.tr.* raise O as a domestic animal. *Morph:* **uu-ne**.
- uutura-** *v.tr.* give O a good taste, enhance the taste of O. *Morph:* **uu-tura**.
- uwa** *n.idpt.* solid ground.
- uwa-** *v.tr.* plant O.
- uwi** *n.idpt.* mole, beauty spot, stain on the body.
- uwi-** *v.tr.* whistle at O.
- uyu-** *da-adj.* muddy.
- uyuuyu** *n.idpt.* mud.

V - v

Vaca *n.idpt.* Vaca. *From:* Spanish Vaca.

vacación *n.idpt.* vacation. *From:* Spanish *vacación*.

vaso *n.idpt.* glass. *From:* Spanish *vaso*.

veinte *qff.* twenty. *From:* Spanish *veinte*.

veinticinco *qff.* twenty five. *From:* Spanish *veinticinco*.

visita a- *v.tr.nif.* visit O, pay a visit to O. *From:* Spanish *visitar*.

vitamina *n.idpt.* vitamin. *From:* Spanish *vitamina*.

Vitu *n.idpt.* Victor. *From:* Spanish *Victor*.

W - w

waburasa *n.idpt.* collared peccary. *Tayassu tajacu*.

waburasapuji *n.idpt.* (dog) good at hunting collared peccaries.

waburu *n.idpt.* white-lipped peccary. *Tayassu pecari*.

-wachi *e-noun.* foot. *Variant:* **-wasi**.

wachiwachi *adj.idpt.* with many feet (e.g., like a centipede).

waja *n.idpt.* honey.

waja *n.idpt.* bee.

waja- *da-adj.* sweet.

waka *n.idpt.* cow. *From:* Spanish *vaca*.

wakaba *n.idpt.* hoe.

wakarare *n.idpt.* sucuhua tree (unidentified). Known in local Spanish as sucuhua; said to have a lot of sap.

waku *n.idpt.* bench. *From:* Spanish *banco*.

wana- *v.tr.* lay O (e.g., lay someone on a bed).

wana- *v.itr.* escape, flee.

wane *n.kin.* wife.

wani *n.idpt.* smoke, smell.

wani- *da-adj.* smelly (e.g., like the unpleasant smell of the sweat of the human body or the smell of various animals like the porcupine).

wanuwanu *n.idpt.* bee species.

wanya- *v.tr.* marry O. *Morph:* **wane-a**.

waparikwama *n.idpt.* tinamou species (unidentified). Known in local Spanish as perdiz.

wapatana- *v.itr.* pierced (be) (?).

waraji *n.idpt.* chief, authority, leader.

warasha *n.idpt.* bridge. *From:* Spanish *guaracha*.

warashane- *v.tr.* make a bridge over O (e.g., a stream), provide O with a bridge. *Morph:* **warasha-ne**.

warawara *n.idpt.* forest coca (unidentified). Plant that grows in the forest and is used like coca.

warere- *v.itr.* turn.

warya- *v.tr.* make O turn.

-wasi *e-noun.* foot. *Variant:* **-wachi**.

watsutsu *n.idpt.* whirlpool.

wau- *v.tr.* mix O (e.g., mix rice with manioc in order to prepare tamale).

Wayara *n.idpt.* Guayaramerín. Important town on the border with Brazil. *From:* Spanish *Guayaramerín*.

wede *n.idpt.* ditch.

wejita- *v.itr.* fold and dangle (e.g., rice ear folding and dangling when it

is ripe).

weka *n.idpt.* light.

weka- *da-adj.* bright, shiny.

wekaka *n.idpt.* day.

wekaka- *v.itr.* be at dawn.

wekakape *n.idpt.* following day.

wekasha- *v.tr.* make O remember.

wekatura- *v.tr.* illuminate O. *Morph:* **weka-tura.**

wenana- *v.itr.* become nervous/agitated.

wenana- *da-adj.* nervous, agitated.

wene- *v.tr.* draw O (e.g., draw a motif on a jug), write O (e.g., write letters on a sheet of paper).

-wene *e-noun.* design, motif.

wenenu *n.idpt.* venom. *From:* Spanish *veneno.*

wenewene *n.idpt.* letter from the alphabet.

weni *n.idpt.* agility.

weni- *v.itr.* go vigorously.

weni- *da-adj.* vigorous, fast, agile, supple, strong, energetic, bouncy.

wenikwina- *v.itr.* slowly become vigorous. *Morph:* **weni-kwina.**

weruru *n.idpt.* sweat.

weruru- *v.itr.* sweat.

wesa- *v.tr.* lift O.

wesiruru- *v.itr.* swing.

wetana *n.idpt.* window. *From:* Spanish *ventana.*

wetsa- *v.tr.* cut O.

-wi *e-noun.* beak.

wiatsura *ptcl.idpt.* upriver.

Wichiki *n.idpt.* Wichiki.

=wie *sub.* JUST.BEFORE. See §18.5.2.

wija- *v.itr.* sprout (for a plant).

-wija *e-noun.* (plant) shoot.

wijitu- *v.tr.* block O, obstruct O (e.g., obstruct the entrance of a peccary's burrow with sticks in order to prevent it from going out).

wika *n.idpt.* hook.

wika- *v.tr.* extract (e.g., extract a hook from the mouth of a fish, a thorn from a toe, etc.), remove O, take O out.

wikamutya ju- *v.itr.nif.* fish with line and hook. *Morph:* **wika-mutya ju.**

-wikani *e-noun.* nose. *Morph:* **wi-kani.**

-wikwabu *e-noun.* tip (e.g., of a canoe, of the nose).

-wimumu *e-noun.* snout.

wimumurisi- *v.tr.* tie the snout of O, muzzle O, put a bridle around the snout of O. *Morph:* **wimumu-risi.**

wini *n.idpt.* beeswax.

wini- *da-adj.* sticky.

wipuchitana *n.idpt.* bow.

wipuchitana- *v.itr.* bow.

wira *n.idpt.* urine.

wira- *v.itr.* urinate, pee.

wirakucha *n.idpt.* white man, mestizo, gentleman. *From:* Quechua *wiraqucha* 'gentleman, mestizo' (originally a god name).

wiri *adj.attr.* tiny. See §13.2.2.2.

wiri- *da-adj.* tiny.

wiriri *n.idpt.* small tinamou species (unidentified). Known in local Spanish as *perdiz.*

wirisi- *v.tr.* tie the neck of O (e.g., of a bag). *Morph:* **wi-risi.**

wiru- *v.tr.* scatter O (e.g., threshed corn on the ground to feed the poultry).

wirya- *v.tr.* be bored with O.

wisha- *v.tr.* shake O (e.g., shake a tree to make its fruits fall).

witiki- *v.tr.* punch the nose of O. *Morph:* **wi-tiki.**

witisi *n.idpt.* razor-billed curassow. *Mitu tuberosa.*

-witu *e-noun*. tip (e.g., of a knife, a finger, the tongue, etc.).

witukuwituku *n.idpt.* small bird species (unidentified). Has a yellow chest.

witukweru- *v.tr.* make the tip of O pointed (e.g., of a stick, a pencil, etc.). *Morph:* **witu-kweru**.

-witsana *e-noun*. headwaters.

wiwipa *n.idpt.* eagle.

Y - y

y *coord.* and. *From:* Spanish *y*.

yaabakwa *n.idpt.* pucarara viper.

Morph: **yaa-bakwa**.

yachi *n.idpt.* pampa, grassland, savannah.

yana a- *v.tr.nif.* obey O. *Morph:* **y-ana**.

yanakana *ptcl.idpt.* in vain, for nothing. *From:* Quechua *yanqa* or Aymara *ina*.

yanume *n.idpt.* deceased person.

yapapa *e-noun* (?). lush vegetation.

yarapesiki *e-noun* (?). shoulder blade.

yaratupu *ptcl.idpt.* for a short while.

yatse *pron.idpt.* 1DL. See §15.1.2.

=yatse *pron.bnd.* 1DL. See §15.2.2.

yawa *n.idpt.* ground, earth, land, territory.

yu *dem.adv.* over there.

yuama *adj.idpt.* bad, mean, evil, wicked.

yuamatura- *v.tr.* damage O (e.g., birds damaging plant sprouts in a garden). *Morph:* **yuama-tura**.

judijidya *ptcl.idpt.* again, once more.

yuketibene *postp.* FAR-THER.BEHIND. See §14.4.4.

yukeneri *adj.idpt.* intelligent.

yukwana *n.idpt.* that stuff over there.

yume *v.modif.* IMMEDIATELY. See §10.2.2.

yume *dem.point.* over there. *Variant:* **yumi**.

yumi *dem.point.* over there. *Variant:* **yume**.

yuneri ju- *v.itr.nif.* be right, say the truth.

yupu- *v.tr.* take O off, tear O off.

Yusu *n.idpt.* God. *From:* Spanish *Dios*.

yusurupai *interj.* thank you. *From:* Spanish *Spanish Dios se lo pague* 'May God pay you for it'.

yusurupai a- *v.tr.nif.* thank O. *From:* Spanish *Dios se lo pague* 'May God pay you for it'.

yusususu *n.idpt.* idol. *Morph:* **yusu-yusu**.

yuta *adj.idpt.* entire, complete.

3. English-Cavineña index

1, 2, 3

1DL	yatse; =yatse.	3DL	ekatse; tatse; =tatse.
1PL	ekwana; =ekwana.	3PL	ekana; tuna; =tuna.
1SG	e; ea; i; =e; =i.	3PROX.DL	retse; =retse.
2DL	metse; =metse.	3PROX.PL	rena; =rena.
2PL	mikwana; =mikwana.	3PROX.SG	riya; =re; =ri; =riya.
2SG	mi; mia; =mi.	3SG	tu; tua; =tu.
3	=ke.		

