

DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

Roberto Zariquiey

**A GRAMMAR OF
KAKATAIBO**

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Roberto Zariquiey
A Grammar of Kakataibo

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Roberto Zariquiey

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To the Kakataibo people.

*Ēnëx ka mitsun kirika ‘ikën.
Mitsun bana nuibaxun kana ënë kirika ‘an.*

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List of abbreviations

>	'interclausal switch-reference tracking (dependent > main). For example, 'P>S' indicates that the P argument of the dependent clause is the S argument of the matrix clause. See §12.1 for a detailed explanation of the glossing conventions for switch-reference markers.	D.S/A	'different subjects'
1	'first person'	D.S/A/P	'different subjects and objects'
2	'second person'	DUB	'dubitative'
3	'third person'	DUR	'durative'
A	'agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb'	ELAB	'elaborative'
ABS	'absolutive'	ENCL	'enclitic'
ADJ.P	'adjective phrase'	ERG	'ergative'
ADV.P	'adverb phrase'	EXCL	'exclamatory'
ADV.PROC	'advanced process'	EXH	'exhortative'
AFFIR	'affirmative'	EXT	'extended'
APP	'apposition'	FACT	'factitive'
ASP	'aspect'	FOC	'focus'
ASSE	'assertive'	FRUST	'frustrative'
ASSO	'associative'	FUT	'future'
AUG	'augmentative'	GEN	'genitive'
AUX	'auxiliary'	GENE	'generic'
BEN	'benefactive'	HAB	'habitual'
C	'consonant'	HAR	'harmonic'
CAUS	'causative'	IMP	'imperative'
COL	'collective'	IPFV	'imperfective'
COM:A	'comitative oriented to A'	IMPR	'imprecise reference'
COM:P	'comitative oriented to O'	IMPR.DIC	'imprecise direction'
COM:S	'comitative oriented to S'	IMPR.LOC	'imprecise locative'
COMP	'comparative'	IND	'indicative'
COMPL.NEG	'complaining negator'	INDEF	'indefinite'
CON	'conversational register'	INS	'instrumental'
COND	'conditional'	INT	'interrogative'
CONT	'contrastive'	INTF	'intensifier'
CONTI	'continuous aspect'	INTR	'intransitive'
COORD	'coordination'	IRR	'irrealis'
COUN	'counterfactual'	ITER	'iterative'
CVB	'converb'	LOC	'locative'
DEF	'definite'	MAL	'malefactive'
DES	'desiderative'	MID	'middle'
DIM	'diminutive'	MIR	'mirative'
DIR	'directional'	NAR	'narrative register'
DIST	'distributive'	NEG	'negative'
D.OBJ	'different objects'	NOMLZ	'nominalizer; nominalization'
		NON.PROX	'non-proximal to the addressee'
		NON.REST	'non-restrictive'
		NP	'noun phrase'
		NUM	'numeral'
		OBJ	'object'
		OBL	'oblique'
		P	'patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb'
		PA	'participant agreement'

PST	'past'	REFL	'reflexive'
PAT	'patient'	REM.PST	'remote past'
PE	'previous dependent event'	REP	'reportative'
PFV	'perfective'	S	'single argument of canonical intransitive verb'
PL	'plural'	SE	'simultaneous dependent event'
POE	'posterior dependent event'	SRC	'switch-reference clause'
POST	'postposition'	STAT	'stative'
PP	'postpositional phrase'	SBJ	'subject'
PROG	'progressive'	SUPER	'superlative'
PROP	'proprietic'	TEMP	'temporal locative'
PROX	'proximal to the addressee'	T	'theme argument of a ditransitive construction'
PURP	'purpositive'	TRAN	'transitive'
QP	'quantificational phrase'	V	'vowel'
REAS	'reason'	VOC	'vocative'
RECP	'reciprocal'		
R	'recipient(-like) argument of a ditransitive construction'		

1 The Kakataibo people and their language

1.1 Introduction

This book is a reference grammar of the Kakataibo language, as spoken along the lower Aguaytía River. Kakataibo is a Pano language, spoken by approximately 3000–3500 people in the Peruvian regions of Huánuco and Ucayali. As we will see in §1.3.3, it is possible to identify five different Kakataibo dialects (one of which is extinct, but was documented by Tessman 1930 under the name *< Nokamán >*).

This chapter offers a brief introduction to the Kakataibo people and their language. The ancestors of the Kakataibo were among the multiple in the small bands that used to inhabit the valleys to the west of the Franciscan missions that were established along the Ucayali River, where the missionaries lived with other Pano groups (the Shipibo, the Shetebo and the Konibo) since 1765–1766. The Spanish missionaries called that lowland area between the foothills of the Andes and the Ucayali River “Pampa del Sacramento” (Plains of the Sacrament).¹ Although the ancestors of the Kakataibo never lived in missions, the Franciscans’ 18th century documentation includes many references to “Cashibos” (as the Kakataibo were referred to in the historical literature). Those references constitute an important source for the study of the Kakataibo history, but are riddled with defamatory information from the indigenous inhabitants of the banks of the Ucayali, characterizing them as cannibals and savages.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. In §1.2, I briefly describe the most salient aspects of Kakataibo cultural and history; in §1.3, I present the Kakataibo language and discuss its position within the Pano family; and in §1.4, I describe the structure of the present book.

1.2 The Kakataibo people

This section is organized as follows: In §1.2.1, I discuss the different names that have been used to refer to the Kakataibo throughout their history; in §1.2.2, I discuss the cannibalism myth that the missionaries propagated about the Kakataibo; in §1.2.3, I offer a brief account of the historical development of the Kakataibo; in §1.2.4, I offer a brief characterization of their current situation; in §1.2.5, I describe their material culture and subsistence strategies; in §1.2.6, I present the kinship system; and in §1.2.7 I describe Kakataibo pet vocatives. Finally, in §1.2.7, I comment on Kakataibo social life and beliefs, and on how those are being transmitted in current times.

¹ The “Pampa del Sacramento” was “discovered” on June 21, 1726 by Don Juan Nuñez Lobo and his expedition. This lowland area was called “Pampa del Sacramento” in commemoration of *Corpus Christi* (Lehnertz 1974: 182–183) and quickly became very important to the Franciscans’ missionary interests, since it was a centre of ethnic diversity.

1.2.1 On the name(s) of the Kakataibo

It is well known that Panoan groups generally did not have ethnonyms, and usually received exonyms from other groups. Such exonyms usually came from the name of one specific marriage clan within the ethnic group. The most famous exonym that the Kakataibo were given was *Kashibo* (a Pano term comprised of *kashi* ‘bat’ and *-bu* ‘collective’, used by the Shipibo, the Konibo and the Shetebo, and then adopted by the Franciscan missionaries; see §1.2.2). This name, spelt as *<Cashibo>*, *<Casibo>*, *<Casivo>* or *<Cashivo>*, among others, appeared for the first time in the Colonial documents during the second half of the 18th century. According to Frank (1994: 141), the missionaries knew about this population much earlier and used the name *<Carapacho>* to refer to them in earlier documents.² This claim, however, requires further investigation and the association between *<Cashibo>* and *<Carapacho>* still needs to be more convincingly demonstrated.³

It is often claimed that the Kakataibo reject to the name “*Kashibo*” (Wistrand-Robinson 1998: ix; Frank 1994: 139), because it is believed to refer to their alleged savagery and taste for human flesh (see §1.2.2). In the anthropological literature, it is easy to find explicit comments about the negative value of this name and about the efforts of the Kakataibo to officially change it (a detailed account of this is given by Ritter 1986).

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

The name *Kakataibo* (also spelt *<Cacataibo>*) has also been proposed as a replacement for *Kashibo*, with more success than *Uni*. The name *Kakataibo ~ Cacataibo* is

² The etymology of the word *<Carapacho>* is clearly Quechua. It comprises the word /qara/, a pan-Quechua lexeme that means, in this case, ‘naked’ and the form /patṣa/, from the Quechua varieties of Junín and Huánuco, which means ‘belly’ (Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino, p.c.). That is, *<Carapacho>* means ‘a person who does not cover his belly’. The final *o* in the form *<Carapacho>* comes probably from the Spanish masculine gender marker, since it is likely that the original final *a* in the form /qara patṣa/ was re-analyzed in Spanish as a feminine gender marker and, thus, the masculine marker *-o* (and also *-e* in some documents) was used to replace it.

³ There are historical documents that treat the *<Carapacho>* and the *<Cashibo>* as two different ethnic groups. For instance, in the *Relación de Gobierno* by Francisco Gil de Toboada y Lemos (1796), the *<Cashibo>* and the *<Carapacho>* are described as two different (albeit fairly similar) groups (Gil de Toboada y Lemos (1859 [1796]: 132–137).

used by many organizations and is used in this grammar. Different anthropologists and linguists in Peru do the same, and this practice has been also adopted by the Kakataibo: for instance, the name of their political organization includes the name *Kakataibo* (spelt *Cacataibo*) and not *Kashibo*. Although this is the name that the Kakataibo people have chosen to refer to themselves and this decision should be respected, its use is not free of problems. First of all, historically, the name *Kakataibo* (see §1.2.3 and, particularly, Table 2) was used to refer only to one specific Kakataibo subgroup, likely the one that lives along the San Alejandro River (Tessmann 1930; Wistrand-Robinson 1969a; and Wistrand-Robinson 1998; among others). Thus, using the name *Kakataibo* disregards the historical differences among the Kakataibo from different regions. Although I am aware of this problem, I have decided to use the label *Kakataibo* in an attempt to respect the decisions that the Kakataibo have made several years ago about their own denomination. The reader must then take into consideration that this is a grammatical description of the dialect spoken along the lower Aguaytía River and not of the one spoken along the San Alejandro River, which has been described in Valle (2017b) (see §1.3.3).

One question remains: what does *Kakataibo* mean? Wistrand-Robinson (1998: xiv) considers that this word means ‘wandering people’, but her analysis has problems. To obtain the meaning ‘wander’, she must have been thinking of the verb ‘go’, which is *kʷan-* in Kakataibo but *ka-* in Shipibo-Konibo, thus bearing a phonetic similarity to the first two syllables of the name. This etymology, however, sounds dubious. In fact, it is clear that the Shipibo-Konibo called the Kakataibo simply *Kashibo* and, as far as I know, the term *Kakataibo* does not appear in the documents of the missionaries who lived with the Shipibo-Konibo. Therefore, trying to find a Shipibo etymology does not seem to be correct in the case of this ethnonym. As already explained, the name *Kakataibo* was originally the denomination of one particular Kakataibo subgroup and started to be used in order to refer to the whole ethnic group, perhaps due to the negative connotation of the name *Kashibo*. Therefore, *Kakataibo* is very likely to be a Kakataibo term, used by some clans to refer to another clan, rather than an exonym used by other Pano groups as a synonym of *Kashibo*.

The ending *-bo* in *Kakataibo* is clearly associated with the marker *=bu*, which in Kakataibo has a ‘collective’ interpretation (see §11.3.1.10). In turn, the form *-ai* in *kakatai* very likely corresponds to the nominalizer *-ai* (see §14.2.2.5). Therefore, the form that still needs an interpretation is *kakat* and not *kaka*. The form *kakat-* is very likely to be a verb, but I have not been able to find a completely satisfying interpretation for it. We are probably dealing with a reduplicated form and, therefore, the verbal form in question might be something like *kat: kat-kat > kakat* (reduplication of verbs is used to express intense, durative and iterative meanings; see §9.3). The Kakataibo say that *kakatai* means ‘the best men in the world’. This meaning is also given by Shell (1986: 28) in her vocabulary. There, the word *kakatai* is accompanied by the related word *kaatai* ‘the biggest and best bird or monkey that exists’ (probably having a more general meaning like ‘the best’). The word *kaatai* is very likely the non-

reduplicated version of the same verb, *kat-ai*, with an alleged vowel lengthening that still requires an explanation). Thus, it might be the case that there was a verb root *ka(a)t* ‘be the best of its class’, but unfortunately this alleged verb is not productive anymore. In conclusion, the following tentative analysis would account well for the form and meaning of the word *kakataibo*: the hypothesized verb *kat* ‘be the best in its class’ + reduplication of the verb ‘intensification’ + *-ai* ‘nominalizer’ + *=bu* ‘collective’ = *kakataibu* ‘the very best ones’.

1.2.2 The Kakataibo and the cannibalism myth

The Kakataibo have frequently been described as one of the most savage, aggressive and dangerous ethnic groups of South America, with reports dating back to the 18th century. Of these myths about the Kakataibo, the most famous story concerns their taste for human flesh. Their “uncontrollable” cannibalism became “proof” of their “savagery”, and it has been repeated in different monographs and reports since the establishment of the Franciscan Missions in the area. See, for example, the following passage, taken from Grubb (1927: 84):

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

Grubb includes only three lines about the Kakataibo in his book; but they feature the words *savage* and *cannibals*. The question at hand is: where does this terrible vision of the Kakataibo come from? The Franciscan missionaries re-established their missions along the Ucayali River for the last time in 1765–66 (after they recovered from an indigenous rebellion that forced them to leave the area). Once re-established in the Ucayali River, they invited the Shetebo and Shipibo (two populations living in the north-eastern region of the Pampa del Sacramento) to live with them and the Konibo, who were traditional enemies of the two other populations. The presence of the missionaries changed the social relations between those ethnic groups: all of them were interested in the western commodities (axes, metal tools, clothes and the like) that the missionaries distributed among the indigenous people living with them as a way to keep them on their missions. In order to have access to these goods, the Shipibo, the Shetebo and the Konibo had to live together in peace, to become Christians and to follow the Franciscan’s rules. One consequence of this was that the Shetebo and the Shipibo were absorbed by the Konibo, producing the Shipibo-Konibo ethnic group of present days.

However, this peaceful cohabitation did not extend to the other inhabitants of the Pampa del Sacramento (including the ancestors of the Kakataibo). Instead, the Shipibo-Konibo-Shetebo continued fighting with them as they had traditionally done – now with the additional motivation that they did not want to share the missionaries’ goods. According to Frank (1994), they did not want the missionaries to contact

other populations, and told them about the savage <Cashibo> ('bat people') who lived in the Pampa del Sacramento and were dangerous due to their uncontrollable desire for human flesh.

As did most if not all Pano groups, the ancestors of the Kakataibo practiced ritual funerary endocannibalism, but this practice is different from the purported uncontrollable desire for human flesh that the documents attribute to them. Dole (1962) offers a description of endocannibalism among Amawaka Indians (another Pano group) and argues that this type of cannibalism has been an extremely widespread practice among South American Indians and, particularly, among Pano populations.

According to Dole, cannibalism can be of different types, "according to whether the subject eaten belongs to the in-group or the out-group" (Dole 1962: 567), and she claims that the most common type of cannibalism among Pano populations was endocannibalism (practiced not only by the Kakataibo, but also by the Remos, Yaminawas, Amawakas and Konibos). Wistrand-Robinson (1969b) includes a text, told by Heriberto Pacarua, a Kakataibo man, who explains the tradition of ritual funerary endocannibalism, practiced by his ancestors. According to Heriberto Pacarua, the Kakataibo had a ritual of cremation of important people. This process was the first step in a ceremony where the people prepared a beverage with the powder obtained by crushing the charred bones of the dead person (after burning their flesh). The aim of this ritualized endocannibalism was to transfer the qualities of the dead person to the living people.

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

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

It is true that there were failed attempts by the missionaries to contact the <Cashibo>, and it is also true that the <Cashibo> attacked non-missionary expeditions and carried out attacks on the missions where the Franciscans lived with the Shetebo, Shipibo and Konibo. But it is also true that the Franciscans allowed the Shipibo and Konibo to attack, capture and kill the <Cashibo> (Frank 1994). It is difficult to stipulate who started this war, which in any case probably predates the arrival of the Spanish missionaries. However, it is likely that the missionary presence exacerbated the situation: one of the main reasons for the attacks by the <Cashibo> was a desire for the metal tools and clothes that the missionaries gave to the Shetebo, Shipibo and Konibo, but never to the <Cashibo>, since they were considered too savage to be evangelized.

The negative perception of the <Cashibo> ensured that they remained isolated from the missionaries, which had significant consequences for their historical development as an ethnic group. The Kakataibo entered the 20th century as a loosely integrated group of bands, and it was only in 1920 that a Kakataibo man called Simón Bolívar Odicio forced these bands to become a unified group (see §1.2.3).

1.2.3 A brief ethno-history of the Kakataibo

Overall, very little is known about the prehistory of Amazonia, but thanks to pioneering archaeological research by Lathrap (1962, 1968 and 1970), the Ucayali River basin is one of the archeologically most explored areas within the Amazon basin. Nevertheless, there are still many questions about how, when and by whom the area was occupied, and many of Lathrap's interpretations have been contested by different scholars (see Hornborg and Hill 2011).

However, some of Lathrap's findings are, as far as I understand, generally accepted. One of these is that the Ucayali Basin has been inhabited by different ethnic groups throughout the time. Lathrap (1970: 86–87) states that the earlier ceramic vestiges, found in Tutishcainyo (one kilometre from Yarinacocha Lake in Ucayali) could be contemporary to Kotosh, a culture from Huánuco.⁴ That is, according to Lathrap, the earlier ceramic vestiges found in the Ucayali basin are from 2000–1600 B.C. However, according to Lathrap (1970) and Myers (1970), only the much more recent ceramic vestiges found in Pacacocha (300 A.C.), another archaeological site close to Pucallpa, can be related to Pano speakers. Therefore, their interpretation is that the Pano presence in the Ucayali Basin is recent and represents a later stage in the chronology of the occupation of the Central Ucayali River.

If we accept Lathrap's interpretation, the next question that arises is: where did the Pano people come from? One answer is that they came from Southern Amazonia, from the area where the Tacanan languages, very likely related to Pano languages (see Valenzuela and Zariquey 2015 and §1.3.1), are currently found.⁵ The Southern origin of the Pano people was first proposed by Lathrap (1968), based on archaeological evidence such as the similarity between the ceramic patterns of the Pano groups and the pre-Guaraní ceramic style, and linguistic evidence associated with the existence of Pano-Tacana cognates. This proposal is accepted by different scholars (see Tournon 2002: 34 and Loos 1973: 279),⁶ but we do not have enough information about what

⁴ In accordance with this, Wistrand-Robinson (1973) shows some similarities between one of the axe types found in Kotosh and the axes found in Kakataibo settlements.

⁵ Fleck (2013) has recently put into question the possibility of a genetic relationship between the Pano and Takana language families.

⁶ D'Ans (1973) criticizes Lathrap's proposal. Based on the application of the glottochronological method, he argues that it is "evident" that the Pano presence along the Ucayali River is earlier than Lathrap thinks. However, D'Ans' conclusions are not convincing and should be taken very cautiously.

happened after the first alleged Pano-Takana split or about how the Pano populations settled in the places where they are now. We do not know, for example, if the arrival of Pano people in central Amazonia and particularly in the Ucayali Basin was one big migrational movement or if they moved at different times inhabiting different spaces. And we do not know about the specific emigrational movements followed by the Kakataibo's ancestors (Tournon 2002: 36). Therefore, although the proposal of a Southern Pano homeland is still to be demonstrated and there are clear caveats in association with it, I believe that no better hypothesis has been convincingly proposed yet and we simply do not know how the Kakataibo ancestors settled the Pampa de Sacramento.

The Franciscans never established missions among the Kakataibo ancestors and dedicated all their attention to the Shipibo, Konibo and Shetebo, with whom they lived in the Ucayali River missions. However, the missionaries needed to name the groups that lived in the Pampa de Sacramento. Frank (1994) proposes that, in that context, the name *<Cashibo>* was used as a cover term to refer to all these Indian bands (see §1.2.1). According to Frank (1994: 142–146), the creation of bounded ethnic groups, which could be “named”, only happened after the 18th century, influenced by the missionaries and other agents of western culture.

However, differently from what Frank believes, the clans referred to by the name *<Cashibo>* might not have necessarily been very different from each other in terms of either their culture or their language. In fact, those bands may have been more similar to each other than they were to outside groups. It is likely to be true that those bands had a very local definition of their identity, but it is also true that they probably came from the same ancestors. That is, even though they did not have an autodenomination to refer to a larger ethnic group that encompassed all their clans and the name *<Cashibo>* was imposed from outside, we do not have any evidence to believe that this name was used to refer to a highly heterogeneous set of ethnic bands or that these bands were more different from each other than from the Shipibo, the Konibo or the Shetebo. On the contrary, linguistic evidence seems to argue against Frank's proposal that missionaries “created” the Kakataibo ethnic group (see, for instance, §1.3.3, where the case of the *<Nokaman>* language is briefly commented on). I believe that the ancestors of the Kakataibo were (at least to some extent) a linguistically and culturally cohesive ethnic unit.

In modern times, the Kakataibo continue to have this concept of local identity at least to some extent and identify themselves as belonging to different subgroups. However, they will immediately recognize the Kakataibo from other areas as belonging to the same ethnic unit. They use the Kakataibo word *kaibo* ‘distant relative’ or the Spanish term *paisano* ‘fellow countryman’ to refer to them, but these words will never be used to refer to the Shipibo-Konibo, for instance. Tessmann (1930: 128) divides the people who he called *<Kaschibo>* into three sub-groups, sub-divided into eighteen different clans, as presented in Table 1 (the version offered here comes from an unpublished translation by David Fleck, based on the Spanish version of Tessmann's book, published in 1999):

Table 1. Tessmann's classification of the <Kaschibo> people

Kaschinō Group	
1. <i>kašinō</i>	from <i>kaši</i> = bat, therefore, bat people
2. <i>rūinō</i>	from <i>rui</i> = taro [cultivated tuber], therefore, taro people
3. <i>warínō</i>	from <i>warí</i> = sun, therefore, sun people
4. <i>tšažonō</i>	from <i>tšažo</i> = deer [type?], therefore deer people
5. <i>naibo</i>	from <i>nai</i> = sloth, <i>bo</i> = group, people, therefore, sloth people/group
6. <i>naítabohuni</i>	from <i>naítabo</i> = scarlet macaw and <i>huni</i> = men, therefore, macaw people

Runo Group	
7. <i>rōunō</i>	from <i>rōu</i> = howler monkey, therefore howler monkey people
8. <i>winanō</i>	from <i>wina</i> = wasp, therefore wasp people
9. <i>aínō</i>	from <i>aí</i> = woman, therefore woman people
10. <i>šokenō</i>	from <i>šoke</i> = small toucan, aracari [type of small toucan], therefore aracari people
11. <i>inonō</i>	from <i>ino</i> = jaguar, therefore jaguar people
12. <i>širinō</i>	from <i>širi</i> = trogon [type of bird], therefore trogon(?) people
13. <i>tonánō</i>	from <i>toná</i> = black, therefore black people (due to the dark skin of the members of this clan)
14. <i>hunínō</i>	from <i>huni</i> = human being, therefore the humans
15. <i>kamaigohuni</i>	from <i>kamaigo</i> = type of iguana, therefore iguana people
16. <i>tsalgūnō</i>	from <i>tsalgū</i> = rail [type of shore bird] (acouchi [type of small rodent, probably an error]), therefore rail people
17. <i>bunion</i>	from <i>buni</i> = a type of tree [swamp palm (<i>aguaje</i>)?]

Kakataibo Group	
18. Kakataibo	could not be explained, must be something like “good people”

The level of social and political integration among Tessmann's “groups” is difficult to determine, but Tessmann collected 31-word lexical lists for the three groups, which allow us to corroborate their linguistic relation. A detailed analysis of these three 31-word lists (Zariquiey 2013a) revealed that 13 of the words are identical in the three lists. Furthermore, the varieties attributed to the *Kaschinō* and the *Runo* share at least 27 cognates over a total of 31 words. The variety attributed to the *Kakataibo* group is the most divergent one, but still the number of cognates is substantial: we find 22 cognates between the varieties attributed to the *Runo* and the *Kakataibo* groups, and 23 cognates between the varieties of the *Kaschinō* and the *Kakataibo* groups.

In light of the results of the lexical comparisons, it would be very difficult to argue that those subgroups spoke different languages rather than different dialects. In addition, Tessmann offers information about a small Pano group that he called <Nokamán>.⁷ The <Nokamán> were part of what the missionaries called the

⁷ Note that the name given by Tessmann is very likely to be wrong. The more probable form is *kamanō*, with the etymology *kaman* ‘highlands’ and *no* ‘foreigner’ (the form *no* in Kakataibo is cognate with

<Cashibo>. Based on the linguistic data that Tessmann (1930: 184–185) documented, it is possible to say that this ethnic group clearly constituted another Kakataibo dialect (see Zariquey 2013b and §1.3.3). The <Nokamán> and the three subgroups of <Kaschibo> recognized by Tessmann spoke dialects of the same language (see §1.3.3, where Kakataibo dialectology is briefly described); and this language was different from the language of the Shipibo and the Konibo (which were probably very similar to each other) as well as from the language of the Shetebo (which was probably very similar to the extinct language known as Pano or Wariapano, see §1.3.1).

In turn, Wistrand-Robinson (1969a: 146–147) identifies the following different Kakataibo subgroups: <Cacataibo> ('Kakatai people'; located along the San Alejandro River), <Canabae Uni> ('macaw people'; located along the lower Aguaytía River); <Rubu> ('howler monkey people'; located along the Upper Aguaytía River); and <Isonubo> ('spider monkey people', located along the Sungaroyacu River). The subgroups proposed by Wistrand-Robinson roughly correspond to the subgroups that can be identified today. However, in Zariquey (2013a), I have shown that establishing any correlation between the data offered by Tessmann and the contemporary dialects of Kakataibo is extremely risky, since the word lists prepared by the German ethnographer are extremely confusing. For instance, based only on the names of the subgroups one would be tempted to establish a correlation between Tessmann's Kakataibo and the contemporary speakers of the San Alejandro River (also called Kakataibo by Wistrand-Robinson), but such a relation does not find support in the lexical data. In fact, the comparison revealed the lowest degree of relationship. It might be the case that the San Alejandro dialect is the one that has changed more radically in the last decades, but I do not have sound evidence for this claim and, therefore, I prefer to be cautious about any possible correlation between the classification offered by Tessmann and more recent classifications.

Wistrand-Robinson (1969a: 147) also mentioned another small group, located along the Pachitea River, called the <Kamano>. This probably extinct group might have corresponded to Tessmann's <Nokamán> (see §1.3.3), but again we need to be cautious about such a claim. Some anthropologists and non-governmental organizations consider the <Kamano> to still be alive, living in voluntary isolation. Wistrand-Robinson's (1969a) classification of Kakataibo subgroups is presented in Table 2 (notice that the ethnic classification offered by Wistrand-Robinson largely corresponds to the dialectological classification proposed in §1.3.3):

nawa, which is a component of many Pano ethnonyms and clan designation, such as Kashinawa, Yaminawa, etc. Note that the first part of the name may also be etymologically related to *kaman* 'wild dog', considering that many other Pano names include a noun referring to an animal (e.g. *kuni* 'electric eel, *Electrophorus electricus*' > Konibo, *shipi* 'saddleback tamarin, *Saguinus fuscicollis*' > Shipibo, etc.). The Kakataibo people, however, consider that the Kamano live in the highlands and that this is why they are thus named.

Table 2. Kakataibo subgroups in Wistrand-Robinson (1969a)

Wistrand-Robinson (1969a)	Location
Cacataibo	San Alejandro River
Canabae uni	Lower Aguaytía River
Rubo	Upper Aguaytía River
Isunubo	Sungaroyacu River
Kamano	Close to the Pachitea River (?)

Thus, while the name <Cashibo> was imposed by the missionaries on a set of small bands, the available linguistic evidence suggests that those bands were not very different from each other and that it is not necessarily the case that this name created a completely new ethnic group, as Frank (1994) seems to believe. It is probably true that these bands did not necessarily see each other as belonging to the same in-group, but it is very likely that they had a certain level of integration or that they even cooperated with each other in some of the attacks on the Franciscan missions. Note as well that the missionaries learned the term <Cashibo> from the Shipibo, Konibo and Shetebo (see §1.2.3), but it is uncertain what portion of the Kakataibo ancestors they designated with this term. This point is very important since, presumably, the Franciscans did not use the term differently, but rather used it to refer to the same group of people that the Shetebo, Konibo and Shipibo referred to with the term.

One hundred years after Peru's independence from Spain, during the years between 1920 and 1940, a Kakataibo man who was captured and raised by the Shipibo and called Simón Bolívar Odicio succeeded in dominating and unifying the different Kakataibo bands, forcing them to live together with each other and with some of the Shipibo in villages that he established (see Gray 1953). It is interesting to note that Bolívar Odicio had a clear idea of which bands he wanted to unify and of where to find them. To some extent, he knew who were his "paisanos".

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

Under Bolívar Odicio's leadership, the Kakataibo worked on the clearing and the construction of the last section of the highway from Lima to Pucallpa: particularly on the section from the city of Aguaytía to Pucallpa; and, according to some elderly Kakataibo, they also cleared the stretch from the city of Aguaytía to the city of Tingo

María. During those years of hard work, the Kakataibo “were outwardly acculturated and subdued, but suffered decimation through epidemics of measles, whooping cough, and tuberculosis as well as extreme cultural shock” (Wistrand-Robinson 1969: 13). As a reward for their work on the highway, the Kakataibo were deeded a reservation territory by the Peruvian Government in 1940. The reservation consisted of a few hundred hectares on the west bank of the Lower Aguaytía. The Peruvian Government was expecting the Kakataibo from different rivers to gather there and live together, but that did not happen. Only the people who were originally from there stayed in the reservation, while it is said that all Bolívar’s captives wandered back to their original settlements, after Bolívar’s death (Wistrand-Robinson 1969: 13).

Bolívar Odicio also forced the Kakataibo to work for other *patrones*.⁸ These *patrones* (which include, among others, a Peruvian engineer called Benturín and a Japanese business man called Yamato Tawa; Frank 1994) made them work without rest, letting them die and causing a break in the transmission of their cultural values (Wistrand-Robinson 1968b). Towards the beginning of 1940, the Kakataibo were alienated from their traditional culture, suffering from a dependency on western manufactured products and, in many cases, not remembering how to manufacture their traditional artifacts. It was when they were in this state of mind that they were contacted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) missionaries in the 1950s. SIL missionaries created the first schools for the Kakataibo and developed a long-lasting relationship with them.

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

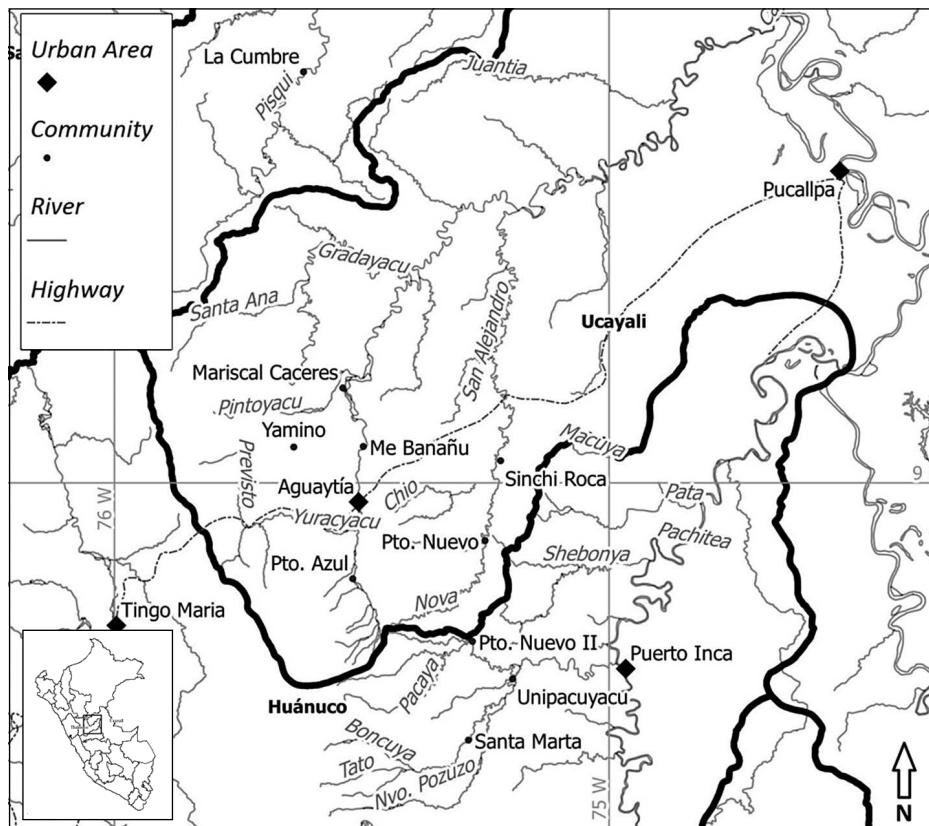
1.2.4 The Kakataibo today

Currently, the Kakataibo inhabit the Amazonian Highlands or *Selva Alta*, in the area of the border between the Peruvian regions of Huánuco and Ucayali. Tingo María and Aguaytía are two of the largest towns in the area, and their population is mainly composed of migrants or sons and daughters of migrants, who arrived from different

⁸ A *patrón* is an entrepreneur, usually in the rubber or timber industry, who engages a large number of employees, typically by giving them credit advances to control them through debt.

places in the Andes, looking for a better life. These Andean migrants settled also in more rural areas, where they have to share fields and resources with the earlier settlers: indigenous populations like the Kakataibo. The Kakataibo live in seven villages, along the Aguaytía, San Alejandro, Shamboyacu, Sungaroyacu and, more recently, Pisqui s (see Map 1, where the location of the Kakataibo communities or villages are indicated).

Map 1. Current location of Kakataibo villages



According to Frank (1994: 151), it is not possible to know how many Kakataibo there were during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The earliest demographic information about them comes from Von Hassel (1905). Von Hassel indicates that there were around 3,000 or 3,500 Kakataibo during the last years of the 19th century, though it is unlikely that he could have accurately estimated the population of the then-uncontacted Kakataibo. According to Gray (1953: 146), Bolívar Odicio estimated their population to have been 5,000 at the beginning of the 20th century; and Ritter

considers that during the first years of the 1970s, they numbered only 1,300 people with an increase rate of 4% per year (quoted in Frank 1994: 152). This reduction of the Kakataibo between 1930 and 1940 corresponds to the time when they were recruited to work on the last part of the highway that connects Lima with Pucallpa (see §1.2.3). In accordance with this, it has been claimed that in 1960 there were fewer than one thousand Kakataibo people (Wistrand-Robinson 1968: 614). According to the most recent Census of Indigenous Communities of the Peruvian Amazon (INEI: 2007), currently the Kakataibo number about 1879. However, the Kakataibo political organization (FENACOCA) considered their number to be around 3,000 or 3,500 in 2007 (Fernando Estrella, p.c.). This number is the one that I believe to be the most accurate, but still requires confirmation.

1.2.5 Material culture and subsistence

The ancestors of the Kakataibo do not seem to have had an elaborate material culture. Several colonial documents highlight the fact that they did not have canoes, sophisticated pottery or complex basketry. Wistrand-Robinson (1973) has documented different types of beautifully manufactured stone axes, though it is likely that these were acquired through trade.

Among the most elaborate artefacts manufactured by the Kakataibo ancestors were their arrows and spears, which are claimed to be among the most beautiful and sophisticated in the Amazon basin (the first edition of Tessman's 1930 book actually presents these arrows on the coversheet). Kakataibo arrows are of different types, specialized for different functions, including hunting, fishing and warfare. However, they are not used for those functions any longer, and currently their manufacture is exclusively for sale to tourists and collectors. In principle, only a few elders still know how to make arrows and spears, but I have witnessed a number of young people trying to learn this skill.

The prehistoric ancestors of the Kakataibo were mainly hunters, fishermen and gatherers, and they had only rudimentary agriculture. Those subsistence activities are still important for the Kakataibo nowadays. Shotguns are used for hunting, and most people fish with castings nets and hooks. Gathering of forest resources is infrequent and only for specific reasons, such as collecting canes to fabricate arrows, or collecting medicinal plants when someone is sick. Agriculture is by far the most important source of subsistence for most of the Kakataibo. The crops they presently plant include plantain, manioc, corn, rice, pineapple, coconut and papaya, among many others. Recently, the Peruvian government has introduced a project for the Kakataibo who are interested in planting cacao, as an incentive to prevent illegal coca plantations. Dozens of Kakataibo families from different villages have been trained in the management of cacao plantations, and this crop is becoming an important source of income.

In recent years, the Kakataibo have also started to put considerable effort in making their traditional handicrafts more profitable. They have realized that handi-

crafts may obtain good prices in certain markets and I have taken part in projects focused on establishing their handicraft in those markets. I have accompanied them in Lima, participating in various handicraft markets, where they have had much success. This is becoming an important source of income, as it is for other indigenous populations.

The Kakataibo are currently rooted deeply in the non-indigenous culture, and have changed their life radically. At least three Kakataibo villages (Yamino, Mariscal Cáceres and Puerto Azul) have communal houses in the city of Aguaytía, and those houses are usually full of Kakataibo who may spend long periods in that city. There, they work in different types of jobs, earn some money and look after their sons and daughters, many of whom are studying at local schools. However, the conditions are not necessarily very good and these communal houses do not have access to basic services.

In principle, it seems that the Kakataibo have adapted relatively well to the urban style of life, and some of them are successful. Probably the best example is Fernando Estrella, who in 2010 took up a very important position in the Municipal Government of Aguaytía and even became the acting mayor of the Province of Padre Abad for a short period. However, not all the Kakataibo prosper and improve their quality of life in the cities. There are not enough jobs available there, and the fact that money is required to obtain basic necessities produces anxiety and stress. This makes the cities crucially different from the traditional villages, where there is always something to eat and to drink. However, for reasons that still require careful sociological research, most Kakataibo prefer to stay in Aguaytía as much as they can, even under the most difficult conditions.

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

1.2.6 Kinship system

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

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

Table 3 and Table 4 give the basic kinship terms (as listed in Wistrand-Robinson 1969a: 20). Note that different criteria appear to operate depending on how different kinship relations are established. Thus, while a distinction based on the sex of ego is made for the terms in Table 4, the sex of ego is not relevant for the terms included in Table 3. Particularly interesting are the terms for ‘sibling’, which establish a distinction between relatives of the same and different sex: the term *xukën* is used for both female and male *egos* to refer to siblings of the same sex. In turn, *chira bakë* and *rareë bakë* are used to refer to siblings of different sex, by male and female *egos*, respectively.

Table 3. Kinship terms used by female and male *ego* alike

Kakataibo term	gloss
<i>chichi</i>	‘grandmother’
<i>papa</i>	‘father’
<i>kuku</i>	‘uncle’
<i>tita</i>	‘mother’
<i>xukën</i>	‘same sex sibling’
<i>baba</i>	‘grandchild’

Table 4. Kinship terms that distinguish between female and male *ego*

male ego	female ego	gloss
<i>xuta</i>	—	‘grandfather’
—	<i>bënta</i>	‘grandfather’
<i>nachi</i>	—	‘aunt’
—	<i>ñe xuta</i>	‘aunt’
<i>chira bake</i>	—	‘different sex sibling / parallel cousin’
—	<i>rare bake</i>	‘different sex sibling’
<i>chai</i>	—	‘male cross cousin’
—	<i>tsabë</i>	‘female cross cousin’
<i>aini</i>	—	‘female cross cousin’
<i>xanu</i>	—	‘wife, woman’
—	<i>bënë</i>	‘male cross cousin; husband’
<i>bëchikë</i>	—	‘offspring’
—	<i>tuá</i>	‘offspring’
<i>piaka</i>	—	‘nephew, niece’ / ‘son-in-law, daughter-in-law’
—	<i>papa xuta</i>	‘nephew, son-in-law’
—	<i>ñe xuta</i>	‘niece, daughter-in-law’

In some cases, additional age distinctions are made in some kinship terms. See Table 5.

Table 5. Age distinctions in kinship terms (Wistrand-Robinson 1969a: 22)

male	female	gloss
<i>unchi</i>	—	‘younger brother’
<i>buchi</i>	<i>buchi</i>	‘older brother’
‘enchi	‘enchi	‘younger sister’
—	<i>chuchu</i>	‘older sister’
<i>pui</i>	<i>pui</i>	‘older opposite sex sibling’
<i>chaipa</i>	—	‘younger cross cousin’
—	<i>bënta xuta</i>	‘younger cross cousin’

A final point to be mentioned is that, for some kinship terms, it is possible to make a distinction between forms that carry the ending *-okë* and forms that do not. According to my Kakataibo teachers, the forms with the additional morphology refer to “authentic” or “close” relatives.⁹ For instance, while *kukuo[a]kë* can be used to refer to the brother of *ego*’s mother, it cannot be used to refer to her male cousins, which are simply *kuku*. In a similar way, *xutaokë* can be used to refer to the father of *ego*’s

⁹ The kinship terms with *-okë* are also used to refer to dead relatives or mythical ancestors.

mother or father, and his brothers; but it cannot be used to refer to *ego*'s grandfather's cousins (see §6.2.2 for more on the particular morphosyntactic properties of kinship terms).

1.2.7 Pet vocatives

An interesting feature of Kakataibo culture is a robust inventory of pet vocatives used to call animal species that Kakataibo people raise or keep as pets. This fact has been documented for other Amazonian languages (see Fleck and Voss 2006 for this phenomenon in other Pano languages, such as Marubo and Matis; and also Dienst and Fleck (2009) for an areal description of the pet vocatives in Western Amazonia). The list of the Kakataibo pet vocatives collected at this stage of my research is presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Pet vocatives in Kakataibo

Pet vocative	Referential noun	Animal species	Scientific name
<i>tsitikun</i>	<i>chiru</i>	'capuchin monkey'	<i>Cebus apella</i>
<i>bëtún</i>	<i>riri</i>	'night monkey'	<i>Aotus</i> species
<i>tëchun</i>	<i>ru</i>	'howler monkey'	<i>Alouatta seniculus</i>
<i>achun</i>	<i>chuna</i>	'spider monkey'	<i>Ateles paniscus</i>
<i>achun</i>	<i>chuna kuru</i>	'woolly monkey'	<i>Lagothrix lagothricha</i>
<i>siun</i>	'ó	'tapir'	<i>Tapirus terrestris</i>
<i>bëxtun</i>	<i>'unkin</i>	'collared peccary'	<i>Pecari tajacu</i>
<i>chishú</i>	ñø	'white-lipped peccary'	<i>Tayassu pecari</i> (female)
<i>raxnun</i>	ñø	'white-lipped peccary'	<i>Tayassu pecari</i> (male)
<i>rënku</i>	'amen	'capybara'	<i>Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris</i>
<i>chaxmèn</i>	<i>mari</i>	'agouti'	<i>Dasyprocta</i> species
<i>tanpan</i>	'anu	'paca'	<i>Cuniculus paca</i>
<i>kushtin</i>	<i>asin</i>	'curassow'	<i>Mitu tuberosum</i>
<i>rëxká</i>	<i>sisi</i>	'coati'	<i>Nasua nasua</i>

As can be seen, pet vocatives are formed in different ways: they can be formed through the phonological modification of the root (as in the case of *achun* from *chuna*, which is the result of metathesis), by an onomatopoeic word (as in the case of *tsitsikun*) or by referring to one specific physical characteristic of the animal (like *tëchun*, which refers to the enlarged larynx of the howler monkey: *të-* is the prefix for 'neck'). In the other cases, the etymology is obscure (see Fleck and Voss 2006).

Since Kakataibo people do not raise wild animals very often in recent times, most people do not remember these pet vocatives. Actually, the only one that I have heard occurring naturally during my fieldwork was *siun* 'tapir', because there was one in the

village. The people told me that this name refers to the striped patterns of the tapir when it is young (*siun* ‘line’).

It may be the case that the list of pet vocatives was more complex in the past and, as with the different vocatives for ‘white-lipped peccary’, there could have been more pet vocatives distinguishing sex.

1.2.8 Social life, beliefs and cultural transmission

In §1.2.2, due to its systematic presence in the colonial documentation and to the consequences of this presence to the history of the Kakataibo, I treat separately a funerary endo-cannibalistic ritual among their ancestors. This ritual consisted of cremating dead relatives and eating the ashes of their charred and pulverized bones, in order to gain access to the deceased’s knowledge and qualities. This endo-cannibalism practice reflects the value that Kakataibo attribute to knowledge. As I will briefly explain here, following Frank (1994), knowledge for the Kakataibo is something that must be carefully preserved.

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

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

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

This is, for example, what the Kakataibo people think about the Kamano people (see §1.2.3), who are considered by them to be their “naked” relatives, who live in the jungle, without knowing anything and almost like animals. It is common in political meetings for elderly Kakataibo to request money from the government, the companies

operating in the area or other organizations, in order to make an expedition and “civilize their naked relatives”. Only once they become civilized, the Kamano will be equal and will be treated as true human beings.

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

This practice has radically changed in recent times. The elderly Kakataibo are aware of those changes and complain about the lack of interest that young parents and their children have in their own traditions. Nowadays, the structure and the frequency of ‘ësëti’ are different: it happens less often and it does not necessarily occur at nights. Nevertheless, in my experience, those traditions are still transmitted. In fact, I myself have been woken in the middle of the night a few times, because the father or the mother of the family I was living with was practicing ‘ësëti’ in a traditional way.

In addition to counselling, the Kakataibo had a very rich oral tradition, with many fascinating characters and complex narrative threads. Many of the narratives include morals and illustrate what might happen to a person if he or she is violent, jealous, unloyal or incapable of controlling his or her sexual desire. In some other cases, the stories do not have moral content and are similar to jokes in Western societies. A selection of some of these traditional stories is offered in Zariquiey (2010). There are considerable differences in how the same story may be told by different speakers; however, one very interesting point to mention is that it is never possible to change the discourse of the characters. Each character in a Kakataibo narrative has “his or her words” and it is very important to be rigorous about this.

The Kakataibo also have a very complex and beautiful tradition of singing. Kakataibo songs use figurative language and are highly poetic (Wistrand-Robinson 1976, Prieto 2016), and traditionally had different social functions. Different styles of singing were used by men and women to tell others about their trips and the things that they saw in other places; to remember the relatives that have travelled or died; to counsel their children; and to tell their own life stories. Dedicated songs for ceremonies associated with the rearing and killing of animals and with wars were also traditionally sung. This is summarized in Table 7, which lists the different types of traditional songs of the Kakataibo, according to Wistrand-Robinson (1975).

Table 7. Traditional songs of the Kakataibo (Wistrand-Robinson 1975, orthography and glosses as in the original)

Type	Gloss	Sung by
<bana tuputi>	'words in cadence'	women
<caananquiti>	'reciprocal speaking'	men or women
<bana méceti>	'recited chanting'	men
<bana biruti>	'loud chanting'	men
<chani bana oti>	'passing word around'	men
<no bana>	'enemy's chants'	men
<xuuncati>	'curing songs'	men
<raramati>	'wail, lament'	men or women

As with ‘ësëti’, traditional singing is no longer practiced in a systematic way and it no longer accomplishes the social functions that it used to. Only a very few old people still remember how to sing and I have had the opportunity to listen to traditional songs mostly upon my request, i.e., when I asked somebody to teach me about the traditional songs. The elderly who still remember the traditional songs do not remember how to sing in all the different genres listed in Table 7 and I have only been able to record performances of <bana tuputi>, <bana méceti> and <no bana>. Old speakers of the language often remember hearing the other types of songs, but do not remember how to sing them.

A couple of times, I have listened to old men singing spontaneously when a member of his family left the village. When asked by me about the type of song that they were performing, they responded that they were singing “no bana oti”. Therefore, it might be the case that this type of song was not exclusively related to war and related topics. Additionally, I have learned about the existence of other types of songs, which are not included in Table 7. For instance, there are dedicated songs for hunting peccaries, called “ño xakwati”, and lullabies, which in Kakataibo are called “tua paranti”. Unfortunately, I am not aware of a single young person who knows how to sing in a traditional way and the only songs in the Kakataibo language that young people know are the ones introduced by the missionaries.

There has been a long-standing presence of formal education within the Kakataibo villages, and each village has a primary school (grades 1–6). The first schools were introduced in the 1950s by SIL missionaries, and currently the schools in the Kakataibo villages are part of the public Peruvian education system. Most children now attend and usually finish primary school, but not many complete secondary school (grades 7–11). There are only two villages that have secondary schools, and, for most families, sending their children to secondary school represents an economic burden that they cannot afford.

Village schools are supposed to be bilingual according to Peruvian legislation, but, in some cases, teachers are non-Kakataibo, do not speak the language and, there-

fore, do not use it in the classroom. The situation is difficult since there are only one or two teachers per school and since the classes are heterogeneous: children of the Andean migrants also attend those schools, and students of different ages are in the same classroom. In my experience, teachers have not received any training on how to deal with such a complex teaching situation.

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

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

1.3 The Kakataibo language

This section is organized as follows: in §1.3.1, I offer a brief discussion about the Pano language family and in §1.3.2, I discuss the position of Kakataibo within the family in more detail. §1.3.3 presents Kakataibo dialectology and offers several examples of the main phonological and lexical differences among the Kakataibo dialects. This section also presents the *<Nokamán>* language. §1.3.4 summarizes previous studies on the Kakataibo language. §1.3.5 discusses the vitality of Kakataibo, and §1.3.6 presents a short typological characterization of the language.

1.3.1 The Pano language family

The proposal of grouping some languages into a linguistic family called **Pano** was formally presented for the first time in 1888. Raoul de la Grasserie showed, during the VII International Congress of Americanists in Berlin, that the language spoken by an ethnic group called Pano was related to the languages spoken by six neighbouring populations (Cf. de la Grasserie 1890).¹⁰ His conclusion was that all these languages

¹⁰ This idea existed since the 17th century among some Jesuits, like Iriarte, who considered that the Pano language was the “mother” of a number of languages known at that time as *<Chipeo>*, *<Cheteo>*,

belong to the same language family, and he was the first to formally propose the term Pano to refer to this linguistic unit (but note that this term was also the name of a particular language; see footnote 10). Only a few years after De la Grasserie's pioneering work, Brinton (1891) gave a list of 18 Pano languages, including those mentioned by De la Grasserie. Brinton's work was a precursor to the lists that appeared during the 20th century: for instance, Rivet's (1924) list of 39 Pano languages, and Schmidt's (1926) list of 19 Pano languages. Both Rivet's and Schmidt's work also proposed internal classifications for the family. Schmidt was the first scholar to use geographical criteria in his classification, subdividing the Pano family into a Northern group, a Central group and a Southern group. Rivet's and Schmidt's classifications were the sources for later classifications by scholars such as Jijón y Caamaño (1942), Loutkotka (1942) and McQuown (1955), who tried to offer an account of the linguistic diversity of larger regions of South America. The first classification of the Pano family based on the more rigorous comparative method appeared only in the 1960s: Shell (1965, reprinted in Spanish in 1975) and, after Shell's study, D'Ans (1973), Loos (1999), Fleck (2007a, 2013), Valenzuela and Guillaume (2017) and Zariquiey and Valenzuela (to appear).

For a number of scholars, the Pano family is understood to belong to a stock called Pano-Tacana. The Pano-Tacana relationship has been defended by different scholars since the last years of the 19th century (see Valenzuela 2003: 58). Key (1968) shows some cognates (or presumed cognates) that are shared across both linguistic families; and Girard (1971) presents 116 lexical items reconstructed for Proto-Pano-Tacana, which suggest the existence of regular phonetic correspondences, which go beyond mere chance. However, more recently, Fleck (2013: 22) has argued that: "... a genetic Pano-Takana relationship has not yet been convincingly demonstrated", pointing towards the fact that: "... only further reconstruction work demonstrating that alleged cognates and shared grammatical features are common to both Proto-Pano and Proto-Takana will reveal whether the similarities can be attributed to genetic relation." A similar perspective is provided by Fabre (1994), who states that some of the presumed cognates may even turn out to be loans when studied more carefully. In my own experience with languages from both families, it results clear that they exhibit a high degree of similarity, not only lexical but also regarding their morphosyntactic properties. The strong similarities between Pano and Takana language families make the possibility of a genetic affiliation very likely (Valenzuela and Zariquiey 2015).

<Capanagua>, <Mayoruna>, etc. De la Grasserie was the first to present this statement to an academic audience. In addition, other missionary classification systems use the term "Pano language" to refer to a superordinate category that includes Shipibo, Shetebo, Amahuaca, Mayoruna, etc. as "dialects" (see Fleck 2013). The typical etymology given for the name of the family is 'giant armadillo (*Priodontes maximus*)', which is the meaning of the word *pano/panu* in most Pano languages (but not in the Pano language), but see Fleck (2013: 30, footnote 21) for other possible etymologies of the term.

At present, the Pano language family includes approximately 28 to 30 languages, which are spoken in Peru (in the Departments of Loreto, Huánuco, Ucayali and Madre de Dios), Brazil (in the States of Acre, Amazonia and Rondônia) and Bolivia (in the Departments of Beni and Pando). The largest linguistic diversity within the family and the largest number of speakers are found in Peru. According to Erikson et al. (1994: 4–5), the total Pano population reaches 38,400 people: 30,000 in Peru, 7,700 in Brazil and 700 in Bolivia; although it is very likely that the real number of speakers is higher and Fleck (2013: 1) estimates the total Pano population between 40,000 and 50,000 members. The following map, from Fleck (2013), shows the current location of the Pano languages.

Map 2. Current distribution of Pano languages (from Fleck 2013)



Pano languages share not just a considerable number of words but also some major grammatical features. Valenzuela (2003b: 882) mentions some of them: (a) AOV / SV basic constituent order; (b) dominantly agglutinative morphology with some polysynthetic tendency in the verb; (c) exclusive use of suffixes (with the exception of body-part prefixes) and postpositions; (d) absence of cognate cross-referential pronominal marking on the verb or auxiliary; (e) absence of adnominal agreement; (f) ergative alignments with different kinds of splits; and (g) fairly complex switch-reference systems.¹¹

As previously mentioned, the first rigorous Pano classification was proposed by Shell (1965, 1975). Shell bases her grouping on a reconstruction of extensive lexical material for 7 Pano languages (Amawaka, Kapanawa, Kashibo, Kashinawa, Chakobo, Marinawa and Shipibo-Konibo),¹² and offers an account of the processes by which these languages have separated from each other. Therefore, her work is not a complete classification of the family, but a convincing description of how the languages in her sample might have evolved from a shared ancestor. This is illustrated below.¹³

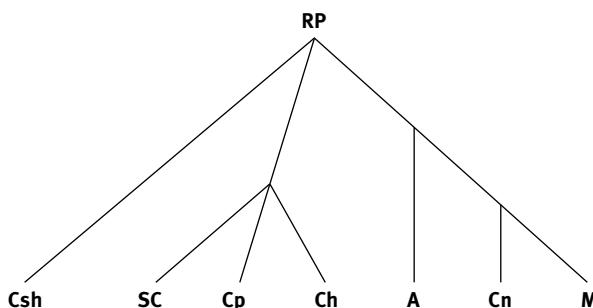


Figure 1. Shell's classification of seven Pano languages (abbreviations as in the original)

D'Ans (1973) offers a lexico-statistic analysis of 10 Pano languages (Kakataibo, Pano, Shipibo, Kapanawa, Amawaka, Iskonawa, Kashinawa, Yaminawa, Sharanawa and Chakobo) and proposes an internal classification of the Pano family. His classification distinguishes five branches: Ucayali Pano (I), PreAndean Pano (II), Pano of the Headwaters (III), Pano from Beni (Bolivia) (IV) and Northern Pano (V). The languages D'Ans included in his classification are listed in Table 8.

11 It is important to mention, however, that most of these features (except perhaps (g)) are widely found among Western Amazonian languages, not just Pano (Pattie Epps, pc).

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

13 RP = Reconstructed Pano, Csh = Kashibo-Kakataibo, SC = Shipibo-Konibo, Cp = Kapanawa, Ch = Chakobo, A = Amawaka, Cn = Kashinawa, M = Marinawa.

Table 8. D'Ans' classification of Pano languages (orthography and question marks as in the original)

I. PANO UCAYALINO	
A. UCAYALINO A	B. UCAYALINO B
1. Shipibo-Conibo	a. Panavarro
a. Shipibo	b. Shetebo (?)
b. Conibo	c. Huariapano (?)
2. Capanahua	
a. Capanahua	
II. PANO PREANDINO	
a. Cashibo	
b. Cacataibo (?)	
III. PANO DE LAS CABECERAS	
A. ISCONAHUANO	E. PANO-PURUS
a. Isconahua	a. Yaminahua
B. AMAHUACANO	b. Sharannahua
a. Amahuaca	c. Marinahua (?)
C. CASHINAHUANO	d. Chaninahua (?)
a. Cashinahua	e. Mastanahua (?)
	f. Yahanahua (?)
IV. PANO BENIANO	
a. Chacobo	
b. Pacaguara (?)	
V. PANO DEL NORTE (?)	
a. Mayoruna (?)	

Loos (1999) proposes the existence of 30 Pano languages, with 22 of them grouped into three tentative subgroups (subgroup Yaminawa, subgroup Chakobo and subgroup Kapanawa) and 8 languages considered ungrouped languages. According to Loos (1999), his classification is based on phonological, morphological and lexical data, but these data are not carefully described in his study. Loos' classification is presented in Table 9.

Table 9. Loos' classification of Pano languages

Yaminawa subgroup	
1. Yaminawa	5. Yawanawa
2. Amawaca	6. Chitonawa
3. Kashinawa/Honikoin	7. Yoranawa/Nawa/Parquenawa
4. Sharanawa/Shanindawa/ Chandinawa/Inonawa/Marinawa	8. Moronawa 9. Mastanawa
Chakobo subgroup	
10. Chakobo	13. †Yamiaka
11. †Arazaire	14. Katukina/Kamannawa/Waninnawa
12. †Atsawaka	15. Pakawara
Kapanawa subgroup	
16. Kapanawa/Pahenbakebo	20. †Wariapano/Panobo/Pano
17. Shipibo/Konibo/Xetebo	21. Iskonawa
18. †Remo	22. †Kanamari/Taverí/Matoínahā
19. Marubo	
Ungrouped languages	
23. Kashibo/Kakataibo/Komabo	27. Matses/Mayoruna
24. +Kulino	28. †Nokamán
25. Karipuná	29. †Poyanáwa
26. Kaxariri	30. †Tuxinawa

A different Pano classification proposal has been offered by Fleck (2013). His classification is probably the most divergent in relation to the preceding classifications (Shell 1965, 1975; D'Ans 1973; and Loos 1999). Its level of detail can be seen not only in the information offered (based on a careful study of most available sources); but also in the number of layers of relationship that his classification presents (including information about different dialects of the same language). Its divergent nature can be appreciated, for instance, in the proposal that there are only two main subgroups in the Pano family: the Mayoruna brach and the Mainline branch. Fleck's (2013) classification, which includes 18 extant and 14 extinct documented languages, is presented in the following table (see also Fleck 2007a for a previous version of this classification based on 16 languages).

Table 10. Pano classification proposed by Fleck (2013)¹⁴**I. Mayoruna branch (4 extant and 4 documented extinct languages)**

- A. Mayo group
- i. Matses subgroup
 - a. **Matses** (3 dialects):
 - Peruvian Matses; Brazilian Matses*
 - †*Paud Usunkid*
 - b. ***Kulina of the Curuçá River** (3 dialects):
 - **Kapishtana*; **Mawi*
 - **Chema*
 - c. †**Demushbo**
 - ii. **Korubo** (2 dialects):
 - Korubo*
 - **Chankueshbo*
 - iii. Matis subgroup (most similar to Mainline branch)
 - a. **Matis** (most divergent from other extant Mayoruna languages)
 - b. †**Mayoruna of the Jandiatuba River**
 - c. †**Mayoruna of the Amazon River** (2 dialects):
 - †*Settled Mayoruna of the Amazon River*
 - †*Wild Mayoruna of the Amazon River*
- B. †**Mayoruna of Tabatinga** (phonologically most divergent Mayoruna unit)

II. Mainline branch (about 14 extant and about 10 documented extinct languages)

- A. **Kasharari** (most divergent Mainline language)
- B. **Kashibo** (4 dialects; similar to Nawa group due to contact with Shipibo):
 - Kashibo* (Tessmann's "Kaschinō")
 - Rubo; Isunubo*
 - Kakataibo*
 - Nokaman* (formerly thought to be extinct)
- C. Nawa group (subgroups ordered from most to least divergent)
- i. Bolivian subgroup
 - a. **Chakobo/Pakawara** (2 dialects of 1 language)
 - b. †**Karipuna** (may be a dialect of Chakobo/Pakawara)
 - c. †**Chiriba** (?)
 - ii. Madre de Dios subgroup
 - a. †**Atsawaka/†Yamiaka** (2 dialects of 1 language)
 - b. †**Arazaire**
 - iii. †**Remo of the Blanco River**
 - iv. †**Kashinawa of the Tarauacá River**
 - v. Marubo subgroup
 - a. **Marubo (of the Javari Basin)**
 - b. **Katukina** *Katukina of Olinda; Katukina of Sete Estrelas*
 - †*Kanamari*

¹⁴ Languages in **bold**; dialects in *italics*; † = extinct; * = obsolescent. Dialects with minor differences are listed on the same line.

Table 10. (continued)**II. Mainline branch** (about 14 extant and about 10 documented extinct languages)c. **†Kulina of São Paulo de Olivença**

“Central Pano Assemblage” (subgroups vi-viii): evidently there have been areal influence among neighboring languages, such that the boundaries among subgroups vi-viii are somewhat blurred.

vi. Poyanawa subgroup

a. ***Poyanawa**

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

c. ***Nukini**

d. ***Nawa** (of the Môa River)

e. **†Remo of the Jaquirana River**

vii. Chama subgroup

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

Shipibo; Konibo (currently fused)

**Kapanawa of the Tapiche River*

b. ***Pano**

†Pano

**Shetebó; *Piskino*

c. **†Sensi**

viii. Headwaters subgroup

a. **Kashinawa of the Ibuaçu River**

Brazilian Kashinawa

Peruvian Kashinawa

†Kapanawa of the Juruá River

†Paranawa

b. **Yaminawa** (large dialect complex)

Brazilian Yaminawa

Peruvian Yaminawa

Chaniñawa

Chitonawa

Mastanawa

Parkenawa

Shanenawa

*Sharanawa; *Marinawa*

Shawanawa (= Arara)

Yawanawa

**Yaminawa-arara* (not same as *Shawanawa/Arara*)

†Nehanawa

c. **Amawaka**

Peruvian Amawaka (intermediate between this subgroup and Chama subgroup, perhaps as a result of areal contact)

†Nishinawa (= Brazilian Amawaka)

†Yumanawa (also very similar to Kashinawa of the Ibuaçu)

d. **†Remo of the Môa River** (resembles Amawaka)e. **†Tuchiunawa** (resembles Yaminawa dialects)

In their state of art of the diachronic and synchronic studies on both the Pano and the Takana languages, Valenzuela and Guillaume (2017) include a classification proposal for the Pano language family. They identify four main branches: Northern, Central-Southern, South-Eastern and Western, as detailed in Table 11.

Table 11. Pano classification proposed by Valenzuela and Guillaume (2017)

I. NORTHERN BRANCH
Matses/Mayoruna
Kulina
Korubo
Matis
II. CENTRAL-SOUTHERN BRANCH
Subgroup 1: Ucayali
Shipibo-Konibo
Kapanawa
Subgroup 2: Headwaters
Amawaka
Kashinawa
Yaminawa dialects
Subgroup 3: Southern
Chakobo/Pakawara
Subgroup 4: Marubo-Katukina
Marubo
Katukina
III. SOUTHEASTERN BRANCH
Kasharari
IV. PREANDINE/WESTERN BRANCH
Kashibo-kakataibo

Based on the application of the Neighbor-net algorithm (Hudson and Bryant 2006) on a lexical database including 20 Pano and 4 Takana languages, Zariquiey and Valenzuela (in prep.) obtained the results presented in Figure 2.

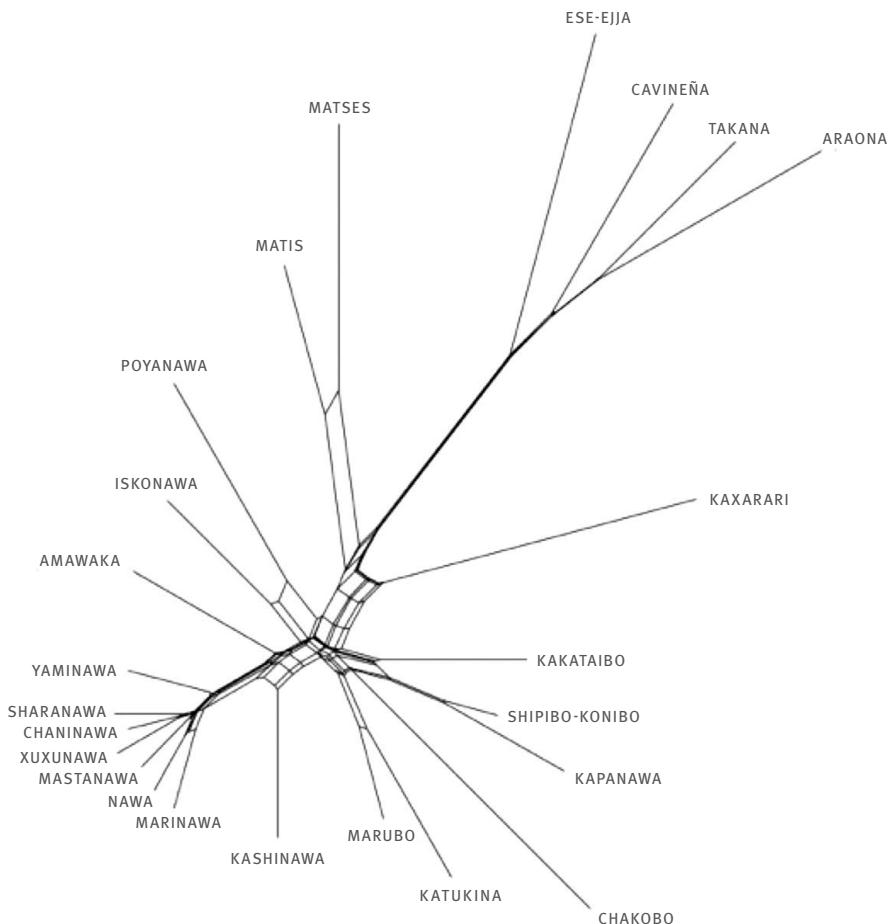


Figure 2. Neighbor-net representation of the phylogenetic relation between 20 Pano language/dialects (it also includes 4 Takana languages as outlayers)

Based on their results and taking into consideration the findings of previous classifications (particularly Fleck 2013 and Valenzuela and Guillaume 2017), Zariquiey and Valenzuela (to appear) propose that the Pano family may be divided into three first order branches: Northern, Central-Southern and Southeastern. The Northern Branch includes four languages: Matses/Mayoruna, Kulina, Korubo, and Matis. The Central-Southern Branch subdivides into five subgroups: Ucayali, Headwaters (A, B, C and D), Southern, Marubo-Katukina and Preandine/Western. The Southeastern Branch is composed of a single language, Kasharari. This classification, presented in Table 12, is the one generally followed in this grammar.

Table 12. Pano classification proposed by Zariquiey and Valenzuela (to appear)

I. NORTHERN BRANCH
Matses/mayoruna
Kulina
Korubo
Matis
II. CENTRAL-SOUTHERN BRANCH
Subgroup 1: Ucayali
Shipibo-Konibo
Kapanawa
Subgroup 2: Headwaters
A. Kashinawa
B. Yaminawa
Yawanawa
Arara
Nawa
Mastanawa
Sharanawa
Chaninawa
Marinawa
C. Amawaka
D. Iskonawa
Poyanawa
Nukini
Subgroup 3: Southern
Chakobo/Pakawara
Subgroup 4: Marubo-Katukina
Marubo
Katukina
Subgroup 5: Preandine/Western
Kashibo-kakataibo
III. SOUTHEASTERN BRANCH
Kasharari

The Pano classifications briefly described in this section represent the most important ones since the 1960's. There are others, but most of them were done by scholars interested in the overall classification of South American languages, and not specifically in the Pano family (see, for instance, Greenberg 1987, Fabre 1994, and Campbell 1997). In the following section, I discuss the position of Kakataibo within the Pano family, paying attention to how the different classifications discussed in this subsection treat this language in their respective classifications.