A - a

abandon	jaka-; shana-.	agouti	mada.
ABOVE	idyake.	aground, run	kareta-.
Abranchu	Abranchu.	airstrip	pista.
abscess	pusese.	Akapu	Akapu.
absent, be	jakacha ju-.	alcohol	enajewe.
absorb	siiji-.	Alejandro	Alejandro.
accept	accepta a-.	alert, be	kainimeti-; kanimeti-.
accident, have an	kadyati-.	algodoncillo tree	jarere.
accompany	taji-.	alive	chacha.
account, take into	caso a-.	all	dutya.
accustomed to, be	bawene-.	ALMOST	=jipencee.
across, take	reke- (2); rike- (2).	ALONE	=taka.
add	ada-.	alphabet	nusanusa.
Adela	Adela.	also	tumebae.
adolescent	eweebari.	Alto Ivón, community of	AltoIvón.
adopted daughter	bakujunapuji.	ambaibo tree	arana.
adopted son	bakwapuji.	ambush, lie in	kawashiri-; kawa- shiri-; kawashiri-.
advantage of, take	aprovecha a-.	anaconda	mapisi.
affect	a- (1); a- (3).	and	jadya; y.
afternoon, good	bastare.	angry, get	kawaiti-.
afternoon, in the	barepatyawesuta.	ani, smooth-billed (bird)	burinapa.
again	yudijidya.	animal, domestic	uu.
aggressive	mure-.	animal, wild (that lives above the ground)	upati.
agile	weni-.	animal, wild (that lives on the ground)	kwanubi.
agility	weni.	animal's resting place	ejarakware.
agitated	wenana-.	ankle	etibukuru.
agitated, be	kijawati-.		
agitated, become	wenana-.		
ago, long	beru.		

annoy	masatura-	ascend	tsura-
ant, bullet	buna.	Ascension fiesta	Asunta.
ant, leaf cutter	tepatu.	ashamed, be	bisu-
ant, madidi	bututu.	ashamed, make	bisutura-
ant, small (sp.)	puki.	ashes	etikimuru.
ant (sp.)	tasatasa.	ashes, become	muruta-
anteater, lesser	bei.	ask for	baka-; bakadura-
Antoni	Antoni.	assai palm	muu.
Antonio	Antonio.	assistant	etsawaki.
Antuku	Antuku.	ASSOC	=tsewe.
Apechu	Apechu.	astrigent	pure-
approach	jipe-; jipetana-; sita-	at night	meta.
APPROX	=dyane.	AT.CORNER.OF	tsuku.
Araona person	Arauna.	AT.EDGE.OF	jiruru.
arduous	masa-	AT.SIDE.OF	peke.
area	-majaka.	attach	tutsu-
arm	-bi.	attached, be	sipita-
arm of, cut	bitubu-	ATT.GETTER	ita.
armadillo, nine-banded	tsudi.	aunt (father's sister)	nene.
armadillo quirquincho	metebaba.	aunt (mother's sister)	kwaine.
armpit	inyukwija.	aunty (father's sister)	nenechi.
arms, help with one's	medeke-	Australia, community of	Australia.
arrange	bajeje-; bajiji-	authority	waraji.
arrow	piya.	avenge	kware-
Arteaga	Arteaga.	Awiku	Awiku.
artery	enjukani.	axe	jacha.
as far as	hasta.		

B - b

babassu palm	epidi.	balsa tree	biji.
baby	nana; nana-	banana	budari.
baby animal	jabakwa.	banana, sweet	kashi.
back	-bebakwa; -tibu.	bananas, grove of	budarikini.
back, lower	-tima.	banks	-jiruru.
back of the knee	etikune.	banks, elevated river	etiwesu.
bad	yuama.	Banzer	Banzer.
bag	bolsa; maletero; mariku; mochila; shitara; shuru- mai.	barbarian	makei.
bait	emiwaki.	Barbarita	Barbarita.
bait, put as	emiwaki a-	barbasco, fish with	atsa ju-
ball	pelota.	barbasco (plant or poison)	atsa.
balloon	kujakuja.	bark	-biti.
		bark at	rikwa-
		bark strap	misa.

barracks	cuartel.	Beni river	Beni.
base	-tibu.	bentón (fish)	sawa.
basket	jiti.	berry	-kaka (1).
bass, peacock (fish)	tsabuna.	betray	ijawe a-.
bat	bina.	better, get	jietana-.
bat, small (sp.)	diibina.	better, make	jiesha-.
bathe	nawi-.	Biata river	Biata; Diata.
bather, good	nawipuji.	big	ari-; ebari.
bathing place	enawikware; enawitiki.	big and unique	baba.
battery	batería.	big, become very	arina-.
Batuku	Batuku.	big, make	aritura-.
be	ju- (1); ju- (3).	big male	туру.
be pierced	wapatana-.	bile	-patse.
beach, river	mejiji.	bird, blue-crowned motmot	uru.
beak	-wi.	bird, cacaré	tsatsa.
beam	dudu; terati.	bird, cacique	kwaju.
beard	kwesa.	bird, great white egret	rau.
beast	bicho.	bird, guan	jaajaa; tedu.
beat	katsa-.	bird, horned screamer	kutarau.
beautiful	jidapiji.	bird, nambú tinamou	bunyari.
be+CAUS	akere-; amere-.	bird, razor-billed curassow	witisi.
bed	catre.	bird, scissor-tailed nightjar	pusari.
bed, river	-jirikini.	bird, small (generic)	chai; upatiwiri.
bedding	etawiki.	bird, smooth-billed ani	burinapa.
bee	waja; wanuwanu.	bird species, small	witukuwituku.
beer, traditional	tupari.	bird, squirrel cuckoo	sika.
beeswax	wini.	bird, tinamou	buni; waparikwama; wiriri.
beetle, rhinoceros	shekwi.	bird, trumpeter	jeme.
before	beru.	bird, vermilion flycatcher	tisai- yuka.
begin	tibune-.	Biri	Biri.
BEHIND	tibene.	birth, give	kwina-.
belief	kejeneti.	birth to, give	kwina-.
believe	ejene-.	bite	karu-.
believe in	ejene-.	bite, a/the	kati.
believer	creyente.	bite the hand of	metukukaru-.
bell	kapana.	bite the neck of	pitikaru-.
belly	ekarekani.	bitter	patse-.
belly button	suu.	black	sewe; sewe-.
belt	dure.	black, become very	sewena-.
belt maker, good	durepuji.	black, slowly become	sewekwina-.
bench	waku.	blacken	sewe-.
bend, a/the	benu.	blade, shoulder	yarapesiki.
bends, with many	benubenu.		

- blaze **juju-**
 bleed **amiku-**
 blind **shuwi.**
 blisters, have **kujuta-**
 block **tachi-; wijitu-**
 blood **ami.**
 bloom **etsa ju-; kashashati-; katsati-**
 blossom **etsa ju-; kashashati-; katsati-**
 blow air **pei-**
 blue-crowned motmot (bird) **uru.**
 BM **amena.**
 body **-kwita.**
 boil, a/the **chadi.**
 boil, to **petutu-; sapa-**
 Bolivar, Cavineña community of **Bolivar.**
 bone **-tsau.**
 bones, with many **tsau-**
 bonnet **churu.**
 book **kirika.**
 book, learning **cartilla.**
 border **-jiruru.**
 bored with, be **wirya-**
 born, be **kwinana-**
 born, recently **nana; nana-**
 bottle **litro (2).**
 bottom **-busu; -tibu.**
 bouncy **weni-**
 bow, a/the (for showing respect) **wipuchitana.**
 bow (for shooting arrows) **etununu.**
 bow, to **wipuchitana-**
 box **cajón.**
 bract, peduncular **-bakwa.**
 braid **pika-**
 brain **-tsapuna.**
 branch **-aa.**
 branch of, cut the **aatubu-**
 Brazil, country of **Brasil.**
 brazil nut **muke.**
 brazil nuts, grove of **mukekini.**
 brazilian cherry **atsaka.**
 break **buri-; rake-; sarutana-; siri-**
 break down **kayumati-**
 break open **tasha-**
 breast **atsu.**
 breath **kana-; kanajeti-**
 breathing **kana; kanajeti.**
 breed **temusha-**
 bridge **warasha.**
 bridge, make a **warashane-**
 bright **weka-**
 bright, slowly become **tikikwina-**
 bring **be-**
 broom **ebubuki.**
 brother in Christ **hermano.**
 brother, little **dekachu.**
 brother, older **uji; usi.**
 brother, younger **jau; ju.**
 brother-in-law **chai.**
 brother-in-law (husband's brother) **awiine.**
 brother-in-law (sister's husband) **jakwi.**
 brush **sepiryune-**
 bubble **muriri-**
 bug, tiny **bia.**
 bull **туру.**
 bullet ant **buna.**
 bump into **chika-**
 burn **jiji-; juju-; tiru-**
 burp, to **beji-**
 burst **pututa-; tasha-**
 burt, a/the **beji.**
 bus **flota.**
 but **pero.**
 butt **-tada.**
 butterfly **japipi.**
 buttocks **-tada.**
 buy **kemi- (2).**
 by chance **piyeju.**

C - c

cabbage palm	muu.	charque	chariki.
cacaré (bird)	tsatsa.	chase	aaje-.
cacique (bird)	kwaju.	chase, make	kujemere-.
caiman (or yacare)	matuja.	Chácobo person	Chakubu.
cake	torta.	cheat on	engaña a-.
calabash	tama.	cheek	etamu.
calf	takwiri.	cheek flesh	etamurami.
call	iwara-.	cheer on	kuje-.
camp	etawikware.	cheperequi tree	bakwakwi.
candy	confite.	chest	-akwa.
canoe	kwaba.	chew	kuru-.
cap	tyana-.	chicha	tupari.
capsize	rumu-.	chicken	takure.
capuchin monkey	aja.	chief	ekwari; waraji.
capybara	sududu.	chigger	chiwe.
care of, take	naru-.	chiggers, with many	chiwechiwe.
Carlos	Carlos.	child	bakwa; ebakwa.
carry	abu-.	child, small	ebakwapiji.
carry on one's shoulder	mapa-.	child/children, have (a)	kabakwati-.
carry on one's side	peke-.	chilli	biju.
carrying nothing	mema.	chin	ekweduku.
cart	karetu.	chip	kwasha-.
cart maker, good	karetupuji.	chive	emiwe.
carve	rure-.	chive, make	emiwe ju-.
cassava	kwawe.	choke	kajirutiti-.
casting net	tarafa.	chonta palm	abari.
cat	mishi.	chontilla palm	aba.
catch	ina-; kemi- (1).	chop	kwere-; tubu-.
caterpillar	nyuwiri.	church	irisha.
catfish, flatwhiskered	budarijae.	cicada	kanapui; pui; sheishei.
catfish, granulated	kuyukuyu.	CIRABO	CIRABO.
catfish, tiger	chirije.	claw	-meshuru.
CAUSE	=ra.	clay	mechi.
Cavador, community of	Cavador.	clean	pupi-; pupi-.
Cavinas, community of	Cavina.	clearing	epedeta.
Cavineña person	Cavineño.	cling	sipita-.
ceiling gutter	eweji.	close	teri-.
center, rubber	mani (2).	CLOSE.TO	japadama; pijidyane.
chair	silla.	cloth	ejutuki.
chance, by	piyeju.	clothes	una.
change	kware-.	coagulate	kakaditi-.
charge	tsujebaka-.	coat	papa-; pepa-.