1.3.2 The Kakataibo language within the Pano family

All the classifications presented so far coincide in treating Kakataibo as the only language in its branch or subgroup. Shell (1965, 1975) states that Kakataibo is the phonologically most divergent language in her database. She bases her statement on a number of facts. For instance, Kakataibo has six vowels and this makes it different from the rest of Pano languages in her sample (which have four vowels), but similar to languages that Shell did not include in her sample, like the Northern languages. Additionally, Kakataibo has retained */kʷ/ and also some sibilant codas that have been dropped in other Pano languages. In addition, the presence of /n/, a very unusual Pano segment, is a distinctive feature of two of the Kakataibo dialects (see §1.3.3). Furthermore, most of these dialects exhibit tripartite case marking for pronouns, which Valenzuela (2003b: Chapter 20) considers old and probably a feature of the Proto-language. The tripartite alignment is only found in a few other Pano languages such as Amawaka and Iskonawa. Finally, most Kakataibo dialects exhibit the plural formative (*-tsu) in its second person pronoun *mitsu*, which is also found in some languages of the Northern branch and might be considered old as well, according to the pronominal reconstruction proposed in Zariquiey (2006).

In accordance with Shell (1965, 1975), D'Ans (1973) includes Kashibo and Kakataibo as the only two languages of his Pre-Andean subgroup, and Loos (1999) states that Kakataibo is an ungrouped language. Fleck (2013) recognizes an independent Kashibo subgroup in his mainline branch, and Zariquiey and Valenzuela (in prep.) do the same for Kakataibo in their Central-Southern Branch. Valenzuela and Guillaume (2017) claim that Kakataibo itself should be treated as a first order branch within the family. This Kashibo branch/subgroup is exclusively made up of the different Kakataibo dialects (including Tessmann's <Nokamán> in the case of Fleck 2013; see §1.3.3 for a discussion of Kakataibo dialectology and the position of <Nokamán> within it).

Therefore, there is general agreement that Kakataibo represents an independent subgroup/branch within the Pano family, and this fact makes this language essential for any attempt to reconstruct any area of the Proto-Pano grammar, as it is the only extant member of one of the sub-branches of the family. This idea finds support in features like the ones mentioned by Shell (1965, 1975), Valenzuela (2003b: Chapter 20) or Zariquiey (2006), and summarized above.

Kakataibo exhibits significant similarities with Shipibo-Konibo (see particularly Figure 2), even though, as we have seen, they belong to two different sub-branches. Kakataibo has been in intensive contact with Shipibo-Konibo and it might be the case that some of the attested similarities between Shipibo-Konibo and Kakataibo are not due to inheritance but rather to the high degree of contact between them. As explained by Wistrand-Robinson (1998: 115–116):

The most recent and influential established contact between Shipibo [Shipibo-Konibo, RZB] and Kashibo [Kakataibo, RZB] is 1935 to 1940 during acculturation of the Kashibo at Shipibo villages on the lower Aguaytia and Ucayali Rivers. They were required to wear clothing and follow cultural

patterns laid down by the acculturated Shipibo. Which Shipibo cultural elements were borrowed during this time and which came from contact in earlier centuries is difficult to ascertain (Wistrand-Robinson 1998: 115–116).

These contacts between Kakataibo and Shipibo-Konibo populations have led to the emergence of bilingual speakers of Kakataibo and Shipibo-Konibo, which according to Wistrand-Robinson (1998: 166) are mostly speakers of the former language who have learned the latter, in a situation that “reveals the ascendancy” of Shipibo-Konibo over Kakataibo. However, the consequences of the contact between Shipibo-Konibo and Kakataibo still require a detailed study. In my own experience, mainly elder Kakataibo speakers are fluent in Shipibo-Konibo, whereas younger speakers do not speak this language. Kakataibo has also borrowed several Shipibo-Konibo words. Wistrand-Robinson (1998: 116) gives the following examples: *yami* (ñami) ‘metal’, *kënti* ‘pot’, *uchiti* ‘dog’ (which is ultimately an Arawakan loan), *maru* ‘buy/sell’, but the list is longer and common words like *xëa* ‘drink’, *shinkun* ‘banana species’ and *ishtun* ‘quickly’ are also examples of this borrowing. In addition, the bound morphemes *-shuku* ‘diminutive’ and *-yama* ‘negative’ (both of reduced productivity) seem to also be loans from Shipibo-Konibo.

Grammatically, however, Kakataibo and Shipibo-Konibo are clearly two different languages, which have been classified differently within the Pano family, despite the fact that there is a considerable number of Shipibo-Konibo loan words in Kakataibo, and despite the fact that some missionaries during the last years of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century sometimes talked about the language of the <Conibo>, <Shetebo>, <Shipibo> and <Cashibo> as constituting one single linguistic entity (see, for example, Marqués 1931 [1800]).

1.3.3 Kakataibo dialectology and the <Nokamán> language

A salient aspect of the Kakataibo language is its complex dialectology. Five quite distinct dialects have been documented, including one known from a word list collected around 1925 by the German ethnographer Günter Tessmann (1930) (see Zariquiey 2013a). This dialectological complexity is particularly interesting considering the relatively small number of Kakataibo speakers and the geographic proximity among them. As explained in §1.2.4, the Kakataibo language has only about 3,000 or 3,500 speakers, who live along the Aguaytía River, the Shamboyacu River, the San Alejandro River, and the Sungaroyacu River (a map is given in §1.2.4).

The current dialectal diversity of the Kakataibo language is related to the historical facts discussed in §1.2.3. In the missionaries’ minds, the Kakataibo were fierce and savage cannibals, and therefore the Franciscans assumed that it was impossible to establish missions to live with them. Thus, the various Kakataibo bands never lived with the missionaries and avoided the cultural homogenization that such a close proximity could have produced. One of the best examples of the cultural homogeniza-

tion triggered by the missionaries can be found not far from the place where the Kakataibo used to live: at the Ucayali missions of the Franciscans. There, the Franciscans made three different groups live together: the Shipibo, the Shetebo and the Konibo. Those three groups were culturally and linguistically different from each other (particularly, the Shetebo); but their co-existence made them more alike both in terms of their material culture and their language, and it produced the Shipibo-Konibo, which are nowadays a single ethnic group (Frank 1994: 144–145). Such a process did not happen with the different Kakataibo clans, who lived outside the influence of the missionaries and were forced to live together only at the beginning of the 1920s, when a Kakataibo man called Bolívar Odicio put in practice his “campaign to conquer and unify all the [Kakataibo] clans” (Wistrand-Robinson 1998: 117; see also §1.2.3).

The dialectological diversity of the Kakataibo language was first documented by Tessmann (1930: 128), who listed three sub-groups subdivided into 18 clans (see Table 1). We cannot know exactly how significant the linguistic differences between these clans were, but we can glean some information from the 34 lexical entries that Tessmann gives for each sub-group, which reveal a high degree of similarity.

Studies that followed Tessmann’s seminal book have documented a similar dialectal situation. Wistrand-Robinson (1969a: 146–147; 1998: 113–114) also proposes three main dialects (see also Table 2 in §1.2.3): one from the San Alejandro River, one from the lower Aguaytía River and one from the Upper Aguaytía and the Sungaroyacu Rivers. Wistrand-Robinson (1969a: 147) then mentions the existence of another small group that used to live close to the Pachitea River and that may have been linguistically different. As mentioned in §1.2.3, this group might correspond to a linguistic variety that Tessmann (1930) documented under the name <Nokamán>.

In his classic volume *Die Indianer Nordost-Perus* (The Indians of Northeastern Peru) published in 1930, Günter Tessmann includes an ethnographic description of a Pano group that he called <Nokamán>. Tessmann explains that “[T]he Nokamán call themselves *Nokamán*, [but] the word could not be explained to me” (1930: 172; translation mine). And he immediately adds: “they are still unknown” and “even the Peruvian people who live along the Ucayali River are not familiar with the name” (1930: 172; translation mine). Tessmann was in fact the first scholar in mentioning this group in the ethnographic literature.

After the publication of Tessmann’s (1930) book, the term begins to appear in published lists and classifications of Pano languages (but not in all; cf., for instance, Tovar 1961: 61–67). Loukotka (1935/1968), for instance, does mention <Nokamán> as one of his Northern Pano languages. A similar situation is found in Mason (1950), who introduces the variant <Nokomán>, also attested in McQuown (1955). In the studies mentioned above, <Nokamán> and Kakataibo are not considered members of the same branch.

The first scholar to postulate a strong similarity between <Nokamán> and Kakataibo was Shell (1975 [1965]: 29), who claims that the former should be understood as a dialect of the latter. However, not all the publications that followed Shell’s seminal

study on Pano classification incorporate her claim about <Nokamán>. D'Ans (1973) does not mention this Pano variety and Loos (1999) does not group <Nokamán> with Kakataibo: from Loos' perspective, <Nokamán> and Kakataibo are two (different) unclassified Pano languages.

On the contrary, Valenzuela (2003b: 46) and Fleck (2013) do treat <Nokamán> and Kakataibo as members of the same branch; but are cautious about their degree of relationship. This caution is wise in the sense that Shell based her claim on her impressive knowledge of the Kakataibo language, but not on a careful study of Tessmann's data on <Nokamán>. Thus, from Shell's claim, one could conclude that <Nokamán> and Kakataibo are related; but one could not know to what extent. Zariquiey (2013b) offers the first attempt to explore the degree of the relationship between <Nokamán> and the dialects of Kakataibo. After the application of a number of methodological principles to avoid potential mistakes found in the original, Zariquiey (2013b) reduced the original 228-word list to 170 <Nokamán> terms. These 170 <Nokamán> lexical items have been compared with the semantically equivalent words in the four extant dialects of Kakataibo. Two crucial findings of Zariquiey (2013b) are relevant for the discussion offered in this section: (1) <Nokamán> is a dialect of Kakataibo, with more than 86% lexical correspondences between <Nokamán> and the other dialects of Kakataibo and (2) <Nokamán> is linguistically closest to the dialect of the San Alejandro River with a total of 92.9% of lexical correspondences between this dialect and the variety documented by Tessman.

Table 13. <Nokamán> and Kakataibo: comparative results ($n = 170$) (Zariquiey 2013b)¹⁵

Correspondence	Number of items	%
<Nokamán> = Agu/Sun = SA	147	86.4
<Nokamán> = Agu/Sun ≠ SA	4	2.4
<Nokamán> = SA ≠ Agu/Sun	11	6.5
<Nokamán> ≠ Agu/Sun ≠ SA	1	0.6
<Nokamán> ≠ Agu/Sun = SA	7	4.1
<Nokamán> = Agu/Sun	151 (147 + 4)	88.8
<Nokamán> = SA	158 (147 + 11)	92.9

An internal classification of the different dialects of Kakataibo is proposed in Figure 3. As can be seen, I claim that the subgroup made up by the dialect from the San Alejandro River and <Nokamán> is clearly the most divergent within the entire language (see Zariquiey 2011a; see also Valle 2017b for a grammatical description of the San Alejandro dialect), and it is possible to argue that there are two main Kakataibo subgroups

¹⁵ AGU = Aguaytía; SUN = Sungaroyaku; SA = San Alejandro.

(as Cortez-Mondragón 1998 also proposed). All this information is summarized in the following tree diagram (appendices 3 and 4 offer two comparative lists –the Swadesh list of 200 terms and the Tessman list– with information for the four extant dialects of the language; appendix 4 also includes Tessmann’s data on <Nokamán>).

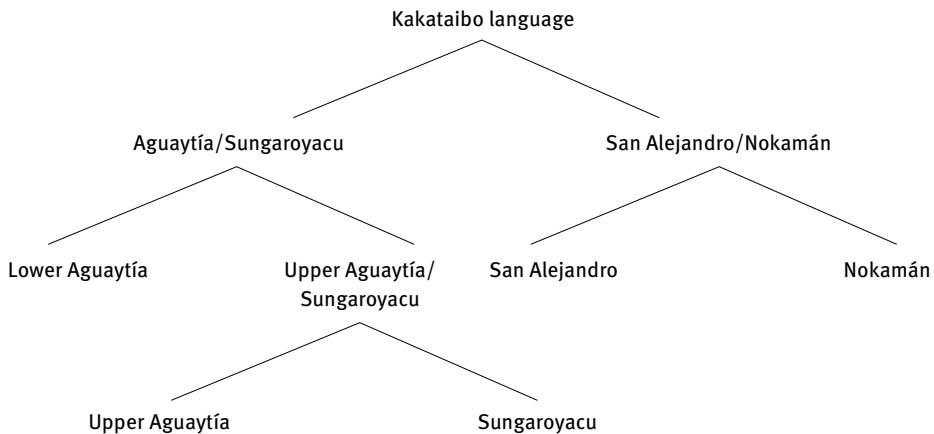


Figure 3. Kakataibo dialects

It is important to note that, despite the fact that the dialects from the Upper Aguaytíá and the Sungaroyacu Rivers are very similar, it is nevertheless possible to find some differences between them. These differences suggest that the two dialects should be distinguished at the lowest level of the diagram, as proposed in Figure 3. Such differences are found, for instance, in the following lexical correspondences (see also Zariquiey 2011a):¹⁶

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

Lower Aguaytíá	Upper Aguaytíá	Sungaroyacu	San Alejandro	Meaning
/úne/	/úí/	/eße/	/úwe/	'rain'
/núñin/	/júñin/	/júnfin/	/núnín/	'demon'

The dialect classification proposed here is based on phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical comparisons. As demonstrated in Zariquiey (2011a) and mentioned above, all these different types of evidence point to the branch of San Alejandro/Nokamán as the most divergent within the language. Table 14 summarizes some of the most

¹⁶ In the examples presented throughout this section I include only forms from the four extant dialects of the language. For the sake of clarity, I represent the back vowels as /u/ and /o/, instead of the more precisely transcribed /u/ and /ɤ/.

Table 14. Some phonological correspondences among Kakataibo dialects

Correspondence	Lower Aguatía	Upper Aguatía	Sungaryacu	San Alejandro
/ŋ/ = /l/	/ŋ/ (/súñu/ 'wind')	/i/ (/súju/ 'wind')	/i/ (/súju/ 'wind')	/p/ (/zúñu/ 'wind')
/s/ = /z/	/s/ (/risá/ 'bird')	/s/ (/risá/ 'bird')	/s/ (/risá/ 'bird')	/z/ (/rizá/ 'bird')
/ʂ/ = /ʐ/	/ʂ/ (/sánu/ 'woman')	/ʂ/ (/sánu/ 'woman')	/ʂ/ (/sánu/ 'woman')	/ʐ/ (/zánu/ 'woman')
/ʃi/ = /i/	/ʃi/ (/ʃikán/ 'chest')	/ʃi/ (/ʃikán/ 'chest')	/ʃi/ (/ʃikán/ 'chest')	/i/ (/jigá/ 'chest')
/ʃf/ = /in/	/ʃf/ (/k'ʃufíka/ 'river dolphin')	/ʃf/ (/k'ʃufíka/ 'river dolphin')	/ʃf/ (/k'ʃufíka/ 'river dolphin')	/in/ (/k'zuinga/ 'river dolphin')
/ʃi/ = /in/	/ʃi/ (/βáfi/ 'mountain')	/ʃi/ (/wáfi/ ~ /βáfi/ 'mountain')	/ʃi/ (/wáfi/ 'mountain')	/in/ (/wain/ 'mountain')
/ʃf/ = /i/	/ʃf/ (/afá/ 'frog')	/ʃf/ (/afá/ 'frog')	/ʃf/ (/afá/ 'frog')	/i/ (/ajá/ 'frog')
/ʃf/ = /n/	/ʃf/ (/sórapana/ 'giant otter')	/ʃf/ (/sórapana/ 'giant otter')	/ʃf/ (/sórapana/ 'giant otter')	/n/ (/hnórapana/ 'giant otter')
/βi/ = /wi/	/βi/ (/paβí/ 'ear')	/βi/ (/paβí/ 'ear')	/βi/ (/paβí/ 'ear')	/wi/ (/pawí/ 'ear')
/βu/ = /u/	/βu/ (/βu/ 'hair')	/βu/ (/βu/ 'hair')	/βu/ (/βu/ 'hair')	/u/ (/u/ 'hair')
/##βa/ = /##wa/	/##βa/ (/βási/ 'grass')	/##βa/ ~ /##wa/ (/βási/ ~ /wasí/ 'grass')	/##wa/ (/wási/ 'grass')	/##wa/ (/wázi/ 'grass')
/#βa/ = /#wa/	/#βa/ (/niβá/ 'soft')	/#βa/ (/niβá/ 'soft')	/#βa/ (/niβá/ 'soft')	/#wa/ (/niwá/ 'soft')
/βo/ = /wo/	/βo/ (/βo/ 'macaw')	/βo/ (/βo/ 'macaw')	/βo/ (/βo/ 'macaw')	/wo/ (/wo/ 'macaw')
/k/ = /g/ (word-internally)	/k/ (/púku/ 'belly')	/k/ (/púku/ 'belly')	/k/ (/púku/ 'belly')	/g/ (/púgu/ 'belly')
/kʷ/ = /gʷ/ (word-internally)	/kʷ/ (/tákʷa/ 'liver')	/kʷ/ (/tákʷa/ 'liver')	/kʷ/ (/tákʷa/ 'liver')	/gʷ/ (/tágʷa/ 'liver')
/e/ = /i/	/e/ (/me/ 'land')	/e/ (/me/ 'land')	/e/ (/me/ 'land')	/i/ (/mi/ 'land')
/is#(#)/ = /i(z)#[#)/	/is#(#)/ (/rispa/ 'star')	/is#(#)/ (/rispa/ 'star')	/is#(#)/ (/rispa/ 'star')	/i(z)#[#)/ (/rizpa/ 'star')
/fs/ = /s/	/fs/ (/tsátsa/ 'fish species')	/fs/ (/tsátsa/ 'fish species')	/fs/ (/tsátsa/ 'fish species')	/s/ (/úsasa/ 'fish species')

systematic phonological correspondences between the different Kakataibo dialects (no information on <Nokamán> is offered, since the orthographic conventions used by Tessmann are not systematic).

Even though the dialects from the lower Aguaytía and the San Alejandro Rivers share some features (particularly, the presence of /ŋ/, which corresponds to /j/ in the dialects of the Upper Aguaytía and Sungaroyacu Rivers), in the vast majority of cases, the dialect from the San Alejandro River diverges from all the other dialects. This is also true for some salient morphosyntactic features. One of them is the case marking alignment. The dialects from the Upper and lower Aguaytía and the Sungaroyacu Rivers have a case marking system that combines a tripartite alignment for pronouns with an ergative alignment for nouns (see §5.1.1 and §6.7.1 for a description of this case marking system; and §16.5 for some cases of nouns following the tripartite alignment). By contrast, the case marking system found in the dialect of the San Alejandro River combines an accusative alignment of pronouns with an ergative alignment of nouns (for a comparison of the two systems; see Valle 2009 and 2017b: 113–131) and Zariquiey 2011a).¹⁷ A second important distinction has to do with the second-position enclitics. In the case of the dialects of the Upper and lower Aguaytía and the Sungaroyacu Rivers, we find an opposition between the enclitics *kaina* ‘interrogative, second person’ and *kamina* ‘indicative, second person’; but in San Alejandro, we only find the former enclitic for both the interrogative and the indicative functions (see Valle 2017a and 2017b: 243–281). This conflation means that interrogative and indicative utterances with a second person are distinguished only by means of intonation in San Alejandro. In addition, the forms for the second person plural and third person plural pronouns are different: while San Alejandro uses *mikama* and *ukama/akama* (that include the plural morpheme =*kama*); the other dialects use *mikama* and *akama*, or else *mitsu* and *atu* (which have been argued to be the older forms; see Zariquiey 2006). The latter forms are not attested in San Alejandro. Thus, the San Alejandro dialect is the most divergent, not only phonologically but also morphosyntactically. This is also true regarding lexical differences. As shown in the following examples, lexical differences also tend to show the divergent nature of the San Alejandro dialect (see appendixes 3 and 4 for two comparative lists of the four dialects).

¹⁷ The case marking system of San Alejandro is also very interesting for a second reason: preliminary data suggests that it shows a high degree of optionality that requires more careful study and may be related to pragmatic factors like the ones described in §16.5.

(2) Lexical innovations of the San Alejandro dialect

Lower Aguaytía	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu	San Alejandro	Meaning
/?itsís/	/?itsís/	/?itsís/	/zána/	'hot'
/óṣín/	/ónṣín/	/ónṣín/	/roza/	'red'
/mašká/	/mašká/	/mašká/	/mapuzo/	'human head'
/šái/	/šái/	/šái/	/típa/	'turtle sp.'
/šaón/	/šaón/	/šaón/	/kaúri/	'turtle sp.'
/sapín/	/sapín/	/sapín/	/waxú/	'spider web'

1.3.4 Previous studies of the Kakataibo language

There is a long tradition of linguistic work on Kakataibo, initiated by Olive Shell and Lila Wistrand-Robinson, two SIL missionaries, who lived with the Kakataibo for several years and produced linguistic studies of a high quality on various aspects of the language. In the case of Wistrand-Robinson, these studies were combined with anthropological and cultural notes and papers.

The following table includes a list of the most important linguistic works on Kakataibo, paying particular attention to those that were based on primary data. I have also included some references that, despite their lack of analyses, include linguistic data that may be of interest for scholars working on Kakataibo.¹⁸

Table 15. Previous linguistic studies on Kakataibo¹⁹

Author	Brief description
Cortez-Mondragón (1980)	Bachelor thesis: a phonology of Kakataibo.
Cortez-Mondragón (1987)	Includes one non-interlinearized text in Kakataibo about the Kamano people with a Spanish translation.
Frank (1993)	13 non-interlinearized texts in Kakataibo with a corresponding Spanish translation (Sungaroyacu dialect).
Ministerio de Educación del Perú	A selection of non-interlinearized narratives, mostly about Bolívar Odicio. Spanish translations are provided.
Prieto (2016)	A study of the prosodic patterns of Kakataibo traditional songs.

18 The list is not exhaustive. For instance, Wistrand-Robinson has done more linguistic research than included in the table. Unfortunately, most of her work has not been published and I have not been able to access it. In addition, the SIL published a number of materials for primary school education, which are available online (http://www-01.sil.org/americas/peru/show_pubs.asp?pubs=online&code=cbr&Lang=spa), but not necessarily relevant for the list. There is also a version of the New Testament in Kakataibo, which might also be useful to find linguistic examples.

19 The complete references are given in the bibliography included in this grammar.

Table 15. (continued)

Author	Brief description
Shell (1950)	A phonemic inventory of Kakataibo that includes comments on prosody.
Shell (1957)	A study of transitive and intransitive verbs, following the tagmemic framework. Useful examples are found and interesting topics are discussed.
Shell (1959, 1987)	A 2100-entry vocabulary (as counted by Fleck 2013).
Shell (1973/1975)	A study of what she calls modals, and which I call second-position enclitics. This paper has primarily a theoretical aim: to show that Kakataibo supports Ross' performative analysis; however, from a descriptive point of view, the paper is also interesting. The 1975 paper is an English version of the 1973 Spanish original.
Shell, editor (1977)	23 non-interlinearized texts in Kakataibo, classified into five types. The texts were told by Gregorio Estrella. Spanish translations are provided.
Tessmann (1930)	In addition to 272 terms (as counted by Fleck, 2013) found in his ethnographic sketch of the Kakataibo, he includes a 220-word list. The lexical list of <Nokamán> is also relevant since this language is a dialect of Kakataibo.
Valle (2009)	Bachelor thesis. A comparison of the case marking systems of the dialects from the lower Aguaytía and the San Alejandro Rivers.
Valle (2014)	A description of focus constructions in Kakataibo
Valle (2017a)	A study of the development of subject cross-reference in Kakataibo second-position enclitics.
Valle (2017b)	PhD dissertation. It comprises two parts: a grammatical sketch of the San Alejandro dialect and a study of information structure in this dialect.
Wistrand-Robinson (1968a)	Master's thesis: a study of Kakataibo relative clauses in the transformational framework.
Wistrand-Robinson (1969a)	PhD dissertation. A study of Kakataibo traditional narratives. It includes a 25 page grammatical sketch.
Wistrand-Robinson (1969b)	This paper includes one narrative about Kakataibo endocannibalism.
Wistrand-Robinson (1971)	A study of Kakataibo verbs and causative forms.
Wistrand-Robinson (1973a)	This paper includes a linguistic description of the words that designate the Kakataibo T-shaped stone axes.
Wistrand-Robinson (1976)	A study of Kakataibo traditional songs.
Wistrand-Robinson (1978)	Some Kakataibo phonological topics presented in a generative model.
Wistrand-Robinson (1984)	Includes approximately 350 names of animals and 190 names of plants.
Wistrand-Robinson (1997)	A compilation of previously published Kakataibo texts.
Wistrand-Robinson (1998)	A cultural study of the Kakataibo people, with some notes on the language.

Table 15. (continued)

Author	Brief description
Zariquiey (2011a)	A dialectological classification of Kashibo-Kakatiabo, based on phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical evidence. Includes examples for every feature discussed and two comparative lexical lists as appendixes.
Zariquiey (2011b)	PhD dissertation. A reference grammar of Kakataibo, which is the basis for the present book.
Zariquiey (2011c)	A description of grammatical relations in Kakataibo, with some diachronic notes.
Zariquiey (2012a)	A description of causation in Kakataibo.
Zariquiey (2012b)	A study of ditransitive constructions in Kakataibo, with some discussion of their typological relevance.
Zariquiey (2013a)	A study on Tessmann's data on <Kaschibo>.
Zariquiey (2013b)	A study on Tessmann's data on <Nokamán>.
Zariquiey (2014a)	A study of polysemy in ethnobiological nomenclature.
Zariquiey (2014c)	A study of applicative constructions in Kakataibo.
Zariquiey (2015a)	A study of the category of addressee's perspective in Kakataibo on the frame of Heritage's theory of epistemic status and epistemic stance.
Zariquiey (2015b)	A study of intergenerational variation in Kakataibo switch-reference constructions.
Zariquiey (2016)	A study of switch-reference constructions in Kakataibo.
Zariquiey (2017a)	A description of Kakataibo ditransitive constructions in Panoan comparative perspective.
Zariquiey (2017b)	An analysis of the category of object in Kakataibo. It proposes three types of objects in the language: objects, quasi-objects and oblique objects.
Zariquiey (2018)	A description of the grammatical encoding of emotions in Kakataibo.
Zariquiey and Fleck (2012)	A study of prefixation in Kakataibo.
Zariquiey and Fleck (2014)	A trilingual (Kakataibo-Spanish-English) ethnobiological dictionary.
Zariquiey et al. (2017)	A pedagogical version of Zariquiey and Fleck (2014) for Kakataibo primary schools.
Zariquiey, coordinator (2010)	A story book that includes 16 non-interlinearized Kakataibo narratives of different genres. Spanish translations are provided.
Zariquiey, coordinator (2017)	A revised version of Zariquiey, coordinator (2010), adapted for Kakataibo primary schools.

1.3.5 Vitality of Kakataibo

Crevels (2007: 119) categorizes Kakataibo as an endangered language. Although the language is still transmitted, I subscribe to Crevels' statement based on the facts listed in this subsection. These facts relate to the sociolinguistic variables that are usually taken in consideration in the assessment of language endangerment (Grenoble 2011, Unesco 2003)

As pointed out in §1.2.4, it is not possible to know the exact size of the Kakataibo population, but there the number is likely to be around 3000 or 3500 people. Based on my fieldwork observations, I strongly believe that, perhaps with the exception of some children, most Kakataibo people are also Kakataibo speakers. What I have found alarming, however, is that although the intergenerational transmission of the language is still ongoing, there are significant changes in how Kakataibo children are socialized and introduced into their parents' language. The consequences of these changes are still to be fully understood, but it is clear at this stage that incomplete/imperfect transmission is leading to drastic grammatical and stylistic changes.

All Kakataibo children I have interacted with have some communicative skills in Kakataibo, but many of them are still far from being fluent in the language. Indeed, for many Kakataibo children, it is clear that the dominant language is a regional variety of Spanish. Kakataibo school teachers have reported to me more than once that some Kakataibo students arrive at school without any communicative skills in Kakataibo, and rather learn the language in the classroom. This means that Kakataibo is becoming the second language of at least some Kakataibo children. It is unfortunately not unlikely that these children will grow up as Kakataibo semi-speakers (as defined in Grinevald and Bert 2011). Detailed sociolinguistic surveys are urgently needed to help understand the real impact of Spanish bilingualism on Kakataibo children.

Incomplete/imperfect transmission and bilingualism in the dominant language are factors that lead to drastic language change and variability. It is not unlikely that the Kakataibo language will undergo dramatic grammatical changes rapidly. Some of the changes that might be expected are probably similar to the ones that have been often described for obsolescing languages (Campbell and Muntzel 1992 and Palo-saari and Campbell 2011). Indeed, this is a currently ongoing process. As described by Zariquey (2015b), there are significant differences in the use and the form of switch-reference constructions in Kakataibo (see Chapter 14). Younger speakers of the language have radically simplified the paradigm of switch-reference markers of the language. Indeed, they are almost not using switch-reference clauses anymore and privilege the juxtaposition of independent clauses in their speech. Future research in the same line might find similar situations for other grammatical domains. With probably more than 3000 speakers, Kakataibo is undergoing severe grammatical change and is developing radical variation, features that are usually attributed to endangered or even obsolescing languages.

1.3.6 Brief typological profile of the Kakataibo language

The Kakataibo language (specifically, the variety from the Lower Aguaytía) has 15 consonants (/p/, /t/, /k/, /kʷ/, /ʔ/, /m/, /n/, /ɲ/, /r/, /ts/, /tʃ/, /s/, /ʃ/, /ʂ/ and /β/) and 6 vowels, all of them unrounded (/i/, /e/, /ɪ/, /a/, /u/ and /y/). A detailed description of the phonemic inventory of the language is presented in Chapter 2. The phonological syllable in Kakataibo has a (C)V(C) structure; but there are other possible phonetic syllable structures that are the result of different morphophonemic processes (see §3.2 and §2.7). Kakataibo word prosody (discussed in §3.3) is complex and distinguishes between stress and tone.

Moving on to morphology, Kakataibo exhibits both closed and open word classes. Closed word classes include several types of pro-forms (see §5.1.1), postpositions (see §5.1.2), numerals and quantifiers (see §5.1.3), interjections (see §5.1.4) and onomatopoeic words (see §5.1.5). The open word classes in Kakataibo are nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. All these categories can be established based on language-internal criteria (see Chapter 5).

Kakataibo is (almost exclusively) a postpositional language, with a clear tendency towards agglutinating and synthetic structures (although the synthetic pattern is found mostly in verbs). The following example features a verb root followed by four bound morphemes. The morphological boundaries are straightforward and each marker has a single function.

- (3) *pitëkëñkanin*
 pi-tëkëñ-kan-i-n
 eat-again-PL-IPFV-1/2
 ‘we are eating again’

However, Kakataibo also exhibits a closed set of prefixes associated with body parts (§4.6) and there are cases of fusion and *portmanteau* morphemes in the language. Furthermore, although verbs exhibit several morphological slots and can potentially be very complex (see Chapter 8), it is not infrequent to find verb roots with only a few bound morphemes. Therefore, the data exhibits counterexamples for each of the main morphological trends just listed.

The language has both head and dependent marking, and a complex system of grammatical relations that includes tripartite, ergative, accusative, neutral and even horizontal alignment types. Examples of the tripartite case alignment on pronouns (=*n* ‘A’, =*x* ‘S’ and unmarked ‘P’) and the ergative alignment attested on nouns (=*n* ‘ergative’ and unmarked absolute) are offered in examples (4) and (5) (for a complete discussion of grammatical relations in Kakataibo, see Zariquiey 2011c and §15.2).

- (4) a. *An ka 'ë mëëaxa.*
a=n ka 'ë mëë-a-x-a
 3SG=A NAR:3 1SG:P hit-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'He hit me.'
- b. *Ax ka 'uxaxa.*
a=x ka 'ux-a-x-a
 3SG=S NAR:3 sleep-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'He slept.'
- (5) a. *Emilionën ka 'ó 'axa.*
Emilio=nén ka 'ó 'a-a-x-a
 Emilio=ERG NAR:3 tapir:ABS kill-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'Emilio killed the tapir.'
- b. *Emilio ka 'uxaxa.*
Emilio ka 'ux-a-x-a
 Emilio:ABS NAR:3 sleep-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'Emilio slept.'

Verbs are lexically transitive or intransitive, with only 2 ambitransitive verbs in the language (see Chapter 10). Verbs exhibit interesting processes of transitivity harmony and transitivity agreement (see, for instance, §12.5.1), which constitute one of the core properties of the syntax of Kakataibo (and Pano, more generally).

Word order is pragmatically-oriented, but there is a tendency for sentences to be verb-final (see §16.2 for a detailed discussion). There is no a fixed order in the noun phrase either, and most modifiers are allowed to appear after or before the head (see Chapter 7). All this is illustrated in (6) and (7), in which we find verb-final sentences, each featuring a noun phrase, one with the order N-DET and the other with the order DET-N.

- (6) *Tsatsa ënë ka bëruan.*
[tsatsa ënë] ka bëruan
 fish.sp. **this:P** NAR look.after:IMP
 'Look after this fish!' (NA-boy-2007.005)
- (7) *Atian casi kamabi nëtëñ kaisa a uni kwankëshín.*
atian casi kamabi nëtë=n ka=is=a [a uni]
 then almost every day=TEMP NAR=REP=3 **that** person:ABS
kwan-akë-x-ín
 go-REM.PST-3-PROX
 'Then, it is said that the (that) man used to go almost every day.'
 (MO-fisher-2007.005)

Other relevant features are the existence of a rich system of switch-reference used in clause-chaining (see Chapter 12) and tail-head linkage structures (see §16.6) and the pervasive use of nominalizations in discourse (see Chapter 12). Grammatical nominalizations are used for both relativization and complementation. Additionally, Kakataibo exhibits different mechanisms associated with the encoding of the perspective of the addressee and the management of turns in conversations (see Chapter 16).

1.4 This grammar

This section includes relevant information about the most important aspects of how this grammar has been designed and developed: §1.4.1 describes the fieldwork this grammar is based on; §1.4.2 explains the principles followed in the presentation of the examples; §1.4.3 briefly summarizes the theoretical framework followed; and, finally, §1.4.4 describes the overall structure of this grammar.

The present book is a reference grammar of the Kakataibo language, as it is spoken along the lower Aguaytía River. The information to be presented throughout the following pages has been gathered exclusively in this geographic area and, therefore, is only representative of this specific dialect. Preliminary data suggests that this dialect is very similar to the dialects spoken along the Upper Aguaytía and the Sungaroyacu Rivers,²⁰ but an in-depth dialectal study based on the comparison of grammatical features still remains to be done. Although generally speaking there are also clear similarities between these dialects and the one spoken in San Alejandro, the latter is clearly the most divergent Kakataibo dialect (some references to grammatical differences between the San Alejandro and the Lower Aguaytía dialects are provided by Valle 2017b).

1.4.1 Fieldwork

I firmly believe that fieldwork has an enormous importance for grammar writing, and I consider it to be one of the main pillars of my own linguistic work. This grammar is based on extensive periods of fieldwork, during which I have spent approximately sixteen months in the field (most of this time in the Kakataibo village of Yamino) as well as approximately ten months in different cities (particularly, in Pucallpa and Lima) in the company of one or more Kakataibo speakers. The approximate periods of fieldwork are summarized in Table 16.

²⁰ In addition to the data used in this grammar, I have recorded, transcribed and partially analyzed approximately one hour of speech from the Sungaroyacu River and approximately half an hour for each of the dialects of the Upper Aguaytía and San Alejandro.

Table 16. Fieldwork periods

Number	Approximate duration	Location
1	December 2006	Two weeks in Yamino.
2	January – March 2007	One month in Yamino and one month in Pucallpa.
3	May – June 2007	Two weeks in Lima.
4	November 2007 – August 2008	Six months in Yamino (and other Kakataibo villages); two months in Pucallpa; and one month in Lima.
5	November 2009 – May 2010	Three months in Yamino; one month in Pucallpa; and one month in Lima.
6	January – February 2011	Approximately one week in Iquitos; one week in Pucallpa; two weeks in Yamino; and two weeks in Lima.
7	January – February 2012	Five weeks in Yamino.
8	May 2012	Two weeks in Lima.
	July – August 2012	Two weeks in Yamino.
9	January 2013	Two weeks in Yamino.
10	July – August 2013	Three weeks in Lima.
11	July – August 2013	Two weeks in Pucallpa.
12	April 2014	Two weeks in Lima.
13	July – August 2014	One week in Pucallpa and three weeks in Yamino.
14	January 2015	Tree weeks in Yamino.
15	July – August 2015	One week in Pucallpa and three weeks in Yamino

My time in the village of Yamino has been one of the most important and beautiful experiences of my life. I have lived with Emilio Estrella, nowadays a man of approximately 90 years, and his wonderful family. They have treated me like a son and brother, allowing me to build a room in their house and teaching me many things that have changed my life radically, not only in a professional way. I am simply a different person after meeting the Kakataibo and, especially, the Estrella family. In many ways, I feel their house to be my house; and their family to be my family. And they feel the same.

In Yamino, I have participated in different activities, including working in the family garden,²¹ house building, cutting the grass of the soccer field, being a judge in a beauty contest, dancing *cumbia* music under the most impressive and starry sky, and attending long religious services. I have had the opportunity to teach at the local primary school and to travel to Pucallpa and Lima with delegations of Kakataibo rep-

²¹ Throughout this grammar, I use the English term “garden” to refer to the Kakataibo agricultural fields. These are also referred to in the anthropological literature as swidden slash-and-burn horticultural plots. In regional Spanish, this type of agricultural field is called “chacra”.

resentatives in order to complete different types of paperwork at public institutions, and to participate at handicraft markets and other cultural activities. I have had many intense and personal experiences with them. Some people have honestly cried on my shoulder and have asked me for help. I have become the godfather of two girls, and I have made very good friends; but I have also found other people who did not like me and accused me of becoming rich by selling their language to the Americans. I have had to learn how to deal with all this, and this learning has helped me to grow as a human being. The Kakataibo have taught me very many things, among which their language is just one.

Something that deserves a special mention in this section is the organization of social projects aimed at promoting the production of traditional handicrafts as way to improve the income of the families in Yaminó and elevate the social prestige of women within the village. This work started as an ancillary activity that I promote as a way to return the kindness and help of the Kakataibo people. However, year after year, I realized the importance that the development of their traditional handicrafts had for the women I work with and learned that my collaboration in this project was perhaps as important as my contribution as a linguist. Since 2012, I have been working directly with the women of Yaminó in the organization of different workshops and cultural events. We have worked on the recovery of their traditional designs and in the creation of a market for their products. There have been good moments and bad moments, but each of them has taught me important things that have helped me to understand the Kakataibo better and has made my friendship with the women of Yaminó deeper. I have witnessed their strength and their love for their families in very difficult moments, and I feel a great admiration for them.

It has not been an easy task to create a setting that allowed them to teach me their language. On the contrary, we had to work very hard together in order to create spaces that made everyone feel comfortable and pleased. My guiding principle was that everyone had something important to teach me and was potentially excellent in minimally one particular linguistic task (see also Fleck 2008). Thus, one very important part of my fieldwork was precisely to discover the aptitudes of all the people interested in working with me. After a few weeks, we learned that some of them were very good at telling histories, at singing, at helping me with the transcription and the translation of the recordings, at teaching me how to produce certain sounds, at creating sentences that illustrate particular topics, at remembering words that nobody else was aware of, at providing linguistic insights into certain constructions, at making phonological distinctions clear to my Spanish ear, and so on. We also learned that fieldwork sessions were not supposed to last more than three hours (including a twenty minute break in the middle, as well as a supply of candies, biscuits and soft drinks), and that these sessions constituted real work and required fair payment. In addition, since they were teaching me some aspects of their language, I started to refer to our sessions as “classes” and to them as my “teachers”. This decision was unconscious; but after a while I realized that they felt proud of being called “teachers”, and

that they started to be even more careful than before about what they were teaching me. They were truly good teachers. Thus, in this grammar, I use the word “teacher” rather than “informant” to refer to the people who worked with me during all this time. In my opinion, the things that my Kakataibo teachers have taught me are just as valuable as the things I have learned at the university, and I personally have the impression that the label *informant* does not reflect this fact clearly enough. On their request, the names of all my teachers are presented in Table 17. Unfortunately, as indicated in the table, one of my teachers passed away two years ago, Nicolás Aguilar. He was a great man with an amazing sense of humor.

Table 17. My Kakataibo teachers

Name	Sex	Age	Birth locality
Alfredo Estrella	M	65	Yamino
Asteria Cervantes	F	40	Yamino
Berta Odicio	F	76	Yamino
Carlota Vásquez	F	70	Yamino
Clementina Estrella	F	42	Yamino
Emilio Estrella	M	75	Yamino
Emilio Estrella Vásquez	M	28	Yamino
Felipe Estrella	M	54	Yamino
Fernando Estrella	M	50	Yamino
Flora Estrella	F	35	Yamino
Francisco Estrella	M	70	Yamino
Goliat Estrella	M	22	Yamino
Irma Vásquez	F	56	Yamino
José Mosolino	M	50	Puerto Azul
Julio Estrella	M	77	Yamino
Karen Estrella	F	25	Yamino
Leida Bonzano	F	26	Puerto Nuevo
Magaly Estrella	F	33	Yamino
Marcelo Odicio	M	27	Yamino
Nelly Angulo	F	61	Mariscal Cáceres
Nicolás Aguilar	M	†	Yamino
Raúl Angulo	M	42	Yamino
Ricardo Odicio	M	52	Yamino
Ricardo Pereira	M	65	Santa Marta
Roberto Angulo	M	81	Mariscal Cáceres
Salomón Estrella	M	65	Yamino
Tomás Estrella	M	45	Yamino
Wilder Bonzano	M	37	Puerto Nuevo
Wilton Odicio	M	31	Yamino

One continuing debate about linguistic fieldwork focuses on the role of different techniques for the collection of linguistic data of scientific validity. One major discussion

point centers on the question of how transcribed natural speech (usually called **texts**) and elicited data should be integrated when writing a grammar. In my case, I have given a predominant role to texts, and whenever possible, I have used text examples to illustrate a phenomenon. However, I consider it problematic to rely only on texts. There is not only the Zipfian problem that some morphemes or constructions occur only rarely in natural speech and therefore might not be attested at all in a corpus of texts; but also the fact that texts usually introduce complexities and even performance mistakes that can make our understanding of certain patterns more difficult. Therefore, I have elicited thousands of sentences and additional data, which have helped me in understanding many of the issues included in this grammar. In some cases, I have discovered through elicitation some morphemes that did not appear in my texts at all (and this suggests that there may be a few others yet to be discovered). Additionally, some morphemes that are discovered in texts are not frequent enough in the corpora to understand the exact or full range of their meaning. In many cases, elicitation has given me the chance to understand the morphosyntactic behavior and meaning of many forms better, as it allowed me to put known forms into new contexts, or to construct minimal pairs that helped me to discover important (and sometimes difficult to perceive) semantic differences.

Between December 2006 and August 2015, I have recorded approximately 50 hours of monologue texts. These texts belong to a number of different genres: traditional tales and myths, jokes, narratives about historical facts, life stories, narratives about cultural knowledge (such as how to use certain plants or to make arrows), narratives about what the storyteller did that same day or days before, or will do in the future; narratives about dreams, traditional text styles used to counsel young people; narratives about movies, and radio and TV shows, and so on. Approximately 10 or 12 hours of this database correspond to descriptions, explanations and traditional myths associated with the ethnobiological knowledge of the Kakataibo people. In addition, I have recorded approximately seven hours of conversations on a diverse range of topics and two hours of traditional songs of different types (see §1.2.7).

So far, I have transcribed, translated and analyzed approximately 40 hours of recordings that include monologue texts, conversations and songs, with the help of my teachers. Approximately 15 hours of these data have been parsed in the Toolbox program and constitute the primary source of examples in this grammar. The workflow was as follows: the texts were time-aligned and typed into Transcriber or, more recently, ELAN, and then imported into Toolbox, where each sentence includes an orthographic representation, a morphemic parse, glossing, information about parts of speech and a free translation. In addition, each sentence includes a link to the time axis of the corresponding audio file. This setup proved time-intensive, but it has facilitated considerably the process of searching for appropriate examples and of understanding the different patterns described in this grammar. In addition, approximately another 10 hours of recordings have been time-aligned in the ELAN program and are ready to be annotated in the Toolbox program. Since ELAN also facilitates searches,

some of the examples included in this grammar come from that corpus and have been segmented specifically for this book.

In almost all cases, the recordings were made, transcribed and translated with the help of my teachers and I spent most of our time together working with texts and clarifying questions that came up in them. Although currently I am capable of understanding by myself a good amount of what is said in the recordings, I always find specific fragments that are difficult to understand and always prefer to work with the help of one or more native speakers. In the last years (2013–2014), students of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú have been engaged in documentation projects and/or field methods classes on Kakataibo and have collaborated with the transcription and translation of linguistic materials in this language. I have always supervised and revised their work in order to identify possible mistakes.

When I started to work on Kakataibo, I used to conduct recording sessions with one person at a time, but after a while I realized that some forms only appeared when there was another speaker of the language present and the two speakers were telling stories to each other. Since then, I decided to always work with small groups or pairs of speakers. I made approximately 30% of my recordings during my first field trip as a PhD candidate, when I was not yet able to speak the language and, thus, the storyteller was basically talking to the recording machine in those cases where no other speaker was present. I found this to be artificial, and the presence of another speaker became a basic methodological principle as soon as I became aware of this issue. I then always asked the storyteller to tell the story to somebody else. During my second field trip as a PhD candidate and since then, I started to speak and interview my teachers in Kakataibo. The success of this became clear when they started to use forms that they did not use at the beginning with me (for some discussion of this topic, see Chapter 22).

Elicitation sessions were integrated with the transcription and translation of texts. In principle, I have avoided the use of translation tasks as a way to obtain specific Kakataibo constructions, and I usually proposed new Kakataibo sentences based on the ones found in texts, in order to better understand the meaning and the form of each attested morpheme. In most cases, the new sentences and the one found in the text constituted minimal pairs. Each new sentence was produced by me and presented to my teachers in order to determine its grammaticality and its meaning. My teachers corrected my sentences when they considered it necessary and, in addition, they very often provided new and very useful similar sentences of their own. I have attempted to be as careful as possible with the Spanish translations that my teachers provided to me. In the particular case of my fieldwork situation, one problem that required special attention was that the Kakataibo people speak a different dialect of Spanish, and that many words or constructions do not mean the same for them and for me. All this was written up in my notebooks with clear notes about their judgments as well as all their corrections, and I have sometimes had long conversations with my teachers about how to translate certain Kakataibo sentences into Spanish.

The English translations were based in both the Spanish translations and the Kakataibo originals. I have asked native speakers of English (David Fleck has been crucial for this task) about how to translate into this language some certain Kakataibo examples, and I have checked as carefully as possible (and not without problems) these translations (see Hellwig 2010).

The elicitation of paradigms proved very important for the segmentation of words into morphemes and the attribution of glosses to them. All transcriptions, translations and analyses used in this grammar were revised by me and two of my teachers: the Kakataibo Bible translator Ricardo Odicio and his son Wilton Odicio, who is a professional school teacher. During these revisions, we elicited many more sentences and had long conversations about the analysis of some constructions. Even though they were not familiar with the linguistic terminology, our conversations were always deep and helped me to improve my analyzes in multiple and very important ways.

Thus, I have used both elicitation and texts in the preparation of this grammar. Even though texts are preferred as sources for the examples, I would not have been able to understand and analyze the patterns that I found in texts without resorting to elicitation (and I would have not known about the ones that did not appear in my database of natural speech).

I have also used stimuli kits as a way to obtain controlled linguistic data (particularly, the videos developed by Evans et al. 2004 for the study of reciprocal events, see §15.4.3.2 and the topological relations picture series, developed by Bowerman and Pederson 1992, see §5.1.2). I have to say that the use of such tools were highly useful, but unfortunately I only used them in my last trips and they thus do not constitute a major research technique in this grammar.

1.4.2 Examples and database

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

i. *Information about the person(s) who were recorded*

The initials of the speaker are introduced followed by a hyphen (e.g. NA-). In the case of conversations, I include the initials of all the speakers separated by a period (e.g. ME.FE-).

ii. *Keyword*

A Keyword, referring to the topic of the recording, is featured between hyphens (e.g. NA-tsikiúmano-). When it is necessary to include more than one word, they are separated by a period (e.g. ME.FE-tapir.breeding-).

iii. *Year of the recording*

The year of the recording is always included (e.g. NA-tsikiúmano-2007 or ME.FE-tapir.breeding-2007).

iv. *Running number of the sentence in the text*

The number of the sentence is preceded by a period (e.g. NA-tsikiúmano-2007.012 or ME.FE-tapir.breeding-2007.015)

Thus, NA-tsikiúmano-2007.012 refers to an example that appears in sentence number 12 of a recording made in 2007 in which Nicolás Aguilar tells the story of a mythological creature called *tsikiúmano*. In turn, ME.FE-tapir.breeding-2007.015 corresponds to an example that appears in the sentence number 15 of a recording made in 2007, in which Magaly Estrella and Flora Estrella have a conversation about a tapir breeding that used to live in Yamino.

During my first fieldtrip as a PhD candidate, I was advised to use a tape recording machine (a SONY TCM-5000EV) and, between 2007 and 2008, I filled 18 tapes of 90 minutes each with narratives, conversations and a few traditional songs (i.e., approximately 27 hours of recordings, from which approximately 22 include Kakataibo speech and the remaining 5 hours, interactions in Spanish). The quality of the recordings is in general good, and they were digitized into WAV files by a professional sound editor in Lima. The WAV files were segmented by me into sessions that included one text each, and each received a code following the principles specified in (i)–(iii). This code was used in the corresponding Transcriber, ELAN and Toolbox files.

During my second trip as a PhD candidate in 2009–2010, La Trobe University provided me with a digital recording machine (a ZOOM H2). I have recorded approximately 15 more hours of texts, conversations and songs using that digital recorder. The remaining recordings were made using a ZOOM H4 solid state recording machine and a Sony HVR-Z5E video camera, which were adquired by the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú in 2012. In the case of these recordings, I have followed the same codification listed in (i)–(iii).

Between 2008 and 2014, I have also made carefully controlled recordings for acoustic analysis, particularly, for the description of the vocalic sounds (see §2.4), the nasalization processes (see §2.5), the glottal stop (see §2.6) and the prosodic system of the language (see Chapter 3). Those recordings have also observed the same codification in (i)–(iii), and the keyword is the word illustrated by the recording. A number of those recordings have been annotated by means of the *text grid* function available in PRAAT and are the basis for all the recordings presented in Chapters 2 and 3.

Most of the audio files including monologue texts and conversations have been segmented into units that I analyze as sentences: grammatical units defined by the

presence of a second-position enclitic marking register (see §11.2). The only exception were those cases in which the segmentation was conducted by my students, in which case we have used long pauses (2 seconds or more) as the criterion for separating segmentation units.

Sentences can include more than one clause, and, therefore, they can sometimes be very complex. Whenever such a complexity makes the illustration of a particular issue difficult, I have included only the relevant fragment of the sentence in the example. If the portion that was excluded from an example was in the middle of the sentence, “[...]" appears in place of the cut portion. If the excluded portion was at the beginning or the end of the sentence, I did not consider “[...]" necessary. In cases where the example comes from a text sentence for which another speaker suggested adding one or more words to correct or improve the sentence, the suggested word(s) are included in square brackets (e.g., [ikën] 'is').

Examples include four lines: (1) an orthographic line that presents the actual form (i.e., after all morphophonemic processes have been applied); (2) a morpheme breakdown of line 1; and (3) a morpheme gloss. In addition, all the examples include a free translation (4). Free translations of ungrammatical examples appear in parenthesis. Words in lines (1) and (2) are vertically aligned, as shown in the following example.

- (8) *Uisai karanuna 'iti 'ain.*
 uisai ka=ra=nuna 'i-ti 'ain
 how:INTR NAR=INT=1PL be=NOMLZ be:1/2
 'How will we be?' (AE-my.work-2006.015)

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

- (9) *Mina nipakëtin ka 'ibu'.*
 mi-na nipakët-i-n ka 'ibut
 2SG-lest fall.down-IPFV-1/2 NAR descend:IMP
 'Come down, lest you fall!' (Elicited example)

I have double checked all the examples included in this grammar. Thus, every example (both text and elicited examples) has been revised and evaluated by at least two speakers of Kakataibo. Examples considered problematic during this process of double checking have been removed, even if they originated from natural speech. Therefore, the reader will be presented only with examples that have been double checked and correctly translated by at least two reliable speakers of the language who are known for their well-developed metalinguistic awareness. This, of course, does

not mean that all Kakataibo speakers will have the same judgments or that the methodology followed here is free of problems. Being aware of the problems associated with linguistic exemplification, my only intention has been to be as careful as possible with the use of examples, as a way of showing respect to the potential readers of this grammar.

Where necessary, examples that were considered unacceptable or pragmatically-marked by my teachers in elicitation sessions have been included in this grammar in order to better explain a particular claim. When this happens, explicit indications are given: <*> is used for examples that were not accepted by my teachers in elicitation sessions (but also for reconstructed forms) and <?> is used for constructions that were accepted by my teachers, but were considered pragmatically-marked or infelicitous. “Starred” examples are further distinguished by the lack of a gloss and/or by placing the free translation in parentheses without initial capitalization and a final period. I usually do not gloss unacceptable examples when minimal pairs including acceptable and unacceptable versions of the “same” utterance are given. Free translations in parentheses are provided whenever it is considered necessary for the argumentation to present a hypothetical or approximate meaning of the unacceptable example. Following a recommendation by Spike Gildea (p.c.), I will generally use the descriptive term “unacceptable” for those examples that were rejected by my teachers in elicitation sessions, reserving the analytical term “ungrammatical” to those cases in which the unacceptability of the construction can clearly be linked to the violation of a grammatical principle that is assumed in this grammar to be part of the speakers’ knowledge. Therefore, the use of the term “ungrammatical” is always accompanied with an explicit mention of the “reason” why I considered analytically appropriate to attribute this label to an unacceptable example.

1.4.3 Theoretical framework

This book is a descriptive grammar. In that sense, its aim is to present as comprehensively as possible the features and mechanisms that operate in the language under study at different levels, ranging from phonology to discourse and interaction. It is not the aim of this book to build on any particular theoretical framework. However, this grammar does reflect my fundamental understanding of language. There is no such a thing as theoretically-neutral grammatical description (see, for instance, Dryer 2006 and Rice 2006). During the last seven years, I have read, thought about, and used the ideas and theoretical proposals developed by different linguists. References to those proposals are given throughout this grammar. All of them belong to what is usually known as the “functional-typological approach to language” or, as called by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), the “cognitive-discursive approach to language”, defined as a theoretical approach to language, in which:

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

Therefore, I personally believe in a very close relationship between grammatical structure, cognition and language use, and this represents the main theoretical principle that guides the ideas and analyzes presented in this grammar. This means, among other things, that I understand grammatical categories to be structured around prototypes and hierarchies, and that I use those theoretical ideas as descriptive/analytical tools. In turn, in this grammar, I assume the construction-specific nature of linguistic phenomena (like grammatical relations, see Bickel 2011) and try to be as cautious as possible with the use of global grammatical categories (Croft 2001). In addition, I firmly believe in grammaticalization as a powerful explanatory tool. Thus, although this is a synchronic description of Kakataibo, the reader will also find diachronic interpretations if they help us in understanding or explaining specific patterns. In accordance with this, this grammar understands grammatical categories as non-discrete and languages as dynamic systems in constant evolution and change.

Throughout this grammar, I have also attempted to follow as much as possible the theoretical tradition of grammar writing, which has recently been called basic linguistic theory (Dixon 1997, 2010) and has enormously benefited from typological research, among other linguistic disciplines (Dryer 2006). In this spirit, this thesis has enormously benefited from the literature on gramaticography (see, for instance, Lehmann and Maslova 2004; Mosel 2006) and, in general, from many of the papers included in Payne and Weber ([2006] 2007), and Ameka, Dench and Evans (2006). The discussions and recommendations offered in the above cited papers have influenced the design of this grammar and the methodology used in the associated research. In addition, the questionnaire developed by Comrie and Smith (1997) for the *Lingua Descriptive Studies* series and the set of unpublished materials prepared by Aikhenvald and Dixon as part of the project *The categories of human languages* have been a useful guide in determining which grammatical aspects I needed to pay attention to during my periods of fieldwork. This is also true regarding Payne's (2002) *Describing Morphosyntax* and the three volumes of *Language Typology and Syntactic Description* (Shopen 1983, 2007).

Therefore, in my own analyses, I have used many of the descriptive tools offered by the typologically-oriented approach to grammar writing. I have always attempted to relate Kakataibo categories to the categories found in other languages and whenever possible I have widely used typological terms to characterize what I have found in Kakataibo, providing the reader with references and definitions. However, I have always accompanied these terms with explicit characterizations and illustrations of how the traditional grammatical categories manifest in Kakataibo, following the distinction between comparative concepts and descriptive categories, as proposed by

Haspelmath (2010). I have only introduced “new” terms when strictly necessary and always with detailed explanations of how I am using the introduced terminology.

1.4.4 The structure of this book

This grammatical description is in principle a semasiological grammar (i.e. it goes from form to function; see Lehmann and Maslova 2004, and Mosel 2006). Nevertheless, abundant cross-references are included throughout the different chapters in order to help those readers looking for a more onomasiological approach (i.e., from function to form; see again see Lehmann and Maslova 2004, and Mosel 2006). Additionally, a detailed subject index is also included in order to provide a guide for those readers interested in approaching this grammar from an onomasiological perspective. Thus, for instance, if two different constructions are used for frustrative meanings, the reader will find in the section treating each construction, cross-references to the section in which the other one is discussed and will find the respective pages for each construction under the entry ‘frustrative’ in the subject index included in this grammar (see Cristofaro 2006).

This grammar includes 16 chapters. An introduction to the Kakataibo language and their speakers has been offered in this chapter. Chapters 2–3 deal with the phonological description of the language. Chapter 2 presents a segmental description, based on both phonetic and phonological analyses. Chapter 3 is a description of the prosodic system of the language, which also integrates phonetic and phonological information.

Chapter 4 presents a general introduction to morphology and lists all the morphological processes attested in Kakataibo. The discussion of the different bound elements operating at the end of words provides a set of criteria for distinguishing between suffixes and enclitics, which is particularly important for the understanding of the following chapters. Prefixation is also discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 presents the Kakataibo word classes, paying attention to both closed and open word classes (it includes a detailed discussion of the class of postpositions, which are of particular interest from the perspective of grammaticalization theory). Chapter 5 also offers a set of criteria for distinguishing between open word classes. Chapters 6–9 present a characterization of the four open word classes identified in this grammar: nouns (Chapter 6), adjectives (Chapter 7), verbs (Chapters 8 and 9) and adverbs (Chapter 10).

Chapter 11 presents second-position enclitics and adverbial enclitics, and it also lists a set of criteria for distinguishing between independent and dependent clauses in Kakataibo. Chapter 12 presents the switch-reference system of the language. Chapter 13 presents evaluative clauses and speech-report clauses. Chapter 14 presents grammatical nominalizations, which are used for the functions of relativization and complementation. Chapter 15 discusses further topics on transitivity and gram-

matical relations. Finally, Chapter 16 examines discourse structure, presenting the constituent order and the strategies for topicalization, highlighting and focusing that the language exhibits. This final chapter also includes information of addressee's perspective and other categories relevant for the understanding of verbal interactions in Kakataibo.

This book includes six appendixes. Appendix 1 offers a selection of three fully interlinearized and translated narratives. Appendices 2 and 3 contain the Swadesh list of 200 terms and the 237-term list used by Tessmann (1930) with lexical information for the four extant dialects of Kakataibo (see §1.3.3). Appendix 4 presents the list of the recorded texts from which all the text examples included in this book were obtained. A sample of these texts are available from the Digital Archive of Peruvian Languages, hosted by the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (<http://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/15344>). Appendix 5 features a short Kakataibo-English vocabulary, which includes all the words attested in the examples listed in this grammar, and appendix 6 presents a list of all the Kakataibo grammatical morphemes described in this book. A complete list of references, a subject index and an index of persons are also included in this grammar.

2 Segmental phonology

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a detailed description of the segmental phonology of the Kakataibo language, as spoken along the lower Aguaytía River (the prosodic system of the language is discussed in Chapter 3). In §2.2, I present the Kakataibo phonemic inventory and the orthographic conventions followed in this grammar. In §2.3, I present consonants, providing examples of their distribution and contrastive nature, and discussing some important phonetic features that may contribute to a more detailed understanding of the sound system of the language. In §2.4, I provide a description of vowels, following a similar organization to the one offered in §2.3. A brief description of nasalization is offered in §2.5 and the different correlates of glottalization are analyzed in detail in §2.6. In turn, in §2.7, I deal with some of the major morphophonemic processes (i.e., phonological processes found at the boundaries between phonemes). Finally, a short note on the phonological treatment of Spanish loans is given in §2.8. References to the phonetic properties of some of the sounds presented, as well as some comments on salient Pano comparative issues, are offered throughout this chapter. A phonological description of the Kakataibo dialect spoken in the San Alejandro River can be found in Valle (2017b).

2.2 Phoneme inventory and orthography

The dialect of Kakataibo described in this book has 15 consonant sounds that have phonological status: five voiceless stops (*/p/, /t/, /k/ and /kʷ/ and /ʔ/ – I will discuss the peculiar character of /ʔ/ in §2.5); three nasals (*/m/, /n/ and /ŋ/); a flap (*/ɾ/); two affricates (*/ts/ and /tʃ/); three fricatives (*/s/, /ʃ/ and /ʂ/); and one approximant (*/β/*). Table 18 lists these consonants.*****

Table 18. Inventory of Kakataibo consonants (lower Aguaytía dialect)

Active articulator	Labio-	Apico-	Lamino-	Sub-apical-	Dorso-	Glottal
Passive articulator	Labial	Dento-Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal (retroflex)	Velar Non-labialized	Labialized
Stop	p	t			k	kʷ
Nasal	m	n	r	ŋ		
Flap			ɾ			
Affricate		ts		tʃ		
Fricative		s		ʃ		
Approximant	β			ʂ		

In turn, Kakataibo exhibits six vocalic phonemes, all of them unrounded: two front vowels: /i/ and /e/; two central vowels: /i/ and /a/; and two back vowels: /u/ and /y/. Table 19 presents the distribution of Kakataibo vowels.

Table 19. Inventory of Kakataibo vowels (Lower Aguaytía dialect)

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	i	
Mid		e	y
Low		a	u

In this grammar, I will use the orthographic conventions presented in Table 20, except where it is necessary to provide a phonetic representation.²² These orthographic conventions are very similar to the official Kakataibo alphabet approved in 2009 (Peruvian Ministry of Education, *Resolución Directorial 2551-2009-ED*), with only two slight differences: I use special characters for the labialized velar consonant /kʷ/ (<kw>) and the glottal stop /ʔ/ (<'>, and <''>, according to its position), which were not considered in the official alphabet but can be of relevance in the context of a grammatical description. When appearing in the body of the text, Kakataibo orthographic forms are presented in italics. In the examples with two or more syllables included in this chapter, the diacritic <`> is used to indicate the position of the high tone (related to stress in the language; see the discussion of the Kakataibo prosodic system in Chapter 3). In monosyllabic words, the diacritic <`> is used to indicate that there is a phonetic rising pitch (for example ‘ó ‘tapir’ surfaces as [?ő:(?)]; see §3.3.1.4).

Table 20. Orthographic conventions used in this grammar

Phonetic representation	Orthographic convention	Official Kakataibo alphabet
/p/	<p>	<p>
/t/	<t>	<t>
/k/	<k>	<k>
/kʷ/	<kw>	<ku>
/ʔ/	<'> (at the beginning of words) <''> (at the end of words)	— —
/m/	<m>	<m>
/n/	<n>	<n>

²² The table includes orthographic representations for /j/ and /w/, which are not postulated as phonemes of the Kakataibo dialect described in this grammar. These two sounds, however, will be important for comparative reasons.

Table 20. (continued)

Phonetic representation	Orthographic convention	Official Kakataibo alphabet
/ɲ/	<ñ>	<ñ>
/ɾ/	<r>	<r>
/ts/	<ts>	<ts>
/tʃ/	<ch>	<ch>
/β/		
/s/	<s>	<s>
/ʃ/	<sh>	<sh>
/ʂ/	<x>	<x>
/i/	<i>	<i>
/e/	<e>	<e>
/ɪ/	<ë>	<ë>
/a/	<a>	<a>
/u/	<u>	<u>
/ɣ/	<o>	<o>
[w] (when necessary)	<w>	—
[j] (when necessary)	<y>	—

2.3 Consonants

Table 18 offers information on both the active and the passive articulators of the proposed consonants. For dento-alveolar and palatal consonants, such information was carefully gathered by basic palatography and linguography, techniques which consist on “painting the tongue [and the palate, respectively, RZB] with a black substance, asking the speaker to say a word containing the articulation to be studied” (Ladefoged 2003: 36). These techniques allow one to see where the black substance has been transferred in both the palate and the tongue in order to postulate a more specific characterization of the articulators involved. The information obtained through these techniques, however, should be used cautiously, since the shape of the tongue is never the same in two different pictures and therefore no measurements can be made. Following Ladefoged’s (2003: 42) observation that pictures “can only be compared qualitatively”, we use the data presented below only to suggest, for instance, that “one articulation involves the tip of the tongue and the other the posterior part of the blade” Ladefoged (2003: 42).²³

²³ Basic palatography and other experiments used in this chapter were conducted in collaboration with Heriberto Avelino, as part of a research project entitled “Documentación fonética de tres lenguas peruanas: aimara sureño, awajun y kakataibo”, funded by the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú in 2013. Only three Kakataibo speakers (two women and one man) collaborated in these experiments and therefore the information presented in this section must be taken as preliminary.

One of the most interesting findings revealed by these experiments is that there are systematic differences in the place of articulation of the dento-alveolar consonants in Table 18. While the nasal consonant /n/ exhibits an exclusively alveolar place of articulation, the remaining phonemes (/t/, /r/, /ts/ and /s/) also feature contact with the teeth, and in some pronunciations they are exclusive dental. In order to illustrate this, Figure 4 and Figure 5 feature photographs of pronunciations of /n/ and /s/ by the same (female) speaker.