coati	jukuri.	crack	huri-; puku.
coca, forest	warawara.	created, recently	nana; nana.
coffee	kape.	criminal	kiyetipuji.
coil up	iyumata.	criticize	ejebucha a.
cold	ba.	crop, bird	-miwekaka.
cold, become very	bane.	cross, make	reke- (2); rike- (2).
cold, slowly become	bakwina.	cross, to	reke- (1); rike- (1).
collect	mepe-; rada.	crushed, be	kwamitana.
comadre	kumari.	cry	pa-; paa.
comb	ryu.	cry (?)	kanana.
come	kabeti.	cry for	enapa.
come across	dadi.	cry, make	peya.
come permanently	jeti.	cry of anteater	jeej.
come temporarily	je.	cry of any small bird	pin.
comfort	nimearitura.	cry of capuchin monkey	jeu.
community	epu; kumunida.	cry of cow	muu.
compadre	kupari.	cry of cuyabo bird	ajj; kwajj.
complete	yuta.	cry of dog	jau; kwee; siu.
COND	=ke juatsu.	cry of duck	shun.
confound	kujisha.	cry of mauri bird	bui; pi.
console	nimearitura.	cry of peccary	ri.
container	ekiniki; tichira.	cry of pig	kwi.
contaminate	adya.	cry of piscua bird	chi; piskwa.
CONT.EVID	=tukwe.	cub	jabakwa.
continue	sigue a-.	cuckoo, squirrel	sika.
continuous	bidi.	cupboard	armario.
CONTR	=bakwe.	curassow, razor-billed (bird)	witisi.
cook	earaki a-; jina.	cure	chachane-; sama.
cook on a rack	udu.	current	ejuri.
cook on embers	kwawi.	cursed, be	bewai ju.
coquettish	daji.	cusi (palm)	epidi.
cork	ewijituki.	cusi palms, grove of	epidikini.
corn	ijike.	custom	bawe.
corn flour, toasted	ribariba.	cut	jikwi-; kwere-; raru-; tubu-; wetsa.
corn, toasted	etsubaju.	cut hair	eshu a.
corner	-tsuku (2).	cut the arm of	bitubu.
corral	taraka.	cut the branch of	aatubu.
corral, build a	tarakane.	cut the finger of	metukutubu.
cotton string	eduki.	cut the leg of	tsakatubu.
cough	ujuuju ju.	cut the neck of	pititubu.
course	cursillo.	cut the throat of	rumutubu.
cover	apu-; papa-; pene-; pepa-; rama.	cut with axe	paka-; pejupeju ju-; taataa ju.
cow	waka.		

cyst **chadi.****D - d**

daddy	tatachi.	detonate	pututa-
damage	yuamatura-	devil	ijawa.
dance	ijawe ju-	diaper	eja (2).
Danchu	Danchu.	diarrhea	buju.
dandruff	iyukamuru.	diarrhea, have	buju-
dangerous, make	mutura-	dictionary	diccionario.
dark	apu-	die	maju-
dark area	aputa.	different	bape.
dark, become very	apuna- (1).	difficult	masa-
dark, slowly become	apukwina-	difficulty, with	chamakama.
darken	apupu-; aputura-	dig	puru-
DAT	=ja.	dilute	dusha-
daughter	bakujuna; chenu.	diluted	naje-
daughter, adopted	bakujunapuji.	DIM	=piji.
dawn, be at	wekaka-	dip	mutya-
day	wekaka.	dirt spot	buje.
day, following	wekakape.	dirty	asika-
deaf	isawe.	dirty, to	asikatura-
decay	iwina-; kayuamati-	disappear	aputa-
deceased person	nerekape; yanume.	discontinuous	tseka-
deceive	engaño a-	discourage	nimewarya-
decomposed	jasa-	discover	dadi-
deep	de-	disease	ujeje.
deepen	detura-	ditch	wede.
deer, marsh	siwa.	dizzy, feel	barere-
deer, red brocket	dukweri.	DL	=ekatse.
defecate	dumi-	do what	a ju-; ai ju-
defend	kware-	doctor	kachachanetipuji; samasamapuji.
deflate	ushuta-	dog	chapa.
demanding	masa-	door	eteriki.
Demetrio	Demetrio.	dove, gray-fronted	bijiji.
dense	jika; jika-; midi; midi-; mis-; time-	down	-nawa.
deprive of	seka-	downriver	tibabutya.
descend	bute-	downside up, turn	akwasetana-
design	-wene.	downy	nawanawa.
desirable	biji-	draw	wene-
desire, a/the	biji.	drawing	emeyaemeya.
detach	rajutana-; tibi-	dream	tawi ju-
deteriorate	kayuamati-	dress	jutu-; una.

drink, a/the	eijiki.	dry in the sun	petsa-.
drink, soft	refresco.	dry up	manunu-.
drink, to	iji-.	DS	=ju.
drip	patata-; sukururu-.	duck, domestic	juje.
drip (?)	pisisi-.	duck, patillo	shiwishiwi.
drizzle	katsatsa-.	Dumiku	Dumiku.
drum	kumukumu.	dusk, be at	apuna- (2).
drunk	nijuki.	dust	muru.
drunk, make	nijukisha-.	dwelling	-tare.
drunkard	nijukupuji.	dye green/blue	sawa-.
dry	rara-; rarara-; ura-; ura-.		

E - e

eagle	wiwipa.	enemy	makei.
ear	ijaka.	enemy, become	kamakeiti-.
earth	yawa.	energetic	weni-.
eat	ara-.	enough	tupu.
eat, place to	earaarakware.	entangle	kwarurusha-.
eating	araara.	entangled	jika; jika-.
eddy	enari.	enter	nubi-.
edge	etsawa; -jiruru.	enter, make	nudya-.
educated, well-	kwejataki.	entire	yuta.
eel, electric	nanata.	ERG	=ra.
egg	-ka.	Ermo	Ermo.
egg white	ekapaja.	escape	wana-.
egret, great white	rau.	Ese Ejja person	Eseeja.
eight	kimisakaruku; ocho.	EVEN.THOUGH	arepa; majaka; =amabucha.
El Prado, military post of	Prado.	eventually	chamakama.
elder	serwieju.	evil	yuama.
electric eel	nanata.	evil spirit	ijawa.
eleven	once.	EXACTLY	=jatsu.
eleven o'clock, at	laonce.	exasperate	masatura-.
Elio	Elio.	excrement	dumi.
Eliuduru	Eliuduru.	exist	ani-; ju- (1).
Elsa	Elsa.	exist at all, not	aijama; aijama.
ember	etijaki.	exist, not	aama; aama.
Emechu	Emechu.	expensive	tsujeari-.
emerge	kwinana-; rujutana-.	extend	riru-.
EMPH	=taa.	extinguish	tikwa-.
empty (container)	mema.	extract	jupu-; wika-.
empty-handed	mema.	eye	-atuka.
encounter	tsuru-.	eye, poke in the	atukapuri-.
end	tere-; tiry-.		

eyebrow **shipi.****F - f**

- face, a/the **-bawa; -butsekini; eketi; ekwejikini.**
 face of, slap the **bawapaja-.**
 face of, wash the **jibururu-.**
 face, to **akwatsuru-.**
 facial hair, with a lot of **kwesak-wesa.**
 fall **pajaka-; pakaka-; riwi-.**
 family **familia.**
 fan, a/the **epiki.**
 fan, to **pei-.**
 far **japa-.**
 far, slowly go **japakwina-.**
 fart **kweji-.**
 FARTHER.BEHIND **yuketibene.**
 fast **bid-; ebajarara; weni-.**
 fasten **risi-.**
 fat **juji-; -tseri; tseri-.**
 fat, begin to become **tseritsu-.**
 fat, slowly become **jujukwina-; tserik-wina-.**
 father **tata.**
 fear **baji.**
 fearful **nime-.**
 feast **chine.**
 feather **-kata; ududu.**
 feed **miwa-.**
 feel **ba-.**
 feet, with many **wachiwachi.**
 Felichu **Felichu.**
 Felicia **Felicia.**
 Felipe **Felipe.**
 Feliz **Feliz.**
 female **-puna.**
 fence, a/the **espiki; taraka.**
 fence, to **deke-; espikine-; tara-kane-.**
 ferment **jakuna-.**
 fermented **sasa-.**
 fermented, become very **sasana-.**
 ferocious **mure-.**
 festivity **chine.**
 fetch **keti-.**
 fetid **kweji-.**
 fever **baara.**
 fever, cause **baaratura-.**
 feverish **baara.**
 few **umae.**
 field **-tipare.**
 fierce **mure-.**
 fiesta **chine.**
 fiesta, have a **chine ju-.**
 fight, a/the **kati.**
 fight, to **kati-; lucha ju-.**
 fighter, good **katipuji.**
 FILL **aikira; aikwana.**
 fill up **jeke-.**
 fin **etisarara.**
 finally **chamakama.**
 find **dadi-.**
 finger **-metuku.**
 finger (?) **sapara.**
 finger of, cut the **metukutubu-.**
 finger of, hack the **metukutake-.**
 finish **tere-; tiry-.**
 fire **-tiki.**
 firefly **umajapurari.**
 firewood **kwati.**
 firewood, fetch **kwati ju-.**
 first **ikwene; ikweneta.**
 first time **butseeju.**
 fish, a/the **jae.**
 fish, bentón **sawa.**
 fish, electric eel **nanata.**
 fish, flatwhiskered catfish **budari-jae.**
 fish, giant pacu **sapu.**
 fish, golden trahira **dami.**
 fish, granulated catfish **kuyukuyu.**
 fish, peacock bass **tsabuna.**