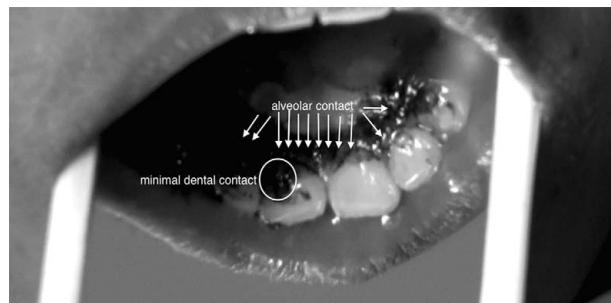


Figure 4. Palatography of one pronunciation of [n] by one female speaker

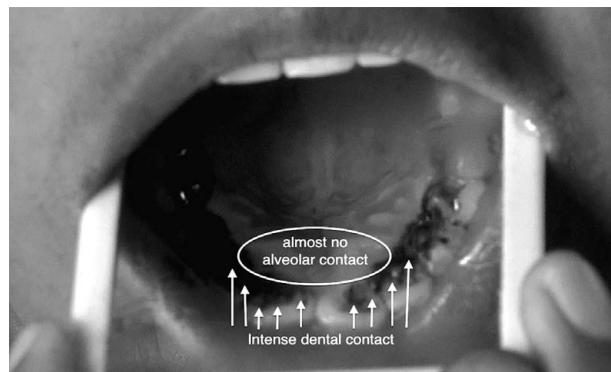


Figure 5. Palatography of one pronunciation of [s] by one female speaker

As can be seen in Figures 4 and 5, the articulation of [n] and [s] reveals that the former sound tends to be more alveolar, while the latter exhibits a high degree of contact in the teeth area. Nevertheless, the distinction between alveolar and dental sounds is not contrastive and, thus, does not have phonological relevance. Therefore, in Table 18 I have used the label “dento-alveolar” for all the sounds produced in this area. Regarding the position of the tongue, all dento-alveolar sounds are apical, as suggested by Figures 6–7:

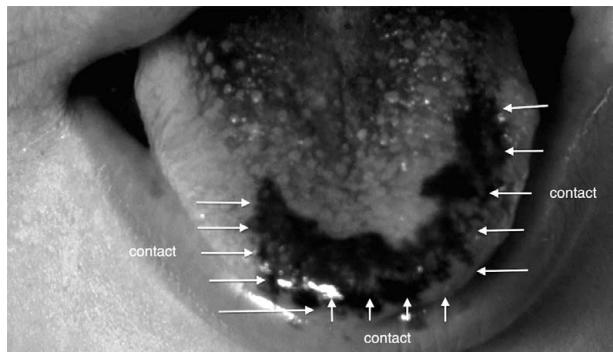


Figure 6. Linguography of one pronunciation of /n/ by one female speaker

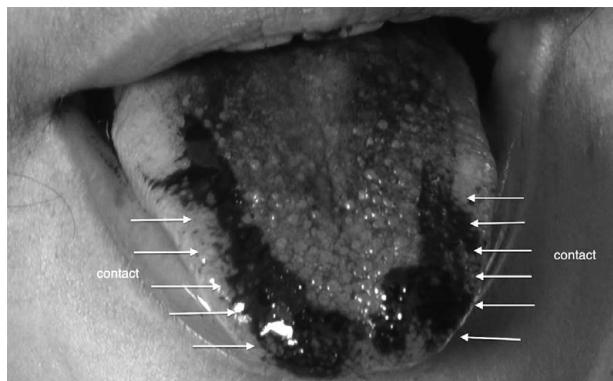


Figure 7. Linguography of one pronunciation of /s/ by one female speaker

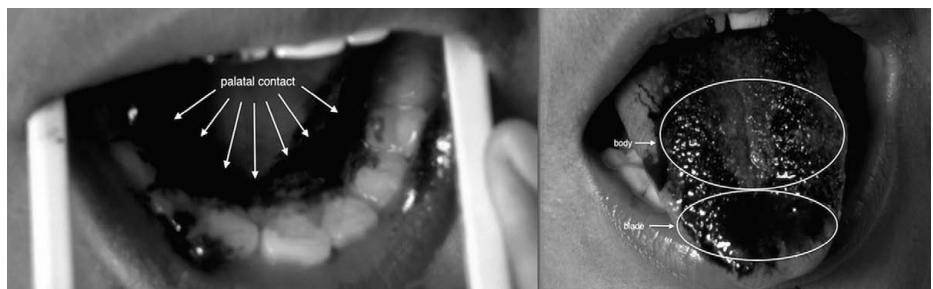


Figure 8. Palatography and linguography of one pronunciation of /n/ by one female speaker

As indicated in Table 18, /n/, /tʃ/ and /ʃ/ are laminal sounds articulated in the alveo-palatal area. Clear traces of contact are found in the blade of the tongue (with some irregular contact being also found in the body). No major differences among alveo-

palatal sounds were found in the experiments. As an illustration, Figure 8 features a palatography and a linguography of pronunciations of /ɲ/ by the same (female) speaker.

One final detail revealed by this technic is that the retroflex sound /ʂ/ is sub-apical; it is produced by means of an intense contact between the palatal area and the reversal part of the tongue tip (only partial traces of contact in the tip itself were attested among speakers). This is shown in Figure 9 below.

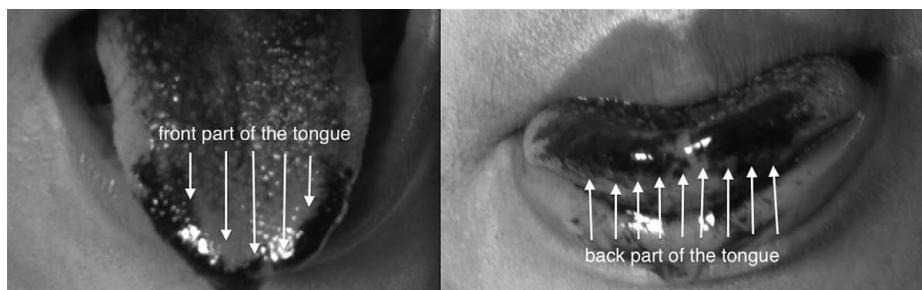


Figure 9. Linguography of the two sides of the tongue after the pronunciation of /ʂ/ by one female speaker

In what follows, I describe the distribution and some phonetic properties of the consonants presented in Table 18. It must be mentioned here that the consonants show certain restrictions in terms of their distribution and that, even though the syllable structure of the language is (C)V(C) (see §3.2), the coda position can only be occupied by a reduced list of consonants: *n*, *s*, *sh*, *x* (and, in very specific cases, the glottal stop; see §2.5).

2.3.1 Stops

In addition to the glottal stop, which due to its special properties, will be discussed separately in §2.5, there are four stops in Kakataibo. It is relatively easy to find minimal pairs or minimal sets of roots that illustrate their distinctive value. For example:

(10) **k vs. p**

káni ‘grow’

páni ‘palm species; *Astrocaryum murumuru*’

réka ‘rub a length of thread with pitch to lash the arrowhead to the shaft’

répa ‘honey’

(11) **p vs. t**

- púru* ‘fill’
túru ‘tree species; *Hura crepitans*’
kápa ‘squirrel; Fam. *Sciuridae*’
kátá ‘cape’ (< Central Quechua)

(12) **t vs. k**

- tána* ‘imitate, track an animal’
kána ‘blue-and-yellow macaw; *Ara ararauna*’
táru ‘lame (person or animal)’
kárú ‘firewood’

(13) **t vs. kw**

- téñë* ‘resist pain’
kwéñë ‘traditional painting’

(14) **k vs. kw**

- táká* ‘shake’
tákwa ‘liver’

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

- púku* ‘stomach’
pútú ‘dust, powder, grainy substance’
púpu ‘owl species; Fam. *Strigidae*’

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

- ta* ‘mother (reduced form)’
pa ‘father (reduced form)’
ka ‘say’
kwa ‘hear’

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

- báta* ‘sweet’
báka ‘river’
bákwa ‘male reproductive organ of a plant’

Voice-onset time (VOT) of stops, defined as the length of time that passes between the release of a stop and the onset of a vowel, was also measured. A total of 20 pronunciations of each consonant (with the exception of *kw*, for which I only have 15 tokens) were carefully measured and annotated in PRAAT, with interesting results.

First, it is possible to say that, on average, the duration of the closure of all the stops in Kakakaibo is more or less equivalent (*t* = 0.11s, *p* = 0.12s, *k* = 0.13s and *kw* = 0.13s),

but clear differences were found regarding the VOT of the different stops. The stops *t* and *p* exhibit very similar voice-onset times on average, with the following results: $t = 0.017\text{s}$, $p = 0.015\text{s}$. However, the velar stops show a clearly different behavior in the data: while the average VOT for *k* was 0.022s (considerably higher than the VOT found for *p* and *t*), *kw* exhibits a saliently long VOT, which reaches 0.056s on average. In the case of this sound, the intensity of the burst was significantly less prominent than that attested in any other stop. This is illustrated by Figures 10–13 in which one example of each stop in an intervocalic context is presented (VOT is represented with the symbol ‘>’).

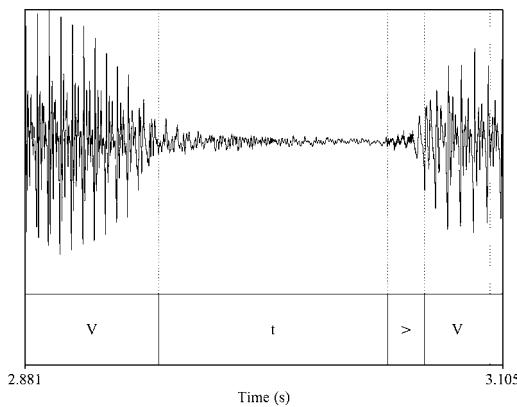


Figure 10. VOT and closure measurements for one token of [t]

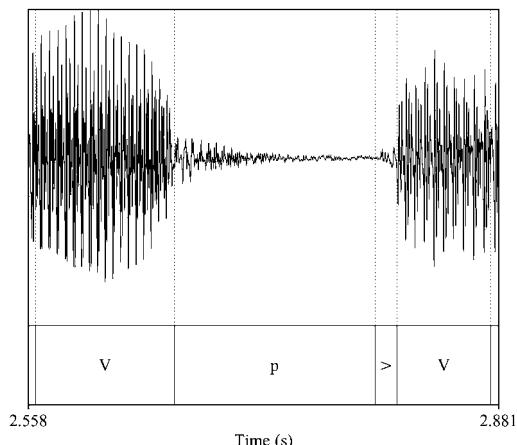


Figure 11. VOT and closure measurements for one token of [p]

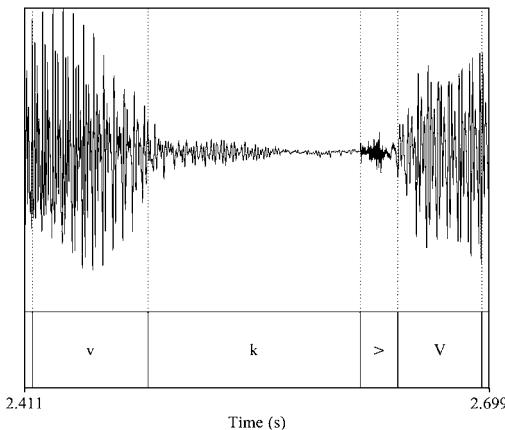


Figure 12. VOT and closure measurements for one token of [k]

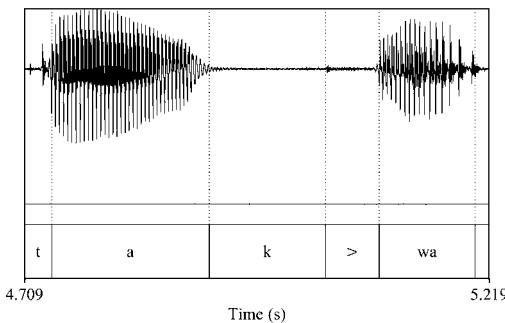


Figure 13. VOT and closure measurements for one token of [kw]

The different acoustic properties of stops in Kakataibo require more phonetic investigation. It will also be interesting to compare the behavior of the labialized velar in Kakataibo with the behavior of labialized velars in other languages in order to determine if similar patterns are found. In what follows, I describe and illustrate the distribution of each stop.

2.3.1.1 The bilabial stop *p*

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

- (18) ##**p**
páka ‘bamboo; *Guadua superba*’
péchi ‘wing feather, wing’
pía ‘arrow’

(19) **V#p**

- mápara* ‘big rock’
pépi ‘traditional storehouse’
púpu ‘owl species; Fam. *Strigidae*’

(20) **C#p**

- ánpa* ‘horse fly; *Tabanus* species’
íspa ‘star’
chanpísh ‘clam; Clas. *Bivalvia*’

2.3.1.2 The alveolar stop *t*

This phoneme is essentially restricted to word-initial and syllable-initial positions, but, as will be seen in §3.3.1.1, there are some roots that can be analyzed as having a root-final *t* that surfaces only as the onset of a following syllable that is formed when certain bound morphemes follow the root. Some examples of the more prototypical distribution of *t* follow in (21)–(23):

(21) **#²t**

- táka* ‘shake’
tékë ‘piece’
túmi ‘parakeet species; *Pionus menstruus*’

(22) **V²t**

- úta* ‘blue-headed macaw; *Primolius coulonii*’
béti ‘surpass, walk ahead’
chítë ‘left overs (of food)’

(23) **C²t**

- kashtá* ‘color of plants or hair when they become dry or damaged’
buntish ‘generic name for any red-and-black colored bird’
këxtú ‘thick’

2.3.1.3 The velar stop *k*

This phoneme only occurs in word-initial and syllable-initial positions (but some nominal roots seem to have an underlying final *k*; see again §3.3.1.1). Examples of its distribution are given in (24)–(26):

(24) **#²k**

- kána* ‘blue-and-yellow macaw; *Ara ararauna*’
kémë ‘lie’
kúki ‘firefly; *Lampyris* species’

(25) **V#k**

<i>báka</i>	'river'
<i>chéka</i>	'squash, mash'
<i>kéki</i>	'shout'

(26) **C#k**

<i>éška-</i>	'dry'
<i>maxká</i>	'head'
<i>íshki</i>	'shrub species (unidentified)'

2.3.1.4 The labialized velar stop *kw*

There is a labialized voiceless velar stop ($/k^w/$) in Kakataibo. As is clear from its distribution, *kw* is different from the labialized allophone of bilabial sounds when followed by *é* (see §2.4.3 for more in relation to the process of labialization of bilabial sounds) and needs to be analyzed as a phoneme. This analysis fits in very well with some major facts about Kakataibo phonology. In Kakataibo, all vowels project their own syllable nucleus (see §3.2 for a brief description of Kakataibo's syllabic structure) and, therefore, a VV-sequence is syllabified as V#V rather than as VV# (as is clear from the application of the prosodic rules described in §3.3, see a brief discussion below). What we find in the case of *kwV*-sequences is that the *w* attested in this context does not create its own syllable. Thus, we always have *kwV#*, rather than *kw#V*.

This strongly suggests that *w* in this context cannot be analyzed as a vowel. In turn, *w* cannot be analyzed as a consonant either, since, as also commented on in §3.2, CCV syllables are not phonologically possible in the language. Therefore, since the *w* cannot be analyzed either as a vowel or as a consonant, *kw* needs to be analyzed as a single phonological segment.

In accordance with this, the prosodic rules to be presented in §3.3 treat the *kwV* sequences as one syllable and, therefore, if this syllable is the most prominent of the word, the stress and the high tone will surface on *V*, rather than on *w*. Thus, for instance, if we compare the prosodic behavior of a *kuV*-word and a *kwV*-word, we will see that both the stress and the high tone will fall on *u* in the first case, and on *V* in the second example (compare the words *kú.a.ti* 'eat fruit' and *kwáti* 'hear'). To sum up, one can argue that *kwV*-words are different from *kuV*-words and that this *w* is not an independent segment: the most suitable analysis for the [kwV]-sequences that we hear in Kakataibo speech is /kwV/, rather than /kwV/ or /kuV/.

As appears to have happened in most other Pano languages (see Shell 1975: 53, who considers */k^w/ as a phoneme of what she calls Reconstructed Pano), the segment *kw* is currently undergoing neutralization with *k* in some Kakataibo dialects (particularly, with regard to *kwe* sequences, which correspond to *ke* in the dialects from Sungaroyacu and the Upper Aguaytía Rivers). This sound is stable in the dialects of the lower Aguaytía and San Alejandro Rivers (but in the latter it may become voiced

in V_V-positions; see §1.3.3). This sound appears only in word-initial and syllable initial positions, but it is rare in /C#/_ contexts. It is important to note that *kw* does not appear followed by back vowels.

(27) **##kw**

- kwái* ‘play, laugh’
kwe ‘wide (said of a river); Aguaytía river’
kwébí ‘mouth’

(28) **V#kw**

- nákwa* ‘fly; Diptera species’
bákwa ‘male reproductive organ of plants’
békwë ‘paint with different colors the traditional guns’

(29) **C#kw**

- maskwán* ‘roof’

2.3.2 Nasals

There are three nasal segments in Kakataibo. All of them can appear word-initially and syllable-initially but, in syllable-final positions, as I propose here, it is only possible to find *n*. This syllable-final *n* assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant, and can be pronounced as [n], [m], [ŋ] or [ɲ]. I base this analysis on the fact that [m], [ŋ] or [ɲ] exclusively appear as codas when followed by a consonant that has the same place of articulation (thus, for instance, we do not find any of these sounds in word-final position, which is a common position for *n*). In addition, in slow speech, speakers always produce *n* (and not any other nasal) in syllable-final positions. Nasalization of vowels as a consequence to their proximity to a nasal consonant is discussed in §2.5. The following minimal pairs and minimal sets show the contrast between the three nasal phonemes.

(30) **n vs. m**

- mánë* ‘metal’
nánë ‘tree species; *Genipa americana*’
më ‘follow a restricted diet’
në ‘draw near, get furious’

(31) **n vs. ñ**

- no* ‘foreigner, enemy’
ño ‘peccary; *Tayassu tajacu*’
panún ‘frog species; *Leptodactylus bolivianus*’
pañún ‘handkerchief’ (< Spanish *pañó*)

(32) **m vs. ñ**

- maís* ‘army ant; *Eciton* species’
ñais ‘armadillo; *Dasypus novemcinctus*’
me ‘earth, field’
ñe ‘woman’s mother-in-law’

(33) **n vs. m vs. ñ**

- máë* ‘abandoned garden’
náë ‘garden’
ñaë ‘tree species’

2.3.2.1 The alveolar nasal n

In addition to occurring in word-initial and syllable-initial positions, this phoneme appears syllable-finally and word-finally (but undergoes deletion in certain morphological contexts; see §2.71.2.2). In this position /n/ nasalizes the preceding vowels and may be dropped. The following instances show the different contexts where *n* occurs (*n* does not appear after a closed syllable, that is, *C#n):

(34) **##n**

- námi* ‘meat’
nísi ‘rope, liana’
núbu ‘aquatic snail; Clas. *Gastropoda*’

(35) **V#n**

- kúni* ‘knifefish; *Gymnotus carapo*’
kúnū ‘fungus that grows on rotten logs (unidentified)’
ánë ‘name’

(36) **n#**

- nónke* ‘tree species; *Crescentia* species’ [noŋke]
ñantán ‘afternoon’
chanpísh ‘clam; Clas. *Bivalvia*’ [tʃampiʃ]

(37) **n##**

- némín* ‘deep’
churán ‘fungus (unidentified)’
panún ‘frog species; *Leptodactylus bolivianus*’

2.3.2.2 The bilabial nasal *m*

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

(38) **##m**

- | | |
|--------------|------------------|
| <i>mabán</i> | 'trap for birds' |
| <i>me</i> | 'earth, field' |
| <i>múnu</i> | 'slowly' |

(39) **V#m**

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>íma</i> | 'ant (unidentified)' |
| <i>ñumán</i> | 'thread' |
| <i>samún</i> | 'house fly; <i>Dipterus</i> species' |

(40) **C#m**

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| <i>masmán</i> | 'swallow' |
| <i>ñúsma</i> | 'dummy' |
| <i>tsismán</i> | 'wolf fish; <i>Hoplias malabaricus</i> ' |

2.3.2.3 The palatal nasal *ñ*

There is an alternation between *ñ* (n) and *y* (j) in Kakataibo dialects: the dialects of the lower Aguaytía (i.e. the one described in this grammar) and San Alejandro Rivers have *ñ* where the dialects of Huánuco and the Upper Aguaytía River show *y*. The sound *y* is found in most Pano languages and, unlike *ñ*, *y* has been reconstructed as an old phoneme by both Shell (1965, 1975), Loos (1999) and Oliveira (2014). For Shell (1965, 1975), *ñ* is an innovated phoneme that has developed from **y*. This analysis, however, requires confirmation. Some examples of this sound follow.

(41) **##ñ**

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| <i>ñantán</i> | 'afternoon' |
| <i>ñe</i> | 'woman's paternal aunt or mother in law' |
| <i>ño</i> | 'peccary; <i>Tayassu tajacu</i> ' |

(42) **V#ñ**

- | | |
|--------------|----------------------------|
| <i>búña</i> | 'bee; Fam. <i>Apidae</i> ' |
| <i>kúña</i> | 'straight' |
| <i>kuñún</i> | 'saliva' |

2.3.3 The flap *r*

The flap *r* (/ɾ/) in Kakataibo has no allophonic variation. It can only appear in word-initial and syllable-initial positions. Its distinctive nature can be appreciated in the examples in (43), whereas (44) and (45) illustrate its distribution.

(43) **r vs. t / r vs. n**

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| <i>ro</i> | 'generic term for medicinal plant' |
| <i>to</i> | 'cane; <i>Gynerium sagittatum</i> (<i>Aubl</i>) <i>P. Beauv</i> ' |
| <i>risi</i> | 'thread' |
| <i>nisi</i> | 'vine' |

(44) **##r**

- | | |
|-------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>ráni</i> | 'down, small feathers' |
| <i>rísi</i> | 'thread' |
| <i>ro</i> | 'generic term for medicinal plant' |

(45) **V#r**

- | | |
|--------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>úra</i> | 'far' |
| <i>barán</i> | 'squash; <i>Cucurbita</i> species' |
| <i>bérū</i> | 'eye' |

2.3.4 Affricates

There are two affricate phonemes in Kakataibo: *ts* (/ts/) and *ch* (/tʃ/). Based on the syllabic structure attested in the language (which does not accept either CCV-syllables or CCC-clusters; see §3.2), these two sounds need to be analyzed as single segments, and not as sequences of stops and fricatives. If we were to follow the latter analysis, examples like *tsëpa* 'shrub species' and '*untsis* 'fingernail/toenail' would be interpreted as featuring **##CC** and **VCCCV**-sequences, respectively, and we would need to state that such sequences are idiosyncratic properties of certain phonemes since only the stop /t/ and the fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/ can appear in the positions previously mentioned. We would not have a convincing explanation of why other stops (/p/, for instance) or the remaining fricative (/ʂ/) cannot appear as part of those complex cluster and our analysis would remain *ad hoc*. The postulation of the affricates *ts* (/ts/) and *ch* (/tʃ/) is a much more economical solution, which will allow us to propose a simpler syllabic structure for the language. Therefore, I consider that the inclusion of *ts* (/ts/) and *ch* (/tʃ/) in the phonemic inventory of Kakataibo represents the most suitable analysis of the [ts] and [tʃ] sounds that we very often hear in this language. These two affricate sounds are distinguished by minimal pairs like those in (46).

(46) **ts vs. ch**

- bátsi ‘egg’
báchi ‘mosquito net’

(47) **ts vs. ch vs. t**

- chépa ‘fly; *Tabanus* species’
tsépa ‘shrub; *Protium* species’
tēpa ‘toad-headed turtle; *Podocnemis erythrocephala*’

2.3.4.1 The alveolar affricate ts

The phoneme *ts* (/ts/) can appear only in syllable-initial position, including following a closed syllable. Sometimes *ts* surfaces as *ch* before *i* (*ainchi* ~ *aintsi*), but this process is far from being regular (see §2.7.2.1.1 for a case of this alternation in one body-part prefix). In slow speech, speakers syllabify *ts* as *t.s* in V_V-positions (/VtsV/ > [Vt.sV]). The sound *ts* correlates with *s* in the dialect of the San Alejandro River (see §1.3.3).

(48) **#ts**

- tsábë ‘woman’s sister-in-law or female cross cousin’
tsi ‘fire’
tsépa ‘shrub; *Protium* species’

(49) **V#ts**

- átsa ‘manioc; *Manihot esculenta*’
bátsi ‘egg’
‘ëtsén ‘louse; *Pediculus humanus*’

(50) **C#ts**

- aíntsi ‘relative’
kantsín ‘palm; *Attalea phalerata*’
‘untsís ‘(finger/toe) nail’

2.3.4.2 The palatal affricate ch

The phoneme *ch* (/tʃ/) can appear only in syllable-initial position. It can follow a syllable ending in a consonant or a vowel. Examples of its distribution are listed in (51)–(53).

(51) **#ch**

- cha ‘big’
chíchi ‘grandmother’
chúka ‘wash’

(52) **V#ch**

- áchá* ‘jump over something’
báchi ‘mosquito net’
báchu ‘soft’

(53) **C#ch**

- úncha* ‘palm tree; *Wettinia* species’
péñcha ‘extend one’s arms’
únchi ‘younger sister’

2.3.5 Fricatives

There are three fricative phonemes in Kakataibo: *s*, *sh* (/ʃ/) and *x* (/ʂ/). They can appear in syllable-final and word-final positions, as well as in initial positions. If at a morphological boundary two fricatives appear in a sequence, assimilation of the second fricative to the first one is attested (see §2.7.1.3.2). It is relatively easy to find minimal pairs or minimal sets of words that illustrate the contrast among the three phonemes (among them, *sh* is the most restricted throughout the Kakataibo lexicon; see §2.3.5.3).

(54) **s vs. x**

- sánu* ‘delicious’
xánu ‘woman’
síku ‘small louse; *Pediculus humanus*’
xíku ‘unidentified tree’

(55) **s vs. sh**

- sápi* ‘dubitatively’
shápi ‘shrimp; *Gammarus* species’

(56) **x vs sh**

- xúka* ‘peel’
shúka ‘expel water through a cane or a hose’

(57) **x vs. sh vs. s**

- sháki* ‘be noisy’
xáki ‘grate’
sáki ‘stop feeling pain slowly’

2.3.5.1 The alveolar fricative s

There are no salient phonological restrictions applying to this sound and, as can be seen in the examples below, it can appear in syllable-final position, including word-final position. This sound corresponds to /z/ in the dialect of the San Alejandro River (see §1.3.3).

(58) **#s**

- sápi* ‘maybe’
- sía* ‘fly; *Dipterus* species’
- súku* ‘small louse; *Pediculus humanus*’

(59) **Vs**

- bási* ‘generic for grass’
- nísi* ‘vine, rope’
- ñúsuti* ‘big bag’

(60) **ns**

- ánsu* ‘clean a pot with one’s finger’
- nónsi* ‘banana; *Musa paradisiaca*’
- punsén* ‘two-toed sloth; *Choleopus cf. hoffmanni*’

(61) **s#**

- íspa* ‘star’
- ísku* ‘russet-backed oropendola; *Psarocolius angustifrons*’
- éska* ‘dry’

(62) **s##**

- ítsís* ‘hot’
- untsís* ‘(finger/toe) nail’
- upús* ‘chigger; *Trombiculidus* species’

2.3.5.2 The retroflex fricative x

The phoneme *x* (/ʂ/) is incompatible with (preceding or following) high front vowels, and is realized as a palato-alveolar fricative *sh* ([ʃ]) in this environment (due to the rarity of *e* we do not have any example of a *xe* sequence so we cannot know for sure if this incompatibility includes this mid front vowel). Thus, for example, the verbal marker -*x* ‘third person’ surfaces as *sh* when followed by the marker -*ín* ‘non proximal to the addressee’ (*pi-a-x-ín* > [piáʃín] ‘eat-PFV-3-non.proximal’). However, the segment *sh* appears in other contexts, and thus needs to be synchronically analyzed as an independent phoneme as well (and not just as an allophone of *x*). The sound *x* corresponds to /z/ in the dialect of San Alejandro. Examples of the distribution of *x* are presented in (63)–(67).

- (63) **##x**
- | | |
|------|-------------------|
| xába | ‘yawn when tired’ |
| xo | ‘bone’ |
| xu | ‘young, unripe’ |

- (64) **V#x**
- | | |
|------|--|
| béxa | ‘eye lid’ |
| báxu | ‘catfish; <i>Callichthys Callichthys</i> ’ |
| kéxë | ‘piece of a broken pot’ |

- (65) **n#x**
- | | |
|--------|---|
| únxë | ‘ornament’ |
| bunxán | ‘lung’ |
| kunxán | ‘Spanish cedar; <i>Cedrela</i> species’ |

- (66) **x#**
- | | |
|--------|---------|
| këxtú | ‘thick’ |
| cháxka | ‘chop’ |
| chaxké | ‘long’ |

- (67) **x##**
- | | |
|-------|---------|
| umpáx | ‘water’ |
| bakúx | ‘foam’ |

2.3.5.3 The palatal fricative *sh*

Although it is possible to find instances of *sh* (/ʃ/) next to a vowel other than *i* (see examples below), a very large number of *sh* tokens in Kakataibo appear in contact with this vowel and it is clear that this fact is related to the lack of *xi* or *ix* sequences due to the rule mentioned in §2.3.5.2. There are no cases of *sh* appearing after a consonant.

- (68) **##sh**
- | | |
|--------|--|
| sháku | ‘tree; Fam. <i>Moraceae</i> ’ |
| shikán | ‘chest’ |
| shúka | ‘expel water through a cane or a hose’ |

- (69) **V#sh**
- | | |
|-------|---|
| ashá | ‘common giant toad; <i>Bufo marinus</i> ’ |
| ñáshi | ‘smoked meat’ |
| ñúshu | ‘curvature’ |

- (70) **sh#**
náshpa ‘concave’
tashpán ‘webbed feet/hands’
- (71) **sh##**
ishísh ‘unidentified fish’
néísh ‘tasty’

The scarce examples of *sh* in contact with a vowel other than *i* are of particular interest because they can offer important information about Proto-Pano phonology (considering that both Shell 1965, 1975, Loos 1994 and Oliveira 2014: 349 include *sh* in their phonological reconstructions). In some cases, forms with *sh* in Kakataibo can be argued to be loans from Shipibo-Konibo (as in the case of *=shaman* ‘intensifier’ and *-shuku* ‘diminutive’). However, borrowing from Shipibo-Konibo cannot account for every such case (Cf., for instance, words like *sháku* ‘tree species’, *shápi* ‘freshwater shrimp’ and *shórapana* ‘giant otter’, which are not found in Loriot et al.’s 1993 Shipibo-Konibo dictionary). Interestingly, this sound shows a high degree of variation within the Kakataibo language: the dialect of San Alejandro has zero in those cases where we find *sh* before *i* in other dialects and, curiously, *ish* sequences in these dialects sometimes correspond to *in* sequences in San Alejandro. In addition, this dialect shows *y* (and even *ñ*) where the other dialects present *sh* in contact with vowels different from /i/.

2.3.6 The approximant *b*

The phoneme *b* is a voiced bilabial approximant /β/ and not a bilabial fricative /β/. This is clear from spectrograms, where we find that this sound (usually) lacks friction and presents a vowel-like formant structure with “very little diminution of amplitude” (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 325). The sound *b* is, in its distribution, more similar to stops (particularly, to *p*) than to fricatives (see Table 21). In some pronunciations by some speakers, sometimes we find the realizations [β] and [b], the latter likely due to Spanish influence.

- (72) **##b**
ba ‘egg, larva, insect nest’
bími ‘fruit’
bo ‘parrot; *Amazona ochrocephala*’
- (73) **V#b**
abá ‘run’
ábu ‘great egret; *Ardea alba*’
ibu ‘owner’

(74) **C#b**

- bëxbá* ‘thin’
kwaxbín ‘tree; *Erythrina* species’

In the Sungaroyacu dialect we find #wa where in the lower Aguaytía dialect we find #ba (see §1.3.3). In the case of the dialect of the San Alejandro River, we find w in all the contexts where the dialect of the lower Aguaytía River shows b. In fact, one interesting historical question is what happened to the approximant w, which is postulated as a proto-sound by Shell (1965, 1975), Loos (1999) and Oliveira (2014: 349), in those Kakataibo dialects that completely lack it or present severe restrictions in its distribution. A survey has revealed (at least) the following reflexes of *w in the Kakataibo dialect of the lower Aguaytía River:

(75) Shell’s reconstructed forms */awa/ > /ɣ/

- *awa(ra) > o [ɣ:] ‘tapir; *Tapirus terrestris*’
 *yawa > ño ‘white-lipped peccary; *Tayassu tajacu*’
 *nawa > no ‘foreigner, enemy’
 *bawa > bo ‘yellow-crowned parrot; *Amazona ochrocephala*’

(76) Shell’s reconstructed forms */VwV/ (except /awa/) > /VV/

- *báwin > baín ‘catfish; *Pseudoplatystoma fasciatum*’
 *hiwi > i [i:] ‘generic for tree’

(77) Shell’s Reconstructed Pano forms */##wi/ > /##i/ ~ ##[i:]

- *wia > ia ~ [i:a] ‘bad smell’
 *wina > ina ~ [i:na] ‘paddle’
 *winu > inu ~ [i:nu] ‘mallet’
 *winti > inti- [i:nti] ‘cry’

(78) Shell’s Reconstructed Pano forms */##wa/ > /##ba/

- *waka > baka ‘river’
 *wamë > bamë ‘fish (unidentified)’
 *wachu > bachu ‘soft’
 *wasa > basa ‘squirred monkey; *Saimiri sciureus*’

These historical changes are highly regular and they have operated in almost all the cases (although it is possible to find some counterexamples or intermediate cases like *chawa > chua ‘mud’, which would have been expected to be cho). However, the processes listed here do not cover all the contexts where b is synchronically attested, and therefore a number of instances of b may also be retentions.

2.3.7 Distribution of consonants

Table 21 summarizes the distribution of all the Kakataibo consonants (this table is based on my lexical database and summarizes the information presented in the preceding section).

Table 21. Summary of the distribution of consonants

Phoneme	##_	V#_	C#_	_#	_##	_a	_ɛ	_e	_i	_o	_u
/p/	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
/t/	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
/k/	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
/kʷ/	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓		
/m/	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
/n/	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
/ɲ/	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
/ɾ/	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
/ts/	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
/tʃ/	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓		
/s/	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
/ʃ/	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
/ʂ/	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	
/β/	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓

One of the notable patterns in the table above is that consonants and vowels that share place of articulation tend to be incompatible. This is the case with the labialized velar stop and the back vowels, as well as the palatal nasal and the high front vowel. This kind of pattern is not uncommon among the world's languages (Brett Baker, p.c.). The table also suggests that the retroflex fricative is incompatible not only with the high front vowel, but also the mid front vowel. Nevertheless, as mentioned in §2.3.5.2, this may be an artefact of the rarity of *e*.

2.4 Vowels

Kakataibo has six vocalic phonemes: /i/, /e/, /ɪ/, /a/, /u/ and /ɣ/. All Kakataibo vowels have a nasal allophone when appearing in contact with a nasal sound (see §2.5). Therefore, there are no phonological nasal vowels in Kakataibo, but there is a general rule of nasalization, which applies when a nasal consonant is in direct contact with a vowel. The degree of nasalization may vary from context to context, but in general vowels in /(V)VN/-sequences are produced perceptually more nasalized than vowels in /N(V)V/-sequences (as seems to be the case in other Pano languages; see Valenzuela 2003b: 102, for Shipibo-Konibo, for instance).

Kakataibo vowels also surface long when they appear in monosyllabic words (see §3.3.1.3), but there is no evidence of phonological long vowels in the language. It is important to note that *e* and *o* are normally longer than the other vowels; this may have to do with their diachronic origin: in most cases *o* comes from *awa* and *e* from *aya*. However, even in these cases, the lengthening is not distinctive. Vowels in Kakataibo surface creaky, either when appearing in the final syllable of an indicative utterance (see §3.4.2.1) or due to glottal coalescence (see §2.6.3), but again there are no contrastive creaky vowels in the language.

As a manner of illustration of how Kakataibo vowels are distributed over the acoustic space, Figure 14 presents F2 vs. F1 scatterplots for one male Kakataibo speaker. The recordings used for the scatterplots feature this speaker repeating three times some of the examples presented below in this section (the total number of tokens included in the figure are *i* = 42, *e* = 10, *ë* = 24, *a* = 27, *o* = 19 and *u* = 23). The tokens include both prosodically prominent and non-prominent vowels from monosyllabic and disyllabic words. Nasalized vowels were deliberately omitted from the sample.²⁴ The neat distribution of the vowels over the acoustic space is particularly salient.

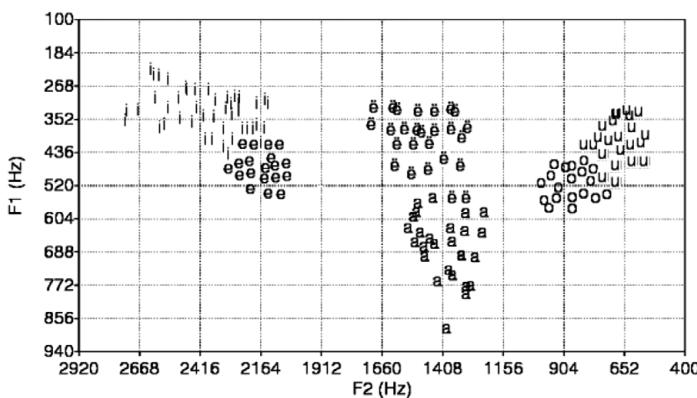


Figure 14. Vowel scatterplots of two speakers

As can be seen in Figure 14, the six vowels are distinct from each other, although some tokens of *i*, *ë* and *u* are relatively similar to *e*, *a* and *o*, respectively. This is more likely to be found when *i* and *u* appear in non-prominent second syllables of a disyllabic word (but a detailed study of the phonetic correlates of prosodic prominence is still to be done). Another pattern that Figure 14 elucidates is that, among the six Kakataibo vowels, *a* and *i* show the major degree of internal phonetic variation. Table 22 summarizes the average F1 and F2 values for the six Kakataibo vowels.

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

Table 22. Average F1 and F2 values for the six Kakataibo vowels

Vowel	F1	F2
/i/	350	2415
/e/	492	2164
/ɨ/	387	1490
/a/	703	1410
/ɯ/	436	650
/ɤ/	520	904

An experiment was also conducted to confirm the unroundedness of back vowels. As suggested by Ladefoged (2003: 32ss), pronunciations of vowels were recorded using both a photo and a video camera. In addition, I also used a mirror, which was placed near the mouth of the speakers, so it was possible to simultaneously obtain front and profile views of their lips. The experiment, as shown below, gives support to the characterization offered here: the two back vowels are transparently unrounded. The following figures feature pronunciations of /ɯ/ and /ɤ/ in monosyllabic words by two speakers. Figure 15 not only reveals the unroundedness of /ɯ/, but also its clear closure (which is also supported by the formant measurements presented in §2.4). In turn, Figure 16 shows that /ɤ/, as described in Table 19, is more open than /ɯ/ and is also unrounded.

**Figure 15.** One pronunciation of [ɯ] by one female speaker**Figure 16.** One pronunciation of [ɤ] by one female speaker

The following minimal pairs or minimal sets show the contrast among all the vowels presented in Figure 14.

(79) **i vs. ē**

- pi* ‘eat’
pē ‘take off (shoes, clothes)’

(80) **i vs. e**

- ‘*i*’ ‘be’
 ‘*e*’ ‘swallow’

(81) **i vs. u**

- kúni* ‘knifefish; *Gymnotus carapo*’
kúnū ‘unidentified fungus’
pínu ‘hummingbird; Fam. *Trochilidae*’
púnū ‘vein, tendon’

(82) **i vs. a**

- písi* ‘rotten’
písā ‘toucan; *Pteroglossus castanotis*’
púri ‘proper name (female)’
púra ‘unidentified type of grass’

(83) **e vs. a**

- me* ‘ground, earth’
ma ‘already’
kwe ‘big (said of a river); Aguaytí River’
kwa(t) ‘hear’

(84) **ẽ vs. a**

- péka* ‘pierce’
páka ‘bamboo; *Guadua superba*’
témú ‘below’
támu ‘cheek’

(85) **ẽ vs. o**

- nẽ* ‘draw near, get furious’
no ‘foreigner, enemy’

(86) **a vs. u**

- ka* ‘narrative register, indicative mood, third person’
ku ‘pus’

(87) **a vs. o**

- kumán* ‘tree; *Dipterix micrantha*’
kumón ‘white-throated tinamou; *Tinamus guttatus*’

(88) **u vs. o**

- nu* ‘we’
no ‘foreigner, enemy’

(89) **i vs. a vs. u**

- kári* ‘sweet potato; *Ipomoea batatas*’
kára ‘narrative register, interrogative mood, third person’
káru ‘firewood’

(90) **i vs. a vs. o**

- ni* ‘jungle’
na ‘nest’
no ‘foreigner, enemy’
pi ‘eat’
pa ‘father (short form)’
po ‘shellfish; Clas. *Bivalvia*’

(91) **e vs. u vs. o**

- ñe* ‘woman’s paternal aunt or mother-in-law’
ñu ‘thing’
ño ‘white-lipped peccary; *Tayassu pecari*’

(92) **ë vs. a vs. u**

- ‘úkë ‘the other side’
‘úka ‘giant cowbird; *Molothrus orzivorus*’
‘úku ‘cough’
béi ‘collared tamandua; *Tamandua tetradactyla*’
bái ‘path’
búi ‘tree; *Cavanillesia platanifolia*’

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

- bi* ‘mosquito; *Culicidus* species’
ba ‘egg, larva, insect nest’
bo ‘yellow-crowned parrot; *Amazona ochrocephala*’
bu ‘hair’

(94) **e vs. ë vs. i vs. o**

- me* ‘earth, field’
më ‘provisions, mineral lick’
mi ‘you’
mo ‘tree trunk’

The fact that there are Pano languages with six vowels and others with four represents an interesting issue for phonological reconstruction within the family. As far as I know, the only Pano languages that have a six-vowel system are Kakataibo, the Mayoruna languages (see Fleck 2003: 88–93 for Matses, and Ferreira 2005: 37–40 for Matis) and possibly Kaxarari (see Cuoto 2005: 6 and 12, although the information on Kaxarari is to some extent contradictory). In her Pano reconstruction, Shell (1965, 1975) proposes that *e* and *o* are innovations and not part of the phonology of what she calls Reconstructed Pano. Loos (1999) and Oliveira (2014) state the same.

Certainly, in Kakataibo, it is possible to explain many instances of *e* and *o* as innovations, but this is not always the case. Furthermore, in the Mayoruna languages, *e* and *o* are not uncommon, only a very few instances of *e* and *o* can be analyzed as originating from *ai* and *au*, and there are many cases where *e* and *o* are cognate with *i* and *u* in languages of the Mainline branch; e.g., Mayoruna *pe* ‘eat’ = Mainline *pi* ‘eat’; Mayoruna *-bo* ‘collective’ = Mainline *-bu* ‘collective’. This may lead to a different interpretation of the vowel system of Proto-Pano. I will briefly explain here some of the issues associated with the mid vowels *e* and *o* in Kakataibo in order to show that their diachronic nature still requires further research.

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

- (95) Shell’s reconstructed forms **awa* > *o*

* <i>yawa</i> > <i>ño</i>	‘white-lipped peccary; <i>Tayassu tajacu</i> ’
* <i>nawa</i> > <i>no</i>	‘foreigner, enemy’
* <i>bawa</i> > <i>bo</i>	‘yellow-crowned parrot, <i>Amazona ochrocephala</i> ’

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

- (96) *ío* ‘new’
shorapana ‘giant otter (subtype); *Pteronura brasiliensis*’
nónsi ‘banana; *Musa paradisiaca*’

A similar situation is found in relation to *e*. There are some correspondences between *e* in Kakataibo and **ay(a)* in Shell’s Reconstructed Pano forms, but, due to the scarcity of *e* in Kakataibo, it is difficult to state this relation for certain. In Shell’s (1986) dictionary there are only about nine words with *e*, and in my corpus there is only one additional word with that sound. Thus, I have only ten examples of *e* in Kakataibo and

a correlation *e* (Kakataibo) = **ay(a)* (Shell's reconstructed Pano) can only be argued for two of them, presented below:

- (97) Shell's reconstructed forms **aya* > *e*

* <i>maya</i> > <i>me</i>	'earth, field'
* <i>yaya</i> > <i>ñe</i>	'paternal aunt'

There is dialectal variation in Kakataibo between *ai* and *e*: *seti* ~ *saiti* 'start raining just a little' (the latter form corresponds to the San Alejandro dialect, which does not have /e/; Valle 2017b). One interesting point in relation to the development of /e/ in examples like the ones in (97) is that it is unarguably posterior to the development of *o*, as argued by Zariquiey (2013a): when Tessmann (1930) collected lexical information on the three dialects of Kakataibo that he identified, all of them showed *o* but the process in (97) was just ongoing (and it did not occur in the San Alejandro Dialect). In the Lower Aguaytía Dialect, some *ai* sequences produced at morphological boundaries surface as *e* (*chunena* < *chuna-inā* 'spider monkey-generic') and this suggests that the process is still productive to some extent. However, we also find examples of words with *e* in this dialect that, as far as I know, cannot be related to **aya*. Three such words, which open interesting diachronic questions, are listed in (98):

- (98) 'e- 'swallow'
kwénkuru 'mug' (potentially lexically related to *kwe*)
kwe 'big (said of a river); Aguaytía River'

As can be seen, there is some evidence supporting the proposal that the rules **ay(a)* > *e* and **aw(a)* > *o* explain the origin of a number of instances of mid vowels in Kakataibo. These diachronic processes may explain why *o* and *e* are inherently longer than other vowels in the language. However, the examples in (96) and (98) show that we also have cases for which we do not have cognates in other languages, and we cannot be sure about the origins of the mid vowels in these cases. Based in those examples and on the distribution of these sounds in the Mayoruna languages, it is possible to state that the generally accepted proposal that Proto-Pano lacked mid vowels still needs more research.

2.4.1 The vowel *i*

This sound is a high front unrounded vowel. Its distribution is shown in (99)–(104).

- (99) **##i**
- | | |
|-------------|--------------------|
| <i>i</i> | 'generic for tree' |
| <i>ísha</i> | 'bad smell' |
- (100) **Ci**
- | | |
|--------------|---------------------------|
| <i>píshu</i> | 'get bothered, get angry' |
| <i>náshi</i> | 'smoked meat' |
- (101) **iC**
- | | |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>xébín</i> | 'palm; <i>Attalea butyracea</i> ' |
| <i>'itsís</i> | 'hot' |
- (102) **Vi**
- | | |
|--------------|-------------------|
| <i>nëish</i> | 'tasty' |
| <i>'áisa</i> | 'beautiful, good' |
- (103) **iV**
- | | |
|------------|------------------------------|
| <i>sía</i> | 'fly species (unidentified)' |
| <i>pía</i> | 'arrow' |
- (104) **i##**
- | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>shápi</i> | 'shrimp; <i>Gammarus</i> species' |
| <i>bási</i> | 'generic for grass' |

There is dialectal variation between this sound and *ë* in the San Alejandro dialect when appearing before syllable-final *s* (/ _s#(#)/). Thus, we have *ë(z)* in San Alejandro and *is* in the remaining dialects; see §1.3.3).

2.4.2 The vowel *e*

The vowel *e* is a mid front unrounded vowel and has a defective distribution. As previously said, there are only a few words in my database that include this sound (less than a dozen), most of these monosyllabic. As previously mentioned, according to Valle (2017b), this vowel is not attested in San Alejandro. Two examples of this form are presented in (105).

- (105) **Ce##**
- | | |
|-----------|--|
| <i>me</i> | 'earth, field' |
| <i>ñe</i> | 'woman's paternal aunt or mother-in-law' |

2.4.3 The vowel ē

This phoneme is a high central unrounded vowel (/i/), which is very frequent in Amazonian languages (Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999: 8). As previously mentioned, this sound develops a back initial phase when appearing after the bilabial phonemes *p*, *b* and *m*. In Figure 17 we can clearly see the changes in the first two formants of the vowel (F1: 555hz > 448hz; F2: 1537 > 1982) This process could be also interpreted as a labialization of the preceding consonant (for instance, /pi/ > [p^wi], see Shell 1950: 198). However, it is important to mention that during this process the lips never exhibit roundedness and, therefore, the process might be more accurately represented as /pi/ > [p^wi] or [pu^wi] (this makes this cases different from the instances of *kw*, which do exhibit roundness).

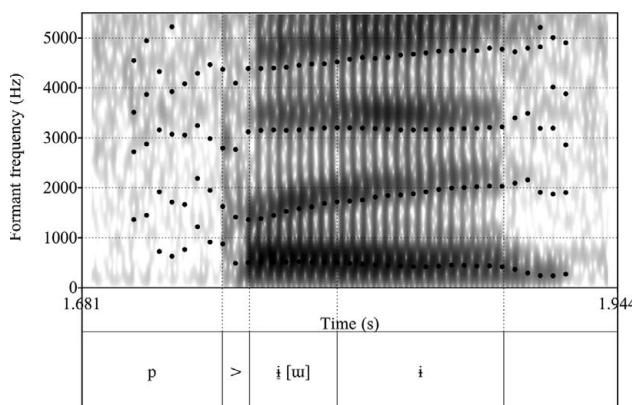


Figure 17. Formant movements in [i] after a bilabial consonant

Examples of the distribution of ē are given in (106)–(111):

- (106) #ē

- éu ‘ant; Fam. *Formicidae*’
éku ‘piece of charcoal from an old fire’

- (107) cē

- shérē ‘rapids that form when the river level is low’
xénā ‘caterpillar; Fam. *Lepidoptera*’

- (108) ēc

- naxén ‘bee; Fam. *Apidae*’
xémén ‘kinkajou; *Potos flavus*’

(109) **Vë**

- saékë ‘mouth of a river’
 xáé ‘yellow-footed tortoise; *Chelonoidis (Geochelone) denticulata*’

(110) **ëV**

- péi ‘leaf’

(111) **ë##**

- ‘únxë ‘ornament’
 sébë ‘fly; Fam. *Ceratopogonidae*’

2.4.4 The vowel *a*

This phoneme is a low central open unrounded vowel. Examples of its distribution are listed in (112)–(117).

(112) **##a**

- áka ‘tiger-heron; *Tigrisoma fasciatum*’
 ana ‘tongue’

(113) **Ca**

- éma ‘village’
 ína ‘tail’

(114) **aC**

- sénán ‘heat’
 tashpán ‘webbed feet’

(115) **Va**

- xúa ‘itchiness’
 sía ‘gnat; Ord. *Dipterae*’

(116) **aV**

- xáé ‘yellow-footed tortoise; *Chelonoidis (Geochelone) denticulata*’
 ñais ‘nine-banded long-nosed armadillo; *Dasypus novemcinctus*’

(117) **a##**

- ‘ashá ‘common giant toad; *Bufo marinus*’
 chákä ‘chop’

2.4.5 The vowel *u*

This phoneme is a high back unrounded vowel: /u/. Examples of its distribution are presented in (118)–(123).

- (118) **##u**
 úa ‘flower’
 úka ‘crow’
- (119) **Cu**
 ñúshu ‘curvature’
 súñu ‘wind’
- (120) **uC**
 shurún ‘have pimples’
 bunxán ‘lung’
- (121) **uV**
 xúa ‘itchiness’
 túa ‘treefrog; Fam. *Hylidae*’
- (122) **Vu**
 rëún ‘snot’
 bëun ‘tear(s)’
- (123) **u##**
 sháku ‘tree; Fam. *Moraceae*’
 këxtú ‘thick’

2.4.6 The vowel o

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

- (124) **Co**
 xo ‘bone’
 bo ‘yellow-crowned parrot; *Amazona ochrocephala*’
- (125) **oC**
 xón ‘scarlet macaw; *Ara macao*’
 nónsi ‘banana; *Musa paradisiaca*’
- (126) **o##**
 xo ‘bone’
 bo ‘yellow-crowned parrot; *Amazona ochrocephala*’

2.4.7 Distribution of vowels

Table 23 summarizes the distributional possibilities of vowels, according to the lexemes in my database.

Table 23. Summary of the distributional possibilities of vowels

Phoneme	/##/_	/C_/_	/_C/	/V_/_	/_V/	/_##/
/i/	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
/e/	✓	✓			✓	✓
/ɪ/	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
/a/	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
/u/	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
/ɤ/	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

2.5 Nasalization in Kakataibo

In this section, I describe nasalization in Kakataibo, based on the phonetic analysis of a list of words that includes nasal segments in different positions. Although nasalization –understood as the pronunciation of a phonologically oral vowel with some amount of nasal airflow by assimilation to a neighboring nasal consonant– is a well-documented phenomenon in Pano linguistics, the phonetic properties of nasalization have frequently been superficially studied (with some exceptions, such as Elías-Ulloa 2011, who discusses the effects of nasalization on the formants of the vowels that undergo this process in Shipibo-Konibo).

The data presented here show that nasalization in Kakataibo: 1) may affect more than one vowel, but no more than two, when preceding a nasal consonant in coda position; 2) also affects vowels that precede heterosyllabic nasal consonants; and 3) affects vowels that immediately follow a nasal consonant.

2.5.1 Nasalization of vowels preceding a nasal consonant in coda position

As is the case with other Pano languages, in Kakataibo, vowels preceding a nasal consonant in syllabic coda position surface nasalized. Figure 18 presents one pronunciation of the word /βukun/ ‘tree; *Cecropia hololeuca*’. The figure features two waveforms corresponding to two different recording channels: the wave form of channel 1 (at the top of the figure) corresponds to the signal recorded with the microphone used to register the air coming out from the nasal cavities of the speaker, and the waveform of channel 2 (at the center of the figure) corresponds to the microphone near the oral cavity of the speaker. As can be seen, there is a notable change in the waveform

corresponding to channel 1, according to which the second /u/ sound presents more energy than the first one, as a consequence of the nasal coda /n/. This corresponds to the type of nasalization that has been commonly described in various Pano languages. In order to appreciate how channel 1 behaves when no nasal sound is attested in a word, Figure 19 presents the form /pupu/ ‘owl; Fam. *Strigidae*’, pronounced by the same female speaker. The intensity of waveform 1 measured in the middle of the second /u/ of /βukun/ ‘tree; *Cecropia hololeuca*’ equals 72.53 dB, while the intensity registered in the first vowel of /pupu/ ‘owl’ is only 43.47 dB.

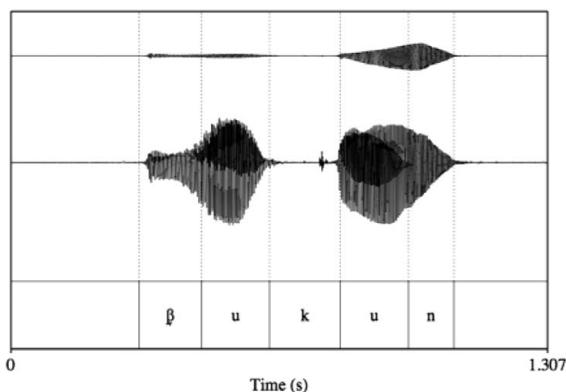


Figure 18. Wave forms (nasal and oral) of /βukun/ ‘tree; *Cecropia hololeuca*’

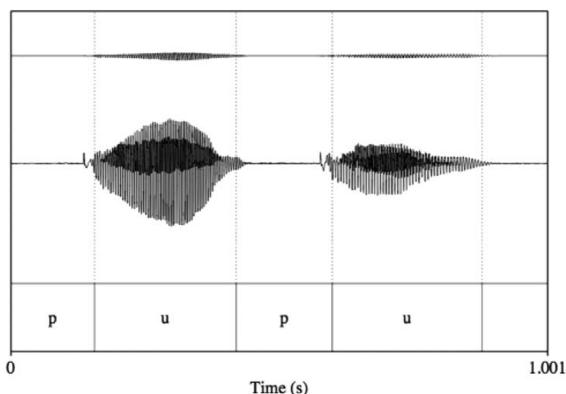


Figure 19. Wave forms (nasal and oral) of /pupu/ ‘owl; Family *Strigidae*’

The data show that when a nasal consonant in coda position is preceded by a vowel cluster, the latter surfaces nasalized. As an illustration, Figure 20 presents the waveforms and intensity contour of one pronunciation of /tua-n/ ‘boy-ERG’ by a male speaker.

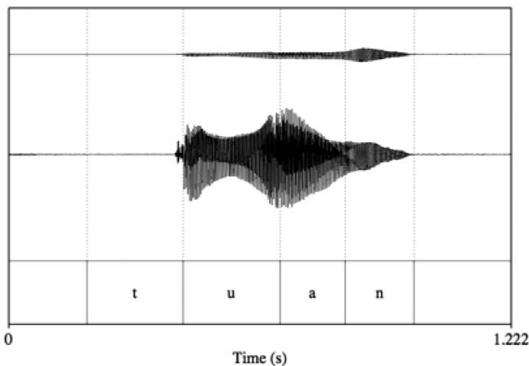


Figure 20. Wave forms (nasal and oral) of /tua-n/ ‘boy-ERG’

As can be seen in Figure 20, both vowels acquire a nasal pronunciation, which becomes more intense towards the end of the sequence (i.e. towards the nasal coda): the nasal intensity in the middle of the vowel /u/ is 60.94 dB, while the nasal intensity in the middle of the vowel /a/ is 63.26 dB. A totally different situation is found in relation to the word /'tua/ ‘boy’ (see Figure 21), in which we do not find significant activity in association with the nasal channel.

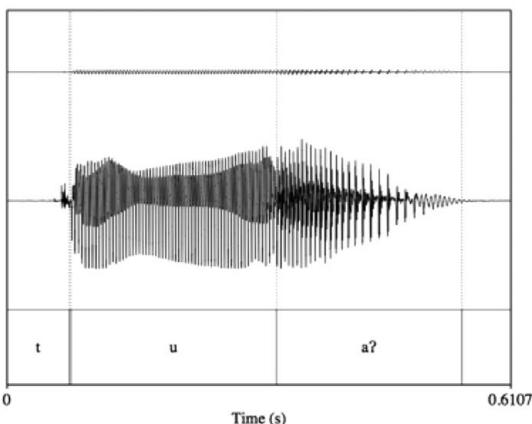


Figure 21. Wave forms (nasal and oral) of /tua/ ‘boy’

2.5.2 Nasalization of vowels preceding a nasal consonant in onset position

Nasalization in Kakataibo also occurs when a vowel is followed by a nasal consonant that is syllabified as the onset of the next syllable. This can be seen in Figure 22, where the waveforms of the word /ʂanu/ ‘woman’ are offered. We can clearly see that the

/a/ before the nasal consonant exhibits a relatively high level of nasal activity, which reaches 68.7 dB in the middle of the vowel.

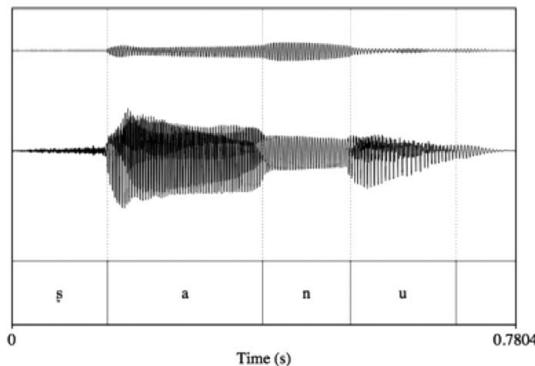


Figure 22. Wave forms (nasal and oral) of /ṣanu/ 'woman'

2.5.3 Nasalization of vowels following a nasal consonant in onset position

/NV/ sequences in Kakataibo may also surface as [NV̄]. This is clearly illustrated in Figure 23, where we find the waveforms and the intensity contour of one pronunciation of the word /nuβu/ 'aquatic snail' by a male speaker.

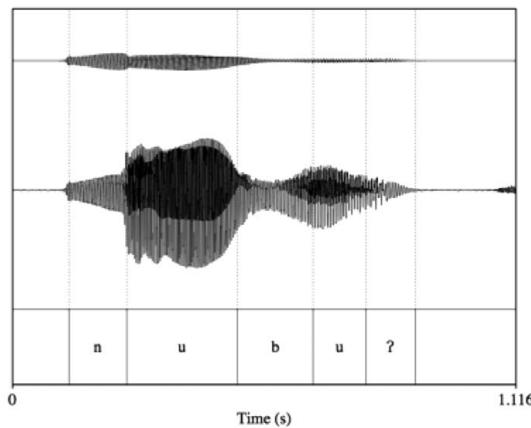


Figure 23. Wave forms (nasal and oral) of /nuβu/ 'aquatic snail; Class *Gastropoda*'

In Figure 23, the first /u/, which immediately follows a nasal consonant, exhibits a nasal intensity value of 68.18 db, which is clearly higher than the nasal intensity of the final (non-nasalized) /u/.

2.6 Glottalization in Kakataibo

2.6.1 Basic description

Shell (1950) considers the glottal stop (?) to be a phoneme of Kakataibo and writes it as <‘> in the final edition of her vocabulary (Shell 1986). The same analysis has been proposed in this grammar (see Table 18). Kakataibo does not have a glottal fricative /h/, but the glottal stop is clearly a phonemic element, although it exhibits a reduced distribution and, as a contrastive element, it appears only at the beginning of words. This is shown in Table 24.

Table 24. Some /##?V/ vs. /##V/ minimal pairs in Kakataibo

Kakataibo words	Gloss
‘i	‘stingray; Fam. <i>Potamotrygonidae</i> ’
i	‘generic for tree’
‘íá	‘louse; <i>Pediculus humanus</i> ’
íá	‘fishy smell’
‘ínu	‘jaguar; <i>Pantera onca</i> ’
ínu	‘mallet’
‘ínti	‘break of dawn’
ínti	‘cry’

Cross-linguistically, the phonetic realization of glottal sounds is complex and highly variable, and has been the topic of several studies that have attempted to offer a more systematic approach to this variability (see, for example, Batliner, Burger, Juane and Kießling 1993; Dilley et al. 1996; Redi and Shattuck-Hufnagel 2001). In the case of isolated words in Kakataibo, the situation seems to be similar to what has been described for Dutch by Jongenburger and Van Heuven (1991: 101): “[t]wo kinds of vowel onset can be distinguished in Dutch, an abrupt and a more gradual one. The abrupt onset, also called ‘fast attack’ or ‘glottal stop’, is auditorily quite different from the vowel onset with ‘gradual attack’ or ‘smooth onset.’.” As in Dutch, Kakataibo words with a word-initial glottal stop start with a fast attack, manifested as a sudden initiation of the vowel that rapidly increases in intensity. In turn, words without a glottal stop exhibit a smooth onset, shown by the relatively slow increment of the intensity of the vowel and in the regularity of the glottal period throughout. This is exemplified in Figures 24 and 25, where I present the spectrograms of the pronunciation of one isolated token of i ‘tree’ and ‘í ‘stingray’, respectively. The figures include a spectrogram and a sound wave along with an enlarged image of the onset.

The spectrograms and sound waves in Figures 24 and 25 offer an acoustic representation of the distinction between /##V/ and /## ?V/ in Kakataibo. In the sound

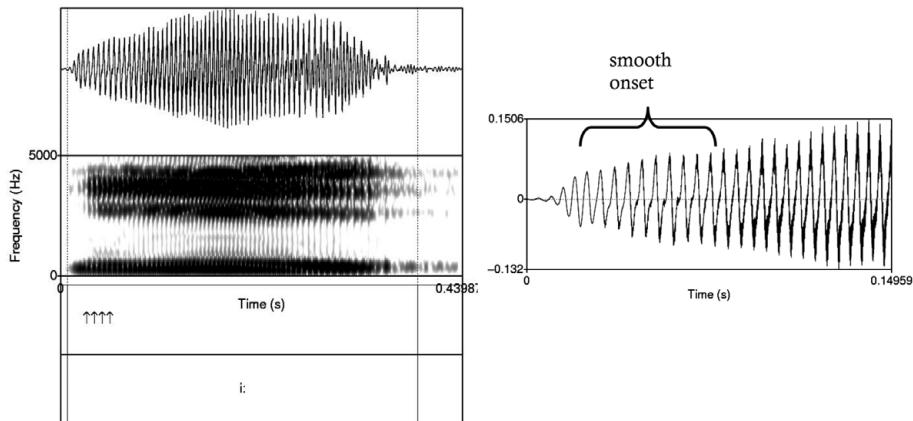


Figure 24. The word *i* ‘generic for tree’ produced in isolation

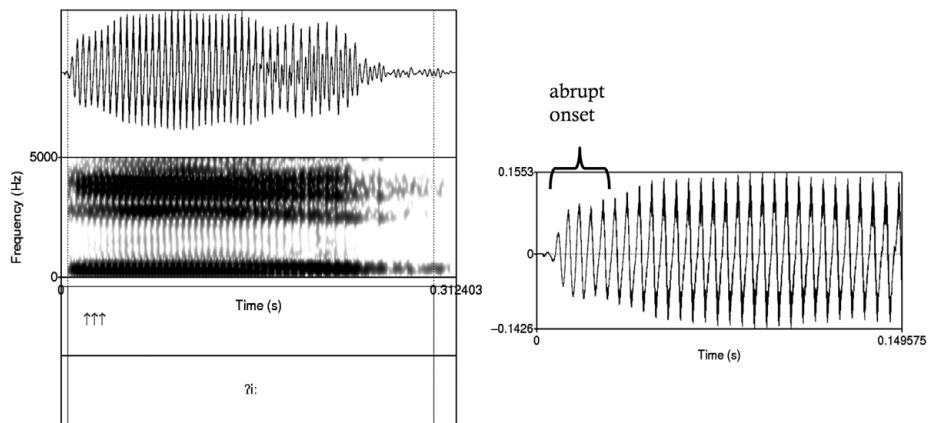


Figure 25. The word *i* ‘stingray, Family *Potamotrygonidae*’ produced in isolation

waves that show the onset of the two words we clearly see the difference between the smooth onset of *i* ‘tree’ and the fast attack of *i* ‘stingray’ (both figures include about the first 0.149 s of the token presented). This difference in the onset seems to be the main acoustic difference between the words presented here, and perceptual tests conducted in the field (where I reproduced the recordings of the minimal pairs in Table 24 to five speakers and asked for the meaning of each form) demonstrated that it is perceptually significant: the speakers identified correctly which word was being reproduced.

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

2.6.2 The glottal stop in other contexts

2.6.2.1 Reduplication

Verb roots can be reduplicated in order to express durative and iterative meanings (see §9.3). If reduplication applies to a verb root that begins with a vowel (and not with a glottal stop) the sound wave does not show any closure at the reduplication boundary. This can be appreciated in the form *aba-abati* ‘run several times’ (the figure to the right presents the sequence *aa*, pronounced as one single long vowel).

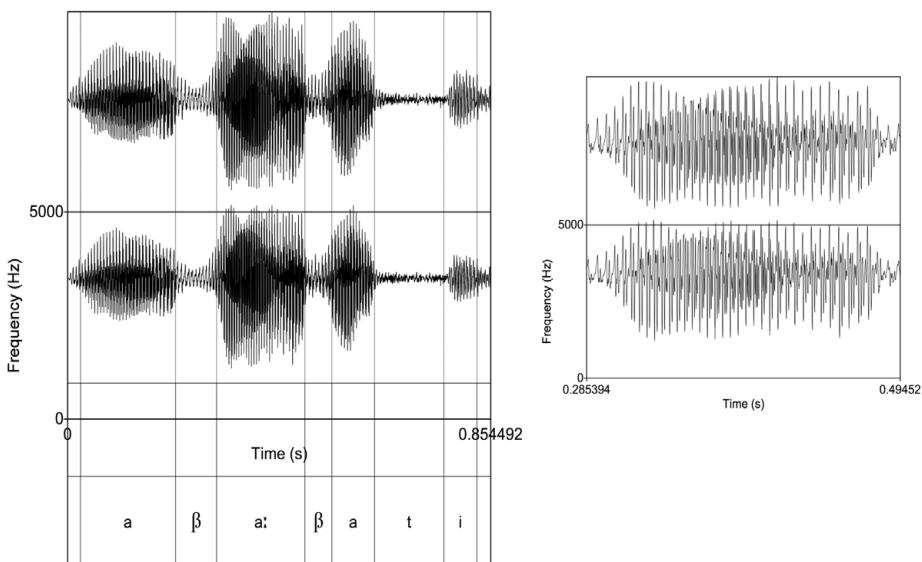


Figure 26. The word *aba-abati* ‘run several times’ produced in a frame

Interestingly, this is not what we find when the reduplicated root begins with a glottal stop: in this case, the root, when reduplicated, keeps the initial glottal stop both at the beginning of the entire reduplicated form and between the two reduplicated units. This can be seen in Figure 27 (the figure to the left presents the form ‘*a-’ati* ‘do several times’ and the figure to the right zooms in on the fragment ‘*a-a*’). There is a complete closure at the reduplication boundary. In addition, the two vowels show traces of glottalization and begin with the fast attack exemplified in Figure 25 (note that the *i* of the final syllable also surfaces heavily glottalized, because of a prosodic principle, as discussed in §2.6.4 iv).

Based on the figures just presented, we can conclude that the words carrying an initial glottal stop keep it when they are reduplicated. In the case of /##V/-words, as we can clearly see, the two vowels produce one single long vowel. This gives support to the phonemic status of the glottal stop in Kakataibo.

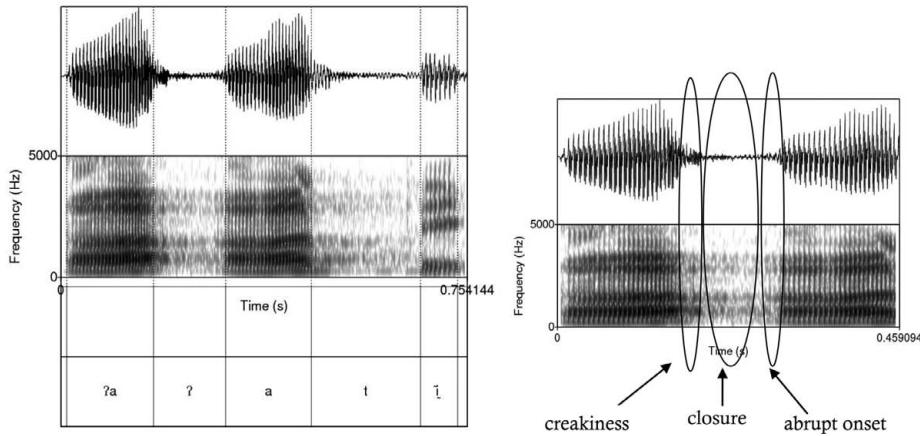


Figure 27. The word 'a-'ati' 'do several times' produced in a frame

2.6.2.2 Utterance-internal position following a vowel

When we test their behavior in utterance-internal position following a vowel (in slow speech), the glottal stop is again stable. The following figures present the behavior of the words *i* 'generic for tree' (Figure 28) and *i* 'stingray, Fam. *Potamotrygonidae*' (Figure 29) in an utterance-internal position following a vowel (the figure to the right presents the boundary between *ënë* 'this' and the word in question).

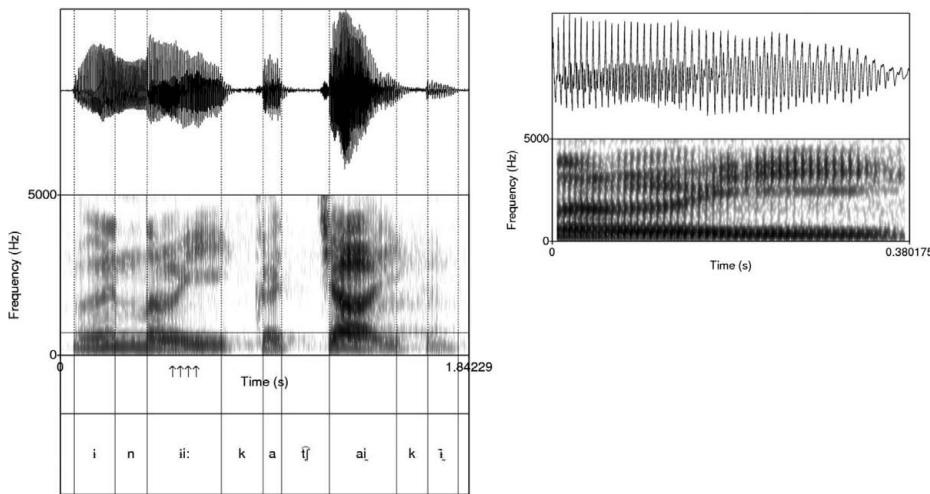


Figure 28. The sentence *ënë i ka cha ikëñ* 'this tree is big' produced in isolation

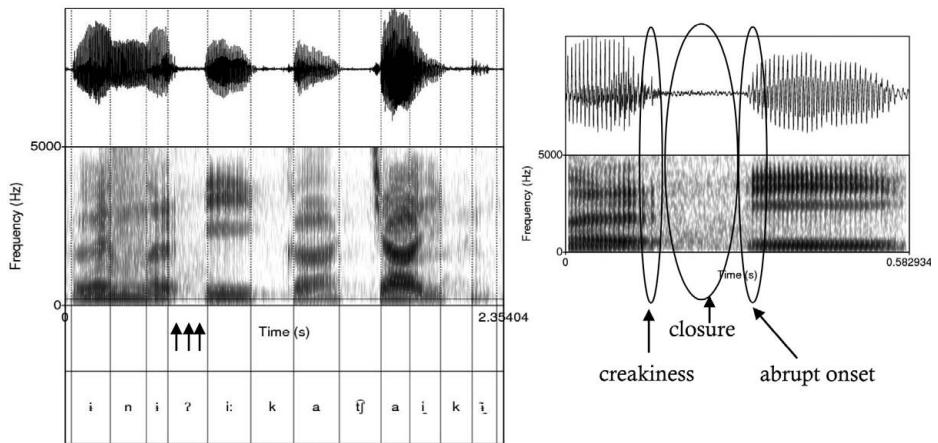


Figure 29. The sentence *ënë i ka cha ikëñ* ‘this stingray is big’ produced in isolation

In the case of ‘*i*’ we can clearly see that, in addition to the closure and the abrupt onset, we also find creakiness in the last vowel of the demonstrative *ënë* ‘this’ (Figure 29; see also the discussion in §2.6.3).

2.6.2.3 Utterance-internal position following a consonant

In an utterance-internal position following a consonant, we find critical differences between /##?V/ and /##V/segments. Below, we find tokens of the words *i* ‘tree’ (Figure 30) and *i* ‘stingray’ (Figure 31), after *ain* ‘3.GEN’.

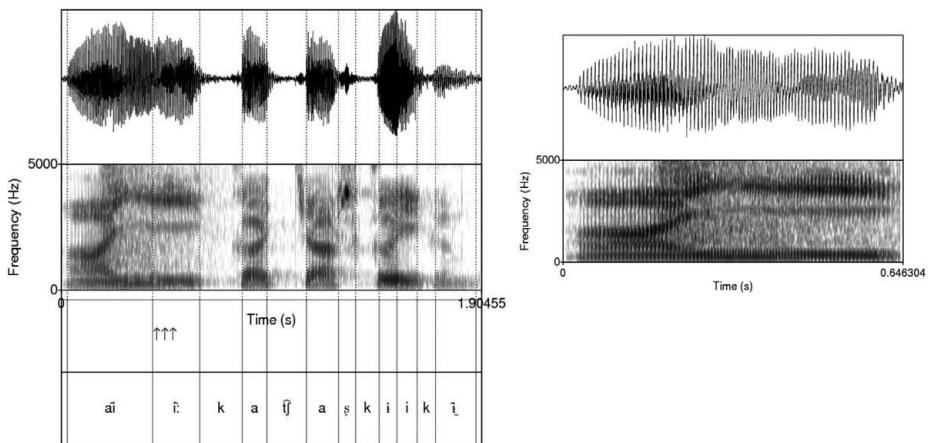


Figure 30. The sentence *ain i ka chaxké* ‘ikëñ its tree is tall’ produced in isolation

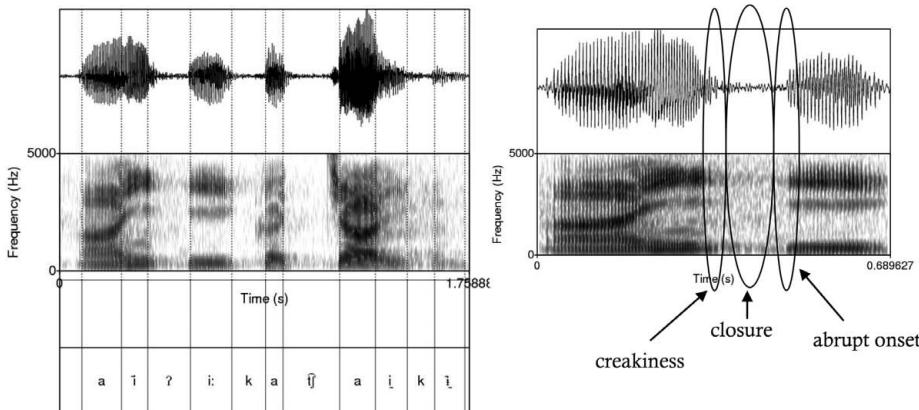


Figure 31. The sentence *ain i ka cha ikën* ‘its stingray is big’ produced in isolation

As can be seen, the glottal stop of ‘*i* ‘stingray, Fam. *Potamotrygonidae*’ (Figure 31) is maintained as a complete closure of the airflow and as an abrupt onset. In Figure 30, though, we do not find any closure of the airflow between *ain* ‘3.GEN’ and *i* ‘tree’. Another fact must be highlighted: in the examples presented in Figure 30 and Figure 31, the vowel of ‘*i* ‘stingray’ does not surface nasalized, while the vowel of *i* ‘tree’ does (i.e., we get [ãi i] ‘its tree’ but [ãi ï] ‘its stingray’). Since only the vowels before a nasal coda become nasalized (see §2.3.2.1), the fact that the vowel of *i* ‘generic for tree’ also surfaces nasalized indicates that the process of metathesis of *n* (see §2.7.1.4) has operated. Thus, we have: /ain i/ > aiin > [ãi ï(n)]. This is not the case with /ain ‘i/, where the glottal stop seems to block the process of metathesis of *n* and, therefore, we get [ãi(n) ïi]. This suggests that, as we have seen regarding other contexts, the glottal stop is kept in utterance-internal positions, when following a consonant. This again reveals the stable nature of the initial glottal stops of some words in Kakataibo and builds on the analysis presented in this grammar: synchronically, /?/ is a phonemic element in the language.

2.6.3 Glottal coalescence and final comments

In the examples presented above, the glottal stop surfaces as a closure and as an abrupt onset in utterance-internal positions. However, glottal stops may also surface as a laryngeal feature of the surrounding vowels in a process of coalescence that produces creaky vowels. This is more likely to happen when, due to its discursive function, the glottalization is found as part of a non-prominent intonational phrase (as in the verb ‘*ikën* ‘is’ in Figures 28 and 29). In the examples previously presented, ‘*i* ‘stingray’ and *i* ‘tree’ appear as part of the first constituent of their sentences (a posi-

tion that is reserved for topics; see §16.2). The discourse status seems to determine how the glottal stop surfaces: as a phoneme in prominent positions, and as a laryngeal feature of vowel quality in non-prominent positions. In the following example the noun '*atapa* 'hen' and the verb '*ikën* 'is' each have a glottal stop, and we find creakiness in both words. In this case, we have an interrogative utterance and therefore '*atapa* 'hen' does not appear as the first constituent of the clause: this position is being occupied by the interrogative word *uisa* 'how (intransitive)'. Whether or not the relative position of this word explains the realization of its initial glottalization still needs to be confirmed. Note that, in addition to creakiness, the glottalization manifests itself as a drastic fall in F_0 and, therefore, is perceptually very salient (Redi and Stefanie Shattuck-Hufnagel 2001 include a low F_0 as one of the most prototypical correlates of glottal sounds).

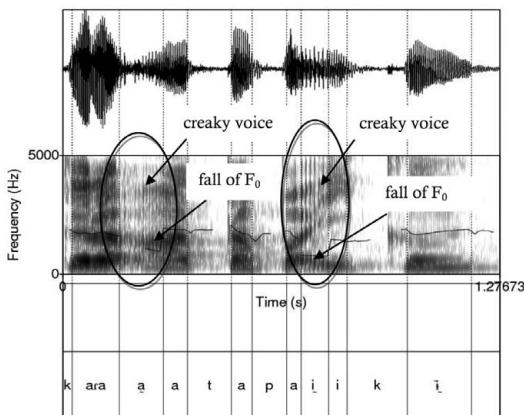


Figure 32. The sentence (uisai) kara 'atapa 'ikën? 'how is a hen?' produced in isolation

What Figure 32 shows is commonly found in spectrograms of Kakataibo speech and demonstrates that glottal stops do not necessarily surface in the same way in different contexts, but that they always leave a trace. The glottal stop is certainly a phonemic element in Kakataibo and is perceptually distinctive even in contexts like the one in Figure 32. However, the glottal stop does not manifest the same behavior as other consonants in the language. Not only is it restricted to word-initial position, but it also may coalesce with surrounding vowels in utterance-internal positions (note that *n* also coalesces with preceding vowels, but exclusively when it appears as a coda). A similar case of glottal coalescence has been described for Kapanawa by Elías-Ulloa (2009), but in this language, the glottal fricative is also a phonological element.

2.6.4 Other cases of glottalization

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

i. *Glottal stops in interjections*

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

ii. *Glottal stops as the realization of underlying word-final consonants*

Some roots can be analyzed as having a final underlying consonant (often *t* and *k*, but also *ts* in one single case) that only appears in particular morphological contexts (see the discussion of these cases in §3.3.1.1). This is the case, for instance, of the nouns *mapú* ‘mud’ and *kapé* ‘caiman; Fam. *Alligatoridae*’. Interestingly, sometimes, those words are pronounced as [mapúʔ] and [kapéʔ] in isolation. These word-final glottal stops can be analyzed as allophones of those final consonants.

iii. *Glottal stops as part of the imperative contour*

Prosodically, imperatives end in a high pitch (see §3.4.2.3). In addition, the imperative forms of monosyllabic or disyllabic verb roots that end in a vowel acquire a final glottal stop.

iv. *Creaky vowels at the end of indicative utterances*

There is a prosodic rule according to which indicative utterances end in a low pitch and in a very weak vowel (in terms of voicing and intensity). This utterance-final vowel also surfaces with creaky voice (see §3.4.2.1).

v. *Shortened auxiliaries*

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

2.7 Morphophonemics

In this section, I present the major morphophonemic processes attested in Kakataibo. This section has been organized in the following way: in §2.7.1, I present a representative sample of the morphophonemic processes found at the morphological boundaries created by adding a suffix or enclitic to a stem, and in §2.7.2, I explore the morphophonemic processes associated with prefixation. A general introduction to morphology is provided in Chapter 4.

2.7.1 Morphophonemic processes on suffixes and enclitics

The general morphophonemic processes that operate at the morphological boundaries created by adding a suffix or enclitic to a stem are briefly presented in the following subsections. The patterns of allomorphic alternations of particular suffixes or enclitics will be discussed in detail in the sections presenting each form included in the following chapters.

2.7.1.1 Loss of syllabicity

Whenever two vowels come in contact at a morpheme boundary, the metrically less-prominent vowel will surface as glide, after or before the more prominent one (i.e., the one that carries the stress/high pitch of the word). Examples (127) and (128) show this process:

- (127) *bari-akë-x-a*

look.for-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

bar[j]akëxa

‘he looked for (something) a long time ago’

- (128) *ñui-akë-x-a*

tell-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

ñu[j]akëxa

‘he told (something) a long time ago’

2.7.1.2 Deletion

2.7.1.2.1 Deletion of root-final stops (and one affricate)

Root-final underlying stops are unstable and drop whenever they cannot be syllabified as the onset of the following syllable (see §3.3.1.1). Some cases of this type of deletion are shown in (129).

- (129) a. *abat-pun-i-n* > *abápunin*
 run-PST:same.day-IPVF-1/2
 ‘I/you ran in the morning’
- b. *kapék=kama* > *kapékama*
 caiman=PL
 ‘caimans, Fam. *Alligatoridae*’
- c. *bits-kan-a-x-a* > *bikanxa*
 pick.up-PL-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘they picked (it) up’

2.7.1.2.2 Deletion of n

At morphological boundaries where a syllable-final *n* is followed by a nasal, by the flap *r* or by the approximant *b*, the *n* sound is deleted. Note that the *n* sound may leave traces of nasality in the preceding vowels. Examples of this process follow:

- (130) a. *'unán-mi-ti* > *'unámiti*
 know-CAU-NOMLZ
 ‘teach’
- b. *mëkën=ñu* > *mëkëñu*
 hand-PROP
 ‘with hands’
- c. *kwan-ru-ti* > *kwáruti*
 go-up-NOMLZ
 ‘go up’
- d. *chumín-but-ti* > *chumíbuti*
 thin-down-NOMLZ
 ‘become very thin’

2.7.1.3 Assimilation

2.7.1.3.1 Assimilation of vowels

At morpheme boundaries where the same vowel is repeated twice in a sequence, the two vowels usually become a single vocalic unit, as in the following examples. This single vocalic unit may or may not surface as saliently long.

- (131) a. *pi-i-n* > *pi(:)n*
 eat-IPFV-1/2
 ‘I/you eat’
- b. *'a-a-x-a* > *'a(:)xa*
 do-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘(s)he did’

In addition, if we find the vowel *a* in contact with the vowel *o*, *a* may assimilate to *o*. In this case, the resulting vowel is in most cases saliently long. Examples of this are presented in (132):

- (132) a. *'itsis-o-akë-x-a* > *'itsis[o:]këxa*
 hot-FACT-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘(s)he made it hot a long time ago’
- b. *mëni-o-akë-x-a* > *mëni[o:]këxa*
 clean-FACT-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘(s)he cleaned it a long time ago’

- c. *xaba-o-ti* > *xab[o:]ti*
 free-FACT-NOMLZ
 ‘release’
- d. *chuna-on* > *chun[o:]n*
 spider.monkey-AUG
 ‘large spider monkey, *Ateles paniscus*’

2.7.1.3.2 Assimilation of fricatives

At morpheme boundaries where two fricatives come into contact, the cluster surfaces as one extra-long (gemminate) fricative with the place of articulation of the first one. Examples of this process follow:

- (133) a. *is-xun* > *is:un*
 see-S/A>A
 ‘looking at’
- b. *pi-kas-xun* > *pika[s:]un*
 eat-DES-S/A>A
 ‘wanting to eat’

2.7.1.4 Metathesis of *n*

Whenever a morpheme ending in *n* is followed by a morpheme beginning with a vowel; the nasal sound moves in order to continue occupying the coda position. Thus, if we have /V1n-V2/, we will obtain [V1V2n], and both V1 and V2 surface nasalized. This process works even when V1 and V2 are the same vowel, in which case we may or may not obtain a long vowel. Examples of this process are shown in (134):

- (134) a. *pi-kin-akë-x-a* > *pikiankëxa*
 eat-ASSO-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘(s)he ate with (somebody) a long time ago’
- b. *kwan-akë-n* > *kw[a:]nkën*
 go-REM.PST-1/2
 ‘I/you went a long time ago’

2.7.1.5 Epenthesis of *t*

- i. *Epenthetic t with the suffixes -isa ‘irrealis’ and -taba ‘for the first time’*

The irrealis suffix *-isa* is used in a few different constructions with distinct meanings (see §9.1.4.2). One of these constructions is a desiderative form, exemplified in (135a–c), where the irrealis appears in bold case:

- (135) a. *'a-**isa**-tan-i-n*
 do-IRR-go.to-IPFV-1/2
 'I/you would like to do/to kill'
 b. *ka-**isa**-tan-i-n*
 say-IRR-go.to-IPFV-1/2
 'I/you would like to say'
 c. *pi-**isa**-tan-i-n*
 eat-IRR-go.to-IPFV-1/2
 'I/you would like to eat'

When *-isa* ‘irrealis’ appears on a root or stem with two or three moras, a harmonic *t* (in bold in the examples in (136a–d)) is attested.

- (136) a. *'a-mi-**t**-isa-tan-i-n*
 do-CAU-HAR-IRR-go.to-IPFV-1/2
 'I/you would like to make someone do/kill'
 b. *'ux-**t**-isa-tan-i-n*
 sleep-HAR-IRR-go.to-IPFV-1/2
 'I/you would like to sleep'
 c. *'unan-**t**-isa-tan-i-n*
 know-HAR-IRR-go.to-IPFV-1/2
 'I/you would like to know (something)'
 d. *ñui-**t**-isa-tan-i-n*
 tell-HAR-IRR-go.to-IPFV-1/2
 'I/you would like to tell (something)'

Of course, these cases can be explained as an allomorphic alternation related to *-isa* which would have to be represented as *-(t)isa*. The problem with this analysis is that there is no phonological reason for this *t* to drop in cases like those shown in (135), since it occurs at the onset of its syllable and *t* is usually stable in that position.

Similarly, the verbal derivational morpheme *-taba* ‘for the first time’ also requires the harmonic form *-t* in some contexts. In order to make the comparison with *-isa* ‘irrealis’ easier, let us first see in (137a–d) some examples where the harmonic does not appear:

- (137) a. *'a-mi-**taba**-i-n*
 do-CAU-first.time-IPFV-1/2
 'I/you make (somebody else) do (something) for the first time'
 b. *'ux-**taba**-i-n*
 sleep-first.time-IPFV-1/2
 'I/you sleep for the first time (somewhere)'

- c. *'unan-taba-i-n*
know-first.time-IPFV-1/2
'I/you know (something) for the first time'
- d. *ñui-taba-i-n*
tell-first.time-IPFV-1/2
'I/you tell (something) for the first time'

However, if we use this suffix with the same verbs presented in (135), we will have the forms in (138a–c), where an extra *t* (in bold) is attested:

- (138)
- a. *'a-taba-**t**-i-n*
do-first.time-HAR-IPFV-1/2
'I/you do (something) for the first time'
 - b. *ka-taba-**t**-i-n*
say-first.time-HAR-IPFV-1/2
'I/you say (something) for the first time'
 - c. *pi-taba-**t**-i-n*
eat-first.time-HAR-IPFV-1/2
'I/you eat (something) for the first time'

Its presence is not conditioned by the following suffixes (as was the case for the forms discussed in §3.3.1.1, but by the number of moras of the stem to which *-taba* is added. Interestingly, in the examples presented in (137) and (138), it can be seen that, with *-taba* ‘for the first time’, the epenthetic *t* behaves exactly in the opposite way to how it behaves in combination with *-isa* ‘irrealis’: in the former case, the epentetic sound appears after the suffix and when the root has one mora; while in the second case, it surfaces before the suffix and when the root has two or three moras. However, if we look at longer forms, the pattern becomes less clear and requires more study.

ii. Epenthetic *t* with adverbial enclitics in the verb-internal positions:

As we will see in §4.5.2.2 and §11.3, adverbial enclitics can be added to finite verb stems, where they occupy word-internal positions and behave as derivational suffixes. Examples of the behavior of these enclitics with finite verbs are presented in (139a–d) and (140a–d).

- (139)
- a. *pi-pan-i-n*
eat-first-IPFV-1/2
'I eat first' (=pan/pain 'first')
 - b. *pi-tani-**t**-i-n*
eat-at.least-HAR-IPFV-1/2
'I eat at least' (=tani 'at least')

- c. *pi-ishi-t-i-n*
eat-only-HAR-IPFV-1/2
'I only eat' (=ishi 'just, only')
- d. *pi-ira-i-n*
eat-a.lot-IPFV-1/2
'I eat a lot' (=ira 'a lot of')

- (140) a. *'ux-pan-i-n*
sleep-first-IPFV-1/2
'I sleep first' (=pan/pain 'first')
- b. *'ux-tani-t-i-n*
sleep-at.least-HAR-IPFV-1/2
'I sleep at least' (=tani 'at least')
- c. *'ux-ishi-t-i-n*
sleep-only-HAR-IPFV-1/2
'I only sleep' (=ishi 'just, only')
- d. *'ux-ira-i-n*
sleep-a.lot-IPFV-1/2
'I sleep a lot' (=ira 'a lot of')

As can be observed in the above examples, when the enclitic ends in a vowel, a *t* likewise appears following it independently of the form of the root (the exceptional case is =*ira* 'a lot').

2.7.2 Morphophonemics of prefixes

Prefixation in Kakataibo exhibits quite complex morphophonology, including different and interesting processes that are briefly presented and exemplified here. See §4.6 for a brief illustration of prefixation in Kakataibo, and Zariquiey and Fleck (2012) for a detailed treatment of this topic.

2.7.2.1.1 Palatal harmony

The forms *tsi-* and *chi-* 'buttock, end of' occur in complementary distribution: the form *chi-* appears only when the root contains a *ch*, *sh* or *x* (141), while in all other contexts the form *tsi-* occurs (142). Interestingly, in order for *chi-* to appear, the *ch*, *sh* or *x* sound in the root does not need to be the first segment of the root (141d–e), or even the first consonant ((141)f), or even part of the first syllable (141h–i). Specifically, the rule seems to require that *ch*, *sh*, or *x* appear either in the first syllable of the root or as the onset of the second syllable, otherwise the prefix harmony is not triggered. For example, the *sh* in *narashkati* 'rip part of an object' does not condition *chi-* ((142)a).

The forms *tsi-* and *chi-* ‘buttock, end of’ are the only ones that exhibit palatal harmony in the synchronic language.

(141) Forms that take *chi-* ‘buttock, end of’

- a. *chi-chachi* ‘prick the butt’
- b. *chi-shaíka* ‘move the butt’
- c. *chi-xanao* ‘warm up the butt’
- d. *chi-ux(u)* ‘white-butted’
- e. *chi-ushin* ‘red-butted’
- f. *chi-taxka* ‘hit on the butt’
- g. *chi-macha* ‘insert stick in the anus’
- h. *chi-ñashi* ‘hard butt meat’
- i. *chi-ñuxu* ‘crooked butt’

(142) Forms that take *tsi-* ‘buttock, end of’

- a. *tsi-narashka* ‘rip the back part’
- b. *tsi-më* ‘touch the butt’
- c. *tsi-raká* ‘lay butt-down’
- d. *tsi-pun* ‘poke the butt’
- e. *tsi-tunan* ‘black-butted’
- g. *tsi-man* ‘feel the butt/anus’
- h. *tsi-ñunan* ‘smoke the back parts (e.g. of a butchered animal)’

2.7.2.1.2 Root reduction

There is a small number of roots that are phonologically reduced when prefixed. The roots that exhibit this behavior almost always contain a fricative sound, and the reduction may occur in different parts of the root, as will be shown in this section.

The root *xatë-* ‘cut superficially’ surfaces as *-xtë-* when occurring with a prefix, losing its first vowel, precisely the vowel that follows the fricative; for example, *ta-xtë-* ‘cut superficially on the foot.’ Other verbs that follow this pattern are *xaki-/xki-* ‘grate’ and *sika-/ski-* ‘rub’ (note the final vowel change in the last example). This process can produce (C)VCC phonetic syllables: *ran-* ‘knee’ plus *xatë* ‘cut superficially’ produces *ranx.të-* ‘cut superficially on the knee’.

Another type of root reduction involves adjectives, nouns and verbs. For example, the adjective *uxu* ‘white’ surfaces optionally as *-ux-* when occurring with a prefix, as in *chi-ux/chi-uxu* ‘white-butted, white-tailed’. The noun *buxa* ‘gray hair’ obligatorily surfaces as *-bux* when occurring with a prefix, as in *shi-bux* ‘gray chest hair’. The verb *tasa-* ‘nail’ obligatorily surfaces as *-tas-* when occurring with a prefix, as in *rë-tas-* ‘hammer on the tip’.

There is a third, but clearly unproductive type of root reduction in Kakataibo, according to which the prefixed root drops its initial glottal stop and the following vowel. An example of this is the form ‘*itsis* ‘hot’ becomes *-tsis*, when occurring with a prefix, as in *tatsis* ‘warm at the feet’ or *mëtsis* ‘warm at the hand(s)’, losing the initial glottal stop and the following vowel.

2.7.2.1.3 Metathesis

Some Kakataibo roots exhibit a process of metathesis when they occur with a prefix. This happens with the root *pais* ‘fin’, which can appear also as *-spai* when prefixed. Consequently, we find alternating forms such as *ka-pais* and *ka-spai* for ‘dorsal fin.’ This process is also found in the formative *-puis* ‘soft matter’; for example, in *mapuis* ‘brains’, which alternates with the form *maspui*, although *-puis* is not currently attested as a free root in the language and always requires prefixation.

2.7.2.1.4 Vowel assimilation

Vowel assimilation in the context of prefixation occurs productively in association with one Kakataibo verb: *ëchi-* ‘yank off’ (which, when prefixed, surfaces as *-Vchi-* where V stands for a vowel of the same quality as the vowel of the prefix, like in **maachíti** ‘yank off the **head**’ or **mëéchíti** ‘yank off the **hand**’). There is also a lexicalized form *mëë-* ‘hit, touch’, which seems to have come from *më-’ati* ‘hand-do’ (notice that, if my interpretation is correct, in this case the glottal stop has also been deleted).

2.8 Phonology of Spanish loans

Most Spanish loans appear in Kakataibo speech without significant changes in their phonological form, since nowadays the speakers are relatively familiar with the phonological system of Spanish and do not need to phonologically readapt the Spanish forms in order to make them easier to reproduce. However, there are a few cases where phonological readadaptation has applied to Spanish words introduced into the Kakataibo language. These cases can be interpreted as being older than the other ones and as being more integrated into the Kakataibo language and lexicon, but the possibility that these words might have been borrowed via some other language, like Shipibo-Konibo, should also be considered. In Table 25, I include some examples of phonologically readapted Spanish loans.

Table 25. Phonologically readapted Spanish loans

Spanish form	English gloss	Kakataibo form	phonological processes
<cruz>	'cross'	[kurus]	##CCV _i > ##CV _i CV _i
< si no> [sinó]	'but'	[sinón]	CV## > CVn##
<pañó>	'handkerchief'	[panún]	CV## > CVn## /o/ > /u/
<(re)cuper->	'take back/ revenge'	[kupi-]	σ ₁ σ ₂ σ ₃ > σ ₂ σ ₃ /e/ > /i/
<(al)godon>	'cotton'	[kutún]	σ ₁ σ ₂ σ ₃ > σ ₂ σ ₃ /o/ > /u/ /g/ > /k/
<más que>	'more than'	[maski]	/e/ > /i/
<mercado>	'market'	[mirikatu]	/e/ > /i/ /o/ > /u/ CVC# > CV#CV#
<Lima>	'Lima'	[rima]	/l/ > //
<espejo>	'mirror'	[ispiku]	/e/ > /i/ /x/ > /k/
<plato>	'plate'	[rátu]	CCV# > CV# /l/ > /r/

3 Prosody

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a general description of the Kakataibo prosodic system. In §3.2 I introduce the syllabic structure of the language. In §3.3 I present a study of Kakataibo word prosody and I argue that stress and tone should be distinguished in this language. Finally, in §3.4 I give some comments on the prosody of phrases and utterances and briefly describe various intonation contours associated with different types of speech acts. The final section also contains some notes on the distribution of pauses in clause chaining and tail-head linkage structures.

This chapter is based on the analysis of approximately 600 words and 100 sentences and phrases, all collected between 2009 and 2013. Words were collected both with and without an elicitation frame.²⁵ The elicitation frame used was: *?in pa ka pitankiš [WORD] kiakişa* ‘After eating my father said [WORD] a long time ago.’ Recordings were made with a Zoom H4N digital recorder, using either the built-in microphone or a Shure WH30XLR cardioid condenser headset microphone. Recordings were made in a mono non-compressed format (WAV) at a sampling rate of 44.1 kHz. Annotations and acoustic analysis were conducted with Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2014). Five male and three female speakers helped with the recordings.

Kakataibo prosody is so fascinating and complex that an exhaustive account of all its properties would require an amount of work that is beyond the scope of this chapter. Previous descriptions of the Kakataibo prosodic system include Shell (1950), Wistrand-Robinson (1978) and Zariquiey (2011a: 121–170).

3.2 Syllable structure

Syllables can be identified as a group of segments that is pronounced as a single articulatory movement. In general, prosody maps well onto these articulatory groupings, but there are cases where the prosodic system is inconsistent with these groupings of segments, treating glides and long vowels as two syllables, as will be shown below. In such cases, I give priority to the prosodic patterns (stress assignment) for identifying syllables. Following this criterion, I define the basic syllable in Kakataibo as (C)V(C). While this basic syllable type accounts for almost every syllable in the language, there are a few other possible syllable structures that are the result of various morphophonological processes. For instance, metathesis of *n* (see §2.7.1.4) and root reduction due to prefixation (see §2.7.2.1.2) may produce phonetic (C)VCC syllables

²⁵ Part of the data used for this chapter was collected in collaboration with Lev Michael in May-June 2012.

(as in the examples *kwan-ax* ‘go-S/A>S’ > *kwanx* or *ran-xatë-* ‘knee-cut superficially’ > *ranxtë-*); but those types of syllables are rare and unusual in the language. In addition, prosodically non-prominent vowels surface as glides (*bai* ‘path’ > *ba[ʃ]* or *pi-akë-x-a* ‘(s)he ate a long time ago’ > *pi[ə]këxa*; see §2.4.7 and §2.7.1.1). However, vowels in Kakataibo need to be analyzed as projecting their own syllable at the phonological level in order to offer a satisfying description of the stress/tone system of the language (see §3.3.1.1.3, below).

According to this basic (C)V(C) pattern, we can identify four different phonological syllable types in Kakataibo: V, CV, VC and CVC. All these syllables can appear in any position and only *n*, *s*, *sh* and *x* (and in some very specific contexts also the glottal stop; see, for instance, §3.3.1.1) can appear as syllabic codas. Some examples are listed in (143)–(146).

(143) **V**

- a.na* ‘tongue’
- ba.i* ‘path’
- a* ‘3SG pronoun’

(144) **CV**

- kwë.në* ‘traditionally painted’
- bi* ‘mosquito; *Culicidus* species’
- bë.rí* ‘today; now’

(145) **VC**

- ba.ín* ‘catfish; *Pseudoplatystoma fasciatum*’
- ma.ís* ‘army ant; *Eciton* species’
- in.xu* ‘penis’

(146) **CVC**

- chon* ‘fish; *Crénichla semicincta*’
- bi.nun* ‘palm; *Mauritia flexuosa*’
- kash.tá* ‘color of plants or hair when they become dry or damaged’

3.3 Word-level prosody

The high pitches found in Kakataibo words may have two different sources: most of them are the result of the metrical patterns that will be described in §3.3.1 and will be analyzed as the phonetic manifestation of stress (although it is reminiscent of what is often called “accent”). There are, however, some high pitches that are associated with the lexically assigned high tone which is found in a set of bound morphemes.

These high tones are independent of the metrical rules that determine the position of stress. These cases, discussed in §3.3.2, will be considered here to be instances of a restricted tone feature in Kakataibo. Thus, both tone and stress are attested in the prosodic system of the language. As we will also see in §3.3.1.3, there is minimal phonological word requirement in Kakataibo according to which words must have at least one well-formed disyllabic foot. In this section, I understand the phonological word in Kakataibo as a prosodic unit that may have at least one well-formed foot and one metrically assigned high pitch (= stress). As we will see in what follows, a grammatical word in Kakataibo may comprise more than one phonological word (see §3.3.1.2) and a phonological word may be composed of more than one grammatical word (§3.4.1).

3.3.1 Stress

In this section I provide an analysis of how the high pitches associated with stress are placed in Kakataibo words. Non-finite words are discussed in §3.3.1.1, and finite words are presented in §3.3.1.2.

3.3.1.1 Non-finite words

In order to properly understand how pitch peaks are assigned to non-finite words, we first need to look at morphologically simple forms (i.e., forms that do not carry any inflectional or derivative morphemes, i.e., roots). In Kakataibo, non-finite morphologically simple words may have up to four syllables. There are no longer roots in the language. In this section, we illustrate the prosodic behavior of disyllabic, trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic monomorphemic words. Due to their particular behavior, monosyllabic words are treated in §3.3.1.3, where the minimal phonological word requirement of the language is discussed.

3.3.1.1.1 Monomorphemic words

In this subsection I describe the stress patterns of non-finite disyllabic, trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic non-finite roots. References to morphologically complex words are given only when they help to clarify a particular point in the discussion.

3.3.1.1.1.1 Disyllabic words

In disyllabic non-finite words, we find two different prosodic patterns according to the structure of the second syllable: if it is open, the pitch peak falls on the first (leftmost) syllable of the word, but if the second (rightmost) syllable is closed, then it attracts the pitch peak. The prosodic patterns found in dysyllabic non-finite words ending in a vowel and in a consonant are illustrated in (147) and (148), respectively.

- (147) a. *baka* (bá.ka) ‘river’
 b. *imi* (í.mi) ‘blood’
- (148) a. *shinkun* (shin.kún) ‘banana; *Musa* species’
 b. *bukun* (bu.kún) ‘tree; *Cecropia hololeuca*’

Figures 33 and 34 present the spectrogram and the pitch track of one framed token of *imi* ‘blood’ and *bukun* ‘tree; *Cecropia hololeuca*’, respectively. Note that in both cases the vowel of the first syllable is significantly longer than the vowel of the second one. There is a strong tendency for Kakataibo words to have a significantly longer first (leftmost) syllable. This lengthening, however, is independent of the position of the pitch peak (see Figure 34), and therefore it is not relevant for the understanding of the stress assignment patterns of the language.

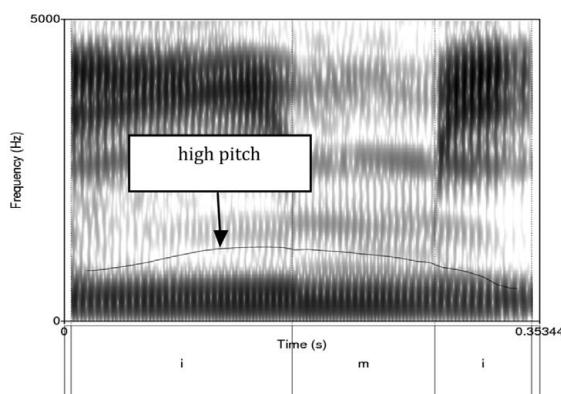


Figure 33. Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of *imi* ‘blood’

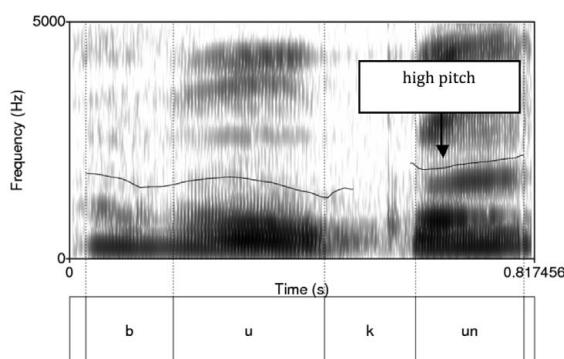


Figure 34. Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of *bukun* ‘tree; *Cecropia hololeuca*’

The majority of disyllabic words behave as described above, but there is a group of words that seem to be exceptional. In those words, the pitch peak falls on an apparently open second syllable. Shell's (1986) vocabulary contains many such examples and she indicates this unpredictable behavior by including a <`> symbol over the vowel that unexpectedly carries the pitch peak. Two of those examples are presented in (149).

- (149) a. *kapé* (ka.pé) 'caiman; Fam. *Alligatoridae*'
 b. *upí* (u.pí) 'beautiful'

These examples could be analyzed as exceptional or as carrying a lexical high tone (as the cases to be discussed in §3.3.2). There is, however, one fact that suggests a different explanation: a great number of examples like the ones in (149) show alternating forms, one with the unexpected position of the pitch peak and the other with an additional root-final consonant. This additional consonant only surfaces in the environment of some suffixes/clitics that allow it to become the onset of their (first) syllable (like the ergative clitic in (150)). This changes the whole prosodic structure of the word: since the root-final consonant syllabifies as the onset of the syllable created by the enclitic, the second syllable of the root becomes open and the first syllable attracts the high pitch in each case.

- (150) a. *kápëk=an* (ká.pë)kan 'caiman-ergative'
 b. *úpit=an* (ú.pi)tan 'beautiful-ergative'

Figure 35 presents what an isolated token of *kapëkan* 'caiman-ergative' looks like in a spectrogram.

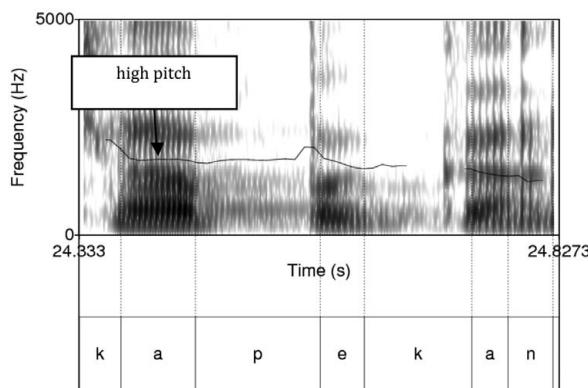


Figure 35. Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *kapëkan* 'caiman-ergative'

Any attempt at offering an explanation of examples like the ones presented in (149)–(150) must also include an interpretation of these root-final consonants, since both phenomena (the unusual position of the high tone in (149) and the additional consonants in (150)) are clearly related. Equivalent additional consonants include *k*, *t* and even *ts*, and one cannot predict which one will surface in each case. Their unpredictable character suggests that these consonants belong to the root and cannot be described as resulting from any kind of phonetic rule. Thus, roots like the ones in (149) can be claimed to contain a final consonant. Their final consonants, however, are highly unstable since stops and affricates cannot be syllabic codas (see §3.2). These consonants appear overtly only when they can syllabify as the onset of a following syllable, and this happens exclusively when the roots are modified by one of the following bound morphemes.

Table 26. Bound morphemes which preserve root-final *k*, *t* and *ts*

Suffix or enclitic	Meaning
=(<i>a</i>) <i>n</i>	‘ergative, instrumental, temporal locative and genitive’
- <i>i</i>	‘imperfective’
- <i>ia</i>	‘S/A/P>P, simultaneous event’
- <i>i</i>	‘S/A>S, simultaneous event’
- <i>a</i>	‘stative’

The analysis proposed here explains the unpredictable quality of the consonants (they are unpredictable because they are part of the lexical form of some roots) and the position of the high pitch (which is not exceptional since the second syllable of the word is underlyingly closed). Words like *upí* or *kapé* may be underlyingly represented as *upit* or *kapék*. The high pitch is attracted by the second closed syllable (see the examples in (149)), but the last consonant is dropped due to the syllabic structure of the language. When those final consonants can syllabify with the vowel of a following morpheme, the second syllable of those words is no longer closed. Consequently, the high pitch falls on the first syllable, as in the examples in (150).

As an additional piece of evidence for the analysis proposed here, it is important to mention that, when produced in isolation, words like the ones in (149) may exhibit a final closure which is perceptually a glottal stop and which may be interpreted as the phonetic counterpart of the consonants being discussed here. In fact, a more accurate analysis for the way in which those words surface in many cases may be to postulate a phonological change from /*k*/, /*t*/ or /*ts*/ to [?], rather than a complete deletion of the root-final consonants. However, the glottal closure is also unstable and these words are also pronounced without it. In Figure 36, it is possible to see this glottal stop at the end of the word *kapé[?]* ‘caiman, Fam. *Alligatoridae*’. The glottal stop is revealed

in the sound wave as a closure, and in the spectrogram, as creaky voice towards the latter portion of the vowel.

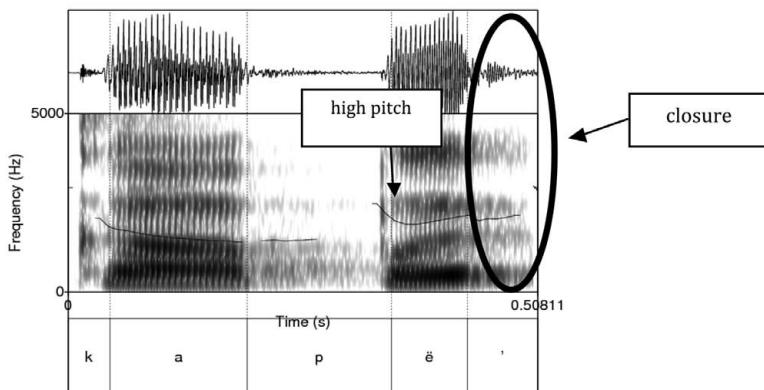


Figure 36. Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *kapé* ‘caiman’

3.3.1.1.2 Trisyllabic words

There are some trisyllabic non-finite roots in Kakataibo. A number of them are loans from other languages like Spanish, Quechua and Arawak languages (e.g. *ispiku* ‘mirror’ < Spanish; *kuriki* ‘money’ < Quechua; and ‘*uchiti* ‘dog’ < Arawak). Some other trisyllabic words could be analyzed as diachronically composed of more than one morpheme but synchronically monomorphemic. This is the case with words like *cha.i.ti* ‘ancestors’, which appears to be related to *cha.i* ‘cross uncle/father in law (of a man)’. This is also the case of singular trisyllabic words ending in *bu*, which can diachronically be analyzed as an enclitic with some sort of collective meaning (like in the case of the male proper name *Xëtëbu*).

Regarding pitch peaks, the first rule for trisyllabic monomorphemic words is that they never carry the stress on their last (rightmost) syllable. Most trisyllabic words follow the patterns described so far for disyllabic words and do not require further discussion: if the second syllable is open, the pitch peak falls on the first syllable, and if the second syllable is closed, it attracts the high pitch. However, in a number of monomorphemic trisyllabic words the high pitch falls on a second open syllable, exhibiting a pattern that may be considered exceptional. Those cases are the ones that deserve attention here. Let us have a look at the examples in (151), which illustrate instances of trisyllabic words with the pitch peak on their open second syllable.

- (151) ‘*uchítí* u.chí.ti ‘dog; *Canis lupus familiaris*’
kuríki ku.rí.ki ‘money’

Figure 37 presents the spectrogram and the pitch track of one token of the word ‘uchíti’ ‘dog; *Canis lupus familiaris*’ produced in isolation.

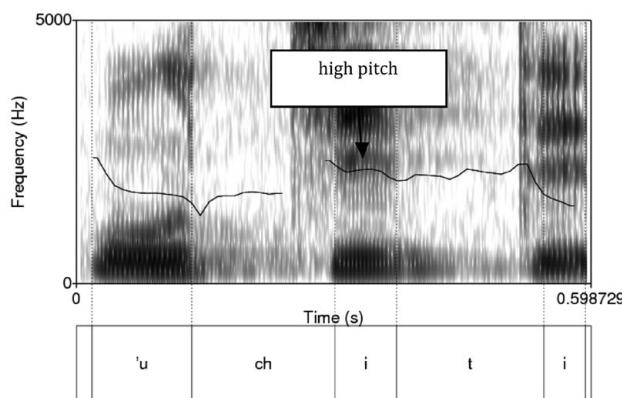


Figure 37. Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of ‘uchíti’ ‘dog’

In order to explain such cases on the basis of the prosodic patterns described so far, we would need to demonstrate that the second syllable is closed. However, this seems not to be possible (differently from what we saw in the case of the disyllabic words presented in (149)). Thus, these examples remain as exceptional. It is important to mention that in many cases the words exhibiting this prosodic pattern are loans and this may explain their unexpected behavior.

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

3.3.1.1.3 Tetrasyllabic words

Tetrasyllabic non-finite roots are highly unusual in Kakataibo and most words with this number of syllables are morphologically complex. There is, however, a very small group of tetrasyllabic nouns that cannot be segmented and can therefore be synchronically analyzed as non-finite monomorphemic forms. In these tetrasyllabic words the pitch peak is placed on the third syllable of the word, as is illustrated in (152a–b).

- (152) a. *antanama* (an.ta)(ná.ma) ‘scorpion; *Vejovis* species’
- b. *apashiru* (a.pa)(shí.ru) ‘lizard; *Iguana iguana*’

Figure 38 presents one pronunciation of the word *antanama* ‘scorpion’.

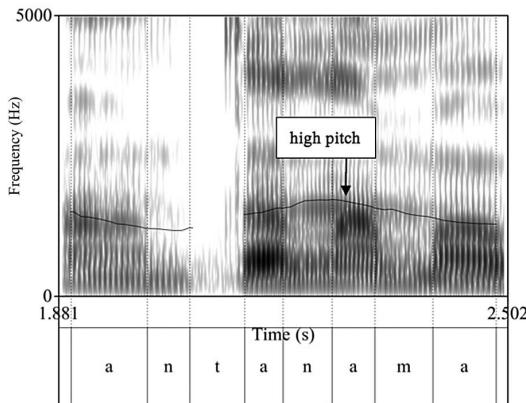


Figure 38. Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of *antanama* ‘scorpion’

3.3.1.1.4 Metrical analysis

The data presented so far point towards a quite transparent pattern that can be accounted for from the perspective of the metrical theory (Hayes 1995). If there are no closed syllables in even positions, trochaic (i.e. left-headed) feet are created from left to right and the pitch peak that can be associated with stress is assigned to the head of the rightmost foot. If the second syllable is closed, this syllable becomes the head of its foot and attracts the stress. This can accurately be accounted for by arguing that stress in Kakataibo is sensitive to syllable weight and that closed syllables are heavy in the language. One interesting point is that, as Elías-Ulloa 2006 has argued for Shipibo-Konibo, closed syllables seem to be heavy only in even positions. This may explain why when a foot comprises two closed syllables, the stress falls on the syllable to the right (Cf. *shinkun* > *shin.kún* ‘banana; *Musa* sp.’ in (148)). In Elías-Ulloa’s (2006) argumentation this is because closed syllables are “underlyingly” light in odd positions. It may be the case that a similar situation is found in Kakataibo.

The fact that the stress of trisyllabic words does not fall on the third syllable under any circumstance suggests that there is a constraint against degenerate feet and that metrical feet in Kakataibo must be disyllabic. This fits the data very well, including the cases to be discussed in §3.3.1.3, where a minimal phonological word requirement is proposed.

Table 27 summarizes the main prosodic patterns for stress assignment found in non-finite monomorphemic words with two to four syllables (σ = open syllable and σC = closed syllable).

Table 27. Stress in non-finite monomorphemic words

Syllable structure	Prosodic pattern
σσ	('σσ)
σσC	(σ'σC)
σσσ	('σσ)σ ²⁶
σσCσ	(σ'σC)σ
σσσC	not attested
σσσσ	(σσ)'(σσ)
σσCσσ	not attested
σσσσC	not attested

Table 27 summarizes the prosodic patterns discussed so far in this section. In what follows, I describe how morphologically complex non-finite words behave in terms of stress.

3.3.1.1.2 Morphologically complex words

The prosodic data on non-finite morphologically complex words reveal that, regardless of their number of syllables, roots create their own phonological word and receive a high pitch. The behavior of the bound morphemes to the right of them exhibit two different patterns according to their number of syllables. If the morphological elements to the right of the root are not longer than two syllables all together, they do not attract any pitch peak and, thus, the pitch peak found on the root is the only one in the whole form. However, if the bound morphemes count overall three or more syllables, they attract a pitch peak, which will be assigned according to the principles described in §3.3.1.1.1. Thus, in such cases, we find two pitch peaks and two phonological words.

One important point that must be highlighted is that what we find regarding non-finite morphologically complex words is exactly what we encounter in two-word noun phrases. If the rightmost word in such a noun phrase is not longer than two syllables it does not exhibit any high pitch, and the only high pitch of the phrase is the one found in the word to the left. In turn, if the second word of a two-word noun phrase has three or more syllables, it exhibits its own high pitch and we will have two pitch peaks in the phrase (see §3.4.1 for details). The parallel is complete: bound morphemes in non-finite morphologically complex words have exactly the same behavior.

In what follows I illustrate the main facts just listed by comparing the patterns found with disyllabic, trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic Kakataibo roots as part of morphologically complex words of different lengths. In (153a–c), we find the words *paka*

²⁶ There are also a few cases of exceptional structures σ:σσ, mostly in loans.

'bamboo', '*atapa* 'chicken' and *antanama* 'scorpion' combined with the plural clitic =*kama*. Since =*kama* has two syllables, it does not attract any pitch peak (see Figures 39–41)

- (153) a. *paka=kama* 'bamboo=PL' (pá.ka)//ka.ma
 b. *'atapa=kama* 'chicken=PL' (á.ta)pa//ka.ma
 c. *antanama=kama* 'scorpion=PL' (an.ta)(ná.ma)//ka.ma

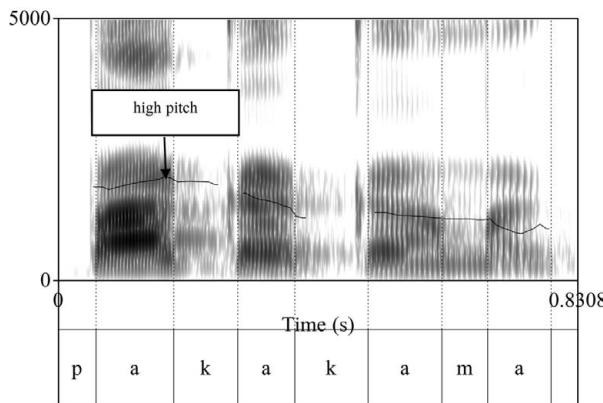


Figure 39. Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of *paka=kama* 'bamboo=PL'

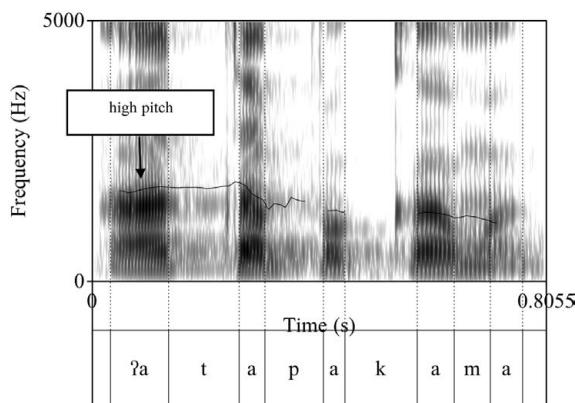


Figure 40. Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of '*atapa=kama* 'chicken=PL'

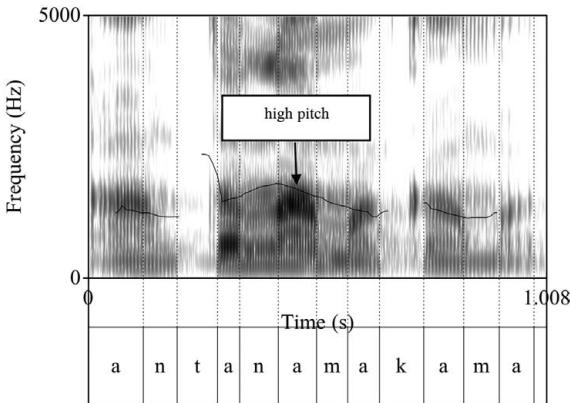


Figure 41. Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of '*antanama=kama* 'scorpion=PL'

As soon as we add one extra morpheme to the examples in (153), the prosodic patterns change radically: the word, then, exhibits two high tones. This is illustrated in (154a–c) and in the Figures 42–44.

- (154) a. *paka=kama=nu* ‘bamboo=PL=LOC’ (pá.ka)/(ká.ma)nu
 b. *'atapa=kama=bë* ‘chicken=PL=COM’ (á.ta)pa//(ká.ma)bë
 c. *antanama=kama=bë* ‘scorpion=PL=COM’ (an.ta)(ná.ma)/(ká.ma)bë

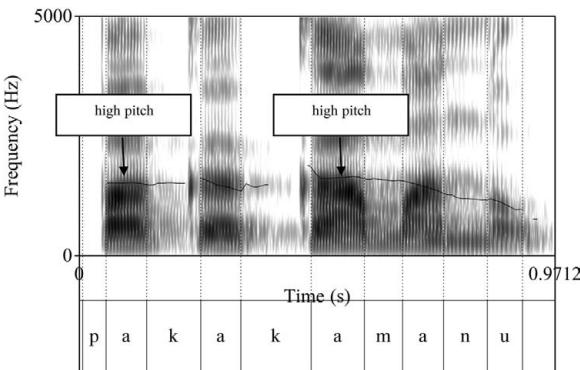


Figure 42. Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of *paka=kama=nu* ‘bamboo=PL=LOC’

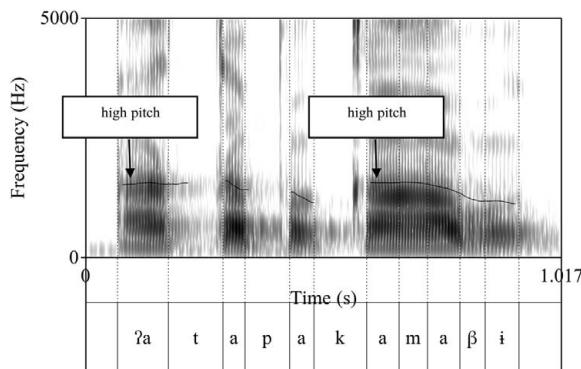


Figure 43. Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of '*atapa=kama=bë* ‘chicken=PL=COM’

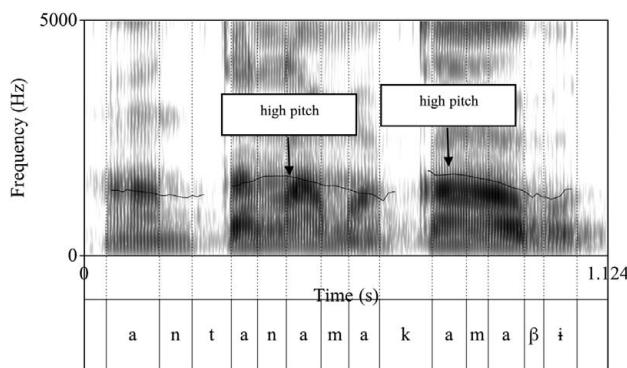


Figure 44. Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of '*antana=nama=kama=bë* ‘scorpion=PL=COM’

3.3.1.2 Finite words

Finite words (i.e. predicates) obligatorily carry finite morphology (if they are not in the imperative mood, in which case they exhibit a specific intonation contour that is discussed in §3.4.2.3). Therefore, in this section there is no need to distinguish between morphologically simple and morphologically complex words: with the exception of imperatives, predicates are always morphologically complex. The morphological possibilities of predicates are extensive, and they can be significantly longer than non-finite forms by means of the combination of various derivational and inflectional forms. Morphological complexity produces interesting prosodic effects and thus in order to understand the prosody in finite words it is important to go from simpler to more complex words. Due to its complexity, the prosody of Kakataibo predicates (particularly of those with a complex morphological and syllabic structure) still requires more research.

Let us begin with the study of Kakataibo predicates with a relatively simple morphological structure, comprising inflectional markers and very little derivational morphology. In these words, we basically find a single prosodic unit with a single stress, which is assigned according to the patterns presented in Table 27. Two examples are presented in (155). In (155a), we find the suffixes *-akë* ‘remote past’, *-x* ‘3 person subject’ and *-a* ‘non-proximal to the addressee’. In turn, in (155b) we find the markers *-i* ‘imperfective’ and *-a* ‘non-proximal to the addressee’.

- (155) a. *pi-akë-x-a* ‘eat-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX’ (pi.a)(kë.xa)
 b. *abat-i-a* ‘run-IPFV-NON.PROX’ (a.ba)(tí.a)

Figure 45 shows the spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of *abat-i-a* ‘run-IPFV-NON.PROX’. Very similar results will be found for *pi-akë-x-a* ‘eat-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX’.²⁷

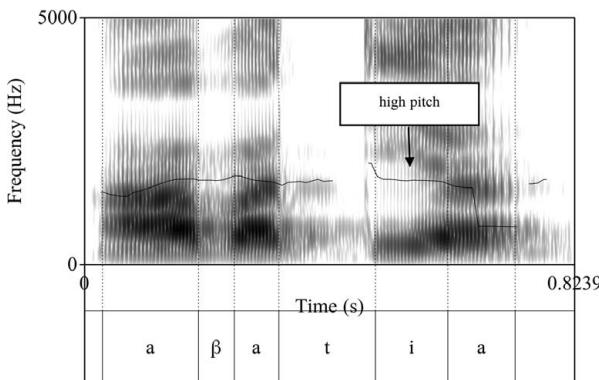


Figure 45. Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of *abat-i-a* ‘run-IPFV-NON.PROX’

The examples in (155) do not exhibit any derivational marker and show a straightforward prosodic behavior that perfectly fits the patterns postulated so far. A similar situation is found for words that in addition to their obligatory inflectional forms exhibit some derivational morphology. Let us see the examples in (156a–b), where we find the associated motion suffix *-bëtsin* ‘coming, transitive’ attached to a monosyllabic and to

²⁷ One interesting fact that deserves attention is that there seem to be some differences in how the high pitch associated with stress is implemented in non-finite and finite words. As is clear from Figure 45, the stress on the third syllable is manifested as the maintenance of the initial high pitch before it, then suddenly falls on the last syllable. In many finite examples the stress is usually found on the rightmost syllable before the pitch drastically falls. This seems to be different from the examples of non-finite words presented in §3.3.1.1, where the stress is associated with a more salient pitch peak.

a disyllabic root. The resulting prosodic structures perfectly match the patterns that have been listed in Table 27.

- (156) a. *a-bëtsin-i-a* ‘do-coming-IPFV-NON.PROX’ (a.bë)(tsí.ni)a
 b. *pani-bëtsin-i-a* ‘hung-coming-IPFV-NON.PROX’ (pa.ni)(bë.tsi)(ní.a)

Figures 46 and 47 present spectrograms and pitch tracks taken from framed tokens of the words in (156). They clearly confirm the patterns described here.

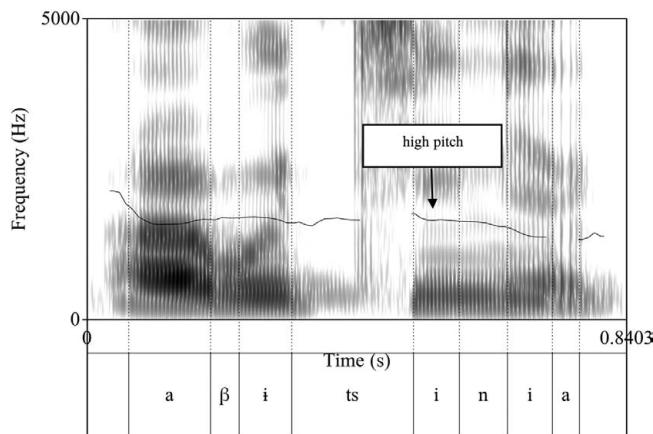


Figure 46. Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of *a-bëtsin-i-a* ‘do-coming-IPFV-NON.PROX’

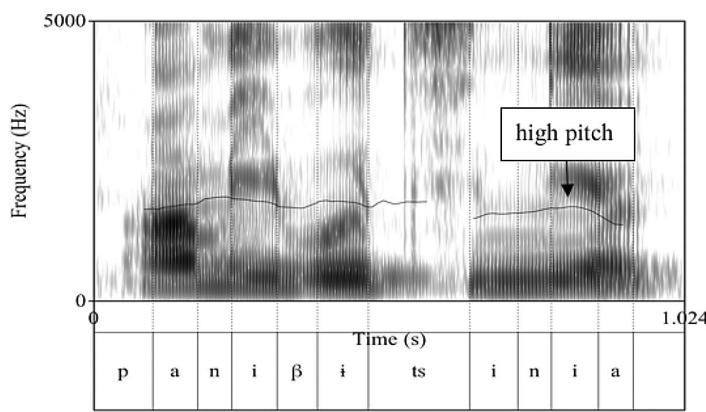


Figure 47. Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of *pani-bëtsin-i-a* ‘hung-coming-IPFV-NON.PROX’

When we look at finite words with a more complex morphological structure, we encounter significant inter- and intra-speaker variation regarding where the high pitch of the word is positioned. Some pronunciations suggest that complex words constitute a single prosodic domain with a single high pitch on the head of the leftmost foot. In these pronunciations we often also find traces of a high pitch in one of the syllables of the leftmost foot (often the leftmost syllable, but not always). On the contrary, speakers also tend to divide morphologically complex finite words into two or more prosodic domains. The problem is that the behavior of structurally complex predicates does not seem to be systematic, as illustrated by the examples in (157). The prosody of Kakataibo predicates with complex morphological structures still requires more research.

- (157) a. *pi-tëkën-pun-i-a*
 ‘eat-again-PST.hours-IPFV-NON.PROX’
 ‘(s)he was eating again a few hours ago’
 (pí:i)//(të.këñ)(pú.ni)a or (pi.të)(këñ.pu)(ní.a)
- b. *'a-bëtsin-tëkën-i-a*
 do-coming.TRAN-again-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘(s)he is binding up her/him self while going’
 (a.bë)(tsin.të)(ké.ni)a or (ábë)tsin//(të.kë)(ní.a)

One additional complexity of the prosody of Kakataibo predicates is that a number of verbal suffixes (mostly CVC) show a particular behavior when they appear in an odd position within the word: they surface with a long vowel and create their own metrical foot. As far as I know, this only happens on predicates with quite a large number of syllables and never on words with four or less syllables. A similar situation was described for the first time by Lariaut (1948) in relation to Shipibo-Konibo. Lariaut used the term “alternate mora timing” to refer to this mechanism. In my data, this process is found with the suffixes *-kin* ‘associative’, *-xun* ‘benefactive’, *-anan* ‘malfactive’ (which also drops its initial vowel), *-pa(t)* ‘downwards, transitive’ and *-bu(t)* ‘downwards, intransitive’. Thus, these suffixes surface as *-kiin*, *-xuun*, *-naan*, *-paa(t)*, and *-buu(t)*, in such contexts. It may be the case that this process applies over a larger number of morphemes and the list presented here is not necessarily exhaustive. One example including the suffix *-kin* ‘associative’ follows:

- (158) *banakinkasakëxa*
 bana-kin-kas-akë-x-a
 speak-ASSOC-DES-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘(s)he wanted to talk with somebody else a long time ago’
 (.ba.na)(.ki:n)(.ka.sa)('ké.xa)
 *(.ba.na)(.kin.ka)(sá.kë)xa

As can be seen, the position of the high tone could not be predicted if we do not analyze the suffix *-kin* ‘associative’ as creating its own foot. It is interesting to note that the lengthening occurs when the suffix appears in an odd position. An integrated approach to this phenomenon and to the contextual nature of weight in association with closed syllables (which are heavy only in even positions) is still required and might be of interest not only for Pano scholars, but also for researchers interested in prosodic systems from a typological point of view.

3.3.1.3 Minimal phonological word

So far, I have described the prosodic properties of disyllabic and longer words, but nothing has been said yet about monosyllabic words. The reason for this is that monosyllabic words require the previous background presented in §3.3.1.1 in order to be appropriately understood. The main issue in relation to monosyllabic words is that there is a minimal phonological word requirement in Kakataibo, according to which monosyllabic words undergo vowel lengthening in order to be used in discourse.

The length of long vowels in Kakataibo is about 0.20 or 0.25 s. This lengthening is phonetically similar to the one found in Shipibo-Konibo (Elías-Ulloa, p.c.) and is to some extent kept when those words appear in combination with suffixes that add one or more syllables to the word. For instance, the vowel of the word *bi* ‘mosquito’ lasts in my data between 0.21 and 0.23 s. in isolation and between 0.17 and 0.19 s. when it is followed by the comitative enclitic *=bëtan*. Even though there is some reduction in the duration of the vowel in the latter context, 0.17–0.19 s. is still relatively long upon comparison with the length of other vowels in the language.

The interesting point is that the data that I will present in this subsection suggest that the lengthening of monosyllabic words is counted as two syllables, i.e. as one well-formed foot. Let us begin with the examples presented in (159), which surface with a long vowel and a falling pitch (and not with a high-level pitch).

- (159) a. *bi* ‘mosquito; *Culicidus* species’ [β̄i:]
 b. *ba* ‘egg, larva’ [β̄â:]
 c. *bu* ‘hair’ [β̄ū:]

This falling pitch can easily be predicted by the metrical system proposed in this chapter if we assume that this system treats the lengthened vowel as two syllables. Since the portion treated as the second syllable is open, the high pitch falls on the first one (i.e. the first part of the long vowel). This prosodic pattern is illustrated in (160) for the words introduced in (159):

- (160) a. *bi* ‘mosquito; *Culicidus* species’ [β̄i:] ('bí.i)
 b. *ba* ‘egg, larva’ [β̄â:] ('bá.a)
 c. *bu* ‘hair’ [β̄ū:] ('bú.u)

When words of this type are modified by a suffix or an enclitic that does not add a syllable, the same lengthening is observed, but with a rising instead of a falling pitch. The marker *=n*, for instance, does not add a syllable to the monosyllabic words illustrated and, therefore, they remain underlyingly monosyllabic. The metrical system counts the long vowel as two syllables and, since the second one is closed due to the presence of the suffix, it attracts the high pitch (see §3.3.1.4 for a similar argument regarding words like [?*ȳ*:] ‘tapir; *Tapirus terrestris*’, [*nȳ*:] ‘saki monkey; *Pitheca monacus*’ and [*tȳ*:] ‘palm; *Dictyocaryum ptarianum*’). This is illustrated in (161).

- (161) a. *bi=n* ‘mosquito=ERG’ [?*ȳ*:n] (‘*bi.ȳn*’)
 b. *ba=n* ‘egg, larva=ERG’ [?*ȳ*:n] (‘*ba.ȳn*’)
 c. *bu=n* ‘hair=INST’ [?*ȳ*:n] (‘*bu.ȳn*’)

It is possible to argue that the Kakataibo minimal phonological word requirement is based on two syllables and not on two moras (differently from other Pano languages, such as Shipibo-Konibo; see Valenzuela 2003b: 106). In Kakataibo, an underlyingly monosyllabic word will surface with a long vowel and this long vowel will be counted as two syllables for stress assignment purposes. If it has a coda, the high pitch associated with stress falls on the second portion of the vowel and this produces a phonetic rising pitch. If the monosyllabic word does not have a coda, the high tone falls on the first portion of the vowel and this produces a phonetic falling pitch.

3.3.1.4 More on the rising and falling pitches

Rising pitches in Kakataibo are perceptually very salient and are mostly found in monosyllabic words or on closed syllables containing an *o* or *e* in words with two or more syllables. They can even form minimal pairs with words that have identical segments but differ in having a falling pitch. The fact that falling and rising pitches can be distinctive in Kakataibo produces an interesting effect and, in a way, makes the language perceptually “more tonal” (in the sense that it is possible to hear not only high and low pitches, but also falling and rising ones). Rising pitches in Kakataibo have been identified by other scholars working on the language (see, for instance, Shell 1986: 11). In this section, I will show that the distinction between rising and falling pitches is a phonetic effect associated with the way in which monosyllabic words are treated by the prosodic system of the language and with the presence of underlying codas. Let us consider the minimal pairs in (162a–b) and the spectrograms and pitch tracks in Figures 48 and 49.