fish, serepapa cichlid	biwami.	foam	uba.
fish, serepapa grande cichlid	shu-pushupu.	FOC	=dya.
fish, tambaqui	sapu.	fog	sisewani.
fish, threespot leporinus	juta.	fold	nuka-
fish, tiger catfish	chirije.	fold and dangle	wejita-
fish, to	jae ju-; wikamutya ju-	follow	tupu-
fish, trahira	sawa.	FOLLOWING	tupuju.
fish wiht barbasco	atsa ju-	food	earaki.
fish with arrow	jae ju-	food, give	miwa-
fish with line and hook	wikamutya ju-	food, trip	tapeke.
fisherman, good	atsapuji.	foot	-tibu; -wachi; -wasi.
fishing net	malla.	footprint	-mekware.
fist	ebipukaka.	for nothing	yanakana.
five	cinco; pishika.	forage	ubuubu ju-
fix	bajiji-; sipi-	force, exert	kakasati-
flat	jepe-	foreigner	atape.
flatten	sami-	forest	-kike.
flatwhiskered catfish	budarijae.	forest coca	warawara.
flee	wana-	forested, thickly (?)	musu-
flesh	-rami.	four	cuatro; pushi.
flesh, cheek	etamurami.	fragrant	ijime-
fleshy	rami-	Francia, Cavineña community of	Francia.
float	jeta-	Francisco	Francisco; Panchu.
flood	pesitana-	friend	etajiki; situ.
floor	pisu.	friend, make a	karene-; situne-
flow	juri-; rururu-	friendly to, be	jiyu-
flower, any	-tsa.	fruit, give	kakakati-
flower (for ornament)	shasha.	fruit, small and round	-kaka (1).
flu	ekwitabaneke.	FRUST	datse; =datse.
fly	jeta-	fuck	jucha a-
fly, pampa	murawawa.	fun of, make	ijariba-; ijiryawana-
flycatcher, vermilion (bird)	tisai-yuka.	fur	-biti.

G - g

Galilea, community of	Galilea.	gather	kadutyati-; mepe-; rada-; sika-
gallop	tikiritikiri ju-	gecko	tyakariri.
garbage	jiji.	GEN	=ja.
garden	tee.	Geneshuaya river	Jenewaya.
garden, clear/make a	tee ju-	gentleman	wirakucha.

- germ **bia**.
 germinate **burara-**.
 giant anteater **bari**.
 giant pacu (fish) **sapu**.
 giggle at **shukwishukwi a-**.
 girl, small **ebakujunapiji**.
 give **tya-**.
 glass **vaso**.
 glasses **antejo**.
 glow-worm **busabusa**.
 LOC.GNL =**keja**.
 LOC.APPROX =**kejaamaka**.
 go **kadujuti-**.
 go across **rujusha-**.
 go along the edge of **jirurusha-**.
 go around **tibarirya-**.
 go down **bute-**.
 go down, make **butya-**.
 go downriver **bute-**.
 go into **nubi-**.
 go, make **kwadisha-**.
 go out **kwinana-**.
 go past **bare-**.
 go permanently **diru-**.
 go temporarily **kwa-**.
 go through **rujusha-**.
 go up **tsura-**.
 go upriver **tsura-**.
 go vigorously **weni-**.
 God **Señor; Yusu**.
 godmother **kwaapuji**.
 goiter **eruru**.
 golden trahira (fish) **dami**.
 good **ji-**.
 good afternoon **bastare**.
 good morning **bandia**.
 good night **banuchi**.
 goodbye, say **despedida ju-**.
 government **gobierno**.
 grab **ina-**.
 grandchild **ketsekwa; utsekwa**.
 grandfather **baba**.
 grandma **anuchi**.
 grandmother **anu**.
 grandpa **babachi**.
 granulated catfish **kuyukuyu**.
 grasp with fingernails **sabu-**.
 grass **muwawa; nutsa**.
 grass louse **inyakwa**.
 grass, place with a lot of **nutsakini**.
 grassland **yachi**.
 grate **jemi-; jere-**.
 gravel **makana**.
 gravel, place with a lot of **maka-nakini**.
 gray-fronted dove **bijiji**.
 great quantity, in a **jetiamá**.
 great white egret **rau**.
 green/blue **sawa; sawa-**.
 green/blue, become very **sawana-**.
 green/blue, dye **sawa-**.
 green/blue, paint **sawa-**.
 green/blue, slowly become **sawak-wina-**.
 grey **pasa-**.
 grey, begin to become **pasatsu-**.
 grey, slowly become **pasakwina-**.
 grind **eri-**.
 gringa **gringa**.
 gringo **gringo**.
 ground **yawa**.
 ground, solid **uwa**.
 group **kware**.
 grove of bananas **budarikini**.
 grove of brazil nuts **mukekini**.
 grove of cusi palms **epidikini**.
 grove of patuju palms **budakini**.
 grove of real palms **biikini**.
 grow **dane-**.
 grow moldy **jitsu-**.
 guan (bird) **jaajaa; tedu**.
 Guayaramerín, town of **Wayara**.
 guide **ekwari**.
 gum **etsekunu**.
 gush **muwewe-**.

howler monkey	duu.	hunter, excellent	atuka-
hug	makaka-	hunter, good	babipuji; iyepuji.
humid	bati-	hunting, a/the	babi.
hunched	jumuru-	hurricane	kwejipa; tabubu.
hundred	cien; ciento.	husband	awe; awi.
hunt, to	babi-; kwaji- (1).	hyacinth, water	awadajjaka.

I - i

ibis	purupuru.	INSIDE	eduku; =duku.
idol	yusuyusu.	inside surface	-kini.
iguana	pisusu.	insipid	napa-
illuminate	wekatura-	INT	ai; eje.
imitate	piye-	intelligent	yukeneri.
IMMEDIATELY	yume.	INTENS	=ebari.
impenetrable	jika; jika-	intestine	-sere.
improve	jietana-	INT:LOC	eju.
in a great quantity	jetiamas; uma-	INT:LOC.GNL	ejejeja.
in vain	yanakana.	INT:PERL	ejeeke.
indian	makei.	INT:REASON	ejebuchajuatsu.
indigenous person	makei.	INT:SIMLR	ejebucha.
infect	adya-; contagia a-	INT:UP.TO	ejetupu.
inform	kweja-	invite politely	convida a-
information	noticia.	Ixiamas, community of	Ixiama.
IN.MIDDLE.OF	patya; patyapatya.		

J - j

jabiru	ajabana.	Juan	Juan.
jacaranda tree	bakwakwi.	Juanchu	Juanchu.
jaguar	iba.	jug	sura.
Jaime	Jaime.	juice, fruit	-nakaka.
Jaimechu	Jaimechu.	July	julio.
January	enero.	June	junio.
japutamu	inyakwa.	jungle	-kike.
jatoba tree	atsaka.	JUST	=piisi.
José	José.	JUST.BEFORE	=wie.

K - k

Kalachu	Kalachu.	Katamaru	Katamaru.
Kana	Kana.	keep	ibe-

kidney	epekaka.	knife, small	cortapluma.
kill	iy-	knock	dudu- (1).
kilometer	kilometro.	knot	risi.
kiss	dyawa-	know	adeba-; bawe ju-
kitchen	cocina.	know, not	baekwa ju-
kite	jabirijabiri.	knowledge of, have	bawe ju-
knee	edanaka.	knowledge of, not have the	baekwa
knee, back of the	etikune.		ju-
kneecap	etipukaka.		

L - I

lady	señora; señorita.	lesser ant eater	bei.
lake	bei.	letter	kirika.
land, a/the	yawa.	letter (from the alphabet)	wenewene.
land, to	aterisa ju-	liana	kunu.
language	-ana.	lianas, place with many	kunukini.
language, different	anape.	lid	tapa.
Las Mercedes, Cavineña community	of Mercede.	Lidika	Lidika.
lasso	rasu.	lie (be in a horizontal position)	jara-
later today	jadyaatsu.	lie in ambush	kawashiri-
latex	-madi.	lie (not tell the truth)	pusha a-
laugh	tsa-; tsaa-	life	ani.
laugh, make	tsatura-	lift	wesa-
lay	wana-	LIG	=ke.
lay (egg)	kwina-	light, a/the	ude; weka.
lazy	dyai-	light, be	jata-
lead	duju-	light on, shine	uda-
leader	dirigente; ekwari; waraji.	light plane	avioneta.
leader board	directiva.	light up	uda-
leaf	-jaki.	lightning	tajita.
leaf cutter ant	tepatsu.	limp	rudurudu-
leaf, new	-tapanana.	lips	ekwatsabiti.
lean	pejji-	listen to	baka- (1).
learning book	cartilla.	listen to carefully	ijakabaka-
leather	-biti.	liter (volume)	litro (1).
leave	iya-; jaka-; shana-	little bit, a	riyapiji.
Lechu	Lechu.	little brother	dekachu.
leg	-tsaka.	live, be	chacha.
leg of, cut the	tsakatubu-	live, to	ani-
lemon	rimu.	liver	-takwa.
lend	presta ju-	Lizardu	Lizardu.
leporinus, threespot (fish)	juta.	load	carga.
		LOC	=ju.

located, be	ani-; ju- (1); neti-.	louse	bia.
log	akwi; tronca.	louse, grass	inyakwa.
long	junu-.	lovable	iyue-; iyuwe-.
long ago	beru.	love	iyuwe.
long, become very	jununa-.	lower	butya-.
long (time)	tsunu-.	lower back	-tima.
look after	naru-.	Luca	Luca.
look at	peta-.	luck	suerte.
look for	sare-.	LUCKILY	jipake.
LOOKING.FOR	jeteke; jiteke.	lucky	dameki.
loose	juku-; tseka-.	luggage	carga.
loosen	jukukusha-.	lung	-jasa.
Lord	Señor.	lush	jika; jika-.
lost, be	kuji ju-.	lush, slowly become	jikakwina-.
lot, a	dyake.	lush vegetation	jika; yapapa.
lot of, a	jetiamá; umada.	luxuriant	jika; jika-.