- (162) a. *nó* [?*ȳ*:] ‘saki monkey; *Pitheca monacus*’
no [?*ȳ*:] ‘foreigner, enemy’
 b. *tó* [*tȳ*:] ‘palm; *Dictyocaryum ptarianum*’
to [*tȳ*:] ‘arrow cane; *Gynerium sagittatum*’

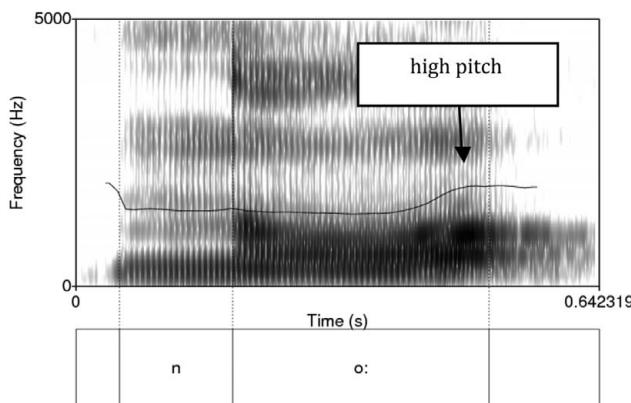


Figure 48. Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *nō* 'saki monkey'

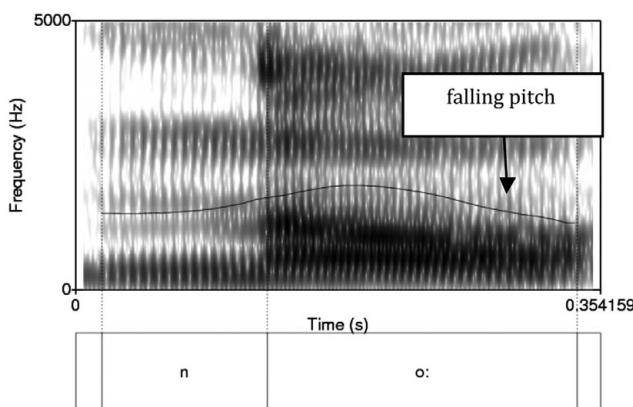


Figure 49. Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *no* 'foreigner, enemy'

As can be seen in Figures 48 and 49, the pitch tracks associated with these two otherwise identical words are different. However, this does not necessarily mean that we have a lexical difference in pitch, similar to what we would expect to find in prototypical tone languages (see Hyman 2006). As we have seen in §3.3.1.3, the vowel of monosyllabic words surfaces long and its length is counted as two syllables. If the syllable does not have a coda, the high tone will fall on the first portion of the vowel and will fall during the last portion of it. The result will be a falling tone, very similar to the one in (163). Thus, the metrical analysis is identical to that of the examples presented in (160).

- (163) *no* ('nō.o) [nŷ:] 'foreigner, enemy'
to ('tó.o) [tŷ:] 'plant; *Gynerium sagittatum*'

The examples with rising pitches are more complicated, since they seem to have the same phonological form, but a completely different prosodic pattern that at first glance does not seem to be predictable. However, I consider that the monosyllabic forms carrying a rising pitch can be analyzed as having a final consonant, as was the case with some disyllabic forms presented in §3.3.1.1. Thus, monosyllabic forms like *nó* and *tó* can be represented as follows:

- (164) *noC* ('no.óC) [n᷑:] ‘saki monkey; *Pitheca monacus*'
toC ('to.óC) [n᷑:] ‘palm; *Dictyocaryum ptarianum*'

These extra consonants are not proposed solely to facilitate the analysis, as there is phonetic evidence of their existence. As was the case with some disyllabic words, a final glottal stop can be heard in some realizations of these words (see the creakiness at the end of Figure 48). Furthermore, when words like the ones in (164) take the ergative marker =(*a*)*n*, they exhibit a root-final stop. When the ergative marker is added to those monosyllabic words, the rising pitch disappears; and this is one piece of evidence for arguing that these rising pitches are not lexical, but the result of the prosodic principles presented in this chapter. See Figure 50, where it can be seen that the *o* vowel carries a high level pitch.

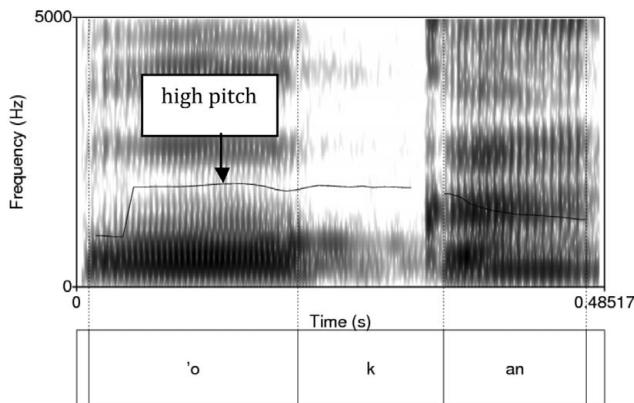


Figure 50. Spectrogram and pitch track of a framed token of 'ok-an' 'tapir=ERG'

The data presented here strongly suggest that the cases under discussion are equivalent to the disyllabic words presented in §3.3.1.1 and that rising pitches are the phonetic consequence of final consonants. There are no phonological rising or falling tones in Kakataibo.

3.3.1.5 The prosody of the suffix *-on ~ -an* ‘augmentative’

One of the most interesting Kakataibo suffixes in terms of its prosodic behavior is the nominal derivational suffix *-on* ‘augmentative’, which is attached to ethnobiological terms to refer to a variety of a species that differs from the prototype due to its physical or behavioral properties (see §6.3.1). The relevant issue regarding the prosodic behavior of this suffix is that it moves the high pitch of the word to the immediately preceding syllable (i.e. the last syllable of the base it is added to). See the following examples:

- (165) a. *kúni* > *kunión*
 ‘knifefish; *Gymnotus carapo*’ ‘electric eel; *Electrophorus eletricus*’
 b. *ínu* > *ínúan*
 ‘jaguar; *Pantera onca*’ ‘black jaguar; *Pantera onca* (black phase)’

The unusual prosodic behavior of this suffix finds its explanation in its diachronic origin. This suffix comes from the word *ëwa* ‘mother’ (which is still attested in other Pano languages, like Iskowana; see Zariquiey 2015c) in a genitive construction used to refer to a ethnobiological species or subtype assumed to be the ‘mother’ of another one. The idea that some plants and some animals have a ‘mother’ is still alive among the Kakataibo people (see Zariquiey and Fleck 2014).

- (166) a. *kunín ëwa* > *kunín wa* > *kuníwan* > *kunión*
 ‘knifefish’s mother’ ‘electric eel’
 b. *inún ëwa* > *inún wa* > *inúwan* > *inúan*
 ‘jaguar’s mother’ ‘black jaguar’

The phonological changes proposed in (166) explain the position of the high pitch and the allophonic alternation found in this suffix. First of all, the original genitive construction produces a second closed syllable in both examples, and this explains why the high pitch moves to the last syllable of the disyllabic words. In turn, the phonological reduction of the form *ëwa* ‘mother’ into something similar to *wa* produced the changes *wa* > *o* and *uw* > *u* (in the case of the bases ending in *u*), which led to a reanalysis of the forms as carrying a suffix *-on ~ -an*, after metathesis of *n* has applied. Postulating a suffix *-on ~ -an* is the synchronically most appropriate analysis of the words discussed in this subsection. This diachronic path explains why this suffix exhibits this unique prosodic behavior in the language.

3.3.1.6 Prosodic effects of vowel assimilation and similar morphophonemic processes

In this section, I briefly explore the behavior of the prosodic system described so far in cases in which a word has readapted its syllabic structure due to morphophonemic processes, like the ones described in §2.7. The main question behind the discussion

presented in this section is whether V_iV_i -sequences and V_iV_j -sequences in morphophonemic boundaries, which surface as [V_i] and [V_iV_j ~ V_iV_j], respectively, are counted as one or two syllables by the prosodic patterns of the language. Discussion of $V_iV_i\#$ -sequences and $V_iV_j\#$ -sequences (which surface as ŪŪn#) is also included in this section.

3.3.1.6.1 Case 1: (C)V_iV_i(CV)

Let us take the word *ka-a-x-a* ‘say:TRAN-PFV-3-NON.PROX’ as an example. The first relevant fact is that this word surfaces phonetically as [kaşa] (i.e. with no obvious traces of the sequence *a-a*, which is revealed by the segmentation above). Therefore, the question would be whether the prosodic patterns illustrated in this chapter treats this word as ('ká.a)xa or as ('ká.xa). Each of the proposed prosodic structures would correspond to a different pronunciation. The former structure would correspond to [kâ:şa], while the latter would correspond to [ká:şa] (and the initial vowel of the former phonetic representation would be expected to be longer than the initial vowel of the latter one). Interestingly, this word is systematically pronounced as [ká:şa] and not [kâ:şa], so it is possible to claim that the form *ka-a-x-a* is prosodically interpreted as ('ká.xa). Therefore, in prosodic terms, the morphophonemic process $V_iV_i > V_i$ constitutes an example of complete fusion. Similar examples are presented below.

- (167) a. 'a-a-x-a 'do-PFV-3-NON.PROX' ('á.xa)
 b. ni-i-a 'throw-IPFV-NON.PROX' ('ní.a)

3.3.1.6.2 Case 2: (C)V_iV_j(CV)

The opposite situation is found in cases with different vowels. Let us consider the word *pi-akë-x-a* ‘eat-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX’. In this case, the syllable with the primary stress is *kë*, which carries the high pitch. Thus, the metrical representation of this word must be: (*pi.a*)*(ké.xa)*. The unstressed *a* surfaces as non-syllabic [ã], but it is phonologically treated as a syllable by the prosodic system of the language, since the structure ('piã.kë)xa would correspond to a totally different pronunciation. Sequences of different vowels are treated as different syllables regardless of the non-syllabic realization of one of them.

3.3.1.6.3 Case 3: (C)V_iV_jnCV

Let us consider the word *kwan-a-x-a* ‘go-PFV-3-NON.PROX’, which surfaces as [kwá:nşa] and let us formulate the same question as in §3.3.1.6.1. Notice that, in the case of this example, in addition to the morphophonemic change $V_iV_i > V_i$, we also find metathesis of *n* (§2.7.1.4), since there is a nasal between the two vowels in the phonological form. Again, there are two possible prosodic results, ('kwán.a)(xa) and ('kwán.xa), and all the phonetic evidence points towards the latter prosodic structure, ('kwán.xa), since

we do not find a falling pitch or an extra long first *a*. We simply find [kʷá:nṣa] and this realization exactly corresponds to what is found in disyllabic words. Therefore, as in §3.3.1.6.1, in this case we find a complete fusion. See the examples in (168a–b). Similar examples are listed above in (167a–b).

- (168) a. *tan-a-x-a* ‘probar-PFV-3-NO.PROX’ ('tán.xa)
 b. *pi-kan-a-x-a* ‘eat-PLR-PFV-3-NO.PROX’ ('pi.kán)xa

3.3.1.6.4 Case 4: (C)V_iV_n(CV)

The final type of example to be discussed here is similar to the one presented in §3.3.1.6.3, but in this case the metathesis of *n* (§2.7.1.4) involves distinct vowels. Let us take the following examples: *in-a-n* ‘cry-PFV-1/2’ and *pi-kin-a-x-a* ‘eat-ASSOC-PFV-3-NON.PROX’. The former example surfaces as [i:án] and the latter as [pikjá:nkiṣa]. Thus, in the former example we do not find glide formation, which can be explained by the fact that, because of its position, the first *i* of the word carries the lengthening. However, it does not carry the high tone: since metathesis of *n* has occurred, the second syllable is closed and it attracts the high tone of the word. Therefore, the prosodic structure for that word should be: ('i.án) and each vowel projects its own syllable. The second example is perhaps more interesting: the phonetic structure [pikjá:nkiṣa] reveals glidization (see §2.7.1.1) of the *i* vowel that appears immediately before the *a* vowel that carries the stress and the high tone of the word. Therefore, the prosodic representation of this form should be (*pi.ki*(á:n.*ké*)xa and not (*pi.kian*)(*ké..xa*) and, again, regardless of any kind of glidization, each vowel in this example should be analyzed as projecting its own syllable.

3.3.2 Lexical high tone

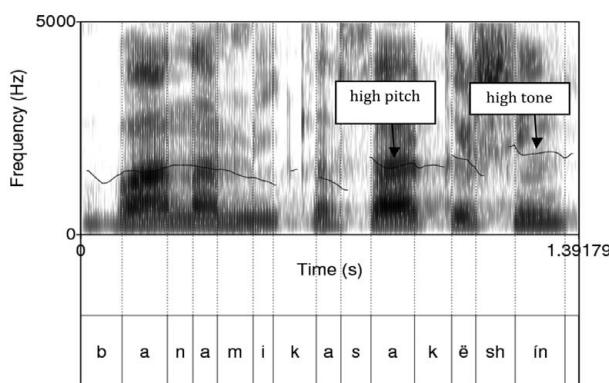
There are a few bound morphemes that appear to be lexically marked for high tone. The most salient observation is that, since they are final elements that can be added to stems with two or more syllables, and since high pitches associated with stress do not appear on the final syllable of trisyllabic or longer words, their high tone cannot be explained by the prosodic rules proposed so far and thus needs to be analyzed as lexical. Regardless of the metrical structure of the word and the position of the stress, these bound morphemes will always appear with a high tone. Table 28 lists the bound morphemes that follow this pattern.

Table 28. Kakataibo bound morphemes that appear with a high tone

Bound morpheme	Distribution	Meaning
-rá	non-finite elements	'diminutive'
-kupí	non-finite elements	'reason'
-katsá	finite elements	'desiderative nominalizer'
-ín	finite elements	'proximal to the addressee'
-mín	finite elements	'complaining negator.3'
-mán	finite elements	'complaining negator.1/2'
-ié	finite elements	'accusatory.non-proximal to the addressee'
=méné	second-position enclitic	'mirative'
=péné	second-position enclitic	'mirative.non-proximal to the addressee'
=kín	second-position enclitic (?)	'exclamatory 1'
=kán	second-position enclitic (?)	'exclamatory 2'

The presence of a lexical tone on a word does not override the appearance of a metrically assigned high pitch. Therefore, stress and tone can co-exist on the same word. This is shown in the following example, where the suffix *-ín* 'proximal to the addressee' is illustrated. It is true that the high tone on this suffix is the highest of the word *bana-mi-kas-akë-x-ín* 'as you know, (s)he wanted to make somebody else speak a long time ago', but it is also true that there is a significant rise of the pitch on the syllable *sa*, which carries the stress.

- (169) *banamikasakëshín*
bana-mi-kas-akë-x-ín
 speak-CAUS-DES-REM.PST-3-PROX
 'As you know, (s)he wanted to make somebody else speak a long time ago'
 (ba.na)(mi.ka)(sá.kë)x[J]ín

**Figure 51.** Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *bana-mi-kas-akë-x-ín* 'speak-CAUS-DES-REM.PST-3-PROX'

The existence of suffixes like *-ín* ‘proximal to the addressee’ produces interesting effects, since we can find minimal pairs that appear to be distinguished only by pitch, as is usually the case in tone languages (this fact was also highlighted by Shell 1950: 200). The following examples illustrate one of those tonal minimal pairs. It can be seen that the two words have the same surface phonetic form and are differentiated only by the final pitch (*buankásín* and *buankásin*): in the first case, an additional final high pitch is associated with the lexical tone of the suffix *-ín*, and in the second, there is a final falling pitch.

- (170) *buankásín*
buan-kas-i-ín
take-DES-IPFV-PROX
‘(s)he wants to take (it) (and you can perceive or know it)’
(,bu.an)('ká.sí(:)n)

- (171) *buankasin*
buan-kas-i-n
take-DES-IPFV-1/2
‘I/you want to take it’
(,bu.an)('ká.sin)

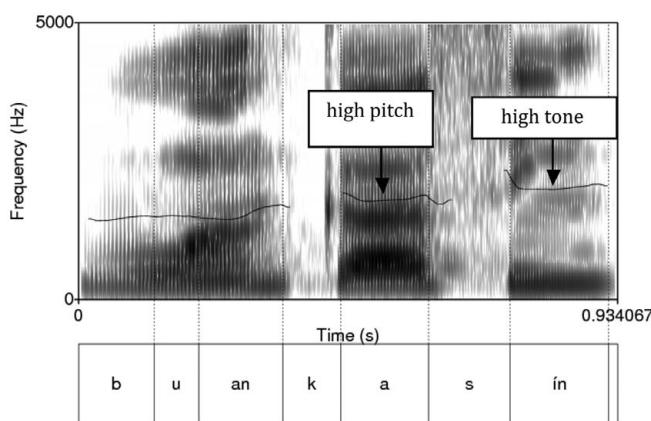


Figure 52. Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *buankásín* '(s)he wants to take (it) (and you can perceive or know it)'

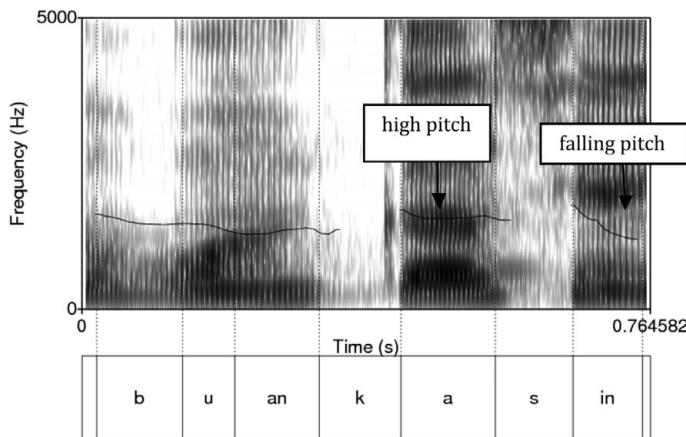


Figure 53. Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *buankasin* ‘I/you want to take (it)’

It is important to say that the high tone of *-ín* does not arise through an intonational or utterance-level prosodic principle. Figure 54 presents the same suffix in a clause-internal position, showing that the same high tone is found.

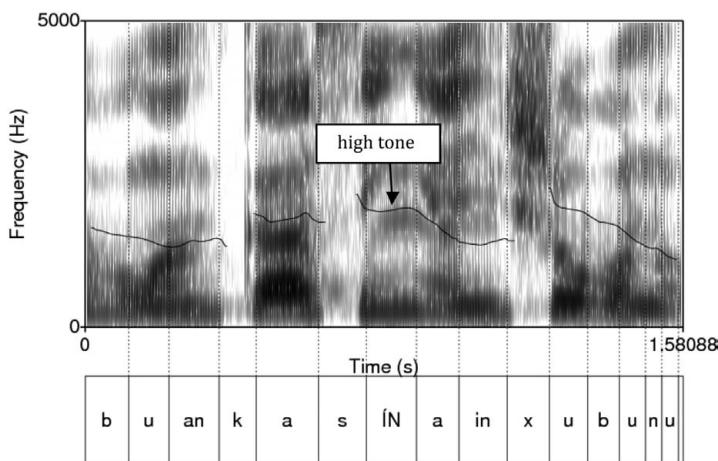


Figure 54. Spectrogram and pitch track of the fragment *buankasín ain xubunu* ‘(s)he wants to take (it) to her/his house (and you can perceive or know it)’

As indicated in Table 28, another morpheme with a similar behavior is the diminutive marker *-rá*, which always carries a high pitch regardless of the number of syllables in the stem it is attached to. However, we also find the form *ratsu*, which is also a diminutive and behaves as a prosodically independent word. The bound form *-rá* may

have developed from the independent form *ratsu* and this may explain its unusual prosodic behavior. Note that in the example in (172), the word ‘*uchítí* ‘dog’ has an exceptional second-position stress.

- (172) ‘*uchitirá*
 ‘*uchiti-rá*
 dog-DIM
 ‘small dog’
 (“u.chí)(ti.rá)

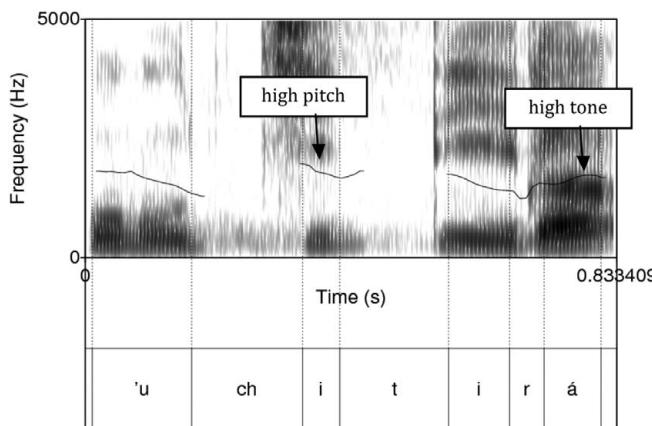


Figure 55. Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of ‘*uchiti-ra* ‘dog-diminutive’

3.3.3 Summary

In this section on word-prosody, I have argued that Kakataibo has a prosodic system that combines stress and tone. A tone feature has been previously proposed for Kakataibo (Shell 1950 and 1986) and for other Pano languages, including Amawaka (Russell and Russell 1959), Chakobo (Iggesen 2006), Marubo (Soares 2000; Soares et al. 1993) and Kapanawa (Safir 1979). Therefore, the topic is not completely new in the Pano literature. In the case of Kakataibo, however, a strictly lexical tone is only associated with a short list of bound morphemes that usually appear at the end of words.

Stress, manifested as a high pitch, operates according to a metrical rule that produces trochaic feet from left to right and places the stress on the head of the rightmost well-formed foot. The system, however, is weight-sensitive and if a closed syllable appears in an even position and is not the last syllable of the word, it attracts the stress.

Monosyllabic words undergo vowel lengthening and surface with extra-long vowels. Their lengthened vowel is counted as two syllables by the prosodic system just described. Based on this evidence, it is possible to propose the following definition of the phonological word in Kakataibo: “A phonological word in Kakataibo is a prosodic unit that has (at least) two syllables (i.e. one foot) and one stress.” One point that has been demonstrated here is that a single grammatical word can be composed of more than one phonological word. However, as argued in §3.4.1, two grammatical words may form a single phonological word in some specific phrasal configurations.

Through this grammar, the reader will find Kakataibo examples that illustrate different grammatical topics. In those examples, I do not mark stress if it is predictable according to the rules proposed here. Otherwise, stress is indicated by means of the symbol <‘>, which is also used for the lexical high tones found in some suffixes.

3.4 Notes on phrase-level and utterance-level prosody

3.4.1 A short note on the prosody of complex phrases

Complex phrases show an interesting prosodic behavior. The examples to be discussed in this section come from noun phrases (NPs), but exactly the same behavior is found in other types of phrases such as postpositional and adverbial phrases. In Kakataibo there is no evidence of the existence of complex constituents headed by a verb.

In NPs with two words, the behavior of stress is dependent on the number of syllables of the word at the right edge of the NP (i.e. the second word). If this word has up to two syllables, it does not exhibit an independent high pitch and the only high pitch in the whole phrase is the one found on the leftmost constituent. Consider the NP *uni ënë* ‘this man’, which includes two words, the noun *uni* ‘man’ and the demonstrative *ënë* ‘this’ in Figure 55. Only the first word of the phrase carries a high pitch.

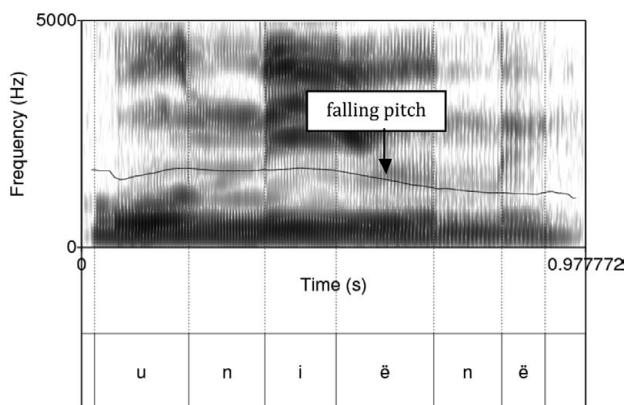


Figure 56. Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *uni ënë* ‘this man’

Figure 57 presents one pronunciation of the NP *chuna xaká* ‘spider monkey hide’. The word *xaká* produced in isolation carries a high pitch on the second syllable, because it has an underlying root-final consonant (*xakat*) like some of the examples discussed in §3.3.1.1. In the NP illustrated in Figure 57, again, the noun to the right does not carry its own high pitch.

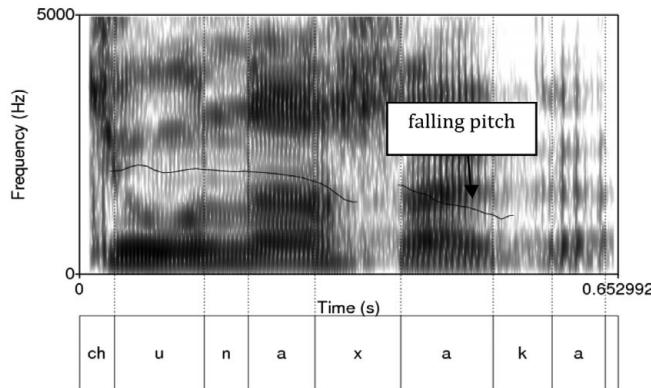


Figure 57. Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *chuna xaká* ‘spider monkey hide’

The examples presented so far in this section show that, in some contexts, disyllabic words may surface without a high pitch associated with stress. Monosyllabic words behave exactly like disyllabic ones with respect to this. However, a different situation is found if the word to the right of the NP has three or more syllables: in this context, each word will carry its own stress. This is shown in the following example, where we find one token of the NP ‘*inu banbuxu*’ ‘jaguar elbow’, which includes the nouns ‘*inu*’ ‘jaguar’ and ‘*banbuxu*’ ‘elbow’, and each shows a high tone.

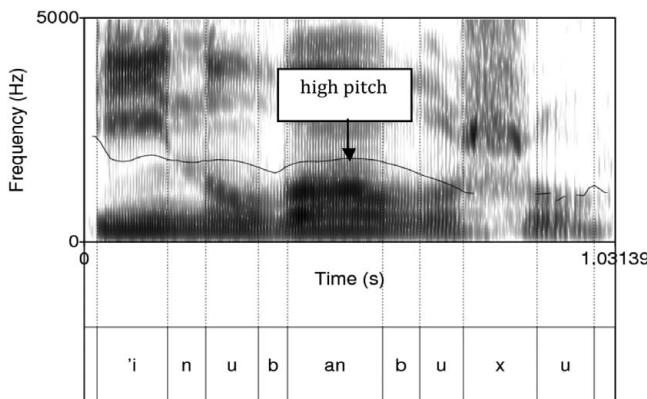


Figure 58. Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of ‘*inu banbuxu*’ ‘jaguar elbow’

The number of syllables of the first word in the NP does not seem to affect the prosodic behavior being described. As can be seen in the following spectrogram and pitch track for the NP ‘uchiti nami’ ‘dog meat’, *nami* ‘meat’ does not carry its own high pitch.

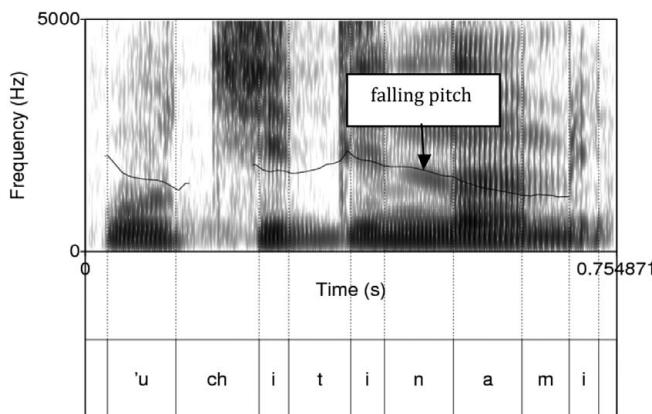


Figure 59. Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of ‘uchiti nami’ ‘dog meat’

One interesting observation is that what have been described so far exactly correspond to what has been described in §3.3.1.1.2 for morphologically complex non-finite words. Non-finite bound morphemes in Kakataibo exhibit exactly the same behavior as the rightmost word in a two-word phrase. This is an important finding that indicates that at least prosodically the difference between independent words and bound morphemes is not entirely clear-cut.

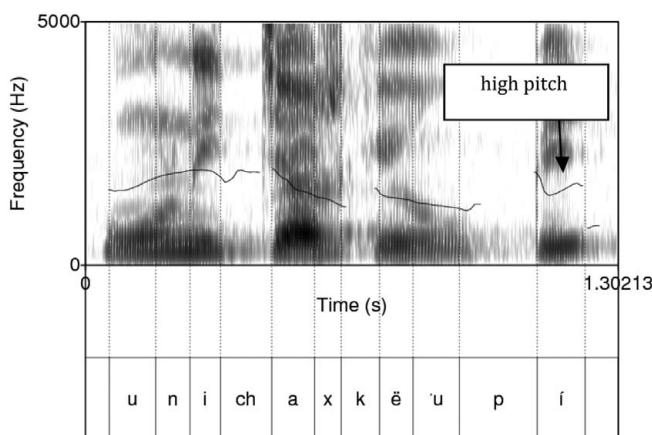


Figure 60. Spectrogram and pitch track of an isolated token of *uni chaxké upí* ‘beautiful tall man’

In the case of NPs with three words (NPs with more words are highly unusual), the first two behave exactly like the two words of the NPs discussed previously in this section. The third word, by contrast, continues to carry its own high pitch. Thus, the construction exhibits two high pitches, one on the leftmost word and the other in the rightmost one. This is shown in the spectrogram of the NP *uni chaxké 'upí* ‘beautiful tall man’ in Figure 60, which includes the words ‘*uni* ‘man’, *chaxké* ‘tall’ and ‘*upí* ‘beautiful’.

3.4.2 Sentence intonation contours

3.4.2.1 Declarative intonation contour

Declarative utterances show a falling pitch at the end (as can be seen in Figure 61). If there is no highlighted (see §16.3) or focused (see §16.2) constituent, the highest level of pitch of the utterance will be found on the second-position enclitics. If there is a focused or a highlighted element in the clause, the highest pitch of the complete utterance normally falls on it. Focused elements that express different types of information are post-verbal. Therefore, sentences with a focused element will end with an elevated pitch. Highlighted elements are marked by the presence of a resumptive third person pronoun *a*, which appears after the highlighted element and is preceded by a pause. This pronoun will carry a very high pitch, which is very likely to be the highest in the utterance.

Indicative utterances without focused elements end in a creaky vowel, which is not only low in pitch, but also low in loudness, as can also be seen in Figure 61. In some cases, this creakiness can make the vowel longer but remarkably low in intensity.

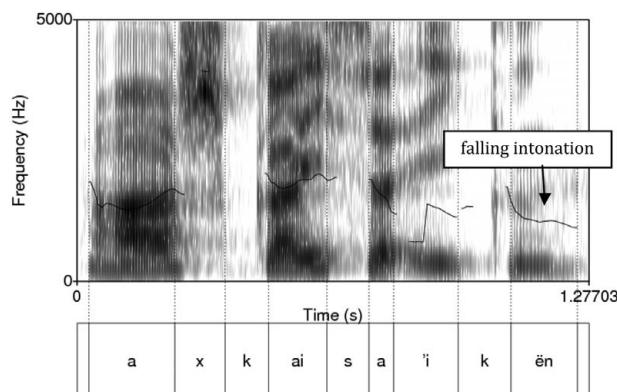


Figure 61. Spectrogram and pitch track of *ax kaisa ikën* ‘it is said that it is (like this)’

3.4.2.2 Interrogative intonation contour

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

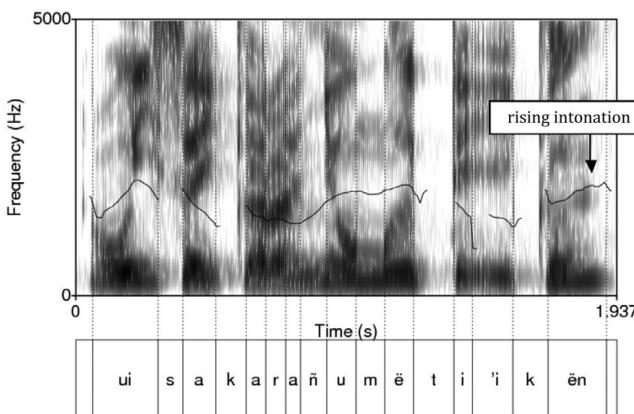


Figure 62. Spectrogram and pitch track of *uisai kara ñu mëti ikëñ?* ‘What will be the work?’

3.4.2.3 Imperative intonation contour

Similarly to interrogative utterances, imperatives always end in a high pitch. If the verb is monosyllabic, the imperative ends in a rising pitch. If there are more syllables after the highest pitch in the verb form, these syllables will normally show, more or less, the same pitch though the end of the utterance, producing a high-level pitch. This is different from interrogative utterances, where we systematically find rising pitches at the end. Another interesting difference between the two types of utterances is that imperatives may end in a glottal stop if the verb root does not end in a consonant. There is no creakiness in the preceding vowel. Figure 63 presents an example of an imperative form.

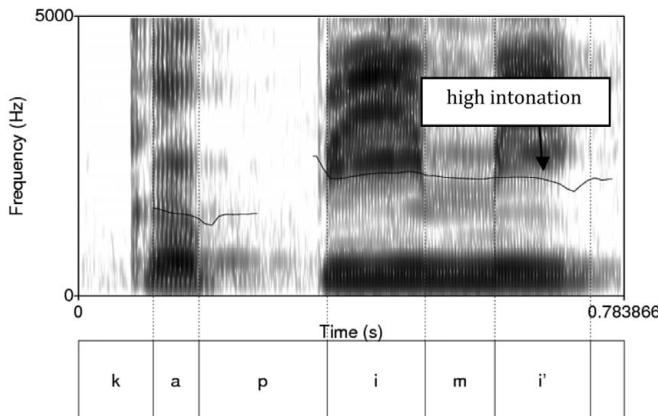


Figure 63. Spectrogram and pitch track of *ka pimi* ‘feed (somebody)!’

In addition, imperatives with the second-position enclitic *ri* ‘conversational’ (see §11.2) may show a nasalized contour, which is considered very impolite and aggressive. Nasalized *ri*-imperatives carry a final *n* and the previous vowels also surface nasalized. They indicate that the speaker is irritated, and they can even be interpreted as implicit threats, in which the speaker expresses that he or she may react aggressively if the addressee does not observe his or her order. It is important to note that I have heard children exhibiting a completely nasalized speech contour when they fight or have arguments with each other, and, in their case, every single vowel is nasalized. I have not heard adults speaking that way, but nasalized imperatives are common in both adults and children. Some examples of these nasalized imperatives are listed in (173).

- (173) *ri pīn* ‘eat!’
ri ūn ‘come!’

3.4.2.4 Vowel lengthening and high pitch in accusatory speech

A final interesting observation in relation to intonation contours has to do with some verbal forms that are used to express that someone is doing something inappropriate or bad (what I call ‘accusatory speech’; see §9.2.8.2). The verbs in accusatory speech show a particular final morpheme *iéé*, which has a long vowel and a high pitch that are kept even if the verb appears at the end of the utterance. See the example in (174):

- (174) *Juan kamēné min kuriki mëkamaiéé.*
- NCU* *NMod* *Aux:SCEN* *Aux:NIR*
- Juan ka=méné mi=n kuriki mëkama-iéé*
 Juan NAR:3=MIR 2SG=GEN money:ABS steal-3.accusatory
 ‘Juan is stealing your money!’

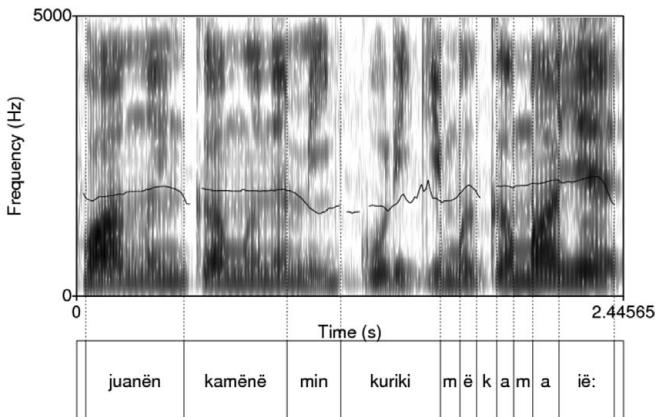
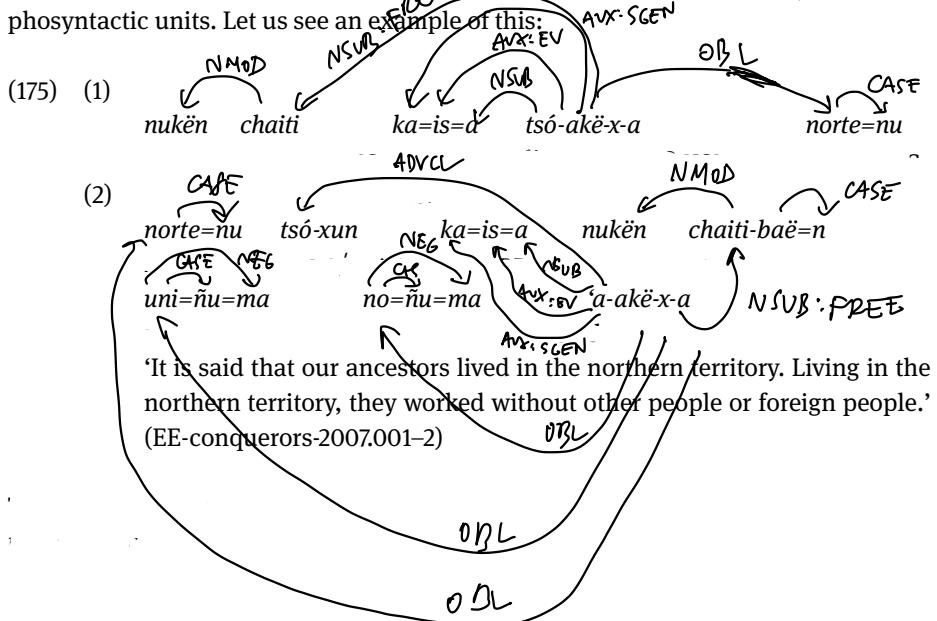


Figure 64. Spectrogram and pitch track of *Juanén kaménē min kuriki mēkamaié* 'Juan is stealing your money!'

3.4.3 Pauses in tail-head linkage structures

In most narratives, sentences very often begin with a partial repetition of the event described in the previous sentence. This repetition appears in the form of a switch-reference clause that tracks the participation of the referents throughout the narrative. The switch-reference clauses repeat the main verb of the previous sentence and represent prototypical cases of tail-head linkage structures (see §16.6). The interesting fact regarding intonation is that pauses between these different parts of the tail-head structures tend to demarcate prosodic units that do not correspond exactly to the morphosyntactic units. Let us see an example of this:



syntactic reality. Instead, the pauses are distributed as shown in (176), where # means ‘short pause’ and ## means ‘long pause’.

- (176) (1) *nukën chaiti kaisa tsóakëxa ## nortenu # (2) nortenu tsóxun kaisa ## nukën chaitibaën uniñuma noñuma* ‘ain

‘It is said that our ancestor lived... in the northern territory. Living in the northern territory... they worked without other people or foreign people.’

As shown in (176), their distribution suggests that pauses do not follow a morphosyntactic principle, but a discursive one, based on a distinction between new and old information (see more on information structure in §16.2). The locative form *nortenu* ‘in the northern territory’ constitutes new information and it is introduced in a post-verbal position. It surfaces after a long pause and with an elevated pitch, even though it is morphosyntactically related to the verb *tsóakexa* ‘live’. In addition, the switch-reference clause in (2) appears closer to the focused element in the previous sentence than to the rest of the sentence to which it belongs grammatically, and there is a long pause after the second-position enclitic *kaisa*, which in that context prosodically attaches to the switch-reference clause.

4 Introduction to morphology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a general morphological characterization of Kakataibo (§4.2). Then, it discusses the distinction among roots, stems and words (§4.3); between inflection and derivation (§4.4); and between suffixes and enclitics (§4.5). Finally, §4.6 presents the Kakataibo body-part prefixes.

In addition to the use of suffixes, enclitics and prefixes to express different inflectional and derivational categories, Kakataibo exhibits a number of less productive and less widespread morphological processes that are discussed and illustrated in other chapters. These include the use of high pitch to highlight arguments in discourse (§16.3); the existence of irregular paradigms and suppletive forms in personal pronouns and a few verbs (§5.1.1.1 and §9.4, respectively), reduplication (§5.1.3 and §9.3) and verbal periphrasis (§9.5). Furthermore, the language exhibits some unmarked categories (see, for instance, §6.7.1.3 for the unmarked absolute case, and §9.2.5 for the unmarked third person subject cross-reference in some verbal forms).

4.2 Morphological characterization

4.2.1 Morphological typology

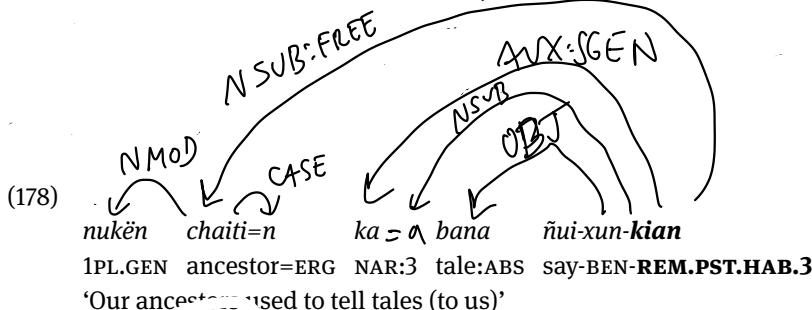
Kakataibo is a predominantly postpositional language in which almost all the grammatical categories and derivational processes are expressed by suffixes, enclitics or postpositions. The most salient exception to this postpositional tendency is a closed set of prefixes, mainly related to body parts, which generally express locative meanings. The diachronic process that gave rise to these prefixes in Kakataibo still requires more research (but see Zariquiey and Fleck 2012 for some preliminary discussion); similar prefixes seem to be attested in all the Pano languages for which data is available.

Kakataibo is predominantly agglutinative; that is, in most cases, if a word is composed of two or more morphemes, those morphemes are easily identified and segmented. This can be seen in the verbal form in (177).

- (177) *pitékëñkanin*
pi-tékëñ-kan-i-n
eat-again-PL-IPFV-1/2
'we are eating again'

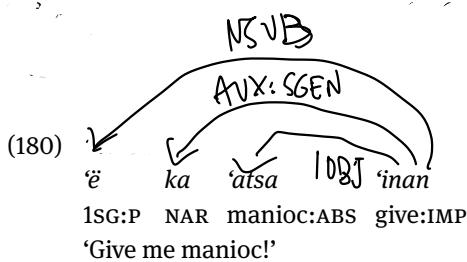
As in (177), in a good number of cases, there is in Kakataibo a one-to-one correspondence between forms and meanings. However, as described for other Pano languages

(e.g., Valenzuela 2003b: 140 for Shipibo-Konibo; and Fleck 2003: 204 for Matses), Kakataibo has other forms that are more distant from the agglutinative prototype. Some suffixes are *portmanteau* morphemes; that is, forms that express more than one meaning simultaneously, as is common in fusional languages. Among these are the suffixes that encode switch-reference, which also code temporal relations between the linked events (for example, whether they are simultaneous or not); and some inflectional verbal forms that combine subject cross-reference and TAM values (see



- (179)
- pi-mi(1)-bëtsin(2)-tëkën(3)-kan(4)-akë(5)-x(6)-a(7)
 eat-CAUS-coming-again-PL-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 'while coming, they made (someone) eat again a long time ago'

**ES UNA PALA
BRA**



Words of the complexity illustrated in (179) are not frequent in Kakataibo discourse but are perfectly grammatical and accepted by the speakers in elicitation sessions. This opens interesting questions about morphological complexity in Kakataibo. Some of these questions are briefly explored in §4.2.2.

4.2.2 Morphological complexity

Examples like the one in (179) give the impression that Kakataibo is a morphologically complex language, in which words may be composed by the combination of one root with multiple different bound morphemes. This, however, is true only with respect to potential complexity. Based on this contrast one could ask whether the label “complex” is appropriate for Kakataibo morphology or not. In this section, I explore this issue putting together various aspects that might be taken into account to answer such a question. As it turns out, however, defining morphological complexity is not an easy or obvious task, since it is a multi-dimensional phenomenon.

In this section, I do not attempt to propose any specific definition of morphological complexity. Rather, I only briefly discuss how Kakataibo morphology behaves in relation to the different criteria that might be taken into consideration in defining a “morphologically complex language”. These criteria include: the absolute number of bound morphemes available, the maximum number of potentially combinable morphemes in a single word, and the actual number of bound morphemes per word that occur in natural discourse.

The question about the morphological complexity of Kakataibo requires an initial clarification: morphological complexity may differ throughout different word classes. For instance, verbs and nouns, (or more precisely predicates and referential expressions, see §5.2), do not exhibit the same amount of morphological possibilities, and it turns out that verbal morphology includes a clearly larger class of derivative morphemes and a more numerous set of inflectional categories (optional and obligatory). Slight differences may be found regarding finite and non-finite verbal forms, but in this section I do not explore that distinction.

i. *Inventory of bound morphemes*

The count of all bound morphemes that can appear attached to a predicate is 125, and for nominal expressions the count is 58.²⁸ Based on these numbers, we could claim that verbal morphology is twice as complex as nominal morphology, regarding the absolute number of morphemes that can be combined with each lexical class.

²⁸ I have included in these numbers the 31 body-part prefixes presented in §4.6, which can appear on both verbs and nouns, and the 11 adverbial enclitics presented in §11.3, 7 of which can be found in both finite and non-finite expressions, and 4 are found only in the latter. If we would count only class-specific verbal and nominal morphology, the difference between these two lexical classes would become more prominent.

ii. Maximum number of bound morphemes per word

In §4.2.1, I have already mentioned that Kakataibo words, and particularly verbs, can potentially be very complex. In (179), it can be seen that a single verbal root, *pi* ‘eat’, is combined with seven different bound morphemes (three derivational and four inflectional). The result is unquestionably grammatical and easily accepted by Kakataibo speakers in elicitation sessions. If fact, if we include one morpheme per each verbal inflectional slot and each verbal derivational category proposed in this grammar, it turns out that the maximum number of bound morphemes per verb root in fully-inflected forms would be 15 suffixes/enclitics and 2 prefixes (although combinations of prefixes seem to be lexicalized and the maximum number of prefixes per word in the synchronic language is 1; see §4.6). This coincides with the large absolute number of verbal morphemes proposed in (i). Again, as in (i), the situation found in verbs reveals a higher degree of complexity than that found in nouns. For nouns the maximum number of bound morphemes per word can be estimated at 7 (including 3 derivational suffixes, the plural marker, a case marker, the distribute marker and one adverbial enclitic) and, again, 2 prefixes (with the same consideration presented before).²⁹

iii. Actual number of bound morphemes per word in natural discourse

Based of the criteria presented in (i) and (ii), we can conclude that Kakataibo morphology is certainly complex and that verbs in this language are on average twice as complex than nouns. However, the problem with the criteria presented so far is that they equally point towards the potential morphological complexity of Kakataibo words and not to the actual complexity found in the way in which speakers use their language. It turns out that when we look at the actual form of words in Kakataibo discourse, we find that they almost never get close to the maximum numbers of bound morphemes per word projected in (ii).

In what follows I briefly present the morpheme-per-word counts obtained from a total of 6700 lines of interlinearized text in Kakataibo by means of computational methods.³⁰ The results reveal a clear deviation from the potential values stimated in (ii). First of all, as shown in Table 29 and Figure 65, where the results for the distribution of bound morphemes in verbal forms are summarized, the average number of suffixes per verb (including both finite and non-finite) is 1.69, a saliently lower number when compared with the potential number of 15 morphemes proposed in (ii). Furthermore, the median is 1. This shows that, in natural texts, Kakataibo verbs

²⁹ It is important to note that some of the categories taken into consideration for these counts can be repeated in the same word; thus, for instance, two or more adverbial enclitics can appear in the same word in some contexts. I have not included this possibility in the estimates. I have not discussed reduplication in this section either.

³⁰ The counts were conducted by Harald Hammarström using an algorithm he developed. Independent counts for the number of bound morphemes combined with each root attested in the corpus were provided, as well as tables with average results. Here I present only the latter. A more detailed study of the patterns revealed by the independent counts is still required.

are not as complex as it would be expected based on the estimates presented in (ii). Notice that the maximum number of suffixes in a Kakataibo verb in the whole corpus is 5, which is not even half of the maximum proposed in (ii). A similar situation is found regarding prefixes: although we do find (a very few) instances of the maximum number of prefixes attested in the corpus, the average is very low (0.01) and the median of appearances of prefixes with verbs is 0. One important point is that non-imperative fully inflected verbs require at least two obligatory inflectional markers. Table 29 reveals that a significant number of verbal roots appear in non-finite expressions (i.e. nominalizations and switch-reference predicates), otherwise the average and the median would have been a bit higher.

Table 29. Number of suffixes/prefixes per verb (average, median, minimum and maximum)

Count	Prefixes	Suffixes
Tokens (average)	0.01	1.64
Tokens (median)	0	1
Tokens (minimum)	0	0
Tokens (maximum)	2	5

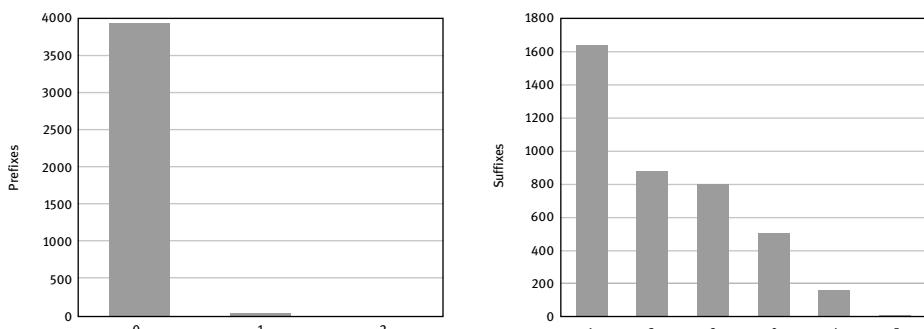


Figure 65. Number of prefixes (left) and number of suffixes (right) per verb³¹

Nouns exhibit similar patterns. As shown in Table 30 and Figure 66, the average number of suffixes they exhibit is 0.77 and this reiterates the pattern presented before: verbs are approximately twice as complex than nouns. However, this pattern becomes less clear if we look at median numbers: both nouns and verbs exhibit a median of 1. This means that for these two word classes the most common situation is that they are used with one suffix. This brings together the two classes and suggest that often they are used in constructions with the same degree of morphological complexity. Another

³¹ Note that the high amount of verbs without any morphological modification include imperative and irregular (non-segmentable) verbs, mainly copulas.

interesting point about the data is that the maximum number of suffixes on nouns is higher than the corresponding number on verbs: while in the latter the maximum of suffixes per word was 5, in the case of nouns, the maximum is 6. However, it only occurs once in the whole database (with the word ‘ibu ‘owner’).

Thus, to some extent it is possible to claim that the potential differences between verbs and nouns described in (i) and (ii) become less straightforward upon inspecting at actual texts: although the averages keep the same pattern according to which verbs are twice as morphologically complex as nouns, the median figures are equivalent and the maximum number of suffixes per word in the whole database was found with one noun. In fact, in terms of morphological complexity, verbs and nouns are used in a very similar fashion in Kakataibo texts.

Table 30. Number of suffixes/prefixes per noun (average, median, minimum and maximum)

Count	Prefixes	Suffixes
Tokens (average)	0.00	0.77
Tokens (media)	0	1
Tokens (minimum)	0	0
Tokens (maximum)	2	6

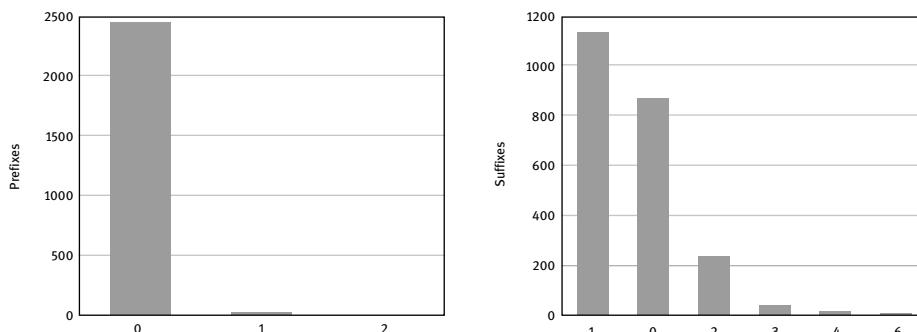


Figure 66. Number of prefixes (left) and number of suffixes (right) per noun

iv. Summary

In this section I have attempted to give an idea of the level of morphological complexity in Kakataibo with respect to three parameters: (i) the size of the inventory of bound morphemes; (ii) the maximum number of bound morphemes that can occur in a grammatically acceptable word; and (iii) the number of bound morphemes that actually occur in words in natural discourse. While Kakataibo scores very high for the first (125 and 58 bound morphemes for nouns and verbs, respectively) and the second parameter (up to 7 bound morphemes in elicited nouns and 17 potential slots for a verb), with respect to the third one Kakataibo is not very complex at all (averaging

1.64 and 0.77 bound morphemes per verb and noun, respectively, both with medians of 1 bound morpheme per word). Consequently, categorization of Kakataibo as a morphologically complex language depends on the definition of complexity that one chooses or on the relative weight that one assigns to these three parameters. Kakataibo is only potentially morphologically complex. In terms of how it is used, however, the language comes relatively close to the isolating ideal of one morpheme per word.

4.3 Roots, stems and words

As described in §3.3.1.3, phonologically a word in Kakataibo is a prosodic unit with at least two surface syllables and one stress. From a grammatical point of view, words in Kakataibo can easily be identified since they can be produced in isolation (without modifying or being modified by any other element) and since they exhibit relatively free positions within a clause. They are usually identifiable as independent units by the speakers and have a conventionalized meaning. In addition, words can be morphologically complex and, if this is the case, their morphological formatives appear together and form one single grammatical unit, although they may comprise more than one phonological word (see §3.3.1.1; see also Dixon and Aikhenvald 2003).

A root is generally understood as (1) a morphologically simple form that (2) contains a lexical meaning and (3) constitutes the nuclear part of a word. However, in some specific Kakataibo cases, these criteria are not sufficient. For example, the associated motion suffix *-bötsin* could be glossed as ‘coming’ (actually it comes from the verb ‘to come’) and, therefore, could be claimed to have lexical meaning. Thus, the notion of lexical meaning might be sometimes open to subjective judgements. I prefer another parameter to identify roots in Kakataibo: they can be used as stems on their own. A stem is understood as a root, or a combination of a root with one or more derivational morphemes, which is ready to receive inflection and undergo related processes.

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

In addition, it is also possible to find cases in which stems are used as **words**. Thus, for example, ‘*inan*’ can be used as a free form in the imperative mood: *ka ‘inan* ‘give (it to somebody)!’. Such a function is not allowed for bound elements such as *-bötsin* ‘coming’ (**ka bötsin*) and it is thus useful for distinguishing between free and bound forms. In (181) both ‘*inan* ‘give’ and *amiribishi* ‘again’ can be considered roots, stems and words at the same time:³²

³² The particular behavior of second-position enclitics like the register marker *ka* ‘narrative’ will be discussed in detail in Chapter 15.

- (181) *Amiribishi ka ‘inan!*

<i>amiribishi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>‘inan</i>
again	NAR	give:IMP
ROOT		ROOT
STEM		STEM
WORD		WORD

‘Give (it) again!’

However, it is not unusual to find roots combined with derivational forms that create morphologically complex stems. These complex stems, in turn, receive the appropriate inflectional forms depending on their function in order to be used as words (see the following section for the distinction between inflection and derivation). Compare example (181) with the following one:

- (182) *Amiribishi kana ‘inan-tökëni.*

<i>amiribishi</i>	<i>ka=na</i>	<i>‘inan</i>	<i>-tökëni</i>	<i>-i-n</i>
again	NAR=1SG	<u>give</u>	<u>-again</u>	-IPFV-1/2
ROOT		ROOT		
STEM			<u>STEM</u>	
WORD			WORD	

‘I will give (it) again.’

4.4 Inflection vs. derivation

A distinction between derivational and inflectional morphology is relevant for Kaka-taibo. Derivation, understood as the process of producing new stems from another root or stem (Matthews 1991: 38), seems to be exclusive to the forms defined in this chapter as suffixes (and also prefixes; see §4.4). On the other hand, inflectional categories, which create paradigms of morphological elements used “to ‘complete’ a word by marking its relations within larger structures” (Anderson 1985: 162) are shared by both suffixes (as in the case of verbal morphology; see Chapter 13) and enclitics (as in the case, for instance, of nominal morphology; see §4.5.2.1).

The distinction between inflection and derivation is more relevant in the case of nominal and verbal constituents, since adjectives and adverbs do not have rich morphological systems, and only have a few associated bound morphemes (see Chapters 7 and 9, respectively). The distinction between derivation and inflection within nominal morphology is more clear-cut than within verbal morphology, since nominal derivational markers are suffixes and nominal inflectional markers are enclitics (the derivational form *-rá* ‘diminutive’ is the only problematic form, since it could be analyzed as both a suffix and an enclitic; see §(314)).

The situation is more complex for verbal morphology, which has the largest morphological inventory in the language (see §4.2.2). While most morphological forms can be classified as either inflectional or derivational by means of a set of morphosyntactic criteria, verbal morphology presents a few forms that seem to be intermediate in terms of this distinction (see, particularly, §9.2.1).

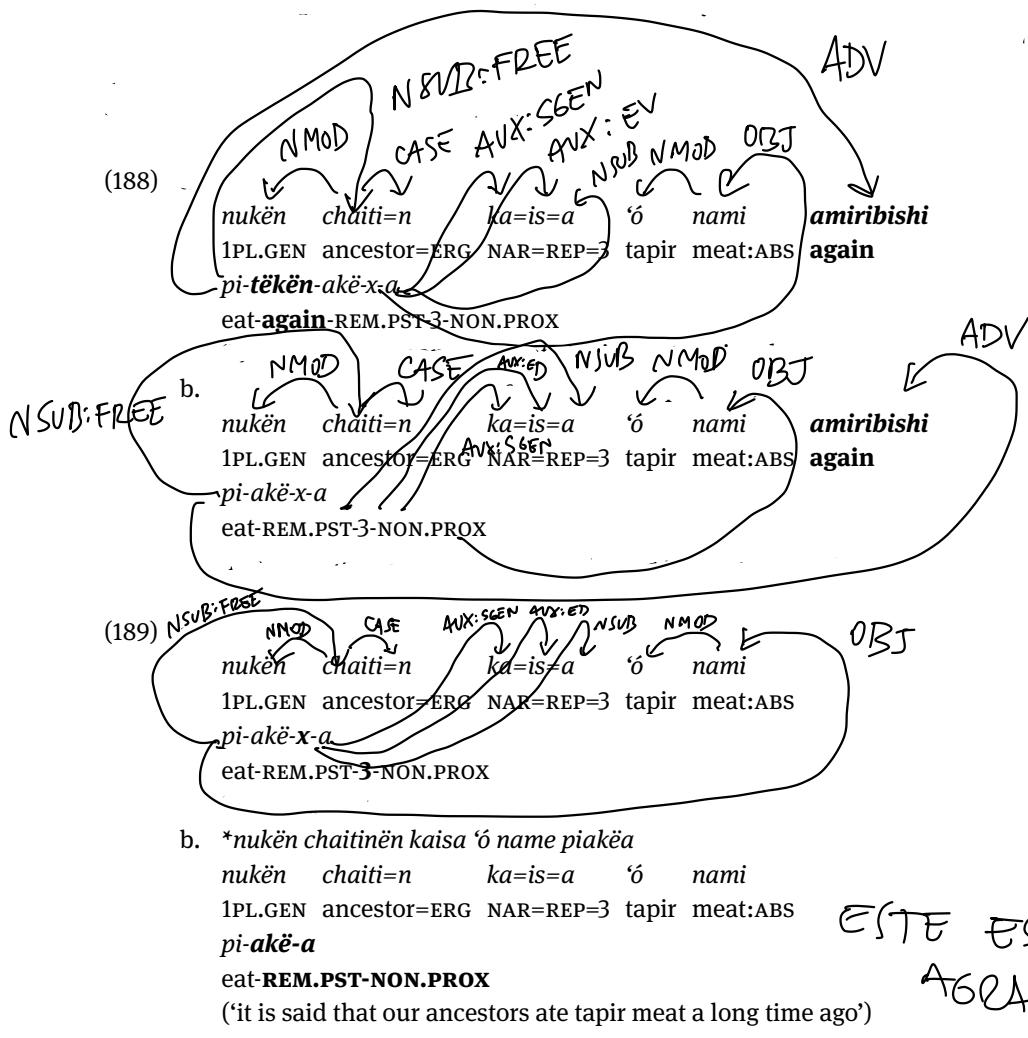
The existence of a few intermediate forms does not mean that the distinction between inflection and derivation is irrelevant. This distinction is useful and, for most cases, is reflected in a solid set of morphosyntactic criteria. In order to understand these criteria, let us compare the verbal suffixes *-tëkën* ‘again’ (derivational) and *-x* ‘third person’ (inflectional). In (183)–(185), it can be seen that the third person marker *-x* has a fixed position in the word and any combination different from (183) is considered ungrammatical:

- (183) *pimishibëtsintëkënkankëxa* *pi-mi-ishì-bëtsin-tëkën-kan-akë-x-a* *E_S UNA PALABRA*
 eat-CAUS-only-coming-again-PL-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘while coming, they only made (someone) eat again a long time ago.’
- (184) **pimishibëtsintëkënkaxakëa* *pi-mi-ishì-bëtsin-tëkën-kan-x-akë-a* *E_S UNA PALABRA*
 eat-CAUS-only-coming-again-PL-3-REM.PST-NON.PROX
 ‘while coming, they only made (someone) eat again a long time ago.’
- (185) **pimishibëtsintëkënkankëax* *pi-mi-ishì-bëtsin-tëkën-kan-akë-a-x* *E_S UNA PALABRA*
 eat-CAUS-only-coming-again-PL-REM.PST-NON.PROX-3
 ‘while coming, they only made (someone) eat again a long time ago.’

However, as shown in (186) and (187), the derivative suffix *-tëkën* ‘again’ appears in different positions, showing a freer distribution than the third person marker *-x* (note that a difference in the position of *-tëkën* ‘again’ usually implies a difference in its semantic scope and, therefore, in the meaning of the whole construction):

- (186) *pimitëkënkankëxa* *pi-mi-tëkën-kan-akë-x-a* *E_S UNA PALABRA*
 eat-CAUS-again-PL-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Again [they made him/her eat] a long time ago.’
- (187) *pitëkëmikankëxa* *pi-tëkën-mi-kan-akë-x-a* *E_S UNA PALABRA*
 eat-again-CAUS-PL-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘They made him/her [eat] again a long time ago.’

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



Thus, as shown in (188) the suffix *-tēkēn* ‘again’ is not obligatory and the presence of the adverbial form *amiribishi* ‘again’ does not require the suffix to be added to the

verb. In turn, the suffix *-x* ‘third person’ is certainly obligatory; that is, if there is a third person subject with a past predicate, this predicate must be marked with the suffix *-x* in order to be grammatical. There is an exact correlation between the principles presented up to this point: forms belonging to obligatory slots are also fixed in terms of their position and appear further from the root. Thus, as previously argued in this section, it is possible to claim that these three features identify a special class of suffixes: inflectional suffixes. However, there are some mismatches that should also be taken into consideration. As discussed in §9.2.1, the verbal leftmost inflectional slot is not obligatory and is more ‘derivational’ in that respect. Nevertheless, it is inflectional in relation to the two other criteria. The special behavior of this inflectional slot suggests that the boundary between these two categories is not completely clear-cut.

There is one additional criterion that can be used to establish a distinction between inflectional and derivational morphemes: inflectional morphemes in obligatory and positionally fixed paradigms are mutually exclusive. This property allows us to postulate inflectional slots. Derivational suffixes, by contrast, are not mutually exclusive and can only be divided into classes according to their semantics. Thus, while we cannot have the third person marker and the first/second person marker in the same verb, we can combine, for example, the ‘causative’ marker *-mi* and the ‘associative applicative’ marker *-kin*, even though they are both valence-increasing suffixes. This is shown in the examples (190) and (191), which also illustrate that these suffixes do not exhibit a fixed order in relation to each other. As expected of derivational forms, these suffixes have a less rigid distribution within the word.

- (190) *pikinmiakëxa*

*pi-**kin**-**mi**-akë-x-a*

eat-ASSO-CAUS-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

‘(S)he made them eat with other people a long time ago.’

PALABRA

- (191) *pimikiankëxa*

*pi-**mi**-**kin**-akë-x-a*

eat-CAUS-ASSO-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

‘(S)he helped them to make other people eat a long time ago.’

PALABRA

In addition, under some certain conditions, derivational forms can appear twice in the same word (which is impossible for inflectional suffixes):

- (192) *pitëkënmitëkëankëxa*

*pi-**tëkën**-**mi**-**tëkën**-akë-x-a*

eat-again-CAUS-again-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

‘Again (s)he made her/him eat again a long time ago.’

PALABRA

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

- (193) **pikiankëmixa*
pi-kin-aké-mi-x-a
 eat-ASSO-REM.PST-CAUS-3-NON.PROX
 ('(s)he made them eat with other people a long time ago')

Thus, we have a number of principles that help us to understand the distinction between derivational and inflectional forms in Kakataibo, and to classify different bound verbal morphemes as belonging to one class or to the other. This is particularly important in the case of verbal morphology, which is the richest morphological system in the language (at least in terms of the absolute number of implicated forms and the number of potential slots; see §4.2.2). These principles can be stipulated in the following terms.

(194) *Inflectional suffixes*

- Are distributionally fixed (they have a fixed position in the verb).
- Tend to be obligatory (at least one form belonging to the same paradigm must appear, but there are exceptions).
- Are mutually exclusive (no more than one form belonging to the same paradigm can appear in the same word).

(195) *Derivational suffixes*

- Are distributionally free (they can appear in more than one possible position, but never after inflectional markers).
- Are never obligatory.
- Do not form paradigms; that is, derivational suffixes with similar functions are not mutually exclusive (and can even appear twice in the same word).

In the case of nominal morphology, there is an additional criterion to distinguish between inflection and derivation: inflectional forms are enclitics and derivational ones are suffixes. An important note in relation to the criterion of obligatoriness presented above should be made: in some paradigms the absence of a marker has a specific meaning, and I thus consider such paradigms obligatory. This is the case, for example, of the subject cross-referencing system attested with the imperfective suffix *-i*. When the imperfective is present, there is a subject cross-reference distinction between: *-n* '1/2 person' and an unmarked '3 person'. The absence of marking in this paradigm does not mean that it is not obligatory, but that the unmarked form codes 'third person'. A person category is obligatory on the verb, but the third person is formally unmarked in the imperfective aspect.

4.5 Suffixes and enclitics

4.5.1 Suffixes

Suffixes in this grammar are bound morphemes that attach to the end of roots or stems. Cross-linguistically, suffixes (or affixes in general) operate over single words rather than over phrases. This is also the main criterion for distinguishing between suffixes and enclitics in this grammar. In addition, Kakataibo suffixes are normally added to one specific word class (one can talk about nominal or verbal suffixes, for instance). On the other hand, enclitics are in general (but not in all the cases; see §4.5.2.1) less sensitive to word-class distinctions and operate over phrases. The following chapters will list, describe and analyze in detail all the different types of suffixes related to each word class in the language, including detailed comments on the different allomorphic patterns found in association with some of them. The examples in (196) and (197) are provided as a general illustration of suffixation in Kakataibo.

- (196) *'akanania*
'a-kan-anan-i-a
do-PL-RECP-IPFV-NON.PROX
'They are fighting.'

- (197) *'abiantëkënia*
'a-bian-tëkën-i-a
do-going:TRAN-again-IPFV-NON.PROX
'(S)he does it while going, again.'