M - m

macaw	kaekae.	March	marso.
Machaku	Machaku.	march	defile ju-.
machete	kuchiru.	margarine	mateka.
machine	makina.	mark	chipi.
madam	mama.	married, get	kakemiti-.
madidi ant	bututu.	marry	wanya-.
Madidi river	Najiji.	mass	rada-; sika-.
Maechu	Maechu.	master	maestro.
mahogany tree	mara.	mat	tsuijiniki.
make the tip pointed	witukweru-.	Mati	Mati.
male	deka.	MAYBE	=ni.
male, big	туру.	Mayo	Mayo.
Malili	Malili.	mean	yuama.
MAN	jadya.	meat	chichi; -rami.
man, white	wirakucha.	meat, salted	chariki.
maned wolf	rubuiba.	medicine	esamaki; kasamati.
mango	manga.	meet	tsuru-.
MAN.INT	ejubucha.	meeting, have a reunion	ju-.
manioc	kwawe.	Melchu	Melchu.
manioc flour, make	emiwe ju-.	mestizo	wirakucha.
manioc flour, toasted	emiwe.	meter	metro.
Manuku	Manuku.	microorganism	bia.
many	jetiamá; jetiamá; uma-;	midday, at	barepatya.
	umada.	middle part of a river	ekwi.
mara tree	mara.		

midnight, at	metabarepatya; meta-patya.	mortar, trough	sasu.
Miguel	Miguel.	mosquito	dii.
milk	ordeña a-.	mosquito net	tujuri.
mirror	espejo.	motacú palm	tumi.
miserable	nereka-.	motacillo palm	amatsa.
miss	ikwaya-.	mother	kwa; kwaa; mama.
missing	batakiaama.	motif	-wene.
mission	mision.	motmot, blue-crowned (bird)	uru.
missionary	misionero.	motorboat	motoru; muturu.
mix	wau-.	motorcycle	moto.
mold	jitsu.	mouth, inside part of the	-atsanaka.
moldy, grow	jitsu-.	mouth, outside part of	-kwatsa.
mole	uwi.	move	bukuku-.
mommy	mamachi; mamita.	move away	pakaratana-.
Monday	runeshi.	move away from	jaka-; jakatana-.
money	chipiru; etsujeki.	move closer to	jipe-; jipetana-.
monkey	mono.	move, make	dadu-.
monkey, capuchin	aja.	Mr.	Don.
monkey, howler	duu.	mud	uyuyu.
monkey, titi	dukwadukwa.	muddy	duka-; jusu-; uyu-.
month	badi.	mug	kaneku.
moon	badi.	murky	duka-.
moriche palm	bii.	murky, slowly become	dukak-wina-.
morning, early	apudajudya.	muzzle, to	wimumurisi-.
morning, good	bandia.		

N - n

nail, finger- or toe-	-meshuru.	needle	-kwija.
nail, to	tata-.	NEG	=ama.
nambú tinamou (bird)	bunyari.	nephew	bu; bui; ukwa.
name, a/the	-bakani.	nervous, be	wenana-.
name, different	bakanipe.	nervous, become	wenana-.
name, to	bakanisha-.	nest	eja (1).
Nancho	Nancho.	Nestuku	Nestuku; Reneku.
nape	tyuwi.	net, mosquito	tujuri.
navel	suu.	new	nana; nana-.
Navi	Navi.	news	ekwejaki; noticia.
neck	-piti.	next	tuekedya.
neck of, bit the	pitikaru-.	nickname	umashi.
neck of, cut the	pititubu-.	nickname, give a	umashine-.
neck of, tie the	wirisi-.	nickname-giver, good	kabakani-shatipuji.
nectar	-nakaka.		

niece	kenekwa.	not have the knowledge of	baekwa
night	apuna; chine; meta.		ju-.
night, good	banuchi.	not know	baekwa ju-.
nightjar, scissor-tailed (bird)	pusari.	not recognize	bapeshu-.
nine	puskuruku.	notebook	kirika.
nine hundred	noveciento.	NOT.EVEN	ni=.
nine o'clock, at	lanueve.	November	noviembre.
nine-banded armadillo	tsudi.	now	iyaja; iyakwa; riyakama.
ninety	noventa.	nowadays	iyakwa.
noise	-tsuri.	Nuchu	Nuchu.
noisy	ijawakaka-; sikaka-.	Nuevo Mojo, Cavineña community of	NuevoMojo.
noisy, make	sikakatura-.		
non-Cavineña person	atape.	numerous	jetiama; jetiama; uma-;
noon, at	barepatya.		umada.
nose	-wikani.	numerous, become very	umana-.
nose of, punch the	witiki-.	numerous, slowly become	umak-
not exist	aama; aama.		wina-.
not exist at all	aijama; aijama.		

O - o

obey	yana a-.	open	kisha-; pakasha-.
obstruct	tachi-; wijitu-.	open the mouth	kaatsanakati-.
ochoo tree	manunu.	or	jadyaamajuatsu; u.
October	otubre.	order	kwatsasha-.
offspring	ebakwa.	organization	organización.
oil	aceite.	other	peya.
old	esiri; siri.	OUTSIDE	tsekwe.
older brother	uji; usi.	outside	-tsekwe.
older sister	naji; nasi.	over there	yu; yume; yumi.
ON	dyake.	overtake	bare-.
ONCE	pidya.	overturn	rumu-.
one	peadya; una; uno.	owl	pupu.
ONE.WHOLE	pidya.	owner	-mechiki; -mechiki.
onion	cebolla.	owner, become the	metsene-.
ONLY	kamadya; =kama; =kamadya; =tere.	ox	juye.

P - p

pacu	bakajume.	pacu, giant (fish)	sapu.
Pacahuara person	Pakawara.	paddle	etaruki.
package	encomienda.	pain	ujera.

- painful **jari-; uje-; ujera.**
 painful hot/stinging feeling, have a
jiji-.
 paint **papa-; pepa-; pude-** (2).
 paint green/blue **sawa-.**
 paint red/brown **pude-** (1).
 paint yellow **jawa-.**
 palm, assai **muu.**
 palm, babassu **epidi.**
 palm, cabbage **muu.**
 palm, chonta **abari.**
 palm, chontilla **aba.**
 palm, cusi **epidi.**
 palm heart **eyu.**
 palm, moriche **bii.**
 palm, motacú **tumi.**
 palm, motacucillo **amatsa.**
 palm (of hand or foot) **-takwa.**
 palm, real **bii.**
 palm, to **paja-.**
 palma real **bii.**
 pampa **yachi.**
 pampa fly **murawawa.**
 pan, toaster **pabejerere.**
 pant **kanakana-.**
 pants **karusune.**
 papaya **jipamu.**
 paper **kirika.**
 paquíó tree **atsaka.**
 parakeet **biribiri.**
 Paraíso, Cavineña community of
Paraíso.
 parent **padredefamilia.**
 parrot **kurakwa.**
 party **chine.**
 party goer **chinepuji.**
 pass **bare-; kueti-.**
 path **-diji.**
 path, open a path **dijine-.**
 patience **pasensha.**
 patillo duck **shiwishiwi.**
 patuju palms, grove of **budakini.**
 patuju plant **buda.**
 pay **tsujetya-.**
 peacock bass (fish) **tsabuna.**
 peanut **kanise.**
 peccary **waburasa; waburu.**
 peccary hunter, good **waburasapuji.**
 Pedro **Peru.**
 peduncular bract **-bakwa.**
 pee **wira-.**
 peel **taka-.**
 peg **estaca.**
 penis **-pusi.**
 perforate **sakwa-.**
 PERL **=eke.**
 PERL.APPROX **=ekeamaka.**
 person **ekwita; kistryanu.**
 person, deceased **yanume.**
 Peyuku **Peyuku.**
 photo **emeyaemeya.**
 pick **mepe-.**
 picture **emeyaemeya; kweyak-
 weya.**
 pierce **bere-; sakwa-.**
 pig **kuchi.**
 pilot **piloto.**
 piranha **make.**
 pitiful **nereka-; nerekapane.**
 PITY **=shana.**
 PL **=ekana; =kwana.**
 place **-majaka.**
 place, bathing **enawikware.**
 place, resting **ekanajarakware.**
 place to eat **earaarakware.**
 place to stay temporarily **eanikware.**
 place to urinate **ewirakware.**
 place with a lot of grass **nutsakini.**
 place with a lot of gravel **maka-
 nakini.**
 place with many lianas **kunukini.**
 place with many thorns **akwijakini.**
 place with many trees **akwikini.**
 plane **avion.**
 plane, light **avioneta.**
 plant, barbasco **atsa.**
 plant, forest coca **warawara.**
 plant, patuju **buda.**

plant, to	uwa-	prayer	jeru.
plantain	budari.	pregnant	maki.
plantain, wild	buda.	prepare	bajeje-; prepara a-
planting stick	ebanataki.	president	presidente.
play (a musical instrument)	dudu- (2).	press	pudi-
play with	ijawe a-	price	-tsuje.
player, good	ijawepuji.	priest	pae.
pluck	mutsu-	professor	profeso.
point at	imeta-	PROPERLY	pana.
pointed, make	kweru-	protect	pene-
pointed, make the tip	witukweru-	protect fiercely	mure-
poison, barbasco	atsa.	pubis	enibu.
poke	puri-; rutu-; tiki-	pucarara viper	yaabakwa.
poke in the eye	atukapuri-	pull	mutsu-; repe-; tinu-
pole	akwi.	pull out	jimimisha-
polish	pupi-	pull shaking	shaka-
poncho	punchu.	pull the hair of	tsarumutsu-
poor	nereka-	pulsate	kanakana-
porcupine	ija.	puma	dukweriiba.
port	ebute.	punch	tiki-
pot, cooking	marikaka.	punch the nose of	witiki-
potato, sweet	kunukaji.	PURP.GNL	=ishu.
potatoe, sweet (?)	anuai.	PURP.MOT	=ra.
POTENTIALLY	deka.	pursue	aaje-
pound	pudi-	push	itusha-
pound the throat of	rumupudi-	put	iya-
powder	muru.	put a foot on	take-
powder-like	jemi-	put down	butya-
powdery, make	jemitura-	put oneself up	aluja ju-
practice	bawe.	put out	tikwa-
		putrefy	iwina-

Q - q

QUEST	are; ejediane.	quirquincho, armadillo	metebaba.
quickly	ebajarara.	Quispe	Quispe.
quiet	abaka-; abakata.		