Bound morphemes added to the root *'a-* in words like those in (196) and (197) can be called *suffixes*, since (1) they have the verbal stem as their domain; and (2) they constitute strictly verbal morphology (but note that adjectives and nouns can also function as predicates without overt derivation, in which case, they can carry verbal morphology as well; see Chapter 5).

4.5.2 Enclitics

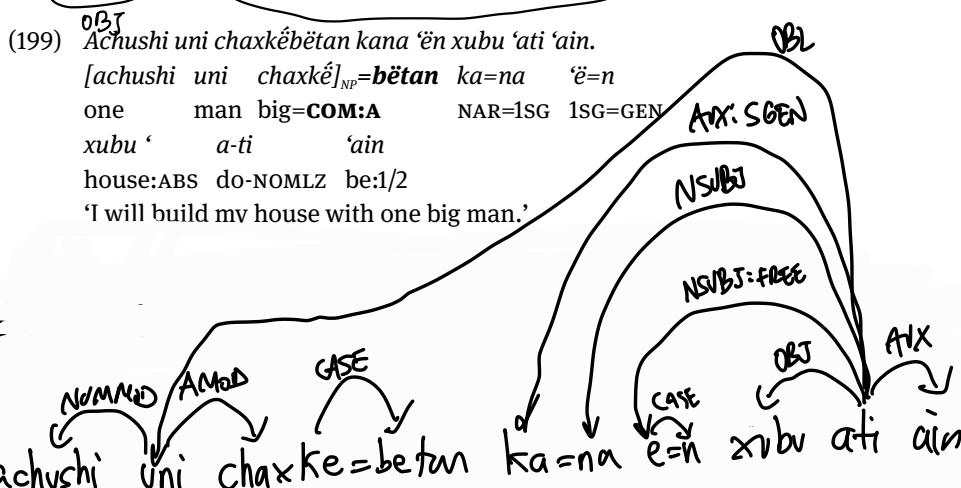
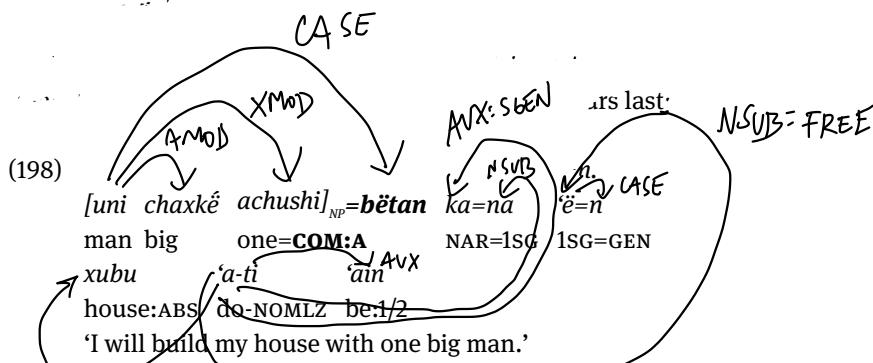
Different phonological, morphological and syntactic criteria have been used for defining clitics, and for distinguishing them from affixes, in the literature (see Anderson 1992: chapter 8; Aikhenvald 2002b; Zwicky 1977; Zwicky and Pullum 1983, Zwicky 1994, among others). In this grammar, I use the term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

be described in the following subsections. These different classes of enclitics mainly differ in terms of their word-like properties.

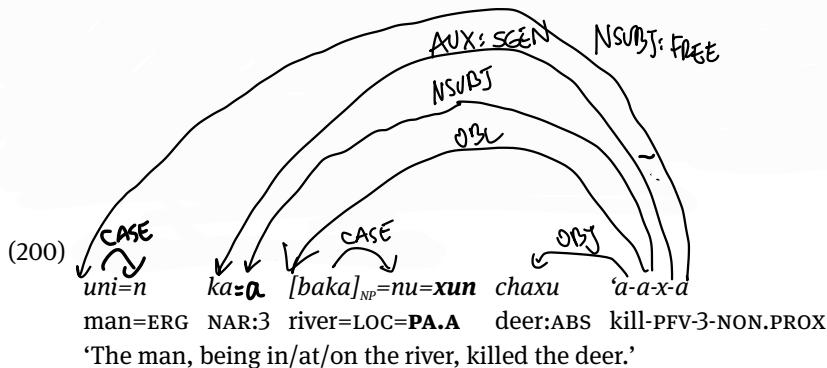
4.5.2.1 Inflectional enclitics

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

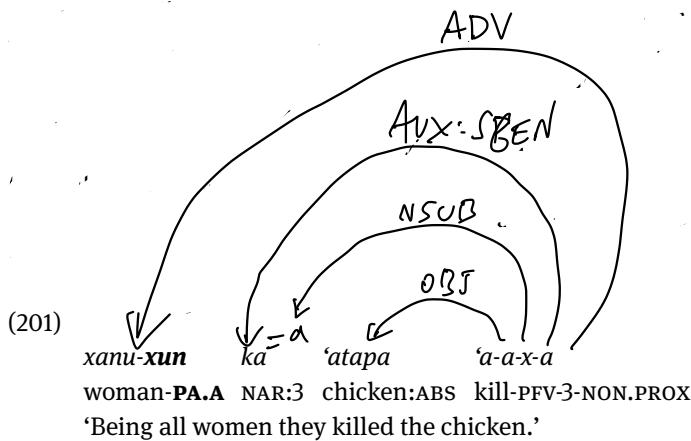
4.5.2.1.1 NP inflectional markers



33 Clitics “can attach to words of virtually any category” (Zwicky and Pullum 1983: 504).

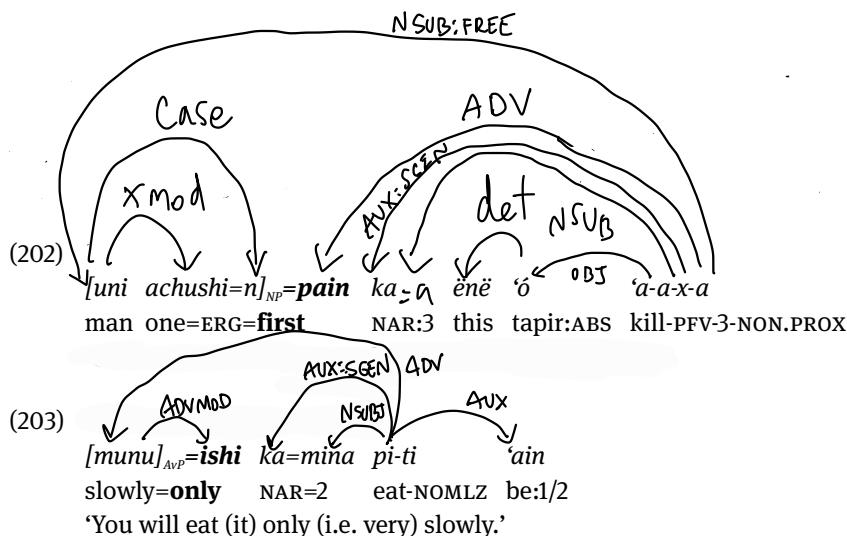


Participant agreement markers are grammatically bound and must appear attached to a host. As can be seen in the example above, this host is the phrase and, therefore, they are enclitics according to the definition presented here. In addition, participant agreement markers can attach to different classes of hosts and therefore are non-selective; this is also a typical property of enclitics.

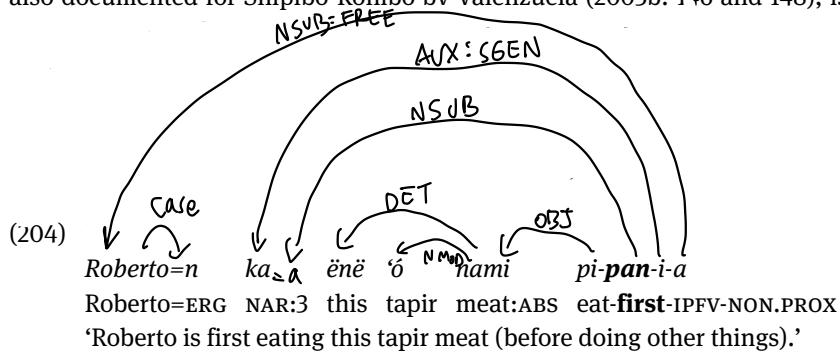


Based on examples like the one in (201), it is possible to claim that participant agreement markers are difficult to analyze either as inherent enclitics or as suffixes: their morphological nature needs to be defined according to the construction in which they appear: in most cases they appear as phrasal-level inflectional modifiers, but in others they act as word-level derivative markers.³⁴

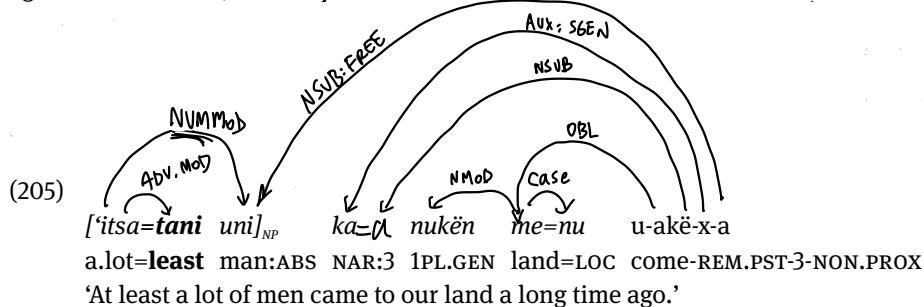
³⁴ In fact, this is also true for switch-reference markers (see §12.2) and some nominalizers (see §14.6), which can operate over single words and whole clauses, according to the construction where they appear. I analyze those two morphological paradigms as suffixal, but this is open to debate.

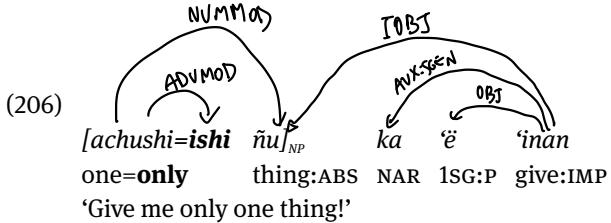


These morphemes behave like prototypical enclitics, according to the criteria proposed in this grammar; yet there are two facts that deserve attention. The first one, also documented for Shipibo-Konibo by Valenzuela (2003b: 146 and 148), is related



As can be seen, in (204) the morpheme =*pain* (which surfaces as =*pan* in the example) positionally behaves as a verbal suffix (very similar to a derivational marker, since it appears before the inflectional elements). Therefore, as in the case of the participant agreement enclitics, the morphological nature of adverbial enclitics is dependent on





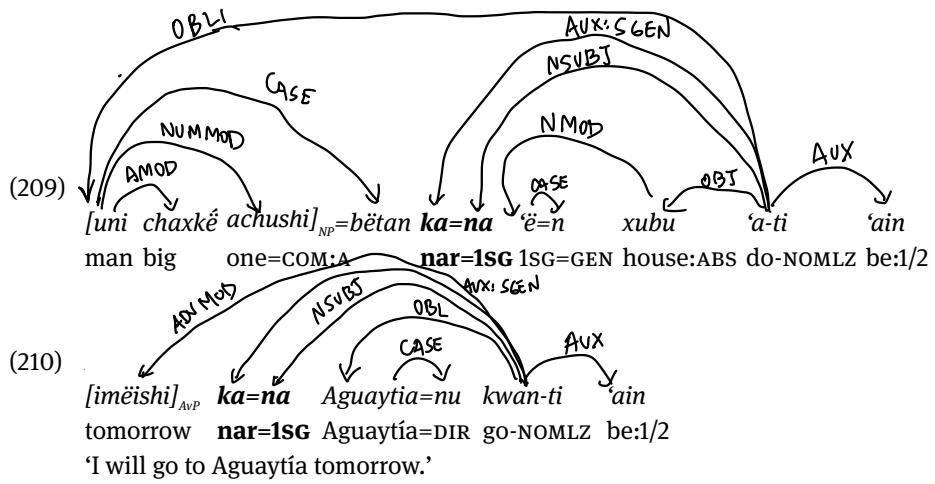
This behavior is only possible with numerals and quantifiers (and not with other word classes; see the following examples) and it is restricted to only a few adverbial enclitics (only those that are compatible with intensifying/restricting quantificational meanings). Thus, the enclitic *pain*, for example, cannot appear in this NP-internal position: *['itsapain uni] but ['itsa uni] pain 'a lot of men first'. The following examples show that the phrase internal position is not possible if the adverbial enclitic attaches to a noun (207) or to an adjective (208):

- (207) **unishi achushinën ka ënë ó 'axa*
 [*uni=ishi achushi=n*]_{NP} ka $\text{\'e}në$ \'o 'a-a-x-a
 man=only one=ERG NAR:3 this tapir:ABS kill-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ('only one man killed this tapir')
- (208) **kushishi unin ka ënë ó 'axa*
 [*kushi=ishi uni=n*]_{NP} ka $\text{\'e}në$ \'o 'a-a-x-a
 strong=only man=ERG NAR:3 this tapir:ABS kill-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ('the man who is only strong killed this tapir')

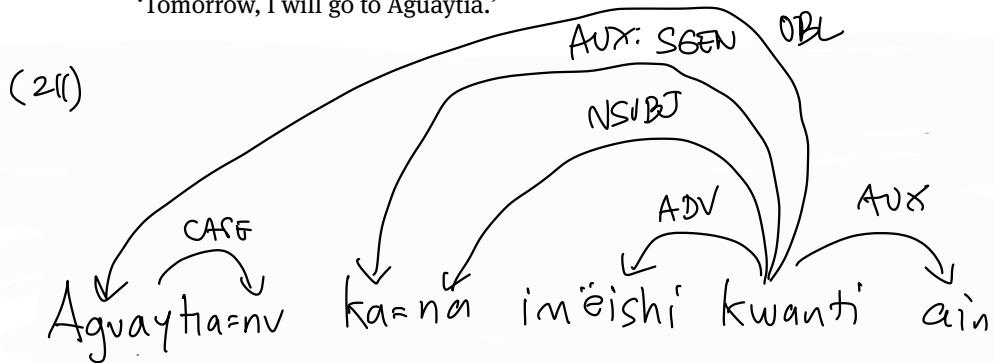
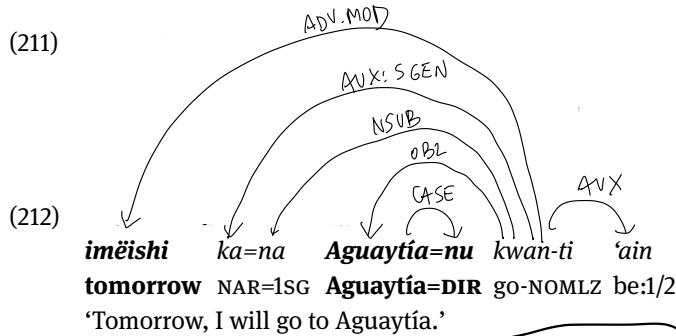
4.5.2.3 Second-position enclitics

The full inventory of second-position enclitics will be presented in §11.2, where their main properties will be commented on. As their name indicates, second-position enclitics represent a class of elements that appear in the second position of the sentence, after the first constituent. In that position, one or more of these enclitics appear together and create a constituent that indicates the register, mood, modality, evidentiality, mirativity and subject cross-reference values of the sentence. The relative position of the enclitics in relation to each other is fixed and, when combined, second-position enclitics form one single independent phonological word, in terms of stress assignment and minimal phonological word requirements (see §3.3). Based on their phonological and grammatical properties, second-position enclitics can be considered more similar to independent words than to affixes.

These enclitics are not selective in relation to the class of the element that appears before them. They follow any type of phrasal constituent in the sentence, including dependent clauses. We can look at some examples of the second-position enclitic *kana* 'narrative, first person singular' in (209) and (210). These examples show that the second-position enclitic *kana* 'narrative, first person singular' can follow different types of constituents if they appear as the first element of the clause: in (209) it is a NP, while in (210) it is an adverb.



Second position enclitics are positionally fixed elements, a behavior that makes them different from more prototypical words, which are freer in terms of their position in the sentence, as exemplified with the following examples, where it can be seen that *Aguaytía-nu* 'Aguaytía=directional' and *imeishi* 'tomorrow/yesterday' can appear in different positions, as illustrated in (211) and (212).



- (213) a. *Ka kwan*
ka *kwan!*
IMP go
‘(you) go!’
- b. *Kana kwan*
ka=na *kwan*
NAR=1 go:1
‘(I) am going’

Kakataibo has two markers that may also be analyzed as second-position enclitics: =*kín* ‘exclamatory 1’ and =*kán* ‘exclamatory 2’. These markers, discussed and illustrated in §16.7, are very scarce in my corpus and their behavior still requires more research. The issue regarding their distribution is that they always appears at the end of utterances composed of a single constituent. Thus, they might also be analyzed as utterance-final enclitics.

4.5.3 Summary

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

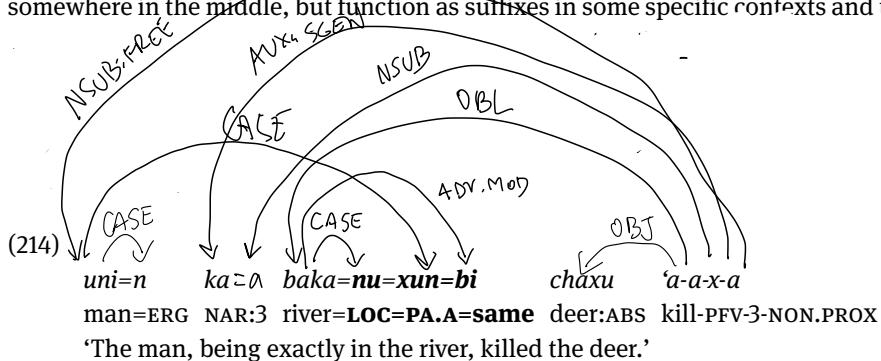


Table 31 provides a summary of the facts discussed in this section (the <*> symbol means that there are exceptions in relation to the application of the principle and <N/A> indicates that a particular principle is not applicable for one specific type of element). The table includes prototypical open word classes for purposes of a general comparison (but those elements will be discussed in detail in independent chapters throughout this grammar).

Table 31. Criteria for distinguishing different bound morphological elements at the right edge of words³⁵

Typological parameter/test	Property	Suffixes	Clitics			Words
			Nominal inflectional enclitics	Participant agreement enclitics	Adverbial enclitics	
Prosodic properties	Phonological word	N	N*	N	Y	Y
Free morpheme	Can appear without modifying another element	N	N	N	Y*	Y
Domain	Operate over roots, stems or words	Y	N	N*	N	N/A
	Operate over phrases	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Combinatory possibilities	Are selective with respect to the class of its domain	Y	Y	N	N	N/A
Speakers' intuitions	Are treated as words by speakers	N	N	N	Y	Y

³⁵* = some exceptions attested.³⁶ Note that there is one closed word-class that operates over phrases: postpositions (see §5.1.2).

4.6 Prefixes

Having discussed the most salient properties of the different morphological elements that operate at the right edge (i.e. the end) of roots and phrases, I will present in this section a group of morphemes that are added to the left edge (i.e. the beginning) of the elements they modify. Although Kakataibo is mainly postpositional, there is a group of prefixes, which are semantically associated to body-part nouns and related concepts and usually express a locative meaning. These prefixes can be added to nouns, verbs and adjectives, and thus they are not selective with respect to the word class of their host (see Zariquiey and Fleck 2012 for a detailed discussion of prefixation in Kakataibo). Based on this parameter, they behave more like proclitics than like prefixes. See the examples (215)–(217).

(215) *Prefixes with nouns*

- a. ***ma-xaka*** ‘skin located on the head, head skin’
head-skin
- b. ***më-xaka*** ‘skin located on the hand, hand skin’
hand-skin
- c. ***bë-xaka*** ‘skin located on the face, face skin’
face/eyes-skin
- d. ***shi-xaka*** ‘skin located on the chest, chest skin’
chest-skin

(216) *Prefixes with adjectives*

- a. ***bë-tunan*** *uni* ‘man with black eyes’ or ‘black-eyed man’
face/eyes-black man
- b. ***më-tunan*** *uni* ‘man with black hands’
hand-black man
- c. ***ta-tunan*** *uni* ‘man with black feet’
foot-black man
- d. ***të-tunan*** *uni* ‘man with a black neck’
neck-black man

(217) *Prefixes with verbs*

- a. ***më-tiski*** ‘for one’s hand to swell’
hand-swell
- b. ***ta-biski*** ‘get cut on one’s foot’
foot-get.cut
- c. ***më-táxka*** ‘hit somebody on the hand’
hand-hit
- d. ***shi-chachi*** ‘pierce/stab somebody on the chest’
chest-pierce

The main reason why I consider them to be prefixes is that they function at the word level, rather than at the phrase level. In addition, since there are no other morphemes that operate at the beginning of elements, it is not possible (and, indeed, not necessary) to distinguish between different morpheme types in that position. Kakataibo prefixes are prosodically tightly bound to the root they precede and form with it a single prosodic unit.

4.6.1 Inventory of Kakataibo prefixes

Body-part prefixes have been identified in a number of Pano languages (see Zariquiey and Fleck 2012 for a summary). The number of prefixes appears to vary, but apparently it is always around 30. Kakataibo has 31 body-part prefixes. Most of these prefixes refer to body parts of humans and animals, many with extended meanings designating parts of plants or inanimate objects and spatial relations that are synchronically expressed by postpositions (see §5.1.2). Less frequently we also find prefixes that refer to other types of inanimate objects such as ‘hill’ or ‘liquid’.³⁷

Table 32 shows, in alphabetical order, all the Kakataibo prefixes with their glosses and their corresponding roots. The expression “corresponding root” follows Hall de Loos and Loos’ (1973: 97) “nombre correspondiente” (‘corresponding noun’), and it is used to refer to synchronic roots that are semantically equivalent to the prefixes (see more details in Zariquiey and Fleck 2012). Corresponding roots are semantically equivalent to (at least part of the semantic range of) the prefixes and, thus, are potentially replaced in discourse by or used in combination with their corresponding prefixes, which may or may not be based on the first segments (usually the first syllable) of their corresponding noun(s):³⁸

³⁷ Kakataibo prefixation was also treated by Olive Shell (1957: 185), who listed a sample of 19 prefixes.

³⁸ Corresponding roots can be nouns or postpositions. If the latter is the case, it is explicitly indicated in the table. Note that the Kakataibo nouns/postpositions in the table correspond to the opposite gloss on the same line in the third column and not to the entire meaning range of the prefix. All glosses together represent the semantic range of the prefix. The first gloss included for each prefix is usually the most common one or the preferred one. When semantically plausible, this first gloss can also be assumed to be the primary or most general one (but finding one single general gloss for some of the prefixes may prove impossible).

Table 32. List of Kakataibo prefixes and their corresponding roots

Prefix	Corresponding root	Gloss
<i>an-</i>	<i>ana</i> <i>manxanta</i> <i>namé</i> <i>namé</i> (postposition) <i>kini</i>	oral cavity, tongue palate interior of a cavity or concave surface inside (elongated) hole
<i>ban-</i>	<i>banbuxu</i>	elbow
<i>bë-</i>	<i>bëru</i> <i>bëun</i> <i>bëxá</i> <i>bëmana</i> <i>bëbun</i> (postposition)	eye tear rheum (“sleep” of the eyes) face, forehead, front in front of
<i>bu-</i>	<i>maxká</i> <i>manan</i>	head, “head” of an object above, top of
<i>i-</i>	<i>itax</i>	shank (lower leg)
<i>in-</i>	<i>ina</i> <i>inxú</i>	tail, tail fin penis
<i>ka-</i>	<i>kaxu</i> <i>kaxu</i> (postposition) <i>kaspai</i> ~ <i>kapais</i>	back, back part of an object underside (e.g., of a table), behind dorsal fin (of fish)
<i>ki-</i>	<i>kisi</i>	leg, back of leg, thigh
<i>kwë-</i>	<i>kwëbí</i> <i>kwëbí</i> (postposition) <i>kwëpa</i> <i>kwéxá</i>	mouth, border nearby lip(s) chin
<i>ma-</i>	<i>maxká</i> <i>bu</i> <i>maspui</i> ~ <i>mapuis</i> <i>manan</i> <i>bashi</i> <i>matán</i> <i>tumua</i> (no specific term) ³⁹	head, “head” of an object human head hair brains top of large hill small hill sphere ground surface
<i>më-</i>	<i>mëkén</i> <i>'untsis</i> ~ <i>mëntsis</i> <i>mëxu</i>	hand, finger fingernail knuckles
<i>na-</i>	<i>puku</i> <i>nitú</i> <i>namé</i> <i>namé</i> (postposition) <i>nubí</i>	belly navel interior of a cavity or concave surface inside abdomen flesh
<i>në-</i>	(no general term) ⁴⁰ <i>tsi</i> <i>chipi</i> <i>namé</i> <i>namé</i> (postposition)	liquid fire vulva interior of a cavity or concave surface inside
<i>nu-</i>	<i>puku</i> <i>nitú</i> <i>nubí</i>	belly navel abdomen flesh

Prefix	Corresponding root	Gloss
<i>pa-</i>	<i>pabí</i> <i>'ispán</i>	ear temple (of head)
<i>pë-</i>	<i>pëkwë</i>	shoulder (blade)
<i>pën-</i>	<i>pëñan</i> <i>pëchi</i>	arm, front leg wing
<i>pi-</i>	<i>putú</i>	rib
<i>ra-</i>	<i>nami</i> <i>bëxí</i> <i>xaká</i> <i>rapasu</i> (postposition)	body, flesh skin (fruit) rind, (animal) hide at the side of
<i>ran-</i>	<i>ranbuxu</i>	knee
<i>rë-</i>	<i>rëkin</i> <i>rëbun</i> <i>rëpan</i> <i>rëshi</i> <i>rësun</i> (postposition)	nose tip, point, prow, headwaters snout (of animal) snot at the end of
<i>shi-</i>	<i>shikan</i>	chest, front of object, underside (e.g., of table)
<i>xë-</i>	<i>xëta</i>	tooth, beak (of bird), arrow head, tip
<i>xu-</i>	<i>xuma</i>	breast, nipple
<i>xa-</i>	<i>xabi</i>	crotch
<i>xan-</i>	<i>xama</i> <i>kini</i>	new unopened (palm) frond (round) hole (in tree or ground)
<i>ta-</i>	<i>taë</i> <i>'untsis</i> <i>tapun</i> <i>tanain</i> (postposition)	foot, toe toenail root at the base of
<i>tan-</i>	<i>tamu</i> <i>tantsi</i>	cheek dimple (of cheek)
<i>të-</i>	<i>tëxá</i> <i>tëru</i> <i>tëkwa</i> <i>tëpus</i>	neck, top of shoulder, trapezoid muscle throat wattle (of guan or turkey) crop (of bird)
<i>tsi-</i>	<i>chixu</i> <i>tsiki</i> <i>tsipun</i> <i>chipi</i> <i>tsispin</i> <i>chichu</i> (postposition)	buttock anus stern, “butt” end of an object vulva coccyx (human tailbone) inside, deep inside
<i>u-</i>	<i>ubu</i>	testicle(s)

39 There is not a word with the specific meaning ‘ground surface’. The word *me* ‘ground’ could be considered a partially corresponding root for *ma-*, whose meaning only includes the surface.

40 There is no term with the general meaning ‘liquid’ in Kakataibo, but the prefix *në-* can replace or be replaced by more specific terms such as *baka* ‘river’, *imi* ‘blood’, etc.

4.6.2 Grammatical properties of prefixes

(218)

<i>këki-ia</i>	<i>ka=is=a</i>	<i>kapé</i>	<i>të-xaká</i>	<i>mëra-ax</i>	
shout-S/A>P:SE	NAR=REP=3	caiman	neck-skin:ABS	find-S/A>S	
'It is said that, when (the man) shouted finding the caiman neck skin...' (JE-caiman-2007.025)					No tense verb principal

There are many cases of lexicalized prefixed nouns in Kakataibo. For example *bë-* 'eye' and *rë-* 'nose' occur as part of the nouns *bëun* 'tear(s)' and *rëun* 'snot' with the ending *un* that does not occur with any other prefix. Another recurring formative that combines with prefixes and produces nominal elements is *ni* 'hair and similar body growths':

- (219) a. *rani* 'body hair, feather, down (of bird)'
 b. *xani* 'female pubic hair'
 c. *kwëni* 'beard, moustache'

4.6.2.2 Prefixation on adjectives

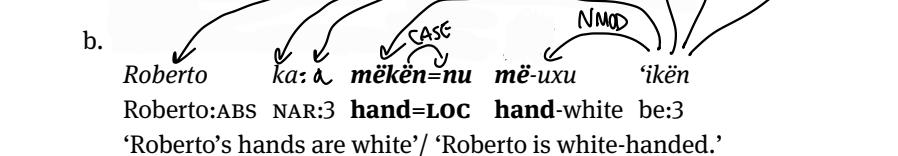
The same set of prefixes can attach to adjectives, likewise with a locative meaning. That is, the prefix locates the attribute, as shown in the following examples with the adjective *tunan* 'black':

- (220) a. *bë-tunan* *uni* 'man with black eyes'
face/eyes-black man
 b. *më-tunan* *uni* 'man with black hands'
hand-black man
 c. *ta-tunan* *uni* 'man with black feet'
foot-black man
 d. *të-tunan* *uni* 'man with a black neck'
neck-black man

Prefixed adjectives are not very common in Kakataibo (they are clearly less common than prefixed nouns and verbs). Only a few adjectives can be prefixed and, in general, it seems to be case that adjectives expressing colors and physical shapes are the most

likely to be prefixed. Thus, while examples like the ones in (220) are easily accepted by speakers, forms like the ones in (221) were considered unacceptable.

- (221) a. **mē-upi* *uni* ('man with beautiful hands')
 hand-beautiful man
 b. **ta-upi* *uni* ('man with beautiful feet')
 foot-beautiful man
 c. **tē-upi* *uni* ('man with a beautiful neck')
 neck-beautiful man
 d. **bē-upi* *uni* ('man with beautiful eyes')
 face/eyes-beautiful man

- (222) a. 
 Roberto *roberto:ABS* *ka:* *mē-uxu* *ikēn*
 Roberto:ABS NAR:3 hand-white be:3
 b. 
 Roberto *roberto:ABS* *ka:* *mēkēn-nu* *mē-uxu* *ikēn*
 Roberto:ABS NAR:3 hand=LOC hand-white be:3
 'Roberto's hands are white' / 'Roberto is white-handed.'

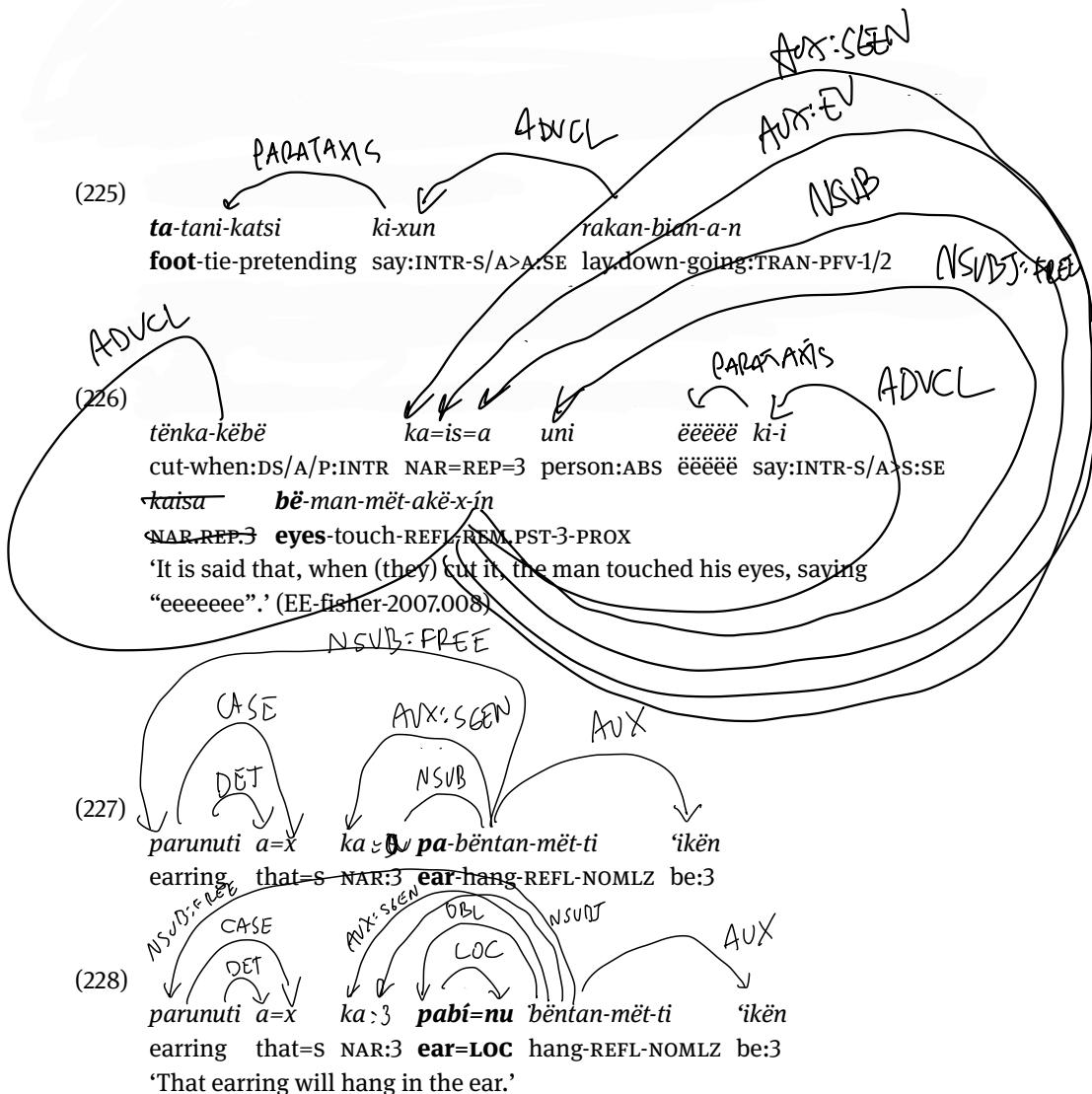
4.6.2.3 Prefixation on verbs

A large proportion of instances of prefixation in Kakataibo narratives and other forms of natural speech are found with verbs, rather than with nouns or adjectives. I first explore the semantic properties of verbal prefixation and then discuss some of its most interesting grammatical features.

4.6.2.3.1 Semantics of verbal prefixation

When verbs are prefixed, the body part expressed by the prefix always belongs to the S or P argument of the verb. Unlike with nouns and adjectives, prefixes on verbs may sometimes have other, non-locative meanings, as will be discussed below. I will first discuss verb prefixation with locative meanings, as in the following intransitive (223) and transitive (224) examples.

- (223) a. *mē-tiskiti* 'for one's hand to swell'
 hand-swell
 b. *ta-biskiti* 'get cut on one's foot'
 foot-get.cut

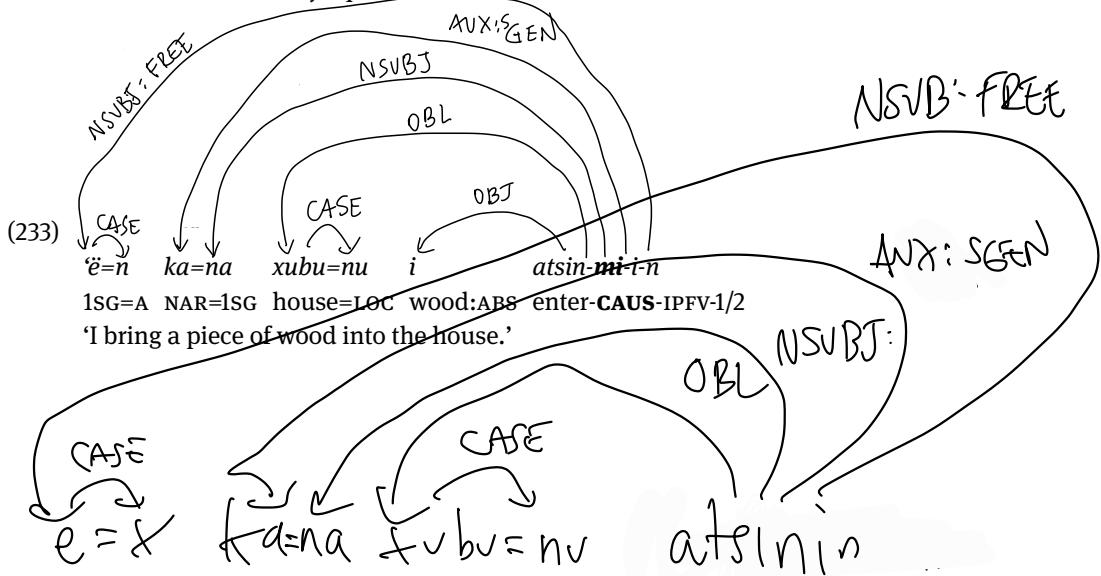


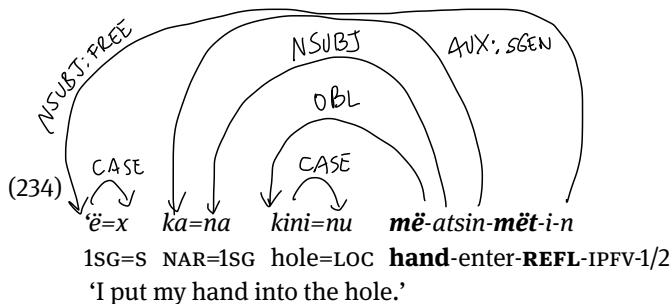
In some cases, the locative meaning is less transparent and the prefix seems to express theme (229) or instrument ((230)–(231)) roles:

- (229) *bëruankati* 'be careful'
ta-bëruankati 'walk carefully'
foot-be.careful
më-bëruankati 'take care of one's hands'
hand-be.careful
- (230) '*unanti* 'know'
bë-unanti 'know through the eyes'
face/eye-know
- (231) '*ati* 'do'
më-ëti 'do something with one's hands, touch, hit'
hand-do

Prefixed verbs like the ones presented so far constitute a continuum in terms of their productivity: cases where the locative meaning is salient and clear are much more productive (in the sense that most prefixes can appear with the same verb) than cases where a locative meaning is not found (which are usually restricted to the combination of one particular verb with one or two prefixes).

A more deviant case is the verb *atsin-* 'enter'. This form is an intransitive verb (as illustrated in (232)), and therefore the causative suffix *-mi* is required to obtain a transitive version of the predicate with the meaning 'insert, introduce, take inside' (as illustrated in (233)). However, when this verb appears with a prefix, it requires the reflexive suffix *-mët*, in order to obtain forms such as *më-atsin-mët-* 'introduce one's hand somewhere', or *ta-atsin-mët-* 'introduce one's foot somewhere' (as illustrated in (234)). Interestingly, in this case, the prefix seems to be the grammatical object of the verb and/or to increase its valence, since only transitive verbs can carry the reflexive suffix and this suffix cannot be added to the intransitive non-prefixed root *atsin-* 'enter'. This is the only equivalent case that I am aware of.





4.6.2.3.2 Co-occurrence of prefixes and their corresponding nouns

As with prefixed adjectives, in Kakataibo a prefixed verb can sometimes be accompanied by a locative NP headed by a body-part noun. Sometimes, the NP can have a more specific referential meaning ((235) and (236)), but in other instances (i.e., when the prefix has only one corresponding noun), this is not necessarily the case (237).

- (235) *Ain bëmananu ka bëtákka!*
 ain **bëmanan**=nu ka **bë-tákka**'
 3SG:GEN forehead=LOC NAR eye/face-hit:IMP
 'Eye/face-hit him on his forehead!'
- (236) *Ain bërunu ka bëtákka!*
 ain **bëru**=nu ka **bë-tákka**'
 3SG:GEN eye=LOC NAR eye/face-hit:IMP
 'Eye/face-hit him in his eye!'
- (237) *Ain banbuxunu ka bantashka!*
 ain **banbuxu**=nu ka **ban-tashka**'
 3SG:GEN elbow=LOC NAR elbow-hit:IMP
 'Elbow-hit him on his elbow!'

Such cases are rare in Kakataibo, although they do appear in spontaneous speech. The co-occurrence of a prefix and (one of) its corresponding nouns in the same clause has also been observed in Matses (Fleck 2006) and Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2003b: 357). These constructions where the prefix occurs in addition to the body-part noun rather appear to be serving either an emphatic function or a disambiguation function (the latter in the cases where the prefix is more general than its corresponding nouns). Some cases in which both a body-part prefix and an unmarked body-part noun appear in the same construction are discussed in §15.3.3.1.3.

5 Word classes

5.1 Closed word classes

Closed word classes are those that “contain a fixed and usually small number of member words, which are [essentially] the same for all the speakers of the language or the dialect” (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 3). While it is beyond any doubt that all languages have open word classes, this is not necessarily true for closed classes. According to Schachter and Shopen (2007: 23), “closed word classes tend to play a more prominent role in analytic languages than they do in synthetic languages.” Even though Kakataibo is primarily synthetic, we do find some closed word classes in the language. The following are the closed classes in Kakataibo: (i) pro-forms (which include personal pronouns, interrogatives words and demonstratives), (ii) postpositions, (iii) numerals and quantifiers, (iv) interjections and (v) onomatopoeic words. All of them will be presented and exemplified in the following sections: §5.1.1 describes different types of pro-forms; §5.1.2 offers relevant information about postpositions; §5.1.3 comments on numeral and quantifiers; §5.1.4 lists some of the interjections attested in the language; and finally §5.1.5 discusses onomatopoeic words.

5.1.1 Pro-forms

The label *pro-form* is “a cover term for several closed classes of words which, under certain circumstances, are used as substitutes for words belonging to open classes, or for larger constituents” (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 24). The words that satisfy the definition offered by Schachter and Shopen in Kakataibo are personal pronouns, interrogative words and demonstratives. All these word classes are discussed and illustrated in the following subsections.

5.1.1.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are grammatical forms that are used “to refer to the speaker (e.g. *I*, *me*), the person spoken to (*you*) and other persons and things whose referents are presumed to be clear from the context (*he*, *him*, *she*, *her*, *it*, etc.)” (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 24). At first glance, Kakataibo seems to have a system of personal pronouns that distinguishes between three different persons and two numbers: singular and plural. However, as will be seen, we find more than one plural form for each person and speakers usually attribute different meanings to them. If we include such distinctions in our analysis, the result will be a system with two types of plural (one used for dual/ paucal referents and the other associated with plural referents) and a distinction between first person plural inclusive and exclusive (which has been reconstructed for Proto-Pano in Zariquey 2006).

The existence of two plural forms for each person category seems to be related to two different systems for marking this category: one that I consider more archaic (with a different plural marker for each person; see Zariquey 2006) and another based on plural forms derived from the singular ones by means of the general Kakataibo plural marker *=kama*. The archaic forms are the ones that are potentially interpretable as dual (in the case of the first and second person) or paucal (in the case of third person) forms. The plural forms that take *=kama* are preferred for referring to larger groups (but it can in principle be used for dual/paucal referents as well, making the distinctions less transparent).

The distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms of the first person plural relates to the existence of two ways of expressing this category in Kakataibo: the use of a specialized first person plural pronoun (frequently interpreted as inclusive) and the possibility of adding the plural marker *=kama* to the singular form of the first person pronoun ‘*ë*’. The resulting form, ‘*ëkama*’, is only interpretable as an exclusive pronoun. Again, the specialized first person plural pronoun is used for both inclusive and exclusive referents and, thus, this distinction is not clear-cut.

Therefore, these distinctions are neither systematically present in texts nor systematically identified by all speakers and one should be cautious regarding their status in the synchronic language. The pronominal system presented in Table 31 was carefully checked and the distinctions included in the table were systematically identified by my teachers. However, people do not seem to always use the pronominal forms in this way, and in discourse the different plural forms associated with each person seem to be synonymous. In addition, the form ‘*ëkama*’, identified as an exclusive first person plural form, does not appear in my text database and was given to me in elicitation, as opposed to *nu(kama)*, which was primarily identified as an inclusive first person plural form. The status of this complex pronominal system needs more research. This inconsistency and complexity may be clues that the pronominal system of Kakataibo is undergoing a general process of simplification that may explain the variation found among speakers’ judgements.

Pronouns in Kakataibo show a tripartite case marking system, where A, S and P functions are expressed differently (the first two grammatical functions are marked by different enclitics and the third is unmarked). In some cases, similarly to what happens with nouns, the genitive case is expressed by the *=n* marker (related to the A function and also used for instruments and temporal locatives; see §6.7.1.1). In others, the genitive pronouns are special forms that do not follow the general inflectional pattern attested in the language. This is also true for the instrumental form of the pronoun *a* ‘third person’, *anun* ‘with it’, which also exhibits a unique formation. The Kakataibo pronominal forms, including the proposed distinctions between inclusive and exclusive, and between plural and dual/paucal are presented in Table 33 (where genitive forms are also included for comparison).

Table 33. Personal pronouns in Kakataibo

Person	A	S	P	Genitive
1 singular	‘ën	‘ëx	‘ë	‘ën
2 singular	min	mix	mi	min
3 singular	an	ax	a	ain
1 dual (inclusive)	nun	nux	nu	nun ~ nukën
1 plural (inclusive)	nukaman	nukamax	nukama	nun ~ nukën
1 plural (exclusive)	‘ékaman	‘ékamax	‘ékama	nun ~ nukën
2 (dual)	mitsun	mitsux	mitsu	mitsun
2 (plural)	mikaman	mikamax	mikama	mitsun
3 (dual/paucal)	atun	atux	atu	atun
3 (plural)	akaman	akamax	akama	atun

In addition, Kakataibo personal pronouns can be combined with the adverbial enclitic =bi ‘same, self’ to produce emphatic pronominal forms, which can be translated as self-pronouns into English. Emphatic pronouns can be used in reflexive constructions (§15.4.3.1) and, interestingly, they show a neutral case alignment, according to which they remain unmarked, regardless of their grammatical function. However, the first person singular emphatic pronoun can also take the marker =x ‘S’, which produces a horizontal alignment type (see §15.2). Notice that when this marker is included, it appears after the adverbial enclitic =bi. This is not the order that would be expected for the combination of a case marker and an adverbial enclitic (see §4.5.2) and this fact opens interesting questions about the nature of the case marker =x ‘S’ (see §16.5). Note that not all the distinctions described for non-emphatic personal pronouns are available for emphatic ones (therefore, Table 34 is clearly simpler than Table 33):

Table 34. Emphatic personal pronouns in Kakataibo

Person	A	S	P
1 singular	‘ëbi	‘ëbi(x)	‘ëbi
2 singular/plural	mibi	mibi	mibi
3 singular/plural	abi	abi	abi
1 plural	nubi	nubi	nubi

5.1.1.2 Interrogative words

Interrogative words are “words like English *who*, *what*, *where*, *when*, etc., as they are used at the beginning of questions” (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 33). They include “[t]he set of interrogative pronouns (e.g. *who*, *what*), interrogative adverbs (e.g. *where*, *when*) and interrogative articles (e.g. *which* in *which book*)” (Schachter and Shopen

2007: 33). Kakataibo interrogative words are, in almost all cases, derived from the basic form *ui* ‘who’, which, like personal pronouns, functions with tripartite case marking, as shown in (238)–(240) (also note that interrogative words in Kakataibo are fronted as they are in languages like English and Spanish):

- (238) *Ui kara isaxa?*

ui *ka=ra* *is-a-x-a*
INT:P NAR=INT.3 see-PFV-3-NON.PROX
‘Whom did he look at?’

- (239) *Uin kara Emilio isaxa?*

ui=n *ka=ra* *Emilio* *is-a-x-a*
INT=A NAR=INT.3 Emilio:ABS see-PFV-3-NON.PROX
‘Who looked at Emilio?’

- (240) *Uix kara abáxa?*

ui=x *ka=ra* *abat-a-x-a*
INT=S NAR=INT.3 run-PFV-3-NON.PROX
‘Who ran?’

While most of the interrogative words containing *ui* are clearly a combination of *ui* and a case marker, others have a synchronically unidentifiable ending. The list of interrogative words is presented in Table 35, where the morphological material that is not synchronically identifiable appears in bold. Note that in a number of derived interrogative words, the form *ui* cannot be translated as ‘who’ and therefore I gloss it more generally as ‘interrogative’.

Table 35. Interrogative words in Kakataibo

Interrogative word	Segmented form	Meaning
<i>ui</i>	<i>ui</i> (INT:P)	‘whom :p’
<i>uin</i>	<i>ui-n</i> (INT-A)	‘who (A)’/‘whose’
<i>uix</i>	<i>ui-x</i> (INT-S)	‘who (S)’
<i>uibë(tan)</i>	<i>ui=bë(tan)</i> (INT-COM)	‘with whom’
<i>uinu</i>	<i>ui=nu</i> (INT=LOC)	‘where (exact location)’
<i>uimi</i>	<i>ui=mi</i> (INT=IMPR.LOC)	‘where (inexact location)’
<i>uiti</i>	<i>ui-ti</i> (INT-?)	‘how much/many’
<i>uisaran</i>	<i>ui-saran</i> (INT-?)	‘when’
<i>uisa</i>	<i>ui=sa</i> (INT=COMP)	‘how’
<i>uisa kupi</i>	<i>ui=sa=kupi</i> (INT=COMP=CAUS)	‘why’
<i>uinikë</i>	<i>ui-nikë</i> (INT-?)	‘which’
<i>a ñu</i>	<i>a ñu</i> (that thing:ABS)	‘what (lit. that thing)’
<i>a ñun</i>	<i>a ñu=n</i> (that thing=INS)	‘with what (instrumental)’

As can be seen, case markers are productive with interrogative words (for a complete presentation of case markers, see §6.7.1). Another interesting observation is that the form for ‘what’ is literally ‘that thing’ (*a ñu*). Like other nouns and differently from the other interrogative words, the interrogative form *a ñu* follows an ergative/absolutive alignment, rather than a tripartite one. Interrogative utterances are easily recognized because of the presence of the second-position enclitic *ra* ‘interrogative’ (see §11.2.1.2) and because of the intonation prosodic contour (see §3.4.2.2).

Interrogative words can be turned into derived indefinite pro-forms by adding the endings *=birës* and *=bira* to them. While *=birës* is also an adverbial enclitic with the meaning ‘purely’ (see §11.3.1.8), I have not found *=bira* in any other context. In most cases, indefinite forms derived with any of these two enclitics seem to be almost synonymous, although there is a slight semantic difference between them. Both the forms with *=birës* and *=bira* have an indefinite meaning but only the latter can be used with specific arguments, like the English form *someone* in the sentence *someone was looking for you in the morning*. Thus, we can claim that forms with *=birës* and *=bira* are both indefinite, but that there is a difference in specificity, according to which the former are better translated into English by pronominal forms with ‘any’ and the latter correspond to English pronominal forms with ‘some’. Tables 36 and 37 present the paradigms for the two types of indefinite forms.

Table 36. Indefinite pro-forms in Kakataibo (non-specific)

Form	Meaning
<i>uibirës</i>	‘anyone (P)
<i>uinbirës</i>	‘anyone (A)’
<i>uixbirës</i>	‘anyone (S)’
<i>uinubirës</i>	‘anywhere’
<i>uisaranbirës</i>	‘anytime’
<i>uisaibirës</i>	‘any way’
<i>a ñubirës</i>	‘anything’

Table 37. Indefinite pro-forms in Kakataibo (specific)

Form	Meaning
<i>uibira</i>	‘someone (P)
<i>uinbira</i>	‘someone (A)’
<i>uixbira</i>	‘someone (S)’
<i>uinubira</i>	‘somewhere’
<i>uisaranbira</i>	‘some time’
<i>uisaibira</i>	‘some way’
<i>a ñubira</i>	‘something’

Examples of indefinite pronouns of the two paradigms follow:

- (241) *Uinbirës ka 'ën piti piti 'ikën.*

uinbirës *ka* *'ë=n* *piti* *pi-ti* *'ikën*
anyone:A NAR:3 1=GEN food:ABS eat-NOMLZ be:3
 'Anyone will eat my food (I do not know who: non-specific).'

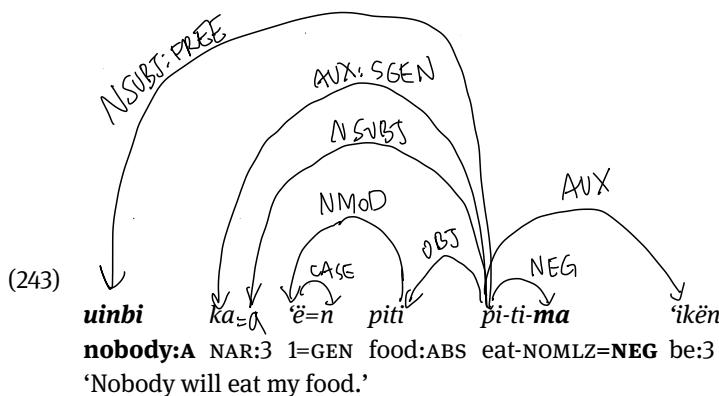
- (242) *Uinbira ka 'ën piti piti 'ikën.*

uinbira *ka* *'ë=n* *piti* *pi-ti* *'ikën*
someone:A NAR:3 1=GEN food:ABS eat-NOMLZ be:3
 'Someone will eat my food (I know who: specific).'

The negative pro-forms are obtained by adding the adverbial enclitic =*bi* 'same, self' to interrogative words, as shown in Table 38.

Table 38. Negative pro-forms in Kakataibo

Form	Meaning
<i>uib</i>	'nobody (P)
<i>uinbi</i>	'nobody (A)'
<i>uixbi</i>	'nobody (S)'
<i>uinubi</i>	'nowhere'
<i>uisaranbi</i>	'no time'
<i>uisaibi</i>	'no way'
<i>a ñubi</i>	'nothing'



- (244) **uinbi ka 'ën piti piti 'ikën*

uinbi *ka* *'ë=n* *piti* *pi-ti* *'ikën*
nobody:A NAR:3 1=GEN food:ABS eat-NOMLZ be:3
 ('nobody will eat my food')

5.1.1.3 Demonstratives

In this grammar, I use the term **demonstrative** to refer to a closed class of words which have primarily a deictic function and which can be used both as *demonstrative adjectives* and as *demonstrative pronouns*. There are three demonstratives in Kakataibo, which are presented in Table 39 (note that these forms also follow a tripartite alignment).

Table 39. Demonstratives in Kakataibo

Meaning	A	S	P
Proximal to the speaker	ënëñ	ënëx	ënë
Proximal to the addressee	an	ax	a
Distal to both speaker and addressee	un	ux	u

According to the typology proposed by Anderson and Keenan (1985: 282), Kakataibo demonstratives form a **person-oriented three-term deictic system** which should be distinguished from distance-oriented three-term deictic systems, like the one that we find, for example, in Spanish (in this language, the forms *este*, *ese* and *aquel* are spatially oriented and have meanings similar to ‘close’, ‘less close’ and ‘far’, relative to the speaker). As shown in Table 39, the three choices offered by the Kakataibo system are better described as ‘proximal to the speaker’, ‘proximal to the addressee’ and ‘distal to both speaker and addressee’ (see Fleck 2003: 258–262 for a similar analysis of the Matses deictic system). The first meaning is expressed with the form *ënë*, the second with *a*, and the third with *u*. A diagram is presented in Figure 67.

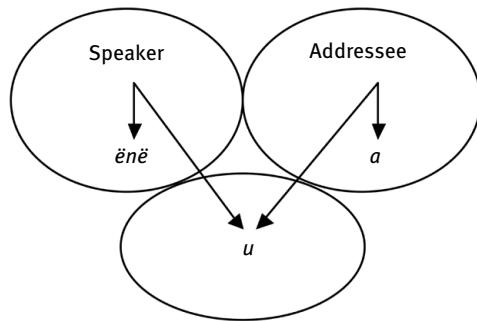


Figure 67. Diagram of spatial deixis in Kakataibo

The basic meaning of these demonstratives is deictic, and thus they are normally accompanied by extra-linguistic signs, like pointing to the object with a hand. However, in the pre-head position within NPs, some demonstratives (*a* ‘proximal to

the addressee' and *ënë* 'proximal to the speaker') behave as definite markers (see §6.6.1). It is also clear that the third person pronoun *a* is diachronically related to the demonstrative *a* 'proximal to the addressee'. The use of the three demonstratives as heads and as NP modifiers is illustrated in (245a–c) and (246a–c), respectively.

(245) As pronouns

- a. *Ax ka 'ën bëchikë 'ikën.*
 $a=x$ *ka* $'ë=n$ *bëchikë* *'ikën*
that(proximal.addressee)=s NAR:3 1SG=GEN son:ABS be:3
 'That one (proximal to the addressee) is my son.'
- b. *Ux ka 'ën bëchikë 'ikën.*
 $u=x$ *ka* $'ë=n$ *bëchikë* *'ikën*
that(distal)=s NAR:3 1SG=GEN son:ABS be:3
 'That one (far from the speaker and the addressee) is my son.'
- c. *Ënëx ka 'ën bëchikë 'ikën.*
 $\ddot{\text{e}}\text{n}\ddot{\text{e}}=x$ *ka* $'\ddot{\text{e}}=n$ *bëchikë* *'ikën*
this=s NAR:3 1SG=GEN son:ABS be:3
 'This one is my son.'

(246) As modifiers

- a. *Tuá ax ka 'ën bëchikë 'ikën.*
 $tuá$ $a=x$ *ka* $'ë=n$ *bëchikë* *'ikën*
boy that(proximal.addressee)=s NAR:3 1SG=GEN son:ABS be:3
 'That boy (proximal to the addressee) is my son.'
- b. *Tuá ux ka 'ën bëchikë 'ikën.*
 $tuá$ $u=x$ *ka* $'ë=n$ *bëchikë* *'ikën*
boy that(distal)=s NAR:3 1SG=GEN son:ABS be:3
 'That boy (far from the speaker and the addressee) is my son.'
- c. *Tuá ënëx ka 'ën bëchikë 'ikën.*
 $tuá$ $\ddot{\text{e}}\text{n}\ddot{\text{e}}=x$ *ka* $'\ddot{\text{e}}=n$ *bëchikë* *'ikën*
boy this=s NAR:3 1SG=GEN son:ABS be:3
 'This boy is my son.'

5.1.2 Postpositions

Kakataibo postpositions represent a gradient category in the sense of DeLancey's (1997a) discussion of similar elements in Tibetan and Burmese. Like in these languages, there is strong evidence in Kakataibo to state that most postpositions have come from nouns through a recategorization process. However, as I will show in this section, this process has operated to different degrees on different postpositions and some of them are still noun-like with regard to one property or another; while others

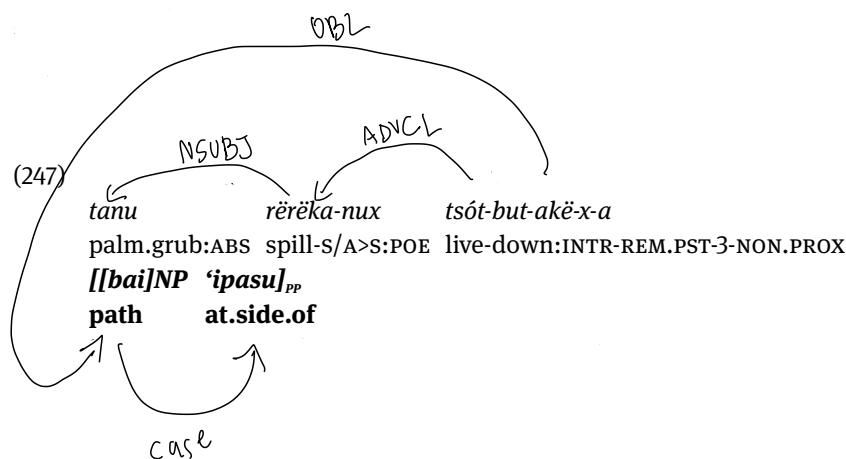
have changed considerably and now belong to a different (new) category. This sort of recategorization “does not have to be a sudden process” (DeLancey 1997a: 67), so some gradation would be expected (see also Aristar 1991).

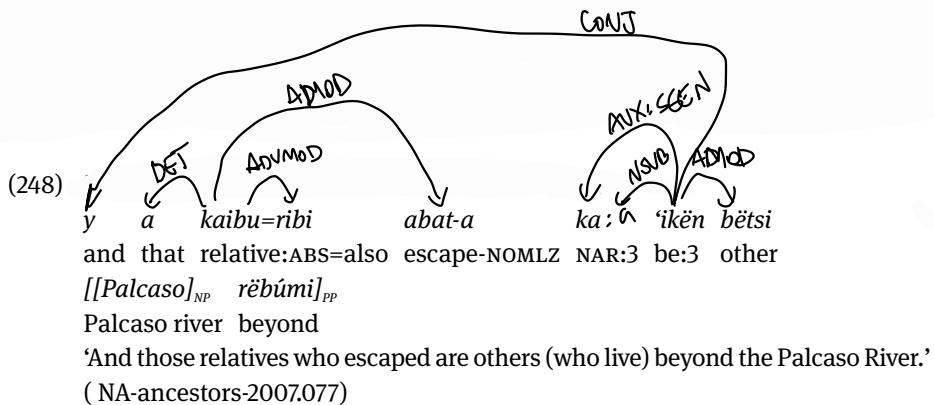
5.1.2.1 General characterization of postpositions

Like Kakataibo, other Pano languages also have a closed word class of postpositions. The number of forms attested in different languages is variable. For example, while Valenzuela (2003b: 173) states that there are around 20 postpositions in Shipibo-Konibo, Fleck (2003: 625) lists 32 forms for Matses. According to my current analysis, similarly to Shipibo-Konibo, Kakataibo shows 24 forms that can be claimed to function as postpositions.

Postpositions in Kakataibo are prosodically independent words, which take noun phrases (NP) as their complements in order to produce syntactic constituents that are called here “postpositional phrases” (PP) and that function as locative adverbial constituents in the clause. Postpositional phrases exhibit the prosodic behavior described for complex phrases in §3.4.1. Therefore, if they exhibit less than three syllables, postpositions in postpositional phrases will not exhibit a high pitch.

Kakataibo has both locative postpositions and locative case enclitics. As it is usually the case for languages for which a distinction between locative postpositions and locative case markers has been proposed, in Kakataibo postpositions express specific locative meanings and locative cases, very general ones. Furthermore, in some cases locative postpositions in Kakataibo come from nominal expressions in which it is still possible to diachronically identify a locative case (see Creissels 2008). Although these criteria can certainly be used to argue for the validity of the distinction between locative postpositions and locative cases, such distinctions will always be difficult and



**Table 40.** List of Kakataibo postpositions

Form	Meaning
'ipasu	'at the side of'
bëbun	'in front of'
chichu	'inside (e.g. a river)'
ëman	'far from, outside'
kamánan	'over'
kaxu	'behind'
kwëbí	'near'
manámi	'above'
mëú	'inside (e.g. a house)'
namé	'inside (e.g. a pot)'
nëbëtsi	'in the center of'
nëkëmanan	'this side of the river'
punté	'in the direction of'
rapasu	'next to'
rëbumi	'beyond'
rësu	'at the end of' (synonym of sënen)
sënen	'at the end of' (synonym of rësu)
shimú	'under and in contact with' (e.g. stuck under a table)'
tanain	'at the base of'
tëmú	'under (e.g. a table)'
tsipúmi	'below'
ukëmanan	'the other side of the river'
ura	'far'
urama	'close'

Postpositions like *rëbumi* ‘beyond’ are difficult to analyze, since they can also be synchronically analyzed as a noun plus a case marker (i.e., *rëbu* ‘tip’ plus *=mi* ‘imprecise location’). However, I analyze them as lexicalized postpositions, rather than morphologically complex nouns, based on the arguments that will be presented in §5.1.2.2. The 24 postpositions attested in my database at this stage are presented in Table 40, with their respective meanings.

Notice that most of the postpositions in Table 40 can appear without a complement and without any oblique case marker (a similar behavior has been documented for Matses; see Fleck 2003: 632–633). In this context, postpositions are functionally very similar to adverbs. One example of an adverb-like use of the postposition *manámi* ‘above’ follows. Note that at least *namé* ‘inside (e.g. a pot)’, *bëbun* ‘in front of’ and *rëbumi* ‘beyond’ cannot appear in this type of construction.

- (249) *Manámi kwanxun kaisa kaiankëxa.*

<i>manámi</i>	<i>kwan-xun</i>	<i>ka=is=a</i>	<i>kain-akë-x-a</i>
above	go-S/A>A	NAR=REP=3	wait-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
'It is said that, going above, he waited.' (SE-cheater.woman-2007.015)			

5.1.2.2 From nouns to postpositions

As DeLancey (1997a: 57) explains: “[i]t is clear that adpositions derive historically from exactly two sources: serial verb constructions (or some functional equivalent) and relator noun constructions.” In Kakataibo, most postpositions can be argued to have come from nominal sources that can be analyzed as relator noun constructions, and, as predicted by DeLancey (1997a), some of the members of the postposition class are more nominal than others. In addition, different postpositions have undergone different diachronic processes, which have produced different results. As we will see, in some cases it is still possible to find their arguably original nominal source in the present state of the language (for instance, the postposition *kaxu* ‘behind’ co-exists with the body-part noun *kaxu* ‘back’). Meanwhile, for other cases it is not possible to find a nominal correlate (for instance, there is a postposition *mëu* ‘inside’, but no equivalent noun). In turn, some postpositions are formed with the ‘imprecise locative’ marker *=mi* (for instance, *manámi* ‘above’ < *manan* ‘top’ + *=mi* ‘imprecise locative’), while others are not (for instance, *ipasu* ‘at the border of’ and not **ipasumi*).

In this section, I will briefly describe the diachronic path from nouns to postpositions and explore its different results. I also argue here that for some postpositions there is no evidence of a nominal origin. This might suggest that these postpositions could be considered older. Let us begin with the very basic facts, comparing the examples in (250).

- (250) a. ‘ën xubun xëpúti
 $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{[ë}=n & \text{xubu}-n \end{smallmatrix} \right]_{NP} \text{xëpúti} \right]_{NP}$
 1SG=GEN house=GEN **door**
 ‘my house’s door’
- b. ‘ën xubu mëu
 $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{[ë}=n & \text{xubu} \end{smallmatrix} \right]_{NP} \text{mëu} \right]_{PP}$
 1SG=GEN house **inside**
 ‘inside my house’

As can be seen in the examples in (250), the postposition *mëu* is grammatically different from the noun *xëpúti* ‘door’. The noun takes a genitive modifier, *ën xubu=n* ‘my house=GEN’ and the postposition, an unmarked complement ‘*ën xubu* ‘my house’. The structure **ën xubu=n mëu* ‘my house=GEN inside’ is simply unacceptable. In addition to that, only the noun *xëpúti* ‘door’ can take a locative case marker, as shown in the following examples:

- (251) a. ‘ën xubun xëpútinu
 $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{[ë}=n & \text{xubu}=n & \text{xëpúti} \end{smallmatrix} \right]_{NP}=\text{nu}$
 1SG=GEN house=GEN door=**LOC**
 ‘in my house’s door’
- b. *‘ën xubu mëunu
 $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{[ë}=n & \text{xubu} & \text{mëu} \end{smallmatrix} \right]_{PP}=\text{nu}$
 1SG=GEN house inside=**LOC**
 (‘in the inside of my house’)

Thus, we have at least two criteria for stating that synchronically *xëpúti* and *mëu* belong to two different word classes: (i) the possibility of being combined with a genitive NP and (ii) the possibility of taking a locative case marker. Based on this evidence, we can argue that the word *xëpúti* ‘door’ is a prototypical noun and the word *mëu* ‘inside’ is a prototypical postposition. However, we have not yet found any evidence to suspect that Kakataibo postpositions may have come from a nominal source and, therefore, the two word classes are historically related. Let us explore those cases in which this diachronic relation becomes clear.

As shown in Table 41, at least seven of the postpositions in Table 40 have a related noun (but more research may reveal the number to be larger). When used with nominal meanings, these forms behave as prototypical nouns according to the two criteria previously described: they can be combined with a genitive NP and they can receive potentially any case marking, semantics permitting. When used as postpositions, there is an important difference. Four of them (*kaxu* ‘behind’, *kwebí* ‘near’, *namé* ‘inside’ and *shimú* ‘under’) do not exhibit the enclitic =*mi* ‘imprecise location’, which is attested in the remaining three postpositions (*rëbumi* ‘beyond’, *manámi*

‘above’ and *tsipúmi* ‘below’). However, what unifies the seven postpositions in Table 41 is that they cannot take a genitive complement under any circumstance.