R - r

rack	eperere; pere (2).	rain	nei.
radio transmitter, shortwave	radio.	rainbow	tajina.
raft	pere (1).	raise	temusha-; uune-

Ramiku	Ramiku.	rice	arusu.
Ramón	Ramón.	rich	chipiru-.
rattlesnake	cascabe.	rich, become	kachipiruti-.
raw (meat)	sawa-.	ride	isaani-.
razor-billed curassow (bird)	witisi.	rifle	salon.
read	isara-.	right, be	yuneri ju-.
real palms, grove of	biikini.	rim	-jiruru.
rear	-tibu.	ring	metara.
REASON	=tibu.	ripe	mare-.
receive	recibi a-.	ripen	jawane-; jawawa-.
receive (money)	gana ju-.	river	kweri.
recognize	kweyane-.	river bed	-jirikini.
recognize, not	bapeshu-.	river, Beni	Beni.
record	grawane-.	river, middle part of a	ekwi.
red/brown	pude; pude-.	roar	mari-.
red/brown, become very	pudena-.	rob	chiri-.
red/brown, begin to become	pu-	Roberto	Roberto.
	detsu-.	roll oneself up	iyumata-.
red/brown, paint	pude- (1).	roll up	jibu-.
red/brown, slowly become	pudek-	rooftop	-kamawa.
	wina-.	room	campo.
reduction	mision.	root	-tiri.
REITR	=nuka.	roots, with many	tiritiri.
relative	ata.	rope	-tisu.
remedy	esamaki; kasamati.	Rosa	Rosa.
remember	adeba-.	Rosalino	Rosalino.
remember, make	wekasha-.	rot	iwina-; riri-.
remove	jupu-; sirara-; wika-.	rotten	jasa-.
REP	=pa.	rough	tseke-.
repair	sipi-.	round	kwareru-; pukaka-.
replace	kware-.	round leaf palm	akuri.
resin	-madi.	round leaf, palm	akuri.
resist	idu-.	round, make	pukaka-.
respect	muiba-.	round, small and	kaka.
respectful	kwejataki.	rub	tedi-.
rest	kanajara-.	rubber center	mani (2).
resting place	ekanajarakware.	rubber tree	mani (1).
RESTR	=jutidya; =jutii; =kwita.	run	tsajaja-.
Reyes, town of	Reye.	run aground	kareta-.
rheumatism	reumatismo.	Rurrenabaque, town of	Rure.
rhinoceros beetle	shekwi.		
rib	eperekatse.		
Riberalta, town of	Riberalta.		

S - s

sad	peyainime.	search for	sare-.
salad	ensalada.	search for food with one's snout	
saliva	-kwedi.		ubuubu ju-.
salt	banu.	season	mara (1).
salteña	salteña.	secretary	secretaria.
saltlick	mee.	see	ba-.
Samuku	Samuku.	see, turn and	bajiyu-.
San Miguel, community of	SanMi- guel.	seed, with	duku-.
sandbox tree	manunu.	SEEMINGLY	masa; =masa.
Santa Elena, Cavineña community of	SantaElena.	SEEMINGLY.NOT	jipakwana.
Santiago	Santiago.	select	mepe-.
Santo Nico	SantoNico.	sell	katyati-.
sap	-madi.	send	kwadisha-.
sappy	madi-.	sensation, lose (?)	putsutsu-.
Saturday	sawaru.	sense, to	ba-.
savage	makei.	serepapa cichlid (fish)	biwami.
savannah	yachi.	serepapa grande cichlid (fish)	shu- pushupu.
save	chachane-.	Sergio	Sergio.
save oneself	salva ju-.	serious	mui-.
say	ju- (2).	serve	mere.
say goodbye	despedida ju-.	service, have a	kultu ju-.
say yes	endya a-.	settlement	eyumataki.
scabies	chere.	seven	pakaruku; siete.
scarce	tsa-.	sew	tutsu-.
scare	bajitura-; jekusha-.	sex with, have	jucha a-.
scare away	muya- (1).	shade	aputa.
scare off	putisha-.	shadow	-atanana (1).
scared	baji-.	shake	itata-; wisha-.
scared, be	jekutana-.	shaking, pull	shaka-.
scared off, get	putitana-.	shamanic stone	-duchi.
scary	mu-.	shame	bisu.
scatter	wiru-.	shameful	bisuta-.
school	escuela.	sharp	kweru-.
scissor-tailed nightjar (bird)	pusari.	sharpen	kwerutura-.
scold	nereda a-.	shell	-biti.
scorpion	ajipa; timatipuse.	shine light on	uda-.
scratch head	jikajika-.	shiny	tiki-; weka-.
screamer, horned (bird)	kutarau.	shirt	kamisa.
scrub	pupi-; shikwi-.	shiver	piriri-; tadada-.
seal, a/the	ewijituki.	shoot	tekwa-.
		shoot at	mare-.

shoot, plant	-wija.	slap the face of	bawapaja-
short	tyubu.	slap with the palm	paja-
short while, for a	yaratupu.	slash-and-burn garden	tee.
shorten	dyuru-	slash-and-burn garden, clear/make a	tee ju-
shotgun	eskupeta.	sleep	tawi-
shoulder	mapa-	sleepiness	tawi.
shoulder blade	yarapesiki.	sling	manyari.
shout	keke-; keke; kike-; kike.	slip	shudiritana-
shout at	keke-; kike-	slippery	jeri-
shrivel	manunu-	slope	etiperuru.
shut	teri-	slow	masa-
sibling	nuu; tseweki.	small	achacha; ashasha.
sick	ujeje-	smell, a/the	wani.
sick, be	ujeje ju-	smell, a/the bad	kweji.
sick, cause to be	adya-	smell, to	jiru-
side	-pere.	smelly	iwi-; wani-
side, turn on the	peseketana-	smelly, become very	iwina-
sieve	jaja-	smoke	wani.
sign	firma a-	smooth	mumi-; shabi-
signal uttered to signal oneself when approaching a house for a visit	juj.	smooth, become extremely	shabita-
signal uttered when discovering enemies nearby	tsujj.	smooth, make	shabitura-
silent	abaka-; abakata.	smooth-billed ani (bird)	burinapa.
silent, be	abakatana-	snake (generic)	bakwa.
silhouette	-atanana (1).	snake (sp.)	pirichuchiwa.
SIMLR	=bae; =bucha; =buchi; =jiu.	sneeze	jechiu ju-
sin, a/the	jucha.	sniff	jiru-
sin, to	kajuchati-	snore	tarara-
sing	jeru-	snout	-wimumu.
sir	etata; tata.	snout of, tie the	wimumurisi-
sister, older	naji; nasi.	soak	murya-
sister, younger	jana.	soap, a/the	jabu.
sit	ani-	soap, to	jabune-
sit on top	isaani-	soft	shabi-
six	shukuta.	soft, become extremely	shabita-
sixty	sesenta.	soft drink	refresco.
size	ari.	soft, make	shabitura-
skin, a/the	-biti.	soften	urisha-
skin, to	taka-	soil	mechi.
skinny	ushuri.	soldier	sudaru.
sky	barepa.	solid ground	uwa.
		solidify	tadata-
		somersault	tipusetana-
		something to, do	ejebucha a-

- sometimes **ejebuchaju.**
 son, adopted **bakwapuji.**
 song **jerujeru.**
 sore, a/the **chadi.**
 soul **-atanana (2).**
 sound **-tsuri.**
 sound of action of grabbing **tin.**
 sound of animal moving inside a hole
drajj; tajj.
 sound of animal suddenly running
jiish; juj.
 sound of bone breaking **tuku.**
 sound of leaf falling **shajj.**
 sound of person falling on the ground
bujj.
 sound of shooting a gun **tujj.**
 sound of shooting an arrow **tsajj.**
 sound of something falling in water
kubu; tsupu.
 sound of stick breaking **taajj.**
 sound of vegetation moving **rajj.**
 sound of water boiling **kwaj;**
puchari.
 soup **-name.**
 sour **jaku-.**
 sour, become very **jakuna-.**
 south wind **beni.**
 space **campo; -majaka.**
 spaced **tseka-.**
 Spanish-cedar **batsara.**
 speaker disagrees **pajuani.**
 speaker does not know **juwaaba.**
 speaker feels concerned **caramba.**
 speaker feels disgusted **achí.**
 speaker feels impressed **carajo; juj;**
pa.
 speaker feels positive **bien; bueno.**
 speaker feels sorry **akwe.**
 speaker is amused **pusi.**
 speaker is angry **ujepa.**
 speaker orders the hearer to go first
kwii.
 speaker orders the hearer to hurry up
juwejuwe.
- speech **kisarati.**
 spell, cast a bad **adya-.**
 spicy **jjji-.**
 spider **tiriri.**
 spill **daka-.**
 spine **epititsau.**
 spirit **-atanana (2); kweya.**
 split **patsa-.**
 spongy **jasa-.**
 spoon **kuchara.**
 spot **chipi.**
 spot, beauty **uwi.**
 spot, make a spot **chipi-.**
 spotty **chipichipi; purapura;**
putaputa.
 spread **tsape-.**
 sprout back **katsukawijati-.**
 sprout (for a new leaf) **kata-**
pananati-.
 sprout (for a plant) **wija-.**
 spurt **muwewe-.**
 spy on **kwaji- (1).**
 squirrel **dawapa.**
 squirrel cuckoo **sika.**
 stain **buje.**
 stain on the body **uwi.**
 stains, with many **bujebuje.**
 stamp **chipi-.**
 stand **neti-; nitya-.**
 stand, place to **enetikware.**
 start **katibuti-; tibune-.**
 startle **rikwisha-; rikwitana-;**
saparatana-.
- STARTLING **riya.**
 stay **ani-.**
 stay temporarily, place to **eanikware.**
 steal **chiri-.**
 step back **tijerutana-.**
 step on **take-.**
 stepfather **tatapuji.**
 stepmother **kwakepuji.**
 stick **akwi.**
 stick, small (?) **sapara.**
 stick, to **sipita-.**

stick used for planting	ebanataki.	strong, become very	kasana-.
sticky	basi-; siba-; wini-.	strong, slowly become	kasakwina-.
stiff	temu-.	student	alumno.
stiff, begin to become	temutsu-.	stuff here, this	rekwana.
STILL	=jari.	stuff over there, that	yukwana.
sting	-kwija.	stuff there, that	tukwana.
sting, a/the	etimakwija; kati.	stupid	pude.
sting, to	kati-.	suburb	barrio.
stinging	saka-.	suck	susu-.
stingy	inije-.	sucuhua tree	wakarare.
stir	ruke-; taru-.	suddenly	muyajutidya.
stomach	-dumijiti.	suffer, make	nerekatura-.
stone, shamanic	-duchi.	suffering	nereka-.
stone, small	makana.	suffering, a/the	nereka.
stop	neti-; nitya-.	sufficient	tupu.
stopper	ewijituki.	sugarcane	shita.
store, a/the	cantina.	sun	ijeti.
storm	enashumaumakeama.	supple	weni-.
story	kwatsabiji.	surface, inside	-kini.
story to, tell a	kwatsabiji a-.	surround	dunu-.
storyteller, good	kwatsabijipuji.	swallow	buiji-.
straight	tuyu.	swamp	nabade.
straighten	tuyune-.	sweat, a/the	weruru.
strangle	rumupudi-.	sweat, to	weruru-.
strap, a/the	-tisu.	sweep	jabu-.
strap, put a	tisune-.	sweet	waja-.
stray, to	ijine-.	sweet banana	kashi.
stream	-sepere; -spere.	sweet potato	kunukaji.
stream tributary	espereyaa.	sweet potatoe (?)	anuai.
strength	kasa.	sweeten	temi-.
strengthen	kasatura-.	sweetener	etemiki.
stretch	iserere-; itinu-; riru-; rukwitana-.	swell	muja-.
STRG.EMPH	=di; =didya.	swidden	tee.
strike, to	miri-.	swim	betsa-.
string, a/the	-tisu.	swimming	betsa.
striped	jurijuri; kwerekwere.	swing, to	wesiruru-.
strong	jebu-; kasa-; weni-.	switch off	tikwa-.

T - t

table	mesa.	take	duju-.
tail	iwa.	take across	reke- (2); rike- (2).
Tajibu, suburb of	Tajibu.	take away from	seka-.

take care of	naru-	that stuff there	tukwana.
take off	yupu-	that time, at	tumepatya.
take out	kemi- (1); wika-	then	tudya; tuekedy; tume.
take time	tsunuta-	there	tu; tume; tumi.
talk, a/the	kisarati.	there, over	yu; yume; yumi.
talk to	isara-	therefore	jutakiju.
talk, to	kaanati-; kisarati-	thick	jika; jika-; misi-; time-
tall	baru; baru-	thick, slowly become	misikwina-
tall, become very	baruna-	thickly forested (?)	musu-
tall, slowly become	barukwina-	thief	chiripuji.
tamale	misi.	thin	beje-
tambaqui (fish)	sapu.	think	inimetupu-; kabati-
tangle up	kajikati-	this stuff here	rekwana.
tapir	awada.	thorn	-kwija.
tarantula	bikwa.	thorns, place with many	akwijakini.
taste, give a good	uutura-	thorny	kwijakwija.
taste, to	chiba-	thought	-nime.
tasty	uu-	thousand	mil.
taxi, drive a	tasi ju-	threatening	mure-
tayra	buka.	three	kimisha.
teach	bawitya-; escuela ju-	three-spot leporinus (fish)	juta.
teacher	bawityabawityapuji;	THREE.TIMES	kimisha.
	maestro.	THREE.WHOLE	kimisha.
tear off	yupu-	thresh	iruru-
tear, to	chaja-; siri-	throat	etsurikani; -rumu.
tease	urekada a-	throat ache, have a	etsurikani ju-
teenager	ewebari.	throat of, cut the	rumutubu-
tell	a- (2); kweja-	throat of, pound the	rumupudi-
tell a story to	kwatsabiji a-	throw	ijewe-
ten	dies; tunka.	thus	jadi; jadya.
tender	shabi-	tibia	ewasimare.
tender, become extremely	shabita-	Tibu	Tibu.
tender, make	shabitura-	ticket	pasaje.
tendon	ejaruna.	tie	kaka-; kere-; piruri-;
termite	rapa.		piruru-; risi-
tern, yellow-billed	kawakawa.	tie the neck of	wirisi-
terrain, upland	banekware.	tie the snout of	wimumurisi-
territory	yawa.	tiger catfish	chirije.
testicle	-kaka (2).	tight	midi; midi-
Teyuku	Teyuku.	tighten	itinu-
thank, to	yusurupai a-	time	mara (1); tiempo; ura.
thank you	yusurupai.	time, take	tsunuta-
THANKS.TO	=ademe.	tinamou bird	buni; waparikwama;
that stuff over there	yukwana.		wiriri.

tinamou, nambú (bird)	bunyari.	tree, brazilian cherry	atsaka.
tiny	wiri; wiri-	tree, cheperequi	bakwakwi.
tip	-matina; -wikwabu; -witu.	tree, jacaranda	bakwakwi.
tipsy	ewikani.	tree, jatoba	atsaka.
tire	llanta.	tree, mahogany	mara.
tire out	kastirya-	tree, mara	mara.
tired, become	kastere-	tree, ochoo	manunu.
tiring	masa-	tree, paquió	atsaka.
titi monkey	dukwadukwa.	tree, rubber	mani (1).
toad	bururu.	tree, sandbox	manunu.
toast, to	baju-	tree, sucuhua	wakarare.
toasted	saru-	trees, place with many	akwikini.
toasted corn	etsubaju.	tremble	rikwitana-
toasted corn flour	ribariba.	tremble, make	rikwisha-
toaster pan	pabejerere.	tributary, stream	espereyaa.
today	iyakwa.	trip	biaje.
tomorrow	metajudya.	trip food	tapeke.
tongue	-ana.	trough mortar	sasu.
tooth	-tse.	truck	camion.
top	ebarukwe.	trumpeter bird	jeme.
top, sit on	isaani-	trunk	akwi.
tornado	tabubu.	trust	bawene-
tortoise	dati.	truth, say the	yuneri ju-
touch	jaba-	try	chiba-
track	-kari.	Tsimi	Tsimi.
track, clear a	karine-	Tuesday	marteshi.
track leaving	mekware-	Tumichucua, community of	Tumichucua.
track, make a	ekari ju-	turn and see	bajiyu-
tracks	-mekware.	turn downside up	akwasetana-
tractor	tractor.	turn, make	warya-
tradition	bawe.	turn off	tikwa-
traditional dance	tiritiri.	turn on the side	peseketana-
trahira (fish)	sawa.	turn, to	benu-; warere-
trahira, golden (fish)	dami.	turn upside down	tipirutana-; tipiru-
transform oneself	kadeneti-; kak- weyati-	tipiru ju-	
transport	duju-	turtle	dati.
trap (for catching rats)	madada.	twelve	doce.
travel	biaje ju-	twenty	veinte.
traverse	rujusha-	twenty five	veinticinco.
treat	sama-	TWICE	beta.
tree	akwi.	twig	akwi; -tuchaki.
tree, algononcillo	jarere.	twig on, put a	tuchakine-

twitch	pedepede ju-; rik-wirikwi-	two	beta.
		TWO.WHOLE	beta.

U - u

ulcer	chadi.	untie	pisu-
umbilical cord	suu.	until	hasta.
unbutton	pakasha-	up to	hasta.
UNCERT	=kwana.	upland terrain	banekware.
uncle, beloved (mother's brother)	kukuchi.	upriver	wiatsura.
uncle (father's brother)	tatiine.	uproot	mutsu-
uncle (mother's brother)	kuku.	upset	masatura-
UNDER	emake.	upset, get	kawaiti-
understand	adeba-; baka- (2); kwey-ane-	upside down, turn	tipirutana-
undo	sirara-	UP.TO	=tupu.
unfasten	pakasha-	urge on	muya- (2).
unique, big and	baba.	urinate	wira-
unit	earakana.	urinate, place to	ewirakware;
United States of America	Estado-sUnidos.	urine	wira.
unlock	pakasha-	urucú	ematse.
untamed	nime-	Uruka	Uruka.
untidy	jika; jika-	use	ina-; tsume-
		uterus	ebakwatare.
		utilize	tsume-

V - v

Vaca	Vaca.	village	epu.
vacation	vacación.	vine	kunu.
vain, in	yanakana.	viper	bakwa.
value	-tsuje.	viper, pucarara	yaabakwa.
van	camioneta.	viscous	pidi-
vegetation, lush	yapapa.	viscous, slowly become	pidikwina-
vein	amidiji.	visible	ejitaju.
venom	wenenu.	visit	kwaji- (2); tarepe ju-; visita a-
vermilion flycatcher (bird)	tisai-yuka.	visitor	tarepepuji.
very	dyake.	vitamin	vitamina.
Victor	Vitu.	voice	-tsuri.
vigorous	weni-	vomit	kadakati-
vigorous, become	wenikwina-	vulture	jamani.
VIGOROUSLY	nere.		

W - w

wag	bidubidu a-	white, slowly become	pajakwina-
wait for	iwa-	Wichiki	Wichiki.
wait in ambush	kawashiri-	wicked	yuama.
wake up	bushuisha-; bushusha-	wide	kini-
walk	aje-	wife	wane.
walking, way of	juneni.	wild	mure-; nime-
wall	espiki.	wild, make	nimetura-
walls, make	espikine-	wild plantain	buda.
warehouse	hangar.	wild, slowly become	nimekwina-
wash	utsa-	will a/the	biji.
wash the face of	jibururu-	win upon	ijawe a-
wasp	bira.	wind	kwejiji.
water	-na.	wind, south	beni.
water hyacinth	awadaijaka.	wind, strong	kwejipa.
waterfall	sururu.	window	wetana.
watery	nasu-	wing	-ajapara.
way of walking	juneni.	wish a/the	biji.
weak, slowly become	dyaikwina-	wolf, maned	rubuiba.
weaken	kasaseka-	woman, become an adult	kapunati-
weather	barepa.	wood	-kububu.
week	semana.	woodpecker	mayuwa.
weight	bikwe.	word	kisarati.
well	ji-	work	mere ju-; mere.
wet	badu-; naka-	work for	mere.
wet, get	nakata-	worker, good	merepuji.
WHILE	mekeeke; tsunumee.	workshop	taller.
while, for a short	yaratupu.	worm	-tsena; tyunu.
whip	katsa-	worse, become	dyaketana-
whirlpool	watsutsu.	worship	muiba-
whiskers	kwesa.	wrap	nuka-; piruri-; piruru-
whistle at	uwi-	wriggle	bidutana-
white	paja; paja-	wrinkle	jibi.
white, become extremely	pajata-	wrinkle, to	jibu-
white, become very	pajana-	wrinkled	jibijibi; ribiribi.
white, begin to become	pajatsu-	write	wene-
white man	wirakucha.		