Table 41. Postpositions with an associated noun

Postposition		Noun	
Form	Meaning	Form	Meaning
<i>kaxu</i>	‘behind’	<i>kaxu</i>	‘back’
<i>kwëbí</i>	‘near’	<i>kwëbí</i>	‘mouth’
<i>shimú</i>	‘under’ (= <i>tëmú</i>)	<i>shimú</i>	‘reversal’
<i>namé</i>	‘inside (e.g. a pot)’	<i>namé</i>	‘interior’
<i>rëbumi</i>	‘beyond’	<i>rëbu</i>	‘tip’
<i>manámi</i> ⁴¹	‘above’	<i>manan</i>	‘top part’
<i>tsipúmi</i>	‘below’	<i>tsipun</i>	‘end, buttocks’

Notice that the semantic difference between the postpositional and nominal uses of these forms may be explained as a shift from intrinsic parts of objects to relative frames of reference, and that this process is quite common cross-linguistically. In the two following sentences, we find the form *kaxu* in two different functions. In (252), *kaxu* is used as a postposition with the meaning ‘behind’ (i.e. in a relative frame of reference) and, thus, its complement *a* ‘third person singular’ appears in its unmarked form. In (253), *kaxu* appears as the noun ‘back’ (i.e. as an intrinsic body part) and, in this case, its modifier is *ain* ‘3, genitive’. We should also pay attention to the fact that only the nominal use of *kaxu* exhibits a locative case marker.

- (252) *Kwarukëbë kaisa axibi a kaxu ukairi a tënkanux kwaruakëshín.*
kwan-ru-këbë ka=is=a a=x=ribi [a kaxu]_{pp}
 go-up-DS/A/P:SE:INTR NAR=REP=3 3SG=S=also 3SG behind
ukairi a tënka-nux kwan-ru-akë-x-ín
 ladder that:ABS cut.making.noise-S/A>A:POE go-up-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘It is said that, when he went up, the other one went up behind him to cut the ladder.’ (JE-king.vulture-2007.019)

41 Note that the nasal at the end of *manan* ‘top part’ drops in the form *manámi* ‘above’, due to the rule of nasal deletion presented in §2.7.1.2.2. This is also the case of the example *tsipúmi* ‘below’.

- (253) *Ēsaokin upíraokin kwanxun kaisa 'akëxa ain kaxunu ènu.*
 ēsa-o-kin upit-ira-o-kin kwan-xun
 like.this-FACT-S/A>A:SE good-INTF-FACT-S/A>A:SE go-S/A>A
 kaisa 'a-akë-x-a [ain kaxu]_{NP}=nu ènu
 NAR.REP.3 do-REM.PST-3-NON,PROX 3SG:GEN back=LOC here
 'It is said that, doing like this, very well, going, (they) hit (him) on his back,
 here.' (NA-boy-2007.023)

Examples like the ones presented above not only show the differences between postpositions and nouns, but also suggest that they are very likely to be historically related. That is, we find evidence to state that, at least in some cases, postpositions are the result of a grammaticalization process that started with certain nominal constructions expressing part-whole relationships and ended up as a different grammatical constituent. Interestingly, in cases like *kaxu*, this grammaticalization process did not imply the loss of the original function. This pattern is described in Figure 68.

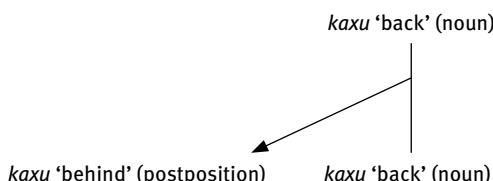
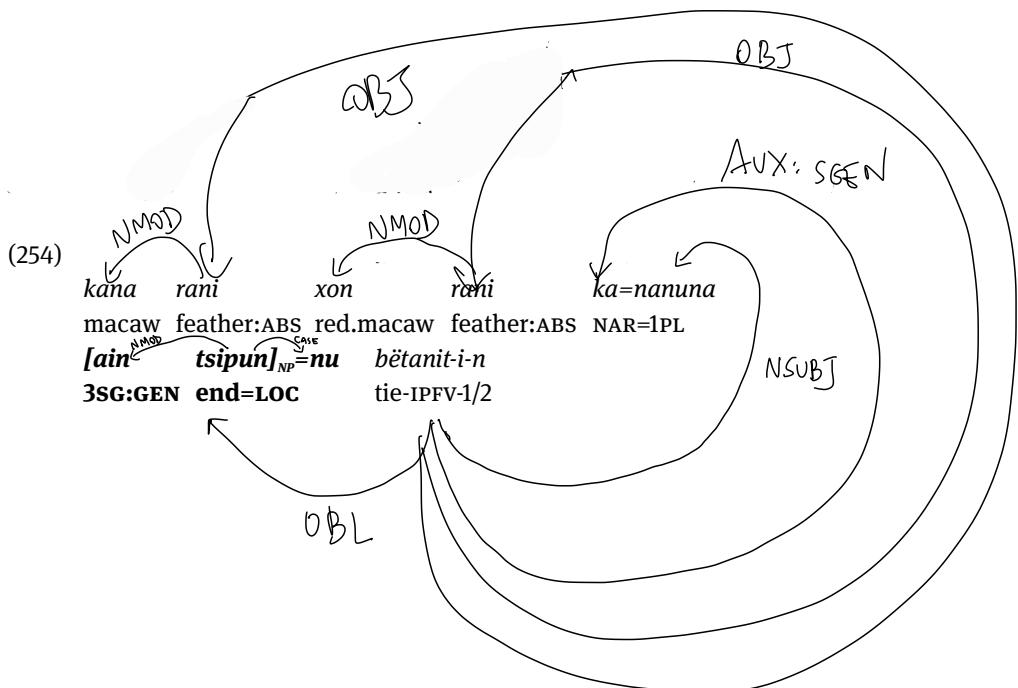
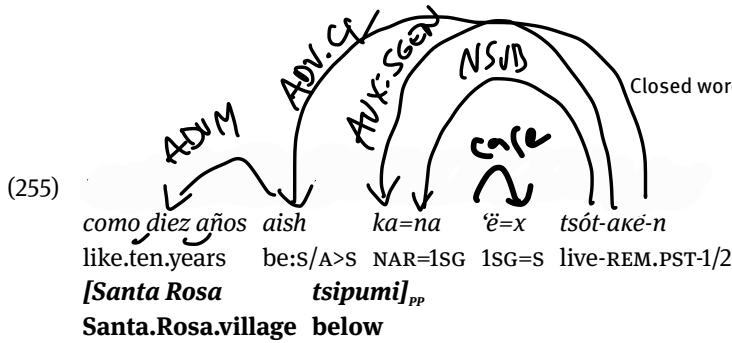


Figure 68. The grammaticalization path of postpositions like *kaxu* 'behind'





The development of postpositions like *tsipúmi* can be represented by the diagram presented in Figure 69.

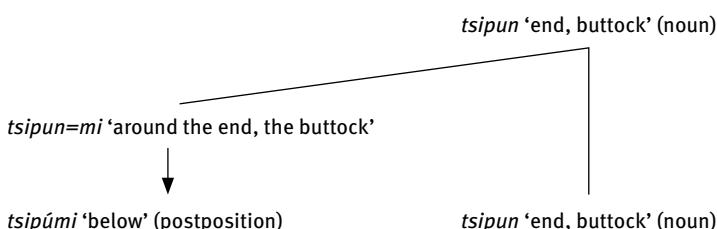


Figure 69. The grammaticalization path of words like *tsipun* 'behind'

Taking into consideration that postpositions like *tsipúmi* may be seen as more nominal due to the fact that they still carry the imprecise locative marker, it might be possible to argue that this situation precedes the situation of *kaxu*. That is, when moving from nominal constructions to postpositional ones, it is very likely that there was a point at which the imprecise locative marker =*mi* was obligatory. Following this argumentation, which, of course requires comparative research to be proved correct, in the case of *kaxu*, for example, we would have had a change from *kaxu=mi* 'around the back (not precisely on the back)' to *kaxu=mi* 'behind'. As a final step, the locative would have been dropped, but the deletion of the imprecise locative marker only happened in some cases and not in others, and this may account for the differences attested in the postpositions listed in Table 41.⁴² Thus, we may have had a scenario similar to the one hypothesized in Figure 70.

⁴² According to Creissels (2008), the presence of case markers on spatial adpositions is common cross-linguistically. However, the diachronic path proposed here for Kakataibo still needs to be confirmed by evidence showing clear parallels, where the case marker is later dropped, in other languages. Comparative Panoan evidence is also necessary in order to determine if this intermediate step existed and is perhaps still found in other languages within the family.

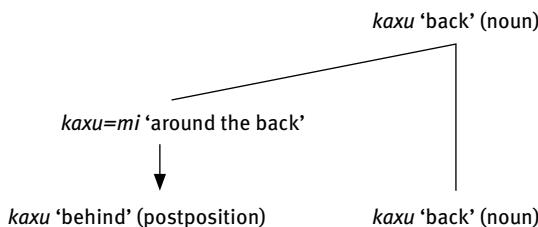


Figure 70. The grammaticalization path of postpositions like *kaxu* ‘behind’ with an intermediate hypothetical stage

We still have to explain the diachronic development of examples like the ones in Table 42, which are prototypical postpositions (with an unmarked object and without a locative postposition), but which do not have a corresponding noun in the synchronic language.

Table 42. Postpositions without a synchronic nominal use

Form	Meaning
<i>'ipasu</i>	‘at the border of’
<i>bëbun</i>	‘in front of’
<i>chichu</i>	‘inside (e.g. a river)’
<i>ëman</i>	‘far, outside’
<i>kamánan</i>	‘over’
<i>mëú</i>	‘inside (e.g. a house)’
<i>nëkëmanan</i>	‘this side of the river’
<i>punté</i>	‘in direction to’
<i>rapasu</i>	‘next to’
<i>rësu</i>	‘at the end of’ (= <i>sënën</i>)
<i>sënën</i>	‘at the end of’ (= <i>rësu</i>)
<i>tanain</i>	‘at the base of’
<i>tëmù</i>	‘under’
<i>ukëmanan</i>	‘the other side of the river’
<i>ura</i>	‘far’
<i>urama</i>	‘close’

We have one piece of evidence to argue that at least some of these forms may also have come from (old) nouns: some of the postpositions in Table 42 show related synchronic body-part prefixes (see §4.6). As has been argued by Zariquiey and Fleck (2013), prefixes in Kakataibo (as in other Pano languages) are diachronically related to nouns that primarily refer to body parts and related meanings. Thus, the fact that some postpositions have corresponding synchronic prefixes makes their nominal origin likely. As an illustration, a list of some of the postpositions with their corresponding prefixes is presented in Table 43.

Table 43. Postpositions and corresponding prefixes

Form	Meaning	Corresponding prefix
<i>bëbun</i>	'in front of'	<i>bë-</i> 'face/eyes'
<i>chichu</i>	'inside (e.g. a river)'	<i>chi-</i> ~ <i>tsi-</i> 'buttock'
<i>nëbëtsi</i>	'in the centre of'	<i>në-</i> 'neck'
<i>rapasu</i>	'next to'	<i>ra-</i> 'body'
<i>rësu</i>	'at the end of'	<i>rë-</i> 'nose'
<i>tanain</i>	'at the base of'	<i>ta-</i> 'foot'
<i>tëmú</i>	'below'	<i>të-</i> 'neck'

There are, however, 10 postpositions in Kakataibo that do not exhibit a corresponding synchronic noun and cannot be related to any prefix on solid semantic or formal basis. These postpositions are listed in Table 44.

Table 44. Postpositions without a synchronic nominal use

Form	Meaning
<i>'ipasu</i>	'at the border of'
<i>ëman</i>	'far, outside'
<i>kamánan</i>	'over'
<i>mëú</i>	'inside (e.g. a house)'
<i>nëkëmanan</i>	'this side of the river'
<i>punte</i>	'in direction to'
<i>sënën</i>	'at the end of' (= <i>rësu</i>)
<i>ukëmanan</i>	'the other side of the river'
<i>ura</i>	'far'
<i>urama</i>	'close'

One possible explanation for the examples listed in Table 44 is that they also have a nominal origin, but that their nominal sources are not synchronically available in the language. However, there is no evidence to support such analysis and at least some of the postpositions listed in Table 44 might be old postpositions. The fact that a considerable number of postpositions come from nouns does not necessarily imply that all of them did (or underwent this process at the same time). The change from *kaxu* 'back' (noun) to *kaxu* 'behind' (postposition) did not necessarily create the category 'postposition'. It might only increase the number of a previously existent category, a category that in fact might have been old and postulable for the proto-language. It might be the case that *mëú* 'inside (e.g. a house)' was an old postposition, previous to the change from nouns to postposition that this section has proved as unarguable for Kakataibo.

In turn, the fact that at least 14 postpositions are likely to have a nominal origin does not mean that all postpositions in Kakataibo will have the same origin. There

is at least one postposition in Table 44 that seems to have had a different source: *sënën* ‘at the end of’, which is very likely to be related to the verb *sënën* ‘finish’. Notice that a similar derivation is found in a few very unusual other cases, such as *'isin* ‘be sick’ and *'isin* ‘illness’ and *bana* ‘speak’ and *bana* ‘word, language, tale’, but in those cases, *'isin* ‘illness’ and *bana* ‘word, language, tale’ are nouns and not postpositions. In turn, *ura* ‘far’ and *urama* ‘close’, which are clearly related to each other (*urama* = *ura* ‘far’ + *ma* ‘negator’) does not seem to have a nominal origin either. In fact, these forms seem to have come from an adverb, which develop the functional possibility of taking a complement, as postpositions do, and therefore can be synchronically analyzed as so (and a similar diachronic scenario could be conceived for *ukë* and *nëkë*, although at some point they were combined with *manan* ‘upside part’ in order to produce *ukëmanan* ‘the other side of the river’ and *nëkëmanan* ‘this side of the river’). The examples in (256) and (257) illustrate the use of *uráma* ‘close’ and *ukëmanan* ‘at the other side of’.

- (256) *'Aishbi kaisa 'iakëxa a uni chumibukë bamati uráma.*
'aishbi ka=is=a i-akë-x-a a uni
 but:S/A>A NAR=REP=3 be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX that person
chumin-but-kë [bama-ti uráma]
 thin-down-NOMLZ:ABS die-NOMLZ close
 ‘However, it is said that that man was really thin, not far from passing away.’
 (EE-king.vulture-2007.051)
- (257) “*Mejor kananuna ukëmanan paru ukëmanan shitáti*” *kixun...*
mejor ka=nanuna ukëmanan [paru ukëmanan] shitat-ti
 instead NAR=1PL the.other.side big.river the.other.side cross-NOMLZ
ki-xun
 say:INTR-S/A>A
 ‘Saying “let’s cross to the other side of the river, instead” ...’ (EE-north-2006.015)

5.1.2.3 Topological relations and postpositions

As part of the investigation on the class of postpositions in Kakataibo, I have conducted research on their semantic properties by means of the application of *The Topological Relations Picture Series* (Bowerman and Peterson 1992), a set of stimulus materials, which includes 71 line drawings. Following the recommendations stipulated by Levinson and Wilkins (2006: 9), the figures were used with the collaboration of three native speakers. Each picture shows two objects, one figure object and one ground object. Speakers were requested to answer the question ‘Where is X?’, where ‘X’ corresponded to the figure object. Different possible answers were gathered and presented to the other speakers in order to determine which was the preferred solution.

The figures were developed in order to investigate the “maximal range of scenes that may be assimilated to canonical IN- and ON-relations” (Levinson and Wilkins

2006: 9). Although information was gathered for each of the 71 figures, in this section I follow the methodology prepared by Levinson and Wilkins for the comparison of the languages included in the book they edited in 2006 and, therefore, I focus on the 8 pictures that represent “maximally different scenes from the point of view of the differentiation of spatial adpositions” (Levinson and Wilkins 2006: 11). These figures are presented in Figure 71.

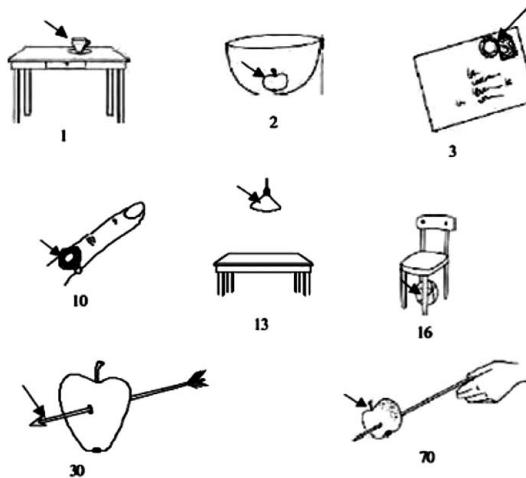


Figure 71. Set of pictures from the “Topological Relations Picture Series” (taken from Levinson and Wilkins 2006: 10)

Based on these eight pictures it is possible to propose the semantic map in Figure 72, in which we can observe the interaction of some of the postpositions in Table 40 with the general locative case marker *=nu*. Basically, we find a main distinction between those topological relations that imply contact between the figure and the ground and those that do not. The former can all be expressed by means of the general locative case marker *=nu*. However, those relations that do not imply direct contact are expressed by means of postpositions: the figures ‘lamp over table’ and ‘ball under chair’ are encoded by means of the pospositions *manami* and *tēmū*, respectively. Among the semantic category of topological relations that imply contact, it is also possible to establish a further semantic distinction between freely placed figures and attached figures (Levinson and Wilkins 2006: 11) and this distinction seems to be also relevant for the structuring of the semantic map in Figure 72, since while attached figures can only be encoded by means of the general locative marker, freely placed figures can both carry this marker or a dedicated postposition. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that there is a general tendency, according to which the general locative marker appears in those cases in which there is attachment, and dedicated pospositions are used in those cases where there is no contact. Cases of free placement, which

are somewhere in the middle, can be expressed by means of any of the two strategies. Another interesting fact is that while simple copulative constructions were accepted as the best possibility for those relations expressed by a postposition, for those relations which can only be encoded by means of the general locative, the speakers always tried to provide more specific stative predicates, such as ‘be stuck’ or ‘be pierced’.

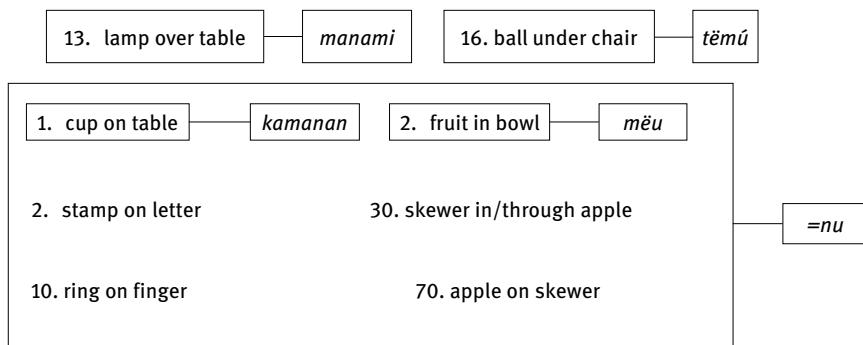


Figure 72. Set of pictures from the “Topological Relations Picture Series” (taken from Levinson and Wilkins 2006: 10)

5.1.3 Numerals and quantifiers

The numerical system of Kakataibo is very simple. There are only three numerals: *achushi* ‘1’, *rabé* ‘2’ and *mapai* ‘5’. The last meaning can alternatively be expressed with *mékén*, which means ‘hand’. In fact, the word *mapai* is not necessarily known by all the speakers of the language. Other small numbers can be expressed by combining the three forms presented above (normally by adding the conjunction ‘*imainun*’ ‘and’, but not always). Thus, *achushi* (‘*imainun*) *rabé* can be used to say ‘3’ and *rabé* (‘*imainun*) *rabé* can be used as ‘4’ (but none of those forms seem to represent fixed constructions). Even so, when the speakers try to express higher numbers, they normally offer different solutions which follow different kinds of logic: for example, the form *rabé* (‘*imainun*) *mapai* is translated as ‘2+5=7’ or ‘2x5=10’ by different people. This fact shows that there was probably not a socially well-established numeric system for expressing higher numbers among the Kakataibo. The closely related language Shipibo-Konibo has borrowed and phonologically readapted a decimal numeric system from Quechua, probably through the influence of Franciscan missionaries in earlier centuries, but this did not happen in Kakataibo. Consequently, although some Kakataibo speakers who are fluent in Shipibo-Konibo use its borrowed numeric system, most of them use Spanish numbers. This fact can easily be seen in natural speech and narratives: talking about quantities usually triggers relatively long portions of discourse in Spanish, in constructions that can be analyzed as code-switching.

In addition to numerals, Kakataibo has two clear quantifiers: ‘*itsa* ‘a lot’ and *kamabi* ‘all’. The form *kamabi* ‘all’ is related to the plural enclitic =*kama* and the form ‘*itsa* ‘a lot’ can also be used in its negative form to mean ‘not many/much’ (*itsa-ma*) and ‘a few’ (*itsamashi*).

Numerals and quantifiers can be used as NP-modifiers or as head of constituents with an equivalent syntactic behavior. The numeral *achushi* ‘1’ functions as an indefinite marker, in a similar fashion to what we find in languages like Spanish or English. The following examples provide some illustration of the use of numerals and quantifiers.

- (258) *Itska kana isan.*

itsa *ka=na* *is-a-n*
a.lot:ABS NAR=1SG see-PFV-1/2
 ‘I saw a lot.’

- (259) *Achushi unin ka ‘axa.*

achushi *uni-n* *ka* ‘*a-a-x-a*
one man-ERG NAR:3 do-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘One man did (it).’

Numerals and quantifiers are usually reduplicated in discourse (see §9.3 for predicate reduplication). This is shown in the following example, where the form ‘*itsa* ‘many’ is reduplicated:

- (260) *Y usaokin ka ‘akëxa ‘itsa ‘itsa forma*

y *usa-o-kin* *ka* ‘*a-akë-x-a*
 and like.that-FACT-S/A>A:SE NAR:3 do-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
‘itsa **‘itsa** *forma*
many **many** form:ABS
 ‘And doing like that, they prepared lots of styles (of arrows) a long time ago.’
 (SE-arrows-2007.024)

5.1.4 Interjections

A closed word class of interjections can be postulated for any particular language (Schachter and Shopen 2007) and this is also true for Kakataibo. The following table offers all the interjections attested in my corpus. The last two forms were found in narratives, as part of the speech of mythical characters, and, according to my teachers, they are no longer used in daily speech.

Table 45. List of interjections documented in my corpus

Interjection	Meaning
<i>ēpē</i>	'just remembered'
<i>arí</i>	'it hurts'
<i>'a'a</i>	'it hurts'
<i>ēmá</i>	'not in that way'
<i>ēē</i>	'fear'
<i>maa</i>	'surprise'
<i>u:</i>	'response to a call'
<i>pēēns</i> (archaic)	'crying'
<i>ērí</i> (archaic)	'fear'

Interjections are different from other word classes in relation to different phonological, morphological and syntactic criteria. Phonologically, they often exhibit special phonological features, such as a glottal stop in an internal position (see '*a'a*) or complex codas (see *pēēns*). Morphologically, their particularity is that they do not take any affixes and, syntactically, they are not usually used as parts of clauses. If this happens their only possible position is as complement of say-verbs like *ka* 'say, transitive' and *ki* 'say, intransitive' in direct speech clauses (see §13.2.1). It is also important to mention here that Kakataibo does not have single words equivalent to 'yes' or 'no' in English and these concepts are usually expressed with verbless copula clauses like *asabi ka* '(it is) good' and *usama ka* '(it is) not like that'.

5.1.5 Onomatopoeic words

Onomatopoeic words are very common in Kakataibo narratives. They are used to imitate the singing of birds or other common sounds in the environment. They cannot be derived from other word classes, but people have some freedom to invent and produce new onomatopoeic items. In this sense, they are not a completely closed word class and we do not have to expect that all the speakers of the language know a comparable inventory (old people are more likely to be aware of a larger number of them).

When they are used in discourse, onomatopoeic words are normally used with both the intransitive and the intransitive versions of the predicate 'say': *ki* and *ka*, respectively. For example, in one narrative, when a female character was trying to hide herself, she entered into a big hole in a big tree but she made some noise with dry leaves and, for that reason, she was discovered by her enemy. This event is described with the following construction, where we also find the verb *ki*.

- (261) *Këjëru këjëru këjëru kaisa kiakëxa.*

këjëru këjëru këjëru *ka=is=a* *ki-akë-x-a*
këjëru këjëru këjëru NAR=REP=3 say:INTR-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘It is said that a long time ago, she made (lit. said) a noise *këjëru këjëru këjëru*.’
 (NA-inchinka-2007:037)

Another strategy is to include them in sentences without any verbal form, very much like adverbs. This use, which is less frequent than the previous one, is presented in (262).

- (262) *Papixun kaisa uni buankëshín shooo buanxun kaisa tiiish menu ‘apakëshín.*

papi-xun *ka=is=a* *uni* *buan-akë-x-in* **shooo**
 carry-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 man:ABS bring-REM.PST-3-PROX **shooo**
buan-xun *ka=is=a* **tiiish** *me=nu*
 bring-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 tiiish ground=DIR
 ‘a-pat-akë-x-in
 put-down-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘It is said that a long time ago, carrying him, (the king vulture) brought the man
 (making a noise like) *shooo*. Then, bringing him, (the king vulture) took (him)
 to the ground (making a noise like) *tiiish*.’ (EE-king.vulture-2007:076)

Another interesting fact is that in some cases onomatopoeic words show unusual phonological features, like the sound <j> ([x]) in *këjëru*, whose phonetic correlate is a velar fricative that is not a phoneme in the language. In addition, some onomatopoeic words in combination with the say-verbs *ka* ‘transitive’ and *ki* ‘intransitive’ have grammaticalized into verbal forms with different meanings (for instance, *táxka-* ‘hit (someone) with the fist’ and *táshka* ‘slap (someone)’; see §8.2.4 for more examples).

5.2 Open word classes

Open word classes such as nouns, verbs and adjectives are a topic of controversy within linguistic theory. While a number of scholars consider them to be language-particular categories and not language universals (see, for example, Hengeveld 1992); others assume that at least the distinction between nouns and verbs is universal (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 5) or that this universality also applies to existence of adjectives (Dixon 2010: Vol.II, 62).

In Kakataibo, almost any word belonging to an open class can potentially be used as a predicate, including those whose primary function is reference or modification; and this makes it difficult to classify Kakataibo words into different lexical categories. In this chapter, I will argue that, despite this functional flexibility, Kakataibo can be analyzed as having open word classes of the traditional sort, and I will give language-

internal criteria for how these classes can be distinguished and identified. Thus, I will be more interested in showing how different lexical categories are distinguished in Kakataibo than in addressing the question about the universal validity of those categories.

Different criteria are claimed to be relevant for studying and distinguishing different word classes (see, for example, Hopper and Thompson 1984: 703–704 for a brief presentation of these criteria). While some traditional grammarians based the distinction between word classes on semantic grounds and offer notional definitions for them, Schachter and Shopen (2007: 1) assume that: “the primary criteria for parts-of-speech classification are grammatical not semantic” (see also Schachter 1985: 3). By “grammatical”, Schachter and Shopen (2007: 1–2) mean to “the word’s distribution, its range of syntactic functions, and the morphological or syntactic categories for which it is specifiable.”

In defining grammatical categories, I will take into account different types of evidence (associated with the morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of the words under study), looking carefully at the ways in which they interact with each other. This study will reveal that word-class distinctions in Kakataibo are fairly systematic, despite the general polyfunctionality found in Kakataibo words. We will even see that the word-class distinctions established in Kakataibo are similar to the distinctions between nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs in other languages.

This section has been organized as follows: §5.2.1 is about the distinction between nouns and verbs; §5.2.2 offers some criteria for distinguishing adjectives from verbs; and §5.2.3 does the same for adjectives and nouns. §5.2.4 deals with adverbs; and, finally, §5.2.5 offers a summary of the chapter. I will focus on those properties that help us distinguish between word classes and, therefore, I will not exemplify all the properties of each (I do this in Chapters 6–10 instead). In the following discussion, I will be constantly referring to predication, reference and modification as the three basic pragmatic (communicative) functions of language and as being the basis for “the traditional major parts of speech” (Croft 2000: 87; 2001: 66) and I will try to link properties of other levels to these basic pragmatic functions.

5.2.1 Distinguishing nouns from verbs

In Kakataibo there are no major problems for establishing verbs and nouns as two separate word classes, and most roots are easily classifiable as either nouns or verbs: nouns can function as referring expressions without carrying any additional morphology and, therefore, following Croft’s (2000) approach to word classes, reference is an unmarked function of nouns. Verbs, by contrast, need to have a nominalizer in order to appear in that function. However, both nouns and verbs can function as predicates (but note that there is an overwhelming tendency in discourse for nouns to appear as referring expressions and not as predicates; see also Hopper and Thompson 1984).

Grammatically, nouns can function as the nucleus of an NP (which can appear as a clausal argument or a complement of a postposition), can be omitted if the context is clear and can be replaced by pronouns. They can be syntactically modified by other nouns, by adjectives and by other modifiers like numerals, quantifiers and demonstratives. Finally, there are morphological forms specific to nouns, including enclitics marking case and number (also available for adjectives; see §5.2.3), and a group of derivational suffixes. Those properties are not found in basic verbs (unless they have been nominalized first; for a detailed discussion of lexical nominalization, see §6.4).

On the other hand, both nouns and verbs can be heads of predicates and, in that function, can be modified by adverbs or adverbial elements, and have access to a rich morphological system that includes inflectional suffixes for tense, aspect, modality and person, and also a long list of derivational suffixes. However, the combinatorial possibilities of nouns and verbs used as predicates is different, and this can be used as an additional criterion for establishing a distinction between them (see also §5.2.2 for adjectives functioning as predicates). Let us look at the following case of a word used as both a referring expression (> noun) and a predicate (> verb):

(263) *'ibu*

- (1) reference 'owner' (>noun)

Nukēn 'ibu kaisa nainuax uakëxa.

nukēn 'ibu ka-is=a nai=nu=ax

1PL.GEN owner:ABS NAR=REP=3 sky=LOC=PA.S

u-akë-x-a

come-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

'It is said that our owner came from the sky a long time ago.'

- (2) predicate 'become owner' (>verb)

Ax ka 'ibuaxa.

a=x ka 'ibu-a-x-a

3SG=S NAR:3 become.owner-PST-3-NON.PROX

'(S)he became the owner (of something).'

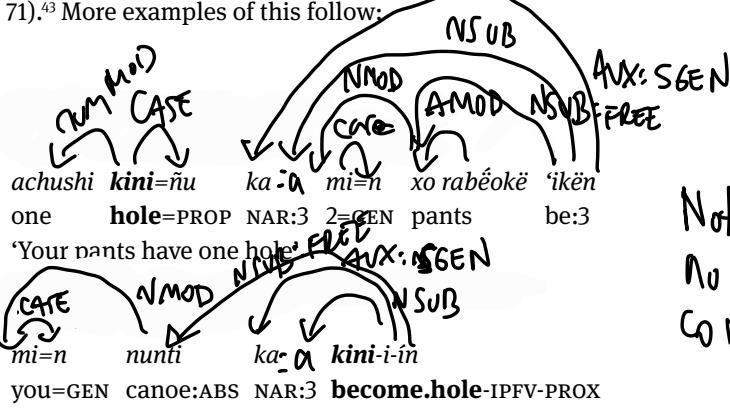
Examples like the ones in (263) can be analyzed in at least two different ways. The first one is to state that there is a verb '*ibu* 'become owner' but also a noun '*ibu* 'owner'; that is, that we have two different lexical items that have the same form: homonymy. The second one is to postulate that we have just one lexeme with two different functions, associated with two different constructions; that is, we have one polyfunctional lexical item: polysemy.

Assuming two different lexical forms for examples like the one in (263) is unsatisfactory since we would have to postulate two different lexemes for (almost) all nouns (and also for almost all adjectives; see §5.2.2). I prefer systematic polysemy, since it is simpler: the semantic values 'X' and 'become X' are intrinsically part of the semantic content of forms like '*ibu*' and they are triggered by the construction in which the

word is used. Since this semantic relationship is strong, predictable and systematic, we do not need to claim that there are two different lexemes, one verb and one noun. Instead, we can argue that lexical items like *'ibu* “have multiple conventional meanings, each of which happens to fall into different parts of speech of the usual sort” (Croft 2001: 71).⁴³ More examples of this follow:

(264) *kini*

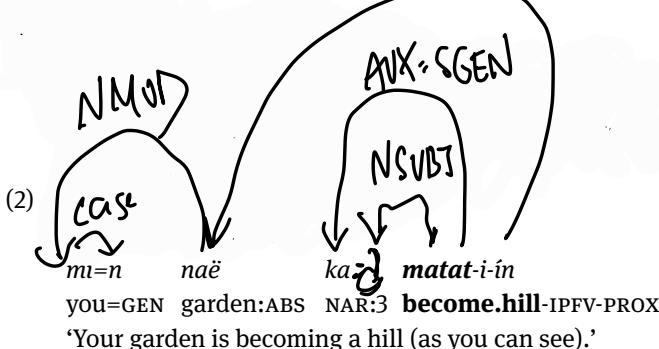
(1)



(2)

CASE **NMOD** **NSUB** **AUX: SGEN**
mi=n *nunti* *ka=a* *kini-i-in*
you=GEN canoe:ABS NAR:3 **become.hole-IPFV-PROX**
'Your canoe is becoming (i.e. getting) holes (as you can see).'

(265)



Notas
No sé
Como another
el
completo
de la
Cópula

Thus, in all the illustrated cases, we regularly find intransitive predicates related to a change of state-meaning and, conveying the inception of the state, which are easily translated into English as “to become X”. This systematic semantic derivation is language-specific and constitutes an argument for their basic nominal nature: this meaning is not necessarily found in words that are classified as verbs, whose semantic range is much wider.

In addition, there is a morphosyntactic difference between nouns used as inchoative predicates and basic verbs. Intransitive verbs in Kakataibo can normally be

⁴³ It may be interesting to note that, when used as predicates, temporal nouns like *nëtë* ‘day’ or *imë* ‘night’, in addition to the meaning of ‘to become day (to dawn)’ and ‘to become night (to get dark)’, have a meaning equivalent to ‘to spend the night at a place’ and ‘to stay until late’, respectively.

derived into causative forms by using the general causative suffix *-mi* and, in some cases, the transitivizer suffix *-n*, which acts as direct causativizer. In the appropriate context, predicates like the ones in (263)–(265) can have two distinct causative forms too. However, while they can be marked with *-mi* to express indirect causation, the form expressing direct causation does not include the marker *-n*, but the factitive *-o* (which alternates with *-a* after *u*). This marker cannot be combined with any other type of predicate and, therefore, is exclusive to the forms discussed here (which cannot take *-n* under any circumstances). Let us look at the examples in Table 46.

Table 46. Referential terms, intransitive predicates and transitive predicates

Referential term	Intransitive predicate	Direct causative predicate	Indirect causative predicate	Ungrammatical transitive form
<i>'ibu</i> 'owner'	<i>'ibu</i> 'become the owner'	<i>'ibu-o</i> 'make someone a owner'	<i>'ibu-mi</i> 'let someone be the owner'	* <i>'ibu-n</i>
<i>kini</i> 'hole'	<i>kini</i> 'get a hole'	<i>kini-o</i> 'make a hole'	<i>kini-mi</i> 'be careless and let something get holes'	* <i>kini-n</i>
<i>matá</i> 'hill'	<i>matá</i> 'become a hill'	<i>matá-o</i> 'make a piece of land a small hill, by adding soil'	<i>matá-mi</i> 'let a garden become a small hill, because of lack of care'	* <i>matá-n</i>

The behavior of a predicate in relation to these valence-changing devices can be considered a useful test for assigning its membership in the classes of nouns and verbs, respectively. Crucially, it coincides with the other criteria previously presented in this section: we have a class of words that, in addition to other characteristics which will be discussed in §5.2.3, (i) can function as referential terms when unmarked; (ii) function as heads of NPs; (iii) always have a change of state meaning when used as predicates; and (iv) when functioning as predicates, carry the factitive marker *-o* in order to express direct causation (and not the marker *-n* ‘transitivizer, direct causative’). Words with those properties are called “nouns” in this grammar and they are thus clearly different from the forms that will be called “verbs”, which: (i) do not have reference as their unmarked function; (ii) cannot function as heads of NPs if they are not overtly nominalized; (iii) do not necessarily have a change of state meaning when used as predicates; and (iv) when functioning as predicates, never carry the factitive *-o*. The forms in the former class are usually used as referential terms (an unmarked function of nouns); while the forms in the latter class are usually used as predicates (the only unmarked function of verbs), a fact which coincides with the predictions made by Hopper and Thompson (1984). Let us examine this distinction in more detail, by looking at some forms which are considered verbs in this grammar and at the way in which they behave.

- (266)
- bama*
- ‘die’

word class: verb

*Min atapa ka bamaxa.**mi=n atapa ka bama-a-x-a*you=GEN chicken NAR:3 **die-PFV-3-NON.PROX**

‘Your chicken died.’

noun: *bama-ti* ‘death’ (**bama*) (-*ti* ‘instrument nominalizer’)Transitive verb: *bamami*-, but not **bamao*-

- (267)
- saé*
- ~
- saët*
- ‘drain into’

word class: verb

*Aguaytía sapi ka Parunu saëtia**Aguaytía sapi ka Paru=nú saët-i-a*aguaytía.river DUB NAR:3 ucayali.river=LOC **flow.into-IPFV-NON.PROX**

‘The Aguaytí River drains into the Ucayali River, I think.’

noun: *saé-kë* ‘mouth of a river’ (-*kë* ‘patient nominalizer’)Transitive form: *saémi*-, but not **saéo*-

The form *bama*- and *saé*- are clearly verbal stems according to the criteria proposed here: they must be nominalized in order to be used as nouns (with -*ti* ‘instrument nominalizer’ and -*kë* ‘patient nominalizer’, respectively) and they cannot be causativized with -*o* ‘factitive’. Therefore, examples like the ones in (263)–(265) and (266)–(267) exhibit the prototypical behavior of nouns and verbs in Kakataibo, respectively.⁴⁴

5.2.2 Distinguishing adjectives from verbs

The unmarked function of adjectives is the modification of referential expressions. Therefore, in principle, if a bare lexeme can appear in that modification function, it is very likely to be an adjective (but see the discussion of modifying nouns below). Adjectives, in addition to other properties, can also be used in comparative constructions; can be derived into superlative forms; can be the complement of predicative constructions with or without the copula verb; and, when appearing at the right edge of NPs can be the host of NP inflectional enclitics.

⁴⁴ There are a few cases which do not follow those prototypes in one way or the other. For instance ‘*isin* ‘to get sick’ cannot be causativized with -*o* (like verbs) but has an inchoative meaning and can be used unmarked as a referential expression meaning ‘illness’ (like nouns). In addition, *bana* ‘to speak’ can be causativized by both -*mi* and -*o*, and can be used unmarked as a referential expression meaning ‘word, language, tale’. Since these forms are used with equal frequency as predicates and as referential expressions in discourse, it is difficult to classify them unambiguously as nouns or verbs. Homonymy is an analytical possibility here, but I leave this issue for further research.

As was the case for nouns, generally, adjectives in Kakataibo can also be used as predicates. However, on the basis of almost the same criteria as presented in the previous section (plus a few other principles), it is possible to distinguish between verbs and adjectives. Like nouns, adjectives show a change of state meaning when used as predicates, and they can, semantics permitting, be causativized by *-mi* ‘general causative’ and *-o* ‘factive’, used for indirect and direct causation, respectively. As we have seen in the previous section, the latter form cannot appear with roots classified as verbs. In addition, verbs necessarily carry a nominalizer in order to appear as NP modifiers or copula complements. Let us look at the examples in (268). The first one shows a prototypical verb; and the second, a prototypical adjective:

- (268) *ichú* (~ *ichut*) ‘be bright’

word class: verb

as an intransitive predicate:

A këntí ka ichutia.

a këntí ka ichut-i-a

that pot:ABS NAR:3 **be.bright-IPFV-NON.PROX**

‘That pot is bright.’

Modifying form: *ichú-ké* ‘bright’

këntí ichuké ‘bright pot’

**këntí ichú* (‘bright pot’)

**ichú këntí* (‘bright pot’)

- (269) *tirí* (~ *tirit*) ‘shiny’

word class: adjective

As a modifier:

tirí ñu / ñu tirí

shiny thing thing **shiny**

‘shiny thing’ ‘shiny thing’

As a copula complement:

A ñu ka tirí ikën.

a ñu ka tirí ikën

that thing:ABS NAR:3 **shiny** be:3

‘That thing is shiny.’

As a predicate: ‘become shiny’:

Min linterna ka tiritín.

min linterna ka tirit-i-ín

you=GEN torch:ABS NAR:3 **become.shiny-IPFV-PROX**

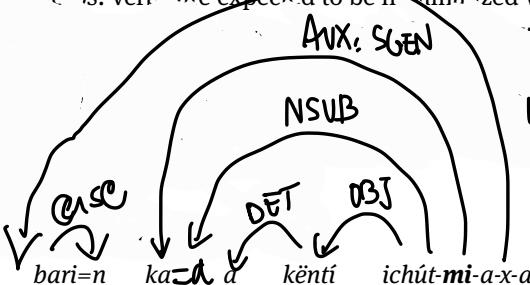
‘Your torch becomes shiny (it is a lit now but it was not before).’

The semantic content of the forms in the examples in (268) and (269) is relatively similar, but it is possible to say, based on their distributional patterns, that they are

grammatically different. This difference can be explained by proposing that the first example is the verb 'be bright' while the second one is the adjective 'shiny'. The arguments for this claim are comparable to those presented for the distinction between

verbs: verbs are expected to be nominalized when they are used as modifiers, being overtly marked for any overt derivation by part-of-speech affixes.

(270)



sun=ERG NAR:3 that pot:ABS be.bright-**CAUS**-PFV-3-NON.PROX
'The sun made the pot bright.'

b. **barin ka a këntí ichúaxa*

*bari=n ka a këntí ichú-**o**-a-x-a*
sun=ERG NAR:3 that pot:ABS be.bright-**FACT**-PFV-3-NON.PROX
('the sun made the pot bright')

(271) a. *Min linterna kamina tiríon*

*mi=n linterna ka=mina tirit-**o**-a-n*
you=GEN torch:ABS NAR=2 become.shining-**FACT**-PFV-2
'(You) lit your torch.'

b. *Min linterna kamina tirímian*

*mi=n linterna ka=mina tirit-**mi**-a-n*
you=GEN torch:ABS NAR=2 become.shining-**CAUS**-PFV-2
'(You) lit your torch (accidentally).'

The evidence in (270) and (271) suggests that, while *ichú* is a prototypical verb, *tirí* is more similar to the nominal forms presented in the previous subsection, which were also able to appear as intransitive predicates expressing a change of state. In the same way, the second predicate can be transitivized with either *-mi* or *-o* (that is, in the same way as nouns) and the first one is transitivized only by *-mi*.

Another interesting fact is that membership in the verb and adjective classes can partially be predicted by the semantics of the word under analysis: most psychological or bodily non-time-stable properties (like *be sad*, *be happy*, *be thirsty*, etc.) have often been lexicalized as verbs, while psychological and physical more time-stable properties (*lazy*, *stupid* and *brave* or *long*, *short*, *thin* and *thick*) have been lexicalized as adjectives (see Talmy 2007 for a typology of lexicalization paths). The following examples show cases of verbs, all of which are related to psychological or bodily non-stable properties.

Table 47. Non-stable properties lexicalized into verbs

Verb	Causative form	Derived adjective-like form
<i>katé</i> ‘feel ashamed’	<i>katé-mi</i> ‘make someone else feel ashamed’ * <i>katé-o</i>	<i>katékë</i> ‘ashamed’
<i>pánan</i> ‘be hungry’	<i>pánan-mi</i> ‘make someone else feel hungry’ * <i>pánan-o</i> [pánaon]	<i>pánankë</i> ‘hungry’
<i>nitéxë</i> ‘feel sad’	<i>nitéxë-mi</i> ‘make someone else feel sad’ * <i>nitéxë-o</i>	<i>nitéxékë</i> ‘sad’
<i>kwéñ</i> ‘feel happy’	<i>kwéñ-mi</i> ‘make someone else feel happy’ * <i>kwéñ-o</i> [kwéon]	<i>kwéñkë</i> ‘happy’
<i>shima</i> ‘be thirsty’	<i>shima-mi</i> ‘make someone else feel thirsty’ * <i>shima-o</i>	<i>shimakë</i> ‘thirsty’

Psychological properties that can be seen as more time-stable are usually expressed as adjectives (which can additionally function as predicates, with a ‘become X’-meaning). It is important to note that those predicates in most cases cannot be transitivized by any direct causative-like form, neither *-o* nor *-n*, but *ñusmá* ‘stupid’ is exceptional in relation to this. This is likely to be the result of a semantic incompatibility (see §15.4.2 for a discussion of the semantics of causation in Kakataibo).

Table 48. Stable properties lexicalized into adjectives

Adjective	Predicate-use	Causative form
<i>chikish</i> ‘lazy’	<i>chikish</i> ‘become lazy’	<i>chikish-mi</i> ‘make somebody else become lazy’ * <i>chikish-o</i> * <i>chikish-n</i>
<i>ñusmá</i> ‘stupid’	<i>ñusmá</i> ‘become stupid’	<i>ñusmá-mi</i> ‘make somebody else become stupid’ <i>ñusmá-o</i> * <i>ñusmá-n</i>
<i>siná</i> ‘brave’	<i>siná</i> ‘become brave’	<i>siná-mi</i> ‘make somebody else become brave’ * <i>siná-o</i> * <i>siná-n</i>

While all adjectives can function as copula complements with (or without) the verb ‘be’, receiving the meaning ‘be X’ (where X is the property expressed by the adjective), not all can function as predicates with verbal morphology and with the meaning ‘become X’. This is the case for adjectives related to colors, which exhibit an unusual morphosyntactic behavior (as will be seen in the following subsection), and adjectives that are, historically or synchronically, morphologically complex, like *asérabi* ‘true’, *asábi* ‘good’ and *aisama* ‘bad’. As an illustration, the functional possibilities of *asábi* ‘good’ are shown in (272a–b).

- (272) *asábi* 'good'
- Ax ka asábi 'ikën.*
 $a=x \quad ka \quad \textbf{asábi} \quad 'ikën$
 3SG=S NAR:3 **good** be:3
 'It is good.'
 - *ax ka asábiaxa*
 $a=x \quad ka \quad \textbf{asábi-a-x-a}$
 3SG=S NAR:3 **become.good-PFV-3-NON.PROX**
 ('it became good')

In some of those cases, however, we may still have transitive predicates derived with the 'factive' *-o* (for example, *aisama-o* [aisamo:] 'do bad things to (or mistreat) someone'). Other interesting cases are those where, as in (273), we have transitive verbs containing the 'factive' marker *-o*, but the element to which *-o* is added is no longer synchronically available in the language, thus, the adjectival form is formed by adding the nominalizer *-kë* to the verb containing the diachronic *-o*:

- (273) *mënió* 'clean'
 word class: verb
 adjective: *mëniókë* 'clean' / **mëni*

5.2.3 Distinguishing adjectives from nouns

In order to demonstrate that an independent adjective class can be postulated for Kakataibo, it is necessary to establish criteria for distinguishing between words which can be considered adjectives and words which can be considered nouns. Before showing the slight differences between the two classes, I will illustrate some of their similarities.

Adjectives are very similar to nouns in several respects. For example, both of them can be used as predicates exhibiting the same behavior, as we can conclude from the two previous subsections and as illustrated in (274) and (275).

- (274) *Ax ka 'ibuaxa.*
 $a=x \quad ka \quad \textbf{'ibu-a-x-a}$
 3SG=S NAR:3 **become.owner-PFV-3-NON.PROX**
 '(S)he became the owner (of something).' (noun)
- (275) *Ax ka chaxkéaxa.*
 $a=x \quad ka \quad \textbf{chaxké-a-x-a}$
 3SG=S NAR:3 **become.long-PFV-3-NON.PROX**
 '(S)he became tall.' (adjective)

In addition, both nouns and most adjectives can be turned into transitive predicates by means of the factitive marker *-o*, which cannot be combined with verbs. Some examples of transitivized nouns and transitivized adjectives follow in (276) and (277).

- (276) *An ka 'ibuoaxa.*

<i>a=n</i>	<i>ka</i>	'ibu-o-a-x-a
3SG=A	NAR:3	become.owner-FACT-PFV-3-NON.PROX
'(S)he made somebody else the owner (of something).' (noun)		

- (277) *An ka chaxké-o-a-x-a.*

<i>a=n</i>	<i>ka</i>	chaxké-o-a-x-a
3SG=A	NAR:3	become.long-FACT-PFV-3-NON.PROX
'(S)he made (something) long.'		

Furthermore, both nouns and adjectives can be modifiers within an NP, as shown in the following examples:

- (278) [*kamun* (N) *xaká* (N)]_{NP}

wild.dog	skin
'wild dog skin'	
[<i>chaxké</i> (Adj) 'unkin (N)] _{NP}	
big	peccary

'pig peccary'

Therefore, forms that I analyze as adjectives share important features with forms that I analyze as nouns but, as I will explain, these two word classes can be distinguished on the basis of (at least) two criteria. The first one is their freedom to appear either before or after the element they modify within the NP. While adjectives can usually appear in either position in relation to the head of the NP, modifying nouns can only appear before the head. This can be seen in the following examples, which are the same as the ones presented in (278) but with the words in the opposite order:

- (279) [**xaká* (N) *kamun* (N)]_{NP}

skin	wild.dog
'wild dog skin'	

- (280) ['unkin (N) *chaxké* (Adj)]_{NP}

peccary	big
'big peccary'	

Thus, while the form *chaxké* can appear either after or before the noun it modifies, the phrase **xaká kamun* is unacceptable, since, semantically, *xaká* cannot modify

kamun (if we want to say something like ‘skinny wild dog’, we have to use another construction, with the first noun having the proprietive marker *=ñu*, which can be translated as ‘who/that have (a lot of) X’; see §7.6.2). Thus, even though modification is a possible function for both nouns and adjectives, the absence or presence of this positional freedom constitutes a test for distinguishing between modifying nouns and adjectives.

Furthermore, both adjectives and nouns can appear modified by the third person genitive pronoun *ain*. However, we find a systematic semantic derivation in the case of adjectives: words analyzed as adjectives in this grammar have two possible interpretations when possessed by *ain*: either they become superlative forms (something like ‘the X-est one’, where X refers to the attribute expressed by the adjective); or they express the name of the property (something like ‘X-ness’, where X again is the attribute expressed by the adjective). This systematic semantic derivation, illustrated in the following examples, is different from the semantics of possessed nouns.

- (281) a. *ain tua* ‘her son’
 - b. *ain maxká* ‘his head’
 - c. *ain xubu* ‘his house’
 - d. *ain ñu* ‘his thing’
-
- (282) a. *ain mëtú* ‘the shortest / shortness’
 - b. *ain naxbá* ‘the widest / width’
 - c. *ain chaxké* ‘the longest / length’
 - d. *ain pëné* ‘the most brilliant / brilliance’

One important point to mention is that in Kakataibo, heading a NP is a possibility of both nouns and adjectives and, therefore, this cannot be used as a criterion for distinguishing between these two classes. See the following examples.

- (283) ‘*Ēn kana a bēná isan*. (adjective)
- ‘*ē=n ka=na a bēná is-a-n*
 1SG=A NAR=1SG **that** **young:ABS** see-PFV-1/2
 ‘I saw the young one.’

- (284) ‘*Ēn kana a uni isan*. (noun)
- ‘*ē=n ka=na a uni is-a-n*
 1SG=A NAR=1SG **that** **man:ABS** see-PFV-1/2
 ‘I saw the man.’

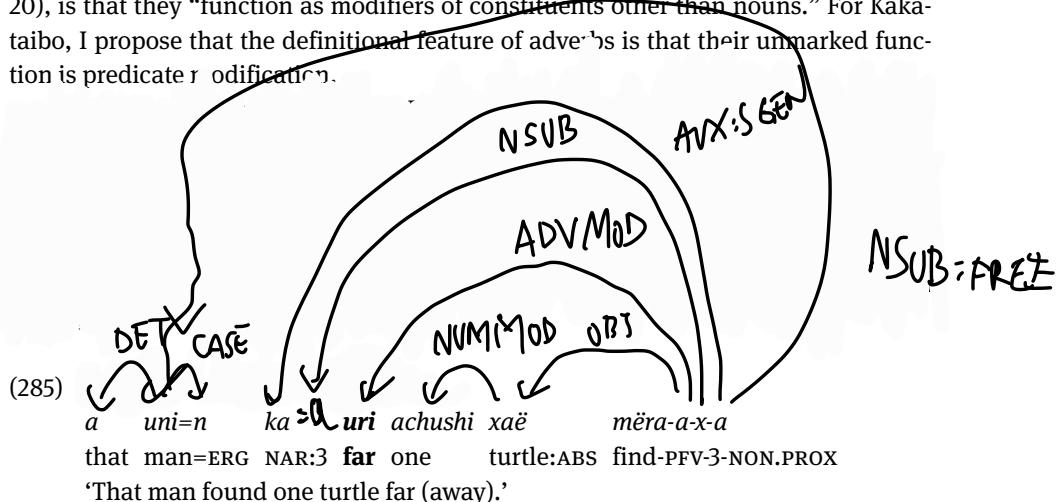
There is a group of words that exhibit both adjective-like and noun-like properties and, therefore, are difficult to classify based on the criteria proposed here. Table 49 lists some of the forms in my database that behave in this way.

Table 49. Noun/adjective forms

Form	'Adjective'-meaning	'Noun'-meaning
<i>xanu</i>	'female'	'woman, wife'
<i>bēnē</i>	'male'	'husband'
<i>ñuxan</i>	'old (female)'	'old woman'
<i>ñusi</i>	'old (male)'	'old man'
<i>xuntaku</i>	'young (female)'	'girl'
<i>rairi</i>	'different'	'different one'
<i>bata</i>	'sweet'	'candy'
<i>kacha</i>	'sour'	'lemon'
<i>muka</i>	'bitter'	'poison'
<i>xēni</i>	'fat'	'fat'

5.2.4 Distinguishing adverbs from other word classes

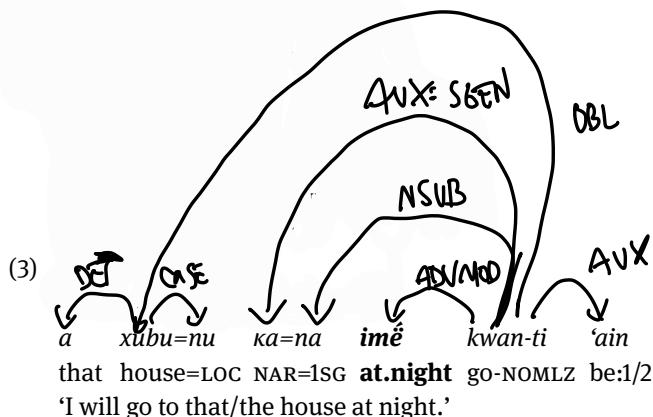
As Schachter and Shopen (2007: 20) say, the label “adverb” “is often applied to several different sets of words in a language, sets that do not necessarily have much in common with one another, either notionally or grammatically.” Due to this absence of shared features, the members of the adverb class are generally divided into semantic sub-classes (manner, location, time, etc.). Nevertheless, adverbs are expected to share at least one common feature, which, according to Schachter and Shopen (2007: 20), is that they “function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns.” For Kaka-taibo, I propose that the definitional feature of adverbs is that their unmarked function is predicate modification.



Words related to parts of the day, like *ñamē* ‘morning’, *imē* ‘night’ and *ñantan* ‘afternoon’ are nominal with regard to all the criteria proposed in this chapter, but they can also be used as adverbs (i.e., as unmarked predicate modifiers). Interestingly,

the forms just mentioned are different from *nëtë* ‘day’ and *baritia* ‘year’, which, when used as adverbial elements, must take the temporal locative marker *=n*. See the following examples, where the different functions of *ime* ‘night’ are presented. It can be seen that this form can be used both as the head of an NP and as a predicate (both are accessible functions for nouns); but also as an unmarked predicate modifier (the definitional function of adverbs).

(286)



In addition, *bëri* ‘now’, *bëráma* ‘before’, *munu* ‘slowly’ and *ñanká* ‘in vain’ can also be used as adjectives modifying nouns, without any overt modification and with the meanings ‘current’, ‘old’, ‘slow’ and ‘useless’, respectively. This can be seen if we compare, for example, the forms *munu* ‘slowly’ (adverb) and *bënë* ‘fast’ (adjective). In (287), it can be seen that *bënë* ‘fast’ needs extra morphology to modify a predicate; while *munu* ‘slow’ does not. In (288), we find that the two forms can be used as noun modifiers without any additional morphology:

(287) a. *Munu ka 'a'.*

munu *ka* *'a'*
slowly NAR do:IMP
 'Do it slowly!'

b. *Bënë-kin ka 'a'.*

bënë-kin *ka* *'a'*
fast-S/A>A(SA) NAR do:IMP
 'Do it quickly!'

- (288) a. *munu uni*
munu uni
slow man
'slow man'
b. *bënē uni*
bënē *uni*
fast man
'fast man'

Another particularity of adverbs is that many of them cannot be used as predicates. This also makes them different from other open word classes, which, as we have seen throughout this chapter, can be easily used in that function. Two adverbs which are able to function as predicates are *munu* 'slowly' and *ñangan* 'in vain' which, as predicates, mean 'be delayed' and 'miss the shot', respectively. Notice that in those cases the meaning 'become X' is not as transparent as it was in the cases of nouns and adjectives discussed in this section and therefore the predicative use of the adverbs *munu* 'delay' and *ñangan* 'miss the shot' remind us of verbs. One example of *munu* 'delay' follows.

- (289) *Ax ka Limanu munuia.*

a=x ka Lima=nu munu-i-a
3SG=S NAR:3 Lima=LOC **delay-IPFV-NON.PROX**
'He delays in Lima (i.e. stays longer than expected)'

It seems that adverbs are the most heterogeneous word class in Kakataibo and that many of its members overlap with other word-classes: some with nouns, some with adjectives and some with verbs. However, as claimed at the beginning of this subsection, they all share the capability of modifying predicates without carrying extra morphology.

5.2.5 Summarizing the distinctions between open word classes

In §5.2.1 – §5.2.4, I have shown that, despite a few idiosyncratic cases and some apparent difficulties, it is possible to state that Kakataibo distinguishes between four open word classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. I have offered sets of language-internal criteria that allow us to establish such distinctions.

The criteria used in §5.2.1 – §5.2.4 are summarized in Table 50, which presents what I consider the prototypical behavior of each of the open word classes proposed in this section. The table has been organized according to the communicative functions of predication, reference, and entity and predicate modification, and includes information about the prototypes established for each word class. It is important to

consider, however, that a few words, some of which were briefly illustrated throughout this chapter, combine properties associated with more than one of the proposed classes, according to the construction in which they appear. For instance, the words *xanu* and *ñuxan* can be used both as adjectives with the meanings ‘female’ and ‘old (female)’, and as nouns with the meanings ‘woman, wife’ and ‘old woman’, respectively. This is also true regarding temporal expressions, some of which can be used as nouns and adverbs. The same applies to words like *bana* ‘speak; language, tale, word’ and *isin* ‘get sick; illness’, which can function as both nouns and verbs, according to the construction in which they appear, and to some temporal expressions which act as nouns and adverbs. These cases observe more than one of the prototypes defined in the following table and, therefore, are difficult to classify. One possibility for them would be to argue for homonymy, however, I leave this question open, considering that they represent only a very minor portion of Kakataibo’s lexicon and that most words in this language can be defined in terms of the prototypes in Table 50.

Table 50. Prototypical properties of open word classes in Kakataibo

6 Nouns

6.1 Introduction

A class of nouns can be identified in Kakataibo on the basis of a number of different criteria (see §5.2). Basically, among other characteristics, nouns systematically: (1) have reference as their unmarked function; (2) function as heads of NPs; (3) can be omitted or replaced by pronouns; (4) always have an intransitive change of state meaning when used as predicates; (5) can carry the factitive marker *-o* in order to be derived into direct causative predicates; and (6) can modify other nouns within NPs but only when appearing in the pre-head position.

This chapter lists a set of noun classes that can be identified based on morphosyntactic principles and gives a brief description and exemplification of nominal derivative markers, which operate over nominal roots or stems and, thus, can be considered suffixes rather than enclitics. This chapter presents other relevant derivational processes for the creation of new nouns, all of them attested in the rich ethnobiological terminology used and known by the Kakataibo. This chapter also provides information about the structure of the noun phrase (NP) in Kakataibo, the nominal inflectional morphology available in this language and different types of NP-sequences most commonly found in Kakataibo discourse.

The presentation of the data in this chapter has been organized in the following way: §6.2 offers a brief description of some noun classes; §6.3 presents the nominal derivational morphology; §6.4 describes lexical nominalizations; §6.5 presents other morphological processes used in the derivation of nominal expressions (based on a lexical ethnobiological database with 1233 names of plants and animals); §6.6 deals with the structure of NPs in the language; §6.7 lists, describes and exemplifies nominal inflectional forms; §6.8 describes a special type of construction with the form *rabanan* ‘because of’; and, finally, §6.9 presents some information about the usual sequences of NPs in discourse.

6.2 Noun classes

Based on their semantics, it is possible to assign Kakataibo nouns to different classes, but most of them have little or no grammatical relevance. Thus, for example, while it is possible to distinguish a class of artefacts (that is, human-made elements like *pia* ‘arrow’, *xubu* ‘house’ or *inu* ‘mallet’) from a class of natural entities (like *baka* ‘river’, *maxax* ‘rock’ or *tashi* ‘salt’), the grammar does not make any distinction between these subclasses.

Something similar can be observed regarding the distinction between inanimate and animate nouns. Superficially, they seem to differ when modified by the *=n* marker, in that words like *maxax* ‘rock’ or *inu* ‘mallet’, on the one hand, and *uni* ‘man’

or *'inu* ‘jaguar’, on the other, tend to have different interpretations: in the former cases, the resulting NP is more likely to be interpreted as an instrument, while in the latter cases, the NP is more likely to be interpreted as an agent. However, this is a semantic or pragmatic rather than a grammatical distinction. Nouns belonging to one or the other class show the same grammatical possibilities, but, due to their semantic content, they tend to be interpreted differently: since inanimate nouns are less agentive, they are more likely to be instruments; in turn, animate nouns are more likely to be agents. In some contexts, an animate noun can be an instrument (if for example somebody hits someone else with a snake); and conversely an inanimate object in a myth could be animate and carry out an agentive action.

I argue, therefore, that many semantic distinctions like animate vs. inanimate or artefacts vs. natural entities, which may be important for other languages, are not relevant categories for understanding Kakataibo grammar and, thus, it is not necessary to include them as separate noun classes.

There are, however, a few noun classes, which can be seen as belonging to the same semantic class and have particular grammatical features that are relevant in the context of this book. Such noun classes are the only ones that will be described here.

6.2.1 Nouns without access to pluralization (non-count nouns)

The distinction between count and non-count nouns has been said to be significant for the grammar of Shipibo-Konibo. Valenzuela (2003b: 204) states for this language that:⁴⁵ “[n]on-count nouns do not combine with numerals and cannot take the plural *-bu*”, and she includes examples like “*tashi* ‘salt’, *jënë* ‘flowing water’, *unpax* ‘contained water’, *ui* ‘rain’, *wakanawa* ‘school of fish’, *kuin* ‘cloud(s)’, *niwë* ‘wind’, *bëchun* ‘wave’, *mashi* ‘sand’, *mai* ‘land’, *manu* ‘mud’, *nai* ‘sky’, *manish* ‘weed.’.” In addition, food and drink products like *arus* ‘rice,’ *atsa putu* ‘manioc flour,’ *bata* ‘sugar,’ *bëxnan* ‘sugarcane liquor’ are non-count nouns and this is also the case of some body-part nouns like *rani* ‘body hair,’ *bëru karani* ‘eyebrow,’ *bëru këxni* ‘eyelash,’ *këni* ‘beard, moustache,’ and *buu* ‘hair’ (see Valenzuela 2003b: 204).

Most of the words mentioned by Valenzuela have cognate forms in Kakataibo that can be counted and pluralized in this language. For example, a word like *me* ‘earth’ (*mai* in Shipibo-Konibo) is used in both plural and singular forms, as shown in the text example in (290) that contains its pluralized version.

⁴⁵ In order to avoid misunderstandings, I have partially readapted the orthography of Valenzuela’s examples to the conventions followed in this grammar and presented in Table 20. Basically, in these particular examples, Valenzuela’s <o> is represented by <u> here and Valenzuela’s <e> has been replaced by <ë>.

- (290) *Usa 'ain ka nu president Prado an ka nu 'inanxa me chairamekama 'inankëxa.*
usa 'ain ka nu presidente Prado a=n ka nu
like.that being:DS/A/P NAR:3 1PL:P president Prado 3SG=A NAR:3 1PL:P
*'inan-a-x-a me cha=ira **me=kama** 'inan-akë-x-a*
*give-PFV-3-NON.PROX land big-INT **land=PL** give-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX*
'Then, the president Prado gave us a piece of big land, several pieces of land.'
(EE-road-2006.012)

Similar observations hold for most of the words mentioned by Valenzuela as non-count nouns in Shipibo-Konibo. However, I have been able to find four nouns that cannot be pluralized under any circumstances in Kakataibo and, therefore, may be classified as non-count nouns. This is shown in the following two lists; the first one includes forms that cannot be pluralized in Shipibo-Konibo but can in Kakataibo, while the second one includes forms that cannot be pluralized either in Kakataibo or in Shipibo-Konibo (but note that the last example in the second list was not mentioned as a non-count noun by Valenzuela 2003b: 204). Information about the combinatorics of the forms with numerals is also included. It can be seen that there is an almost complete coincidence between the two criteria (the only apparent exceptions being '*unpax* 'water' and *mua* 'mud', which can carry the plural marker but were considered marked with the numeral *rabé* 'two'):

- (291) *Examples of forms that can be pluralized or combined with a numeral in Kakataibo but not in Shipibo-Konibo*

'*unpax* 'water'

a. '*unpax=kama* 'deposits of water'

water=PL

b. (?)*rabé unpax* 'two deposits of water'
 two water

bechun 'wave'

a. *bechun=kama* 'waves'

wave=PL

b. *rabé bechun* 'two waves'
 two wave

mua 'mud'

a. *mua=kama* 'mud blocks'
 mud=PL

b. (?)*rabé mua* 'two mud blocks'
 two mud

nai ‘sky’

- a. *nai=kama* ‘heaven layers’
heaven=PL
- b. *rabé nai* ‘two heaven layers’
two heaven

bata ‘sweet’

- a. *bata=kama* ‘pieces of candies’
sweet=PL
- b. *rabé bata* ‘two pieces of candies’
two sweet

rani ‘body hair’

- a. *rani=kama* ‘strands’
hair=PL
- b. *rabé rani* ‘two strands’
two hair

bu ‘hair’

- a. *bu=kama* ‘strands of hair’
hair=PL
- b. *rabé bu* ‘two strands of hair’
two hair

(292) Examples of forms that cannot be pluralized or combined with a numeral in Kakataibo

- a. *uñe* ‘rain’ **uñe=kama* **rabé uñë*
- b. *kuin* ‘cloud’ **kuin=kama* **rabé kuin*
- c. *masi* ‘sand’ **masi=kama* **rabé masi*
- d. *ni* ‘jungle’ **ni=kama* **rabé ni*

We can conclude from the examples in (291) and (292) that even though there are fewer non-count nouns in Kakataibo than in Shipibo-Konibo, we do find some cases in which it is impossible to pluralize a noun in the former language.

6.2.2 Nouns with special vocative forms (kinship terms)

There is a class of nouns in Kakataibo that exhibits special vocative forms; semantically the members of this class are kinship terms. The kinship system among the Kakataibo has been presented in §1.2.6, where lists of the associated terminology were also given. Kinship terms can be distinguished from other noun classes not only in terms of their semantics but also on morphosyntactic grounds: only kinship terms have special vocative forms, which in most cases are obtained by adding the =n

marker to the respective kinship term. Trying to form a vocative by adding *=n* to any other noun will result in an unacceptable form. This does not mean that other nouns cannot be used in the vocative, but rather that the vocative form for all other nouns is the unmarked noun.