Y - y

yacare (or caiman)	matuja.	yawn	kaatsanakati-
yard	-tipare.	year	mara (2).

year, following	marape.	yellow-billed tern	kawakawa.
years	años.	yes	jejee.
yell	keke-; kike-.	yes, say	endya a-.
yell at	keke-; kike-.	yesterday	riyabarepa.
yellow	jawa; jawa-.	young	nana; nana-.
yellow, become very	jawane-.	younger brother	jau; ju.
yellow, begin to become	jawatsu-.	younger sister	jana.
yellow, paint	jawa-.	yuca	kwawe.
yellow, slowly become	jawak- wina-.		

List of affixes

The affixes are listed according to the Cavineña alphabet discussed in §2.10 and used throughout this study, i.e., in the following order:

a, b, ch, d, e, j, k, kw, l, m, n, p, r, s, sh, t, ts, u, w, y

The symbol ‘/’ is used to indicate allomorphic variants. Grammatical morphemes that obligatorily accompany a particular affix in discontinuous markers/circumfixes, are indicated between parentheses; the symbol ‘...’ indicates the lexical root.

For each affix, the section or chapter of its major discussion is given.

<i>-aje</i>	‘GO.TEMP.DISTR’	§7.2.2
<i>-aki / -ki</i>	‘TYPICAL’	§10.1.5
<i>-ani</i>	‘SIT’	§9.1.1
<i>-apuna</i>	‘AT.DUSK’	§7.3
<i>-atsu / -tsu</i>	‘SS’	§18.2
<i>-bade</i>	‘HANG’	§9.1.4
<i>-baekwa</i>	‘ALWS.NEG’	§10.1.4
<i>-baka</i>	‘SHORT.TIME’	§7.1.5
<i>-bare</i>	‘DISTR’	§7.1.7
<i>-bawe</i>	‘ALWS’	§10.1.4
<i>-be</i>	‘COME.TEMP.DISTR’	§7.2.2
<i>-bisha</i>	‘INCOMP’	§7.1.1
<i>-buke</i>	‘REM.FUT’	§6.1.2
<i>-bute / -butya</i>	‘GO.DOWN’	§9.2.2
<i>-chi</i>	‘AFFTN’	§12.7.5
<i>-chine</i>	‘REC.PAST’	§6.1.1
<i>-chinepe</i>	‘ALL.DAY’	§7.3
<i>-da / -u</i>	‘ASF’	§11.2.1
<i>-dadi</i>	‘GO(O)’	§7.2.3
<i>-dama</i>	‘NEG’	§11.2.4
<i>-diru</i>	‘GO.PERM’	§7.2.1
<i>e-</i>	‘I’	§12.4.2
<i>e-</i>	‘RES’	§11.3.4
<i>-e (ejebucha ...)</i>	‘MAN.INT’	§10.3
<i>-e (jadya ...)</i>	‘MAN’	§10.3
<i>e- (...-ki)</i>	‘NMLZ’	§12.7.2

<i>e-</i> (...-kware)	‘NMLZ’	§12.7.3
<i>e-</i> (...-u)	‘POT’	§6.1.5
<i>e-</i> / <i>y-</i>	‘NPF’	§12.3
<i>e-</i> / <i>y-</i> (... =ke)	‘3’	§12.4
<i>eje-</i>	‘INT’	§11.2.3
<i>-eke</i>	‘PERL’	§15.7
<i>-eti</i>	‘COME.PERM’	§7.2.1
<i>-etibe</i>	‘COME.PERM.DISTR’	§7.2.2
<i>-ja</i> / <i>-kwe</i>	‘GEN’	§15.1.2
<i>-ja</i> / <i>-kwe</i> / <i>-kwi</i>	‘DAT’	§15.1.2
<i>-jaka</i>	‘STOP’	§7.1.2
<i>-jakama</i>	‘CEASELESSLY’	§10.1.3
<i>-jara</i>	‘LIE’	§9.1.3
<i>-jara</i> / <i>-wana</i>	‘ADVERS’	§7.4
<i>-jeri</i> / <i>-neri</i>	‘ALMOST’	§7.1.3
<i>-ju</i> / <i>-wa</i>	‘LOC’	§15.7
<i>k-</i> / <i>ka-</i> (...-ti)	‘REF’	§8.2
<i>k-</i> / <i>ka-</i> (...-ti)	‘VBLZ’	§5.2.2.1
<i>-kara</i>	‘DESID’	§10.1.1
<i>-karama</i>	‘DESID.NEG’	§10.1.1
<i>-ke</i>	‘FM’	§15.1.2
<i>-keja</i>	‘LOC.GNL’	§15.1.2, §15.7
<i>-kena</i>	‘LEAVE’	§7.2.1
<i>-kere</i>	‘CAUS.INVLT’	§8.4.3
<i>-ki</i>	‘WITH’	§11.3.1
<i>-ki</i> (<i>e-...</i>)	‘NMLZ’	§12.7.2
<i>-ki</i> / <i>-aki</i>	‘TYPICAL’	§10.1.5
<i>-kini</i>	‘PLACE’	§12.7.4
<i>-kwana</i> / <i>-na</i>	‘PL’	§15.1.2
<i>-kware</i>	‘REM.PAST’	§6.1.1
<i>-kware</i> (<i>e-...</i>)	‘NMLZ’	§12.7.3
<i>-kwe</i>	‘IMP.SG’	§6.2.1
<i>-kwe</i> (<i>ne-...</i>)	‘IMP.NSG’	§6.2.1
<i>-kwe</i> / <i>-ja</i>	‘GEN’	§15.1.2
<i>-kwe</i> / <i>-kwi</i> / <i>-ja</i>	‘DAT’	§15.1.2
<i>-kwina</i>	‘VBLZ’	§5.2.3.1
<i>-ma</i>	‘RES.NEG’	§11.3.4
<i>-ma</i>	‘WITHOUT’	§11.3.1
<i>-mere</i>	‘CAUS’	§8.4.2
<i>-metse</i>	‘FIRST’	§10.1.2
<i>-na</i>	‘COME.TEMP’	§7.2.1
<i>-na</i> / <i>-ne</i>	‘VBLZ’	§5.2.3.2

<i>-na / -kwana</i>	‘PL’	§15.1.2
<i>-nati</i>	‘GO.TEMP’	§7.2.1
<i>-ne</i>	‘VBLZ’	§5.2.2.2
<i>-ne / -na</i>	‘VBLZ’	§5.2.3.2
<i>ne-</i>	‘HORT.DL’	§6.2.2
<i>ne- (...-ume)</i>	‘IMP.NSG.NEG’	§6.2.1
<i>ne- (-kwe)</i>	‘IMP.NSG’	§6.2.1
<i>ne- (-ra)</i>	‘HORT.PL’	§6.2.2
<i>-neni / -ni</i>	‘RANDOM’	§7.1.8
<i>-neri / -jeri</i>	‘ALMOST’	§7.1.3
<i>-neti / -nitya</i>	‘STAND’	§9.1.2
<i>-ni / -neni</i>	‘RANDOM’	§7.1.8
<i>-nitya / -neti</i>	‘STAND’	§9.1.2
<i>-nuka</i>	‘REITR’	§7.1.4
<i>pa-</i>	‘HORT.SG’	§6.2.2
<i>pa-</i>	‘JUSS’	§6.2.3
<i>pa- (...=amabucha)</i>	‘EVEN.THOUGH’	§19.6.2
<i>-puji</i>	‘ONE.THAT’	§12.7.1
<i>-ra</i>	‘ERG’	§15.1.2
<i>-ra (ne-...)</i>	‘HORT.PL’	§6.2.2
<i>-si</i>	‘AUGM’	§11.2.6
<i>-sikwa</i>	‘GO.AWAY’	§9.2.3
<i>-siri</i>	‘LONG.TIME’	§7.1.5
<i>-sis</i>	‘ALL.NIGHT’	§7.3
<i>-sha</i>	‘CAUS’	§8.4.1
<i>-ta</i>	‘VBLZ’	§5.2.3.4
<i>-ta / -taka / -tataka</i>	‘ALONE’	§15.1.2
<i>-ta / -tana</i>	‘PASS’	§8.1
<i>-taki</i>	‘ABIL’	§11.3.3
<i>-tana / -ta</i>	‘PASS’	§8.1
<i>-tere / -tirya</i>	‘COMP’	§7.1.1
<i>-ti</i>	‘GO.TEMP’	§7.2.1
<i>-ti (k-... / ka-...)</i>	‘REF’	§8.2
<i>-ti (k-... / ka-...)</i>	‘VBLZ’	§5.2.2.1
<i>-tibune</i>	‘START’	§7.1.2
<i>-tirya / -tere</i>	‘COMP’	§7.1.1
<i>-tura</i>	‘VBLZ’	§5.2.3.5
<i>-tsa</i>	‘COME(O)’	§7.2.3
<i>-tse</i>	‘DL’	§15.1.2
<i>-tsewe</i>	‘ASSOC’	§15.1.2
<i>-tsu</i>	‘VBLZ’	§5.2.3.3
<i>-tsu / -atsu</i>	‘SS’	§18.2

- <i>tsura</i>	‘GO.UP’	§9.2.1
- <i>u</i>	‘EPEN’	§2.6.6
- <i>u</i> (<i>e</i> -...)	‘POT’	§6.1.5
- <i>u</i> / - <i>da</i>	‘ASF’	§11.2.1
- <i>ume</i>	‘IMP.SG.NEG’	§6.2.1
- <i>ume</i> (<i>ne</i> -...)	‘IMP.NSG.NEG’	§6.2.1
- <i>wa</i>	‘PERF’	§6.1.4
- <i>wa</i> / - <i>ju</i>	‘LOC’	§15.7
- <i>wana</i> / - <i>jara</i>	‘ADVERS’	§7.4
- <i>wekaka</i>	‘AT.DAWN’	§7.3
- <i>wisha</i>	‘FAST’	§7.1.6
<i>y</i> - / <i>e</i> -	‘NPF’	§12.3
<i>y</i> - / <i>e</i> - (... = <i>ke</i>)	‘3’	§12.4
- <i>ya</i>	‘IMPFV’	§6.1.3

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