In addition, some of the kinship terms have shortened vocative forms, which are apparently older and are no longer used in natural speech (with the exception of *ta*, the shortened form of *tita* ‘mother’, and *pa*, the shortened form of *papa* ‘father’ which are still productive). The rest of the shortened forms appear only within narratives about the Kakataibo’s ancestors, when the narrator recreates the way in which the Kakataibo used to talk to their relatives a long time ago.⁴⁶ Shortened vocative forms are always used in possessive constructions, like ‘*ën ta* ‘my mother’ or ‘*ën pa* ‘my father’, in both the current language and in the old language presented in those narratives.⁴⁷ In addition, most kinship terms can be modified by the form *-okë* (-o ‘factitive’ plus *-kë* ‘nominalizer’) in order to make a distinction between “genuine” (i.e. close) relatives and more indirect ones (the forms with *-okë* correspond to the closer relative).

The following examples present different kinship terms in their vocative forms. In the example in (293), where a character within a narrative speaks to his sister and asks her to allow him to bring his nephew into the jungle, we find a vocative form derived by the *=n* marker. In (294), in which the same man speaks to his nephew, we find an example of a shortened vocative form. The full form for ‘nephew’, *piaka*, is found in the first example, while the vocative form in the second one is *pian*, which is a shortened version that also shows the *=n* marker (and is also used like this in the current language). Examples of shortened vocative forms that do not need the *=n* marker are presented in example (295), where we find the vocative forms *che* (< *chai* ‘uncle’), *pa* (< *papa* ‘father’) and ‘*unchi* ‘little brother’, which is discussed below. As I have already mentioned, shortened vocative forms always appear with a possessive pronoun.

- (293) *Chira bakën, karamina ‘ë ‘ën piaka min tua mena kana ‘aisamera isëxan.*

<i>chira</i>	<i>bakë-n</i>	<i>ka=ra=mina</i>	<i>‘ë</i>	<i>‘ë=n</i>	<i>piaka</i>	<i>mi=n</i>
sister=VOC		NAR=INT=2	1SG:P	1SG=GEN	nephew:ABS	you=GEN
<i>tua</i>	<i>mena</i>	<i>ka=na</i>		<i>‘aisamera</i>	<i>is-ëxan-n</i>	
boy:ABS	armadillo:ABS	NAR=1SG	a.lot.of	see-PST.DAYS-1/2		
‘Sister, (could you give) me my nephew, your son? I have seen lots of armadillos a few days ago.’ (SE-paucar-2007.004)						

⁴⁶ Specialized vocative forms are attested with nouns of different semantic classes and not just with kinship nouns in other Pano languages. For example, in Shipibo-Konibo, the vocative marker is a stress movement and can apply to proper names or any other noun in the vocative function (Valenzuela 2003b: 222–224).

⁴⁷ See Fleck 2003: 236–239 for a description of vocatives in Matses, a language in which possessed vocatives are not allowed. Matses also has shortened vocative forms and this fact might support the idea that these are indeed old.

- (294) *Asábi kananuna uan, ‘ën pian.*

asábi ka-nanuna u-a-n ‘ë=n pian
 good NAR=1PL come-PFV-1/2 1SG=GEN nephew:voc
 ‘Ok. We have arrived, my nephew.’ (SE-paucar-2007.019)

- (295) *Aubiribi mix tsó’, ‘ën ‘unchi, che, pa!*

au=bi=ribi mi=x tsót ‘ë=n ‘unchi che
 there=same=also you=S live:IMP 1PL=GEN little.brother:voc uncle:voc
pa
father:voc

‘Live exactly there as well, my brother, my uncle, my father!’ (EE-north-2006.028)

In the last example, we find the word ‘*unchi* ‘little (younger) brother’. ‘*Unchi* has the antonym *buchi*, which means ‘big (older) brother’ and both forms are the only kinship terms that do not have special vocative forms. But it is important to note that, as it happens with normal shortened vocatives, these two words always appear with a possessive pronoun if used as vocatives.

Most of the compound kinship terms delete one of their components when used as vocatives (*chira baké* ‘sister’ is the one exception to this rule). For example, the vocative forms of *ini tua* or *baké bechiké* ‘daughter of a woman’ and ‘son of a man’, respectively, are just *inin* and *bakén*, while the vocative of *papa xuta* ‘nephew’ is just *xutan*. So, it can be seen that the form of the vocative is lexically conditioned, and that different types of kinship terms follow different mechanisms in order to be inflected as vocatives. What makes the words presented in this section a grammatically unitary class is the fact that all its members show a vocative version (even *buchi* and *unchi* can be argued to be inflected as vocatives by means of the possessive pronoun). A set of pet vocatives was discussed in §1.2.7, but pet vocatives do not exhibit particular morphosyntactic properties which make their discussion relevant for this section.

6.2.3 Nouns with special switch/cross-reference behavior (body-part nouns)

There is a set of Kakataibo nouns that exhibit a particular behavior regarding the switch-reference (see §12.1) and cross-reference (see §9.2.5 and §11.2.1) systems of the language. All of them are semantically associated with body-part nouns (and, partially, nouns referring to parts of objects). Therefore, these nouns may be seen as forming a grammatically relevant class of nouns.⁴⁸

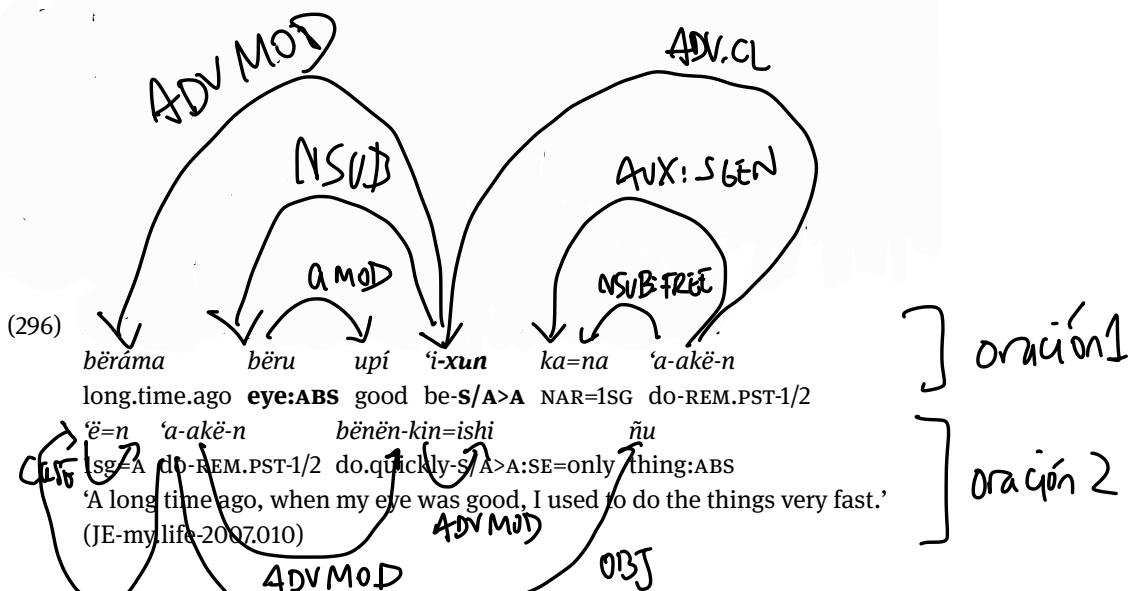
The unique features found in Kakataibo body-part nouns can be analyzed as resulting from a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession or, prob-

⁴⁸ Notice that the set of prefixes presented in §4.6 are also a distinctive property of body-part and related nouns.

ably more precisely in the case of Kakataibo, between “true possession” (e.g., ownership of a house) and part-whole relations, which are not ownership in the sense that the possessed entity is also (part of) the possessor. A part-whole relation is a type of metonymy, and therefore it is not surprising that, for example, an eye and the owner of the eye are not treated as completely different entities (unlike a house and its owner; see Fleck 2003: 1151–1153 for a related phenomenon in Matses; and Chappel and McGregor 1996 for a thorough introduction to the notion of alienability). Although there is no obvious morphosyntactic distinction in the formation of alienable and inalienable possessive phrases in Kakataibo, body-part nouns do behave differently from other nouns with regard to the switch-reference system (described in detail in Chapter 11) and the subject cross-reference markers on both second-position enclitics (see §11.2) and verbs (see §9.2.5). Let us look at these cases in order to understand how body-part nouns are different from other nouns.

i. Body-part nouns and switch-reference

Within the switch-reference system, body parts and their possessors are grammatically treated as the same argument. Thus, if we have the example, a clause that translates as ‘After a long time, I used to do things quickly’, the two arguments are understood to be the same entity.

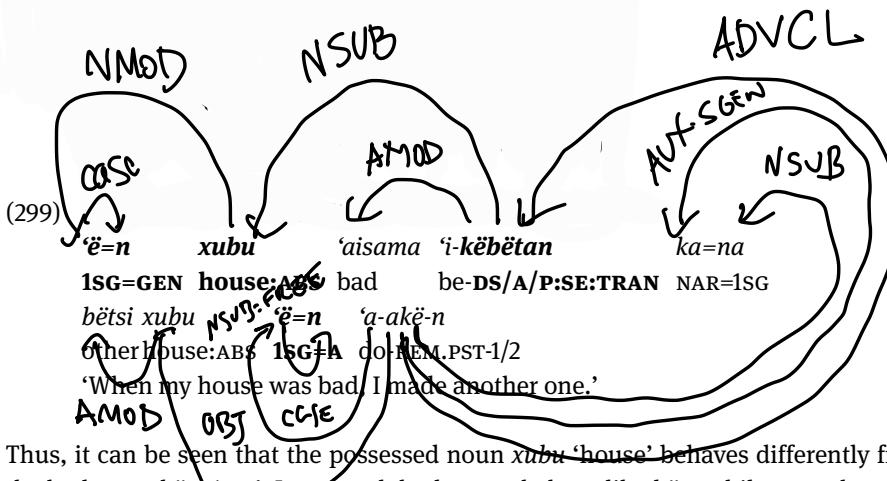


The marker *-xun* indicates that the possessed eye and the possessor pronoun are considered to be the same argument (note that in the example, the noun *bëru* is not even possessed by *ë*, and the possessive relation is only inferred). Treating possessed body parts as arguments that are different from their possessors will result in an unacceptable construction, as shown in the elicited example in (297).

NSVB-FREE

- (297) *béráma bérū upí 'ikébëtan kana 'akén én 'akén bénëñkinshi ñu
béráma **bérū** **upit** **'i-kébëtan** **ka=na** **'a-akë-n**
 long.time.ago eye:ABS good be-DS/A/P:SE:TRAN NAR=1SG do-REM.PST-1/2
 'ë=n 'a-akë-n bénëñ-kin=ishi ñu
 1sg=A do-REM.PST-1/2 do.quickly-s/A>A:SE=only thing:ABS
 ('a long time ago, when my eye was good, I used to do the things very fast')
 (Elicited example based on JE-my.life-2007.010)

— we not a body part, this behavior would not be found, as is



Thus, it can be seen that the possessed noun *xubu* 'house' behaves differently from the body part *bérū* 'eye'. In general, body parts behave like *bérū* while any other possessed noun behaves like *xubu* (including kinship terms and other nouns which may be grammatically classified as inalienable in other languages).

Nouns referring to parts of objects would be expected to behave like body parts since they also express a part-whole relationship: in theory, a house's wall is part of the house in basically the same way in which a man's eye is part of the man. However, nouns referring to parts of objects in Kakataibo are not completely equivalent to body parts nouns and they cannot appear in the construction illustrated in (296). In (300)–(301), the part-noun *kénë* 'wall' is the S argument of the dependent clause and the whole-noun *xubu* 'house' is the S argument of the matrix clause and, even though those two nouns are in a part-whole relationship (just like an eye and its possessor), a switch-reference marker indicating 'same subjects' is unacceptable in that context: it is necessary to use a marker expressing 'different subjects'.

- (301) *kēnē* *xaiki-kēbē* *ka : a* *xubu* *nipakët-a-x-a*
- wall:ABS shake-DS/A/P:SE:INTR NAR:3 house:ABS fall.down-IPFV-NON.PROX
- 'When the wall shook, the house fell down.'

- (302) *Emilio=n* *kēnē* *xaika-këx* *ka : a* *xubu*
- emilio=ERG wall:ABS shake:TRAN-P>S:PE:TRAN NAR:3 house:ABS
- nipakët-a-x-a*
- fall.down-IPFV-3-NON.PROX
- 'After Emilio shook the wall, the house fell down.'

Therefore, we can conclude that nouns referring to parts of objects are somewhere in the middle between body parts and other nouns expressing more alienable types of possession.

ii. Body-part nouns and cross-reference

Subject cross-reference is expressed on both the second-position enclitics and the verb. In the example in (303), a possessed body part appears in the absolute case and as the overt S argument of the sentence, but the obligatory subject cross-reference on the second-position enclitic (*kana*) agrees with the possessor of the body part and not with the body part itself.

- (303) *Usa 'ain kana 'ë a ñushin atimanën masokëx kana 'ën bëru 'aisama.*
- usa 'ain ka=n a ñushin atima=n maso-këx ka=n(1) ['ë=n bëru](3) 'aisama*
- like.that being:DS/A/P NAR=1SG 1SG=P that devil=ERG mistreat-P>S:PE NAR=1SG 1SG=GEN eye:ABS bad
- 'Being in this way, after the devil mistreated me, my eye (is) bad.'
- (JE-my.life-2007.006)

The NP *'ën bëru* is the S argument of the main clause but the mood marker *kana* cross-references the first person, that is, the possessor of the body part, and not the body part itself, which is a third person nominal constituent. Since it is not a requirement for the S argument to appear overtly, one could argue that the possessor is the S argument of the clause but is not overtly expressed. However, in this case we would expect the NP formed with the possessed body-part noun to appear in the locative case. Thus, arguing for an underlying S does not seem to be possible for examples like the one in (303).

The example in (303) illustrates a copula construction without an overtly expressed verb and, therefore, we cannot see whether the verb agrees with the possessor or with the possessed body part. However, in the following elicited examples ((304) and (305)) we find that the verb also agrees with the possessor and that the cross-reference in the verb mirrors that found in the second-position enclitics.

- (304) **'Ën bëru kana 'aisama 'ain*.

<i>'ë=n</i>	<i>bëru</i>	<i>ka=nä</i>	<i>'aisama</i>	<i>'ain</i>
1SG=GEN	eye:ABS	NAR=1SG	bad	be:1/2

'My eye is bad.'

- (305) **'ën bëru kana 'aisama 'ikëñ*

<i>'ë=n</i>	<i>bëru</i>	<i>ka=nä</i>	<i>'aisama</i>	<i>'ikëñ</i>
1=GEN	eye:ABS	NAR=1SG	bad	be:3

('my eye is bad')

Such a construction is only possible with body-part nouns. In elicitation sessions, my teachers systematically rejected other nouns in this construction (unfortunately, it is impossible to test it with nouns referring to parts of objects, since in that case both the part-noun and the whole-noun would be third person arguments). Thus, any of the examples in (306)–(308) is grammatical.

- (306) **'ën xubu kana 'aisama 'ain*

<i>'ë=n</i>	<i>xubu</i>	<i>ka=nä</i>	<i>'aisama</i>	<i>'ain</i>
1SG=GEN	house:ABS	NAR=1SG	bad	be:1/2

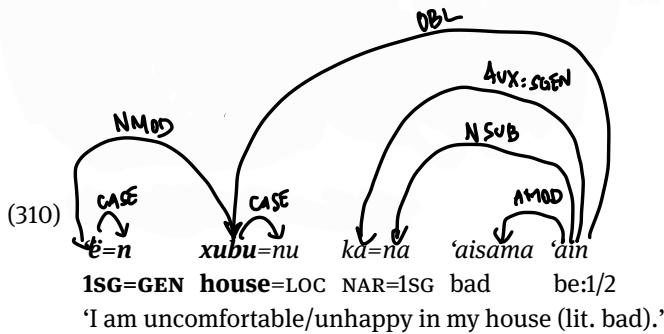
('my house is bad')

- (307) **'ën xubu kana 'aisama 'ikëñ*

<i>'ë=n</i>	<i>xubu</i>	<i>ka=nä</i>	<i>'aisama</i>	<i>'ikëñ</i>
1SG=GEN	house:ABS	NAR=1SG	bad	be:3

('my house is bad')

- (308) *‘ën xubu kana ‘aisama
 ‘ë=n xubu **ka=na** ‘aisama
 1SG=GEN house:ABS NAR=1SG bad
 (‘my house is bad.’)



The construction in (309) is also possible with body parts (see (311)), that is, the cross-reference of the clause may agree with either the possessor or the possessed body part. Both possibilities are acceptable and the speaker has the option to use one or the other, as shown in (311), where we find third person subject agreement.

- (311) Y ‘aishbi kana bëri ‘ën bëru ka ‘aisama ‘ikën.
 y ‘aishbi ka=na bëri ‘ë=n bëru **ka** ‘aisama ‘ikën
 and but:s/A>A NAR=1SG now 1SG=GEN eye:ABS NAR:3 bad **be:3**
 ‘But, now, my eye is bad.’ (JE-my.life-2007.003)

This behavior differs from what we have seen regarding the interaction between body parts and the switch-reference system, where only one construction is possible. In the case of the cross-reference system, we find two grammatical constructions associated with body-part nouns. According to the intuition of my Kakataibo teachers and their explanations during elicitation sessions, there is no semantic difference between the two constructions just exemplified. The alternation does not seem to be triggered by affectedness: it is common for the same speaker, who in the examples presented here is explaining that he is becoming blind, to use both constructions – even though in both cases the speaker, unfortunately, has the same level of affectedness. Preliminary research suggests that the alternation presented in the examples in (303) and (311) follows a discourse principle, according to which certain discourse configurations trigger agreement with the possessor; but this issue still requires more research.

At this point it is only important to highlight the fact that body-part nouns are different from other nouns and that, based on that difference, it is possible to argue that body-part nouns form a grammatical class of nouns: the language treats them as grammatically equivalent to their possessors for switch-reference and cross-reference.

Another interesting fact concerns nouns referring to parts of objects, which seem to be between body-part nouns and alienable nouns. That is, we find a difference between body parts and other nouns referring to parts of objects. Notice that both body parts and parts of objects constitute the diachronic source for many of the post-positions presented in §5.1.2.

In Matses, by contrast, we find that parts and their wholes are always treated as the same grammatical argument, and that there are no differences between body parts and other part-whole relations, including individual-group relations (e.g., a peccary and its herd); and part-whole relations in objects (e.g. a house and its roof, an axe and its handle, a river and its mouth or headwaters, etc.; see Fleck 2003: 1163).

6.3 Deriving nouns from other nouns

There is a short list of suffixes that can be used in order to derive nouns from other noun roots or stems. These suffixes are: *-on* ~ *-an* ‘augmentative’, *-rá* ~ *-ratsu(kun)* ‘diminutive’, *-ina(k)* ‘generic’, *-baë* ‘collective’, *-oka* ‘river’ and *-kun* ‘real’ (and its negative version *-kuma* ‘fake’, which may be seen as a synchronically non-segmentable form). These six suffixes operate over the root or the stem and, due to this, can be distinguished from nominal inflectional morphology, which operates over the noun phrase (see §6.7). A semantic and morphosyntactic description of these morphological elements is presented in the following subsections.

6.3.1 *-on* ~ *-an* ‘augmentative’

The ‘augmentative’ marker *-on* (~ *-an*) is mainly (perhaps, exclusively) used in the ethnobiological taxonomic system of Kakataibo, in which the use of this suffix does not derive a name that refers to a larger specimen of the same class (like in *dog* vs. *large dog*), but to a specimen of a different (but related) class (like in *dog* vs. *wolf*). For instance, if *kuni* means ‘knifefish (*Gymnotus* spp.)’, *kunion* means ‘electric eel (*Electrophorus electricus*)’. These two types of fish are clearly different from the Kakataibo perspective: they have different physical and mythical properties and are considered as members of two different generic taxa.

The second noteworthy property of *-on* ~ *-an* ‘augmentative’ is that, although in many cases, it is used to mean that the plant or animal designated by the suffixed term is larger than the one named by the non-suffixed noun, this suffix can also be used to indicate that an animal is fiercer, more dangerous, more numerous, or has some

other salient property, which is not directly related to its actual size. Some examples of words with the ‘augmentative’ marker *-on* ~ *-an* are listed in (312a–d).

- (312) a. *kunión* ‘electric eel; *Electrophorus electricus*’
(from *kuni* ‘knifefish; *Gymnotus species*’)
- b. *ñapón* ‘fish; *Brycon amazonicus*’
(from *ñapa* ‘fish; *Astyanax species*’)
- c. *kuma* ‘black timanou; *Tinamus osgoodi*’
(from *kumón* ‘white-throated tinamou, *Tinamus guttatus*’)
- d. *inuan* ‘black jaguar; *Pantera onca* (black phase)’
(from *inu* ‘jaguar; *Pantera onca*’)

Some phonological rules associated with *-on* can be established from the examples presented above: the allophone *-an* appears after *u* (e.g. *inúan*), and the rule of *a*-assimilation presented in §2.7.1.3.1 also applies in those cases where the suffix *-on* appears after *a* (e.g., *ñapón* ‘fish species: *sabalo*’). Some forms modified by *-on* show an irregular behavior that cannot be completely predicted from the general rules presented in the previous paragraphs. This is the case, for example, with *tapu* ‘canoe’ and *tapan* ‘raft’, where we do not find the expected [tapúan] but rather [tapan]. Notice that this is the only case that I am aware of where this suffix appears on a noun that does not refer to an animal species.

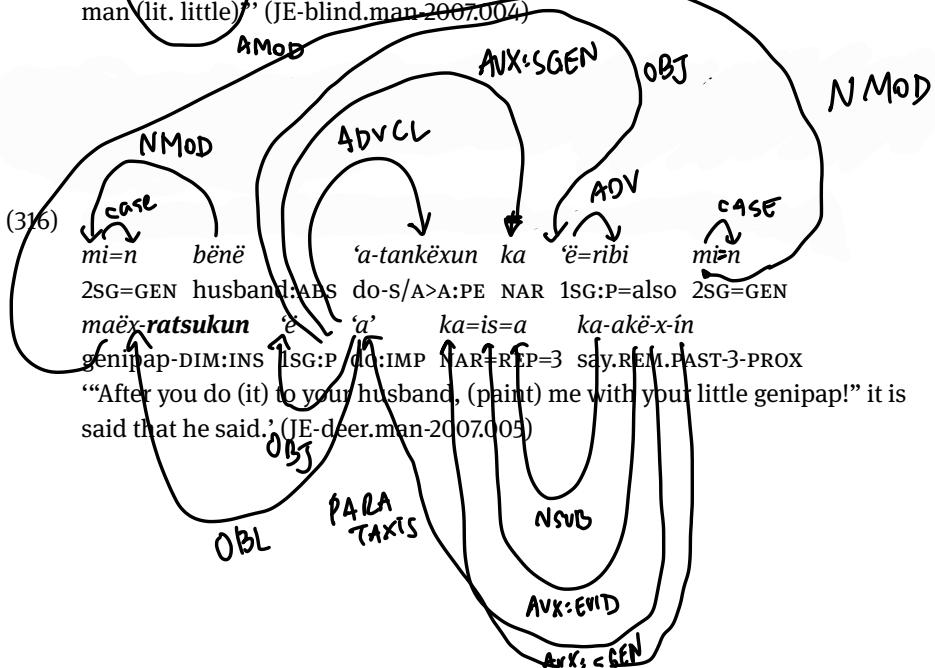
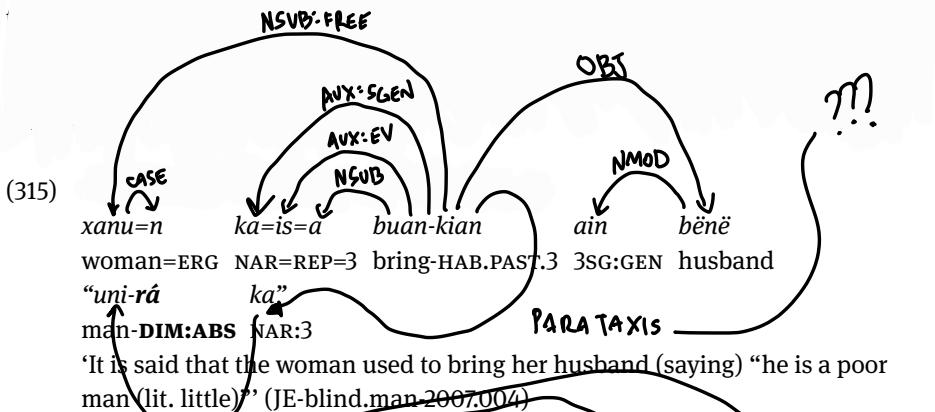
The suffix *-on* cannot be used with all nouns referring to animal species. The examples in (313a–c) show cases where the suffix cannot be used (all the forms below can be modified by *cha* ‘big’):

- (313) a. *amen* ‘capybara; *Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris*’ > **amēon*
- b. *shipi* ‘tamarin; *Saguinus fuscicollis*’ > **shipion*
- c. *ru* ‘howler monkey; *Alouatta seniculus*’ > **ruon* [*ruan*]

In §3.3.1.5, it was shown that this suffix presents a very special prosodic behavior, according to which the high pitch of the word is attracted to the last syllable of the base it attaches to. The unusual prosodic behavior of this suffix was explained based on its diachronic origin. As argued there, this suffix comes from the word *ëwa* ‘mother’ (which is still attested in other Pano languages, like Iskonawa) in a genitive construction used to refer to an ethnobiological species or subtype assumed to be the ‘mother’ of another one. The idea that some plants and some animals have a mythological ‘mother’ is still alive among the Kakataibo people (see Zariquey and Fleck 2014), but nowadays the speakers cannot recognize the origin of the marker *-on* ‘augmentative’, in what constitutes a transparent example of grammaticalization and reanalysis. See the following paths, also presented in §3.3.1.5.

6.3.2 *-rá ~ -ratsu(kun)* ‘diminutive’

The special phonological properties of *-rá* have already been commented on in §3.3.2, where I have shown that this suffix is one of those that can be analyzed as having its own lexical high tone. The suffix *-rá* is the shortened version of the form *-ratsu* and the two are in complementary distribution: the form *-ratsu* only appears when additional morphological material follows after the diminutive, as in the case of *-ratsushi*, where this morpheme is followed by the adverbial enclitic *=ishi* ‘only’ (realized as *-shi* in that context). In addition, the form *-ratsuki* is the ergative, genitive and instrumental



It must also be said that this suffix can be used as an enclitic, that is, as an element that modifies the NP as a whole and not only the noun itself. Thus, for example, for the sequence *achushi unirá* two interpretations are possible: the first one is ‘one little man’ which can be related to the following structure: [*achushi uni-rá*]_{NP}, and the second one is ‘just one man by himself, alone’, which is the semantic interpretation of the following structure [*achushi uni*]_{NP}=rā. This second use is similar to the one found in adverbial enclitics (see §11.3); but note that the use of -rā as a derivative suffix is its most widespread use in the language. The diminutive -ra also receives other meanings in discourse, and is usually used to express empathy and love (see Zariquey 2018). This marker can also appear with adjectives where it also receives this emotional meaning (see §7.4).

6.3.3 -*ina(k)* ‘generic’

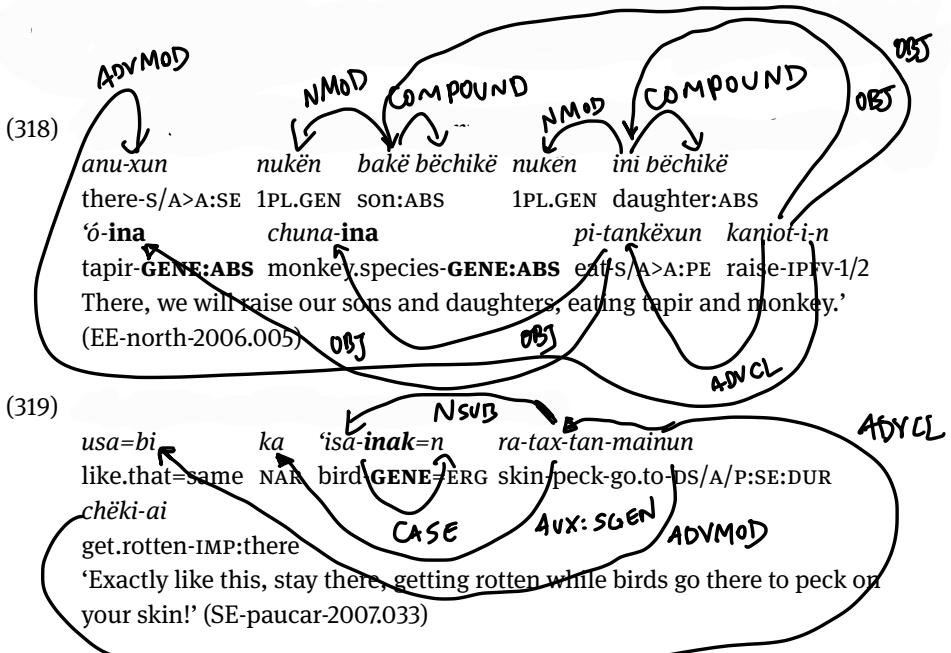
The ‘generic’ suffix shows two alternating forms -*ina* and -*inak*; the latter is used when the =n marker ‘ergative, instrumental, genitive’, which surfaces as -an in that context, follows the suffix. Interestingly, this only happens twice in my whole corpus, since the suffix presented here is more likely to appear on patients (see below for the reasons).

Even though the meaning of this suffix is not easy to define, I argue that the best semantic characterization revolves around one basic component: -*ina(k)* expresses a generic meaning. With *generic* I follow the definition offered by Foley and Van Valin (1985: 284), who present the English examples in (317a–c) to illustrate this notion:

- (317) a. The wombat is a marsupial
- b. A wombat is a marsupial
- c. Wombats are marsupials

In such examples, “the subjects [...] refer not to particular wombats, but to the entire class of wombats. Such NPs are called generics” (Foley and Van Valin 1985: 284). In Kakataibo, it seems to be the case that nouns modified by -*ina(k)* are inherently plural and, therefore, it can be argued that the meaning of this suffix is very similar to what we find in the example in (317c). This can be concluded from the fact that, for instance, forms modified by -*ina(k)* cannot be modified by the numeral *achushi* ‘one’. This suffix is mostly used in combination with nouns that denote animal species (but see a few exceptions at the end of this section) and diachronically seems to come from the noun **iná*, which perhaps had a meaning similar to ‘animal’.

My Kakataibo teachers explained to me that this suffix is “used to advise the young people”. Such an explanation fits in with the semantic description proposed here, since “advising” takes the form of telling young people things like “you should be aware of snakes” or “our ancestors used to hunt tapirs and you should hunt tapirs as well” and, in such examples, *snakes* and *tapirs* are generic. Examples of this suffix



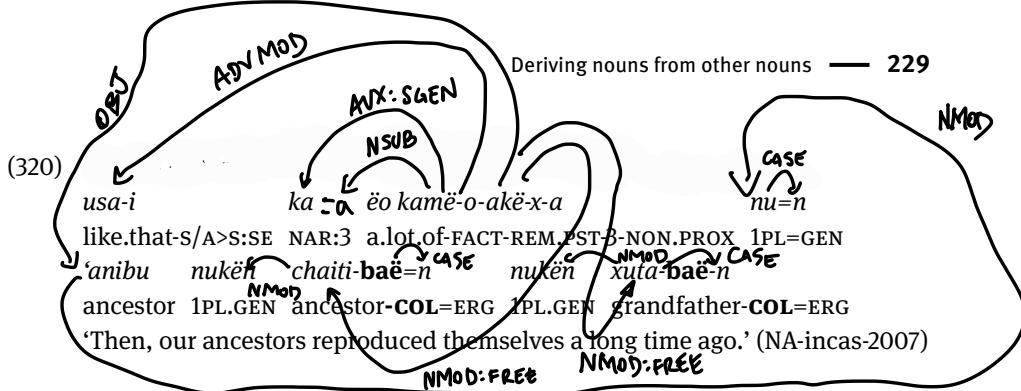
The suffix *-ina(k)* can also be used with three nouns that do not refer to animal species when used without the suffix: *ñu* ‘thing’, *me* ‘earth’ and *baka* ‘river’. With the suffix they refer to generic animal types rather than particular species: *ñuina* ‘edible animals in general’, *mena* ‘animals which make holes in the ground and live there’ and *bakaina* ‘all the kinds of aquatic animals’.

It should also be said that the nouns modified by the suffix *-ina(k)* can take the collective marker *-baë*, which has a very restricted distribution and can otherwise only be used with kinship terms. Thus, we have examples like '*inu-ina-baë* ‘mythical species of jaguar’ while **inu-baë* is unacceptable (see the next section).

6.3.4 *-baë* ‘collective’

The suffix *-baë* is used to refer to groups that are seen as unitary referents, without internal boundaries. The distribution of *-baë* ‘collective’ is restricted to kinship terms and to animal species modified by *-ina(k)* ‘generic’. Any attempt to modify any other noun with this collective marker will result in an unacceptable form.

The derivative suffix *-baë* establishes some sort of historical distance between the referent and the speaker: with kinship terms, it refers to (dead and sometimes mythical) ancestors; and with animal species carrying *-ina(k)*, it refers to mythological animal species which existed in the past, but do not exist nowadays. One example of *-baë* is presented in (320).



This suffix shows some overlap with the inflectional plural marker =*kama* (presented in §6.7.2), but note that the plural marker shows a much more extended distribution and can appear with almost all the nominal elements in the language (e.g. *xubu=kama* ‘houses’ but not **xubu-baë*). Even though the semantic distinction between =*kama* and *-baë* is not completely clear-cut, it is obvious that they belong to different paradigms since, for example, both forms can co-occur, like in *rara-baë=kama* ‘ancestor-COL=PL’.

The plural marker =*kama* can modify kinship terms too: thus, we find, for example, both *chichibaë* and *chichikama* ‘grandmothers’, but, while the former translates as something like ‘female (dead) ancestors’ and refers to a collective without clear internal boundaries, the latter refers to the specific grandmother of the speaker and her sisters (which can, for example, be listed). The plural marker =*kama* cannot directly modify nouns previously modified by *-ina(k)* (e.g. ‘*inuinabaë* and ‘*inuinabaëkama* ‘mythological tigers’; but not *‘*inuinakama*’). Finally, it is important to mention that the form *-baë* seems to be diachronically related with the collective/plurar marker *-bu* found in other Pano languages (and in fact the form *-baë* might be more conservative). The same correspondence between *aë* in Kakataibo and *u* in other Pano languages is found in other entries like *paën ~ panu* ‘giant armadillo, *Priodontes maximus*’

6.3.5 -oka ‘river’

The form *-oka* ‘river’ comes from the noun *baka* ‘river’. The marker *-oka* ‘river’ is a phonologically weakened version of this noun and it is not prosodically independent. This form is commonly attested in names of rivers, as shown in (321a–c), but it is not used productively in the language:

- (321) a. *banaoka* ‘speaking river’
- b. *maxëoka* ‘red river’
- c. *kweoka* ‘big river’

6.3.6 *-kun* ‘real’ and *-kuma* ‘fake’

The suffix *-kun* ‘real’ is used sometimes with the nouns *anë* ‘name’ and *uni* ‘people’; that is, *anë-kun* ‘real name’ and *uni-kun* ‘real people’ but this suffix does not seem to be productively used in the language. However, its negative form *-kuma* (<*kun-ma*) is more frequently found in discourse and much more productive. The suffix *-kuma* can be used to refer to individuals that, for some particular reason, are not good exemplars of their class. Thus, for instance, *uni-kuma* refers to ‘someone who is a person, but does not think/behave like a person’ (*uni* ‘person’). In turn, ‘*uchiti-kuma* refers to ‘a dog that is not a good hunter, does not look after the house and does not keep it safe from potential robbers’ (*uchiti* ‘dog’). The suffix *-kuma* can also be used with nominalized verbs with *-ti* ‘instrumental nominalizer’ (see §6.4.1), in forms like ‘*ati-kuma* ‘things that cannot be done’ (*a* ‘do’) and *piti-kuma* ‘food that is too bad to be eaten’ (*pi* ‘eat’).

6.4 Lexical nominalizations

Nominalization is a widespread process in Kakataibo and is not only used to obtain derived nominal forms from verbs, but also to produce more complex constituents that can accomplish different functions such as relativization and complementation. In this grammar, following Shibatani (2009), I call the former “lexical nominalizations” and the latter, “grammatical nominalizations” (see Chapter 14, for a more detailed discussion of this distinction and for a description of grammatical nominalizations in Kakataibo). Grammatical nominalizations are characterized by the fact that they can have an overt set of arguments, expressed by NPs or by pronouns, which are marked for case according to their function within the nominalized structure; in that sense, grammatical nominalizations are formally clausal. Lexical nominalizations, by contrast, do not have an argument structure and, thus, are clearly non-clausal and better understood as derived words.

In this section, I will focus on those examples that can be considered lexical nominalizations (that is, cases of word class-changing derivations) and not on examples of grammatical nominalizations. As we will see in Chapter 14 both types of process partially use the same markers, but the function of these markers varies in each construction.

6.4.1 *-ti* ‘instrument nominalizer’

As a lexical nominalizer, *-ti* is used to derive instruments from verbs, but, sometimes, it is also used to obtain non-instrumental nouns. Both functions are shown in the examples in (322a–d) and (323a–d).

(322) *Instrument nouns derived by -ti*

- a. *maën* ‘sweep’ > *maënti* ‘broom’
- b. *mapu* ‘cover’ > *maputi* ‘quilt’
- c. *kwënu* ‘sharpen’ > *kwënuti* ‘sharpener’
- d. *mishki* ‘fish with a fishhook’ > *mishkiti* ‘fishhook’

(323) *Non-instrument nouns derived by -ti*

- a. *bama* ‘die’ > *bamati* ‘death’
- b. ‘*ipakét* ‘descend’ > ‘*ipakéti* ‘port’
- c. *pi* ‘eat’ > *piti* ‘food’
- d. *papí* ‘carve barbs in arrows’ > *papíti* ‘barbs in arrows’

As can be seen in the examples in (323), the semantics associated with the formative *-ti* is not always straightforwardly instrumental. For example, in the case of *papíti* ‘barbs in arrows’, the derived noun does not denote the instrument with which people carve the barbs into the arrowheads, but the result of this action. In the case of *piti* ‘food’, the noun appears to be a patient rather than an instrument (it refers to the food rather than, let us say, the fork) and in the case of *ipakéti* ‘port’ we could argue that the noun refers to a place that is located at a low-lying terrain (ports are located at the margins of rivers, i.e., at the waterside, while villages are usually built on small hills in order to avoid flooding). The word *bamati* ‘death’ is not a clear instrumental form either.

In addition to the type of examples illustrated in (322) and (323), there are some cases of nouns ending in *-ti* and having an instrumental meaning, but without a corresponding basic verb in the synchronic language. Some of those examples follow in (324a–d).

(324) *Instruments without a related basic verb*

- a. *bakéti* ‘stretcher’
- b. *tsati* ‘walking stick’
- c. *bukanti* ‘sling’
- d. *tapiti* ‘ladder’ (< Shipibo-Konibo?)

6.4.2 -kë ‘patient nominalizer’

As a lexical nominalizer, *-kë* derives nouns that denote the patient of the nominalized verb. Some examples of this follow in (325).

(325) *Patient nouns derived with -kë*

- a. *bëchi* ‘father’ > *bëchikë* ‘son of a man’
- b. *mapun* ‘cover’ > *mapunkë* ‘house’
- c. *tua* ‘give birth’ > *tuakë* (~ *tua*) ‘son of a woman’

There are some examples of nominal forms ending in *-kë* for which it is not possible to find a corresponding synchronic verb. One such example is *kuxuakë* ‘mallet’ (but there is no synchronic verb **kuxua*).

6.4.3 *-katsá* ‘subject nominalizer, desiderative’

The form *-katsá* appears to be related to the desiderative form *-kas*, which could historically have been *-kats* (see §12.5.2.2). The source of the remaining stressed *á* found in *-katsá* is still uncertain, and the whole form *-katsá* is probably better analyzed as a unitary element synchronically. The suffix *-katsá* is not attested in my text database but it is frequently used in everyday language, to refer to individuals (mostly children) who like to eat, cry or sleep. The combination of this nominalizer with verbs with other meanings is highly unusual and marked. See the following examples, which include the contexts in which *-katsá* is most frequently used:

- (326) a. *pi* ‘eat’ > *pi-katsá* ‘one who likes to eat’
- b. *‘ux* ‘sleep’ > *‘ux-katsá* ‘one who likes to sleep, sleepy-head’
- c. *in* ‘cry’ > *in-katsá* ‘one who likes to cry, crybaby’

6.4.4 Nominalizations with *tapun* ‘subject nominalizer, habitual’

Verbal forms followed by the independent word *tapun* are used to refer to individuals with very strong tendencies to do something on a very regular basis. The forms derived by *tapun* are semantically very similar to the forms derived with *-katsá*, and more research is needed in order to properly understand their difference. According to some of my Kakataibo teachers, this difference is slightly clearer in some cases. For example, the forms *pi-kën tapun* and *pi-katsá* (which include the verb *pi* ‘eat’) are interpreted as expressing different degrees of the same tendency: *pi-katsá* means ‘someone who enjoys his food’ and *pi-kën tapun* means ‘someone who eats all the time, who is a glutton’.

Two interesting facts can be highlighted in the case of verbs appearing with *tapun*. The first one is that *tapun* treats verb stems differently depending on the number of their syllables and on their final segment. Thus, monosyllabic forms without a coda or with a final *n* take the form *-kën* in order to be combined with *tapun*; while monosyllabic forms ending in a consonant different from *n* take the form *-kënan* in order to be able to appear with *tapun* (it is important to notice that the nominalizer *-kë* may be part of these formatives). Finally, forms with two syllables take the corresponding allomorph of the *=n* marker according to the rules presented in §6.7.1.1, and do not include *-kë* (however, they are clearly nominalized elements). This is illustrated in (327a–e).

- (327) a. *pi* ‘eat’ > **[*pi-kën tapun*] uni**
 ‘person who eats all the time: glutton’
- b. *in* ‘cry’ > **[*in-kën tapun*] tua**
 ‘boy who cries all the time’
- c. *ux* ‘be lazy’ > **[*ux-kënan tapun*] uni**
 ‘person with a deep sleep’
- d. *numi* ‘be hungry’ > **[*numi-n tapun*] uni**
 ‘person who is hungry all the time’
- e. *mëkama* ‘steal’ > **[*mëkama-nën tapun*] uni**
 ‘person who steals things all the time’

The second interesting fact is that the nominalizer *tapun* is likely to be related to the noun *tapun* ‘root’. If this is true, we can argue that we are dealing with a transparent case of grammaticalization in which a content word has become a functional element, as it has been also suggested for *-on* ‘augmentative’, *-ina(lk)* ‘generic’ and *-oka* ‘river’.

6.4.5 Nominalizations with *baë* ‘subject nominalizer, iterative’

Nominalizations with *baë* follow the same morphophonological principles found in nominalizations with *tapun*. However, they have a different meaning: nominalizations with *baë* refer to actions, which are developed over some time with temporal interruptions and without continuity. Some examples of *baë* are listed in (328a–d).

- (328) a. *pi* ‘eat’ > **[*pi-kën baë*] uni**
 ‘person who eats, stops for a while and eats again’
- b. *in* ‘cry’ > **[*is-kën baë*] tua**
 ‘boy who cries, stops for a while and cries again’
- c. *ux* ‘be lazy’ > **[*ux-kënan baë*] uni**
 ‘person who sleeps, stops and sleeps again’
- d. *numi* ‘be hungry’ > **[*numi=n baë*] uni**
 ‘person who is hungry, eats and is hungry again’

One interesting fact in relation to *baë* is that it has the same phonological form as the suffix *-baë* ‘collective’, presented in §6.3.4. The two forms are very likely to be related since both carry a plural-like value (both the notion of collectiveness and the notion of iteration include the idea of one unit being multiplied).

6.5 Complex derivative processes

In this section, I present two morphosyntactic processes used in Kakataibo to derive nominal expressions. Although in both cases the derived expressions are larger than one word, they exhibit the distributional and functional properties of nouns, as they have been defined in §5.2.

The first process to be described here is compounding, which in fact covers different types of processes with different outputs (see §6.5.1). One very important point regarding the processes that I call ‘compounding’ in §6.5.1 is that we find almost no formal differences between nominal compounds and complex noun phrases, as they are described in §6.6. Both nominal compounds and complex noun phrases exhibit the same prosodic properties (as they were described in §3.4.1) and the same combinatory properties (as listed in §6.6, but see the special distribution of the noun *kuru* ‘ashes’ in compounds in §6.5.1). What allows us to establish the distinction between nominal compounds and complex noun phrases is a semantic criterion: nominal compounds in Kakataibo develop meanings that are unpredictable from the mere combination of their parts. Thus, for instance, the complex NP *muxa bimi* refers to any type of thorny fruit (*muxa* ‘thorn’, *bimi* ‘fruit’), but the nominal compound *muxa ro* refers not to any type of thorny herb (*muxa* ‘thorn’, *ro* ‘medicinal plant’), but to a particular species of herb that have been pointed to me and exhibit specific curative properties. Of course, this distinction may be more transparent in some cases than in others (for instance, there is a NP-like interpretation of *muxa ro*, meaning ‘any curative plant with thorns’), but the data used in this section presents several cases in which a NP-like interpretation of some compounds is just not possible.

The other process discussed in this section is the use of grammatical nominalizations to create expressions, which, although they are more complex than bare nouns, share important semantic properties with them (see §6.5.2), which make them different from the general uses of grammatical nominalizations in Kakataibo, as discussed in Chapter 14.

6.5.1 Compounding

Valenzuela (1998) offers a detailed study of the lexical compounds found in the ethno-biological taxonomy of Shipibo-Konibo. In a similar fashion to what we find in Kakataibo, in Shipibo-Konibo we find a widespread use of compounds, mostly associated with subgeneric taxa. Valenzuela’s study centers on the semantic properties of those compounds, establishing a distinction between two different linguistic strategies: (1) metaphor/metonymy (as defined by Lakoff and Johnson 1980), as opposed to the ‘literal’ use of words. Although those categories will be useful for the study of Kakataibo compounds, it is important to take into consideration that, as highlighted by Valenzuela (1998: 415), ‘literal’ use, metonymy and metaphor are not discrete categories.

One of the most interesting categories proposed by Valenzuela is the notion of **semantic compound**, in which, in addition to having two or more lexical units, it is possible to identify more than one of the semantic processes distinguished in the study (metaphor, metonymy and literal use). One example is the Shipibo-Konibo name *oxe bina* ‘moon-wasp’, in which it is possible to identify a metaphor in the use of the modifier *oxe* ‘moon’ (the form of the wasp nest is perceived as the form of the moon) and a metonymy since the name does not refer to the form of the wasp but to the form of its nest (Valenzuela 1998: 415–416). Although the present study of Kakataibo compounds pays more attention to their morphosyntactic properties, the distinctions proposed by Valenzuela will be very useful for the analysis.

A majority of the names of plant and animals in Kakataibo that include more than one lexeme include a nominal head combined with a modifier. There are no grammatical or prosodic criteria that distinguish between these complex names and productive noun phrases in Kakataibo and therefore the term “syntactic compound” (Dryer 2007: 175) can also be used for the description of the forms presented here. According to their properties, compounds in Kakataibo can be classified into three main types (but, as will be seen, two subtypes can be distinguished for Noun-Noun compounds based on their semantic configuration). Table 51 summarizes the main types of compounds in Kakataibo.

Table 51. Types of compound plant and animal names in Kakataibo

Name	Brief description
Noun-Noun compound	[N(MOD) N(HEAD)]N
Adjective-Noun compound	[Adj(MOD) N(HEAD)]N or [N(HEAD) Adj(-a)(MOD)]N
Genitive-Noun compound	[N-GEN(MOD) N(HEAD)]N

Let us start with Noun-Noun compounds. As I have mentioned, it is possible to identify two different types of Noun-Noun compounds in Kakataibo ethnobiological nomenclature. In one, the head is the name of a plant or animal used in a literal sense and the modifying noun is the name of an animal used in a metonymic sense: it does not refer to the animal, but to one of its salient properties, which is applied to the referent of the head noun as a qualification. Therefore, these syntactic compounds are also semantic compounds in Valenzuela’s (1998) terms in the sense that they combine two different semantic strategies (e.g. metaphor and literal reference), associated with each of their lexical components. Furthermore, the complete compound as a whole operates on a metonymical base, since it refers to a subtype of the species referred by the head name by making explicit reference only to one of its properties.

In this type of construction, the head noun is the name of the superordinate category and there are two noteworthy properties that deserve our attention. The first is

that, although what we find in these compounds is not the usual way to qualify nouns in every-day speech, they are by far one of the most commonly used strategies for coining complex ethnobiological names in the language. The second interesting pattern has to do with their semantic regularity: the modifying noun is always used with exactly the same metonymic meaning and there is a closed list of nouns that can function in that position. Table 52 lists the modifying nouns most widely found in this metonymic use:

Table 52. Metonymic names used in Kakataibo syntactic compounds

Name	Metonymic meaning
<i>chuna</i> ‘spider monkey’	‘black; dark-colored’
<i>kana</i> ‘blue-and-yellow macaw’	‘yellow, yellowish’
‘o ‘tapir’	‘large’
<i>xón</i> ‘scarlet macaw’	‘red, reddish’
<i>bo</i> ‘mealy parrot’	‘green, greenish’

Examples of the use of these animal names functioning as modifiers are listed in Table 53.

Table 53. Examples of metonymic syntactic compounds

Kakataibo	English	Scientific
<i>chuna têtë</i>	bicolored hawk (‘dark hawk’)	<i>Accipiter bicolor</i>
<i>chuna sisi</i>	South American coati (‘dark coati’)	<i>Nasua nasua</i> (subtype)
<i>kana ‘ó</i>	tapir subtype (‘yellowish tapir’)	<i>Tapirus terrestris</i> (subtype)
<i>kana baxux</i>	butterfly larvae (‘yellowish larva’)	<i>Morpho</i> species
‘ó ‘ipu	type of armored catfish (‘large armored catfish’)	<i>Hypostomus</i> species
‘ó ‘épë	yarina palm (‘large yarina palm’)	<i>Phytelephas microcarpa</i> R. & P.
<i>xón chuna kuru</i>	woolly monkey subtype (‘reddish woolly monkey’)	<i>Lagothrix lagothricha</i> (subtype)
<i>xón kukan</i>	red-necked woodpecker (‘reddish woodpecker’)	<i>Campephilus rubricollis</i>
<i>bo runin</i>	emerald tree boa (‘green boa’)	<i>Corallus caninus</i>
<i>bo ‘apashiru</i>	great green iguana (‘green iguana’)	<i>Iguana iguana</i>

The use of these modifying names is interesting because there are adjectives with similar meanings in Kakataibo. Forms semantically similar to the modifying nouns presented here can be used in *ad hoc* terms: for instance, *xón chuna kuru* refers to a reddish subtype of woolly monkey that the Kakataibo identify; but *ushin chuna kuru* (*ushin* ‘red’) can be used to refer to an unexpectedly red woolly monkey, perhaps because it has a red stain, it was painted by a child or it has some sort of illness. The

modifying nouns illustrated here cannot be used with this metonymic meaning in any other constructions other than in ethnobiological complex names. Similar cases are documented by Valenzuela (1998) for Shipibo-Konibo and they seem to be relatively common in this language. However, similar examples have not been reported for Matses, a Pano language which has also been object of detailed ethnobiological research. In the abundant ethnobiological literature on this language there are only two cases of the use of animal names in the metonymic sense described for Kakataibo (Cf. Fleck and Voss 2006; and Fleck, Voss and Simmons 2002, for instance).

Some noun-noun compounds do not exhibit a metonymic modifier, but the modifier is used in a literal sense. As in the case of the examples in Table 53, there are a few list of nouns that systematically appear in this kind of construction. Two examples are *muxa* ‘thorn = thorny’, and *kuru* ‘ashes = ash-colored’, which appear in the examples in Table 54.

Table 54. Examples of noun-noun compounds with *muxa* and *kuru*

Kakataibo	English	Scientific
<i>muxa ro</i>	unidentified thorny tree sp.	unidentified tree
<i>muxa shinin</i>	unidentified thorny tree sp.	unidentified tree
<i>chuna kuru</i>	woolly monkey (ash-colored spider monkey)	<i>Lagothrix lagothricha</i>
<i>xépan kuru</i>	cockroach (ash-colored ?)	<i>Blaberus</i> species
<i>chisman kuru</i>	giant hunting ant (ash-colored ?)	<i>Paraponera</i> species

One issue regarding *kuru* ‘ashes = ash-colored’ is that we cannot be completely sure about its syntactic nature. Although this word is used as a noun and not as an adjective in other constructions, we find the lexeme *kuru* ‘ashes = ash-colored’ in some names of plants and animals as post-head modifier. This distributional property of *kuru* ‘ashes = ash-colored’ brings it closer to the class of adjectives, which, in general, can appear before or after the noun they modify. However, when *kuru* is transparently used as an adjective, it carries the modifier *-a* when appearing in the post-head position (see §7.2.1).

Regarding adjective-noun compounds, the only adjective which is systematically found in compounds referring to plants and animals is *uxu* ‘white’. Another adjective that may appear in compounds naming plants and animals is *chëxë*, ‘(dark) red; black’. According to its specific meaning in particular compounds, *chëxë* may be in competition with *xón* ‘scarlet macaw = reddish’ and *chuna* ‘spider monkey = dark’, but the form *chëxë* is not common in Kakataibo compounds (but is common in Matses; Fleck and Voss 2006; Fleck, Voss and Simmons 2002). Adjective-Noun compounds are illustrated in the examples in Table 55. Notice that the semantic configuration of these compounds is equivalent to the one found in Noun-Noun compounds without a metonymic modifier.

Table 55. Examples adjective-noun syntactic compounds

Kakataibo	English	Scientific
<i>uxu bimpish</i>	white guayaba	<i>Psidium guayava L.</i>
<i>uxu chiru</i>	white-fronted capuchin	<i>Cebus albifrons</i>
<i>chëxë pua</i>	dark red variety of cush-cush yam	<i>Dioscorea</i> species
<i>chëxë xai</i>	dark variety of sugar cane	<i>Saccharum officinarum L.</i>

Both *uxu* ‘white’ and *chëxë* ‘(dark) red; black’ require an extra final *a* when appearing after the head. Forms like *pua chëxëa* ‘dark red yam vine’ and *chiru uxua* ‘white-fronted capuchin’ are possible variants of *chëxe pua* and *uxu chiru*, and, as far as I can tell, forms with the adjective before or after the head are synonymous. This alternation needs to be studied in more detail. It might be evidence of the poorly lexicalized nature of Adjective-Noun compounds in Kakataibo.

A final strategy in the creation of syntactic compounds is the use of genitive modifiers. Genitive-Noun compounds are illustrated in Table 56; the first two examples include the genitive form of ‘*o* ‘tapir’ and the last two include the genitive form of *chaxu* ‘deer’.

Table 56. Compounds with a genitive modifier

Kakataibo	English	Scientific
<i>'okan chichi</i>	striolated puffbird ('tapir's grandmother')	<i>Nystalus striolatus</i>
<i>'okan ñain</i>	type of tick (tapir's tick)	Fam. <i>Ixodidae</i>
<i>chaxun bi</i>	type of mosquito (deer's mosquito)	<i>Anopheles</i> species
<i>chaxun mais</i>	type of army ant (deer's army ant)	<i>Ectiton</i> species

Notice that the semantic relation expressed by the genitive modifier may be different from case to case. Thus, while in the first example in Table 11 we find a clearly possessive relation (*'okan chichi* ‘striolated puffbird (lit. tapir’s grandmother)’); such possessive relation is not equally transparent in the other cases. For instance, *'okan ñain* is a type of tick which lives in tapirs, *chaxun bi* is a kind of mosquito that tells where to find deer and *chaxun mais* is a kind of army ant named like this because of its color.

Finally, it is important to mention that all the different types of compounds just illustrated can be modified by other elements producing more complex constructions with more than two constituents. For instance, the Kakataibo people identify three subtypes of woolly monkey and, while the prototypical one is simply called *chuna kuru*, the remaining ones are called *xon chuna kuru* ‘reddish subtype of woolly monkey’ and *kuru chuna kuru* ‘ash-colored subtype of woolly monkey’. Notice that in the latter example, the post-head modifier *kuru* seems to have (partially) lost its meaning and we find the modifier *kuru* twice.

6.5.2 Grammatical nominalization

The process of nominalization can apply to single lexemes or whole clauses. Shibatani (2009) uses the terms “lexical nominalization” and “grammatical nominalization” to refer, respectively, to these two situations. Lexical nominalization in Kakataibo has been dealt with in §6.4, while grammatical nominalization in this language will be presented in detail in Chapter 14. In the case of lexical nominalizations, a verbal or nominal root is derived into a new lexical item, a noun. In the case of grammatical nominalizations, a clause is derived into a nominal expression, whose internal structure is grammatically more complex than that of a lexeme. In this section, I explore some examples of formally grammatical nominalization, which, however, have developed denotational properties equivalent to those found in nouns. The examples to be discussed here may be understood as lexicalized grammatical nominalizations.

Some plant and animal names in Kakataibo are grammatical nominalizations and some may be very complex expressions. Some include pronouns that overtly express the arguments of the nominalized clause. For instance, in Table 57, we find the nominalization *[an nami pikē] bina* ‘[one that eats meat] wasp’, where the form *an* is a third person pronoun that refers to the subject of the transitive predicate *pikē* ‘eat’ and, therefore, is co-referential with *bina* ‘wasp’. Something similar happens in *[anun tuatima] ro* ‘[one for not bearing children] medicinal plant’, where *anun* is an instrumental third person pronoun co-referential with *ro* ‘medicinal plant’. Nominalizations like the ones illustrated so far are followed by a noun like *bina* ‘wasp’ or *ro* ‘medicinal plant’, but this noun is not found in all cases (see below). All the examples in Table 12 include an adjacent noun that restricts the interpretation of the nominalizations. Notice that in those examples we find two different nominalizers: *-kē* ‘non-future nominalizer’ and *-ti* ‘future/purposive nominalizer’.

Table 57. Grammatical nominalization in names of plants and animals (I)

Kakataibo	English	Scientific
<i>[an nami pikē] bina</i>	unidentified wasp type. (lit. ‘wasp that eats meat’)	species in the Fam. <i>Vespidae</i>
<i>[anun tua nimiti] ro</i>	unidentified tree type (lit. medicinal plant with which one makes infants stand up)	unidentified tree
<i>[anun tuatima] ro</i>	unidentified herb type (lit. ‘medicinal plant with which one gives birth’)	unidentified herb

The way in which these nominalizations accomplish their denotative function is very interesting. Following Shibatani (2012), participant nominalizations like the ones in Table 57 delimit their denotation set based on the event in which the participant takes its role. For instance, the Kakataibo nominalization *[an nami pikē]* ‘the one which/who eats meat’ contains in its denotation set any entity which/who eats meat. There-

fore, its denotation set is, differently from regular nouns, extremely wide and can include people, jaguars, alligators and wasps (for the Kakataibo, some wasps bite you so painfully because they are actually eating your meat). In this sense, nominalizations are similar to relative clauses in other languages. The nominalizations in Table 57, by being combined by a noun, considerably reduce their denotation set (for instance *[an nami pikë] bina* refers to a wasp and not anymore to any possible meat eater). This is how the nominalizations in Table 57 become informative enough that they can be used in discourse.

However, one interesting issue about grammatical nominalizations being recruited for naming ethnobiological species is that many of them do not appear with an adjacent noun that constrains their denotation set. Some examples are presented in Table 58.

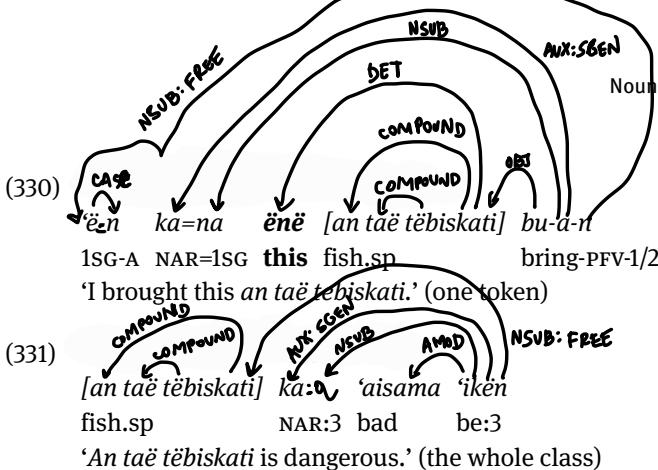
Table 58. Grammatical nominalization in names of plants and animals (II)

Kakataibo	English	Scientific
<i>no xëta tënukë</i>	bird (lit. one that sharpened enemy's tooth)	unidentified bird
<i>xëta 'amiananti</i>	rufous-tailed flatbill (lit. one that can harm with his beak)	<i>Ramphotrigon ruficauda</i>
<i>an taë tëbiskati</i>	fish (lit. one that can cut people's feet)	unidentified fish

The examples in Table 58 are interesting cases of lexicalized grammatical nominalizations, and show that the distinction between lexical and grammatical nominalizations is not totally clear-cut. The nominalization *an taë tëbiskati* behaves like a noun in that it does not include in its denotation set all the things that can cut one's feet, but all the tokens of one particular class (a specific species of fish identified by the Kakataibo), exactly like the noun *bina* 'wasp' would include all the tokens of wasp as part of its denotation. Although I could not identify in Western biological terms the referent of the name *taë tëbiskati*, the Kakataibo people were able to give a very precise characterization of this fish:

- (329) *an taë tëbiskati*: a type of fish that produces cuts on people's feet when they step on it. It is similar to *raxë xo* [another type of fish], but smaller. Its body is thin and long and its color is clear. It lives in both large rivers and small rivers, but not in lakes. It is edible but difficult to catch (see Zariquiey and Fleck 2014).

As *bina* 'wasp', the name *taë tëbiskati* can be used to refer to the whole class and to one specific token within it. Thus, for instance, it is possible to say:



Therefore, grammatical nominalizations like the ones discussed here are functionally undistinguishable from nouns and this is why they were discussed here. It is important to notice that grammatical nominalizations are extremely common in Kakataibo discourse. However, so far, I have not found grammatical nominalizations with the behavior described here outside the semantic domain of plant and animal names in Kakataibo. This noun-like denotation seems to constitute an exclusive property of the grammatical nominalizations without an adjacent noun found in ethnobiological taxonomic system of the language. It strongly suggests that Kakataibo has instances of lexicalized grammatical nominalizations.

6.6 Noun phrase structure

In terms of their structure, NPs are phrases headed by a noun, optionally modified by a number of elements. In terms of their function, NPs are “syntactic constituents which serve as arguments of verbs” (Dryer 2007: 151) and can “refer to entities” (Rijkhoff 2002: 19). In this section, I present the internal structure of NPs, describing their possible modifiers and the ways in which such modifiers interact with their heads within NPs. First, I will list and exemplify NP modifiers and then I will comment in more detail on the word order possibilities inside NPs.

6.6.1 Demonstratives

As I have already mentioned (see §5.1.1.3), the three Kakataibo demonstratives (*ënë* ‘proximal to the speaker’, *a* ‘proximal to the addressee’ and *u* ‘distal to both the speaker and the addressee’) can behave both as demonstrative pronouns and as demonstrative adjectives. In the first case, they behave as NP-like constituents on their own, while in the second case, they appear modifying nouns inside NPs. It is this second use of demonstratives that will be exemplified here.

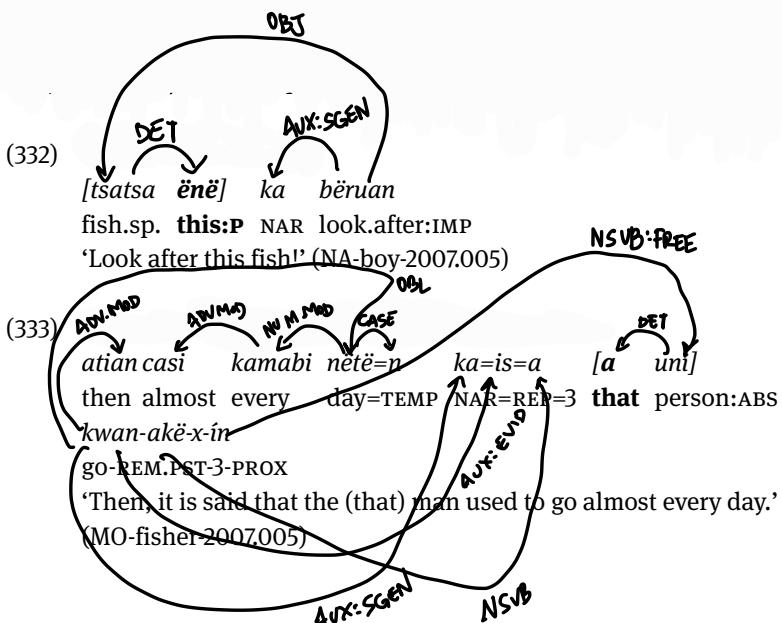
As modifiers within NPs, demonstratives accomplish two different functions: they can be used as proper demonstratives, with a deictic meaning, and as (non-deictic) definite markers. The data suggest that there is a relationship between the posi-

tion of the demonstrative in relation to the nominal head and its function: pre-head demonstratives are more likely to be definite markers and post-head ones are more likely to be deictic modifiers (see also §16.4). Among the three demonstratives, only *ënë* ‘proximal to the speaker’ and *a* ‘proximal to the addressee’ can be used in both pre-head and post-head positions. The demonstrat *a* *en* *ka* *beruan* ‘stal to hot’

‘*a* [he] addressee’ is exclusively post-head

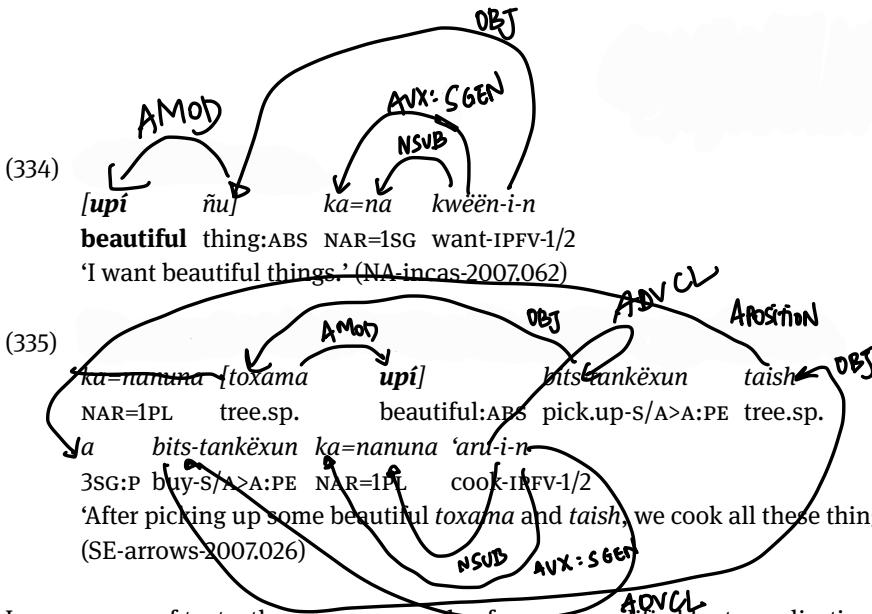
te *en* re if does not have a non

ie *this*



6.6.2 Adjectives

In Kakataibo, adjectives (see Chapter 7) have positional freedom in relation to the nominal head they modify: they can appear either in the pre-head or in the post-head position. In my corpus, it is not possible to find clear differences associated with the position of the adjectives either in texts or in elicited examples. However, a more careful study may reveal pragmatic/semantic principles accounting for the relative position of the adjective within the NP. The following examples show cases of the same adjective, *upí* ‘beautiful’, in both positions. Notice that in (334) it seems that the quality expressed by the adjective is more salient than the nominal head *ñu* ‘thing’ (the speaker does not want ‘things’, he wants ‘**beautiful** things’), whereas in (335) it seems that the quality of the adjective is secondary, as the emphasis is on which tree species were picked up and then cooked. This distinction may be seen as having to do with whether the adjective is serving a relatively restrictive function or just a descriptive/evaluative one. This pattern, however, requires confirmation.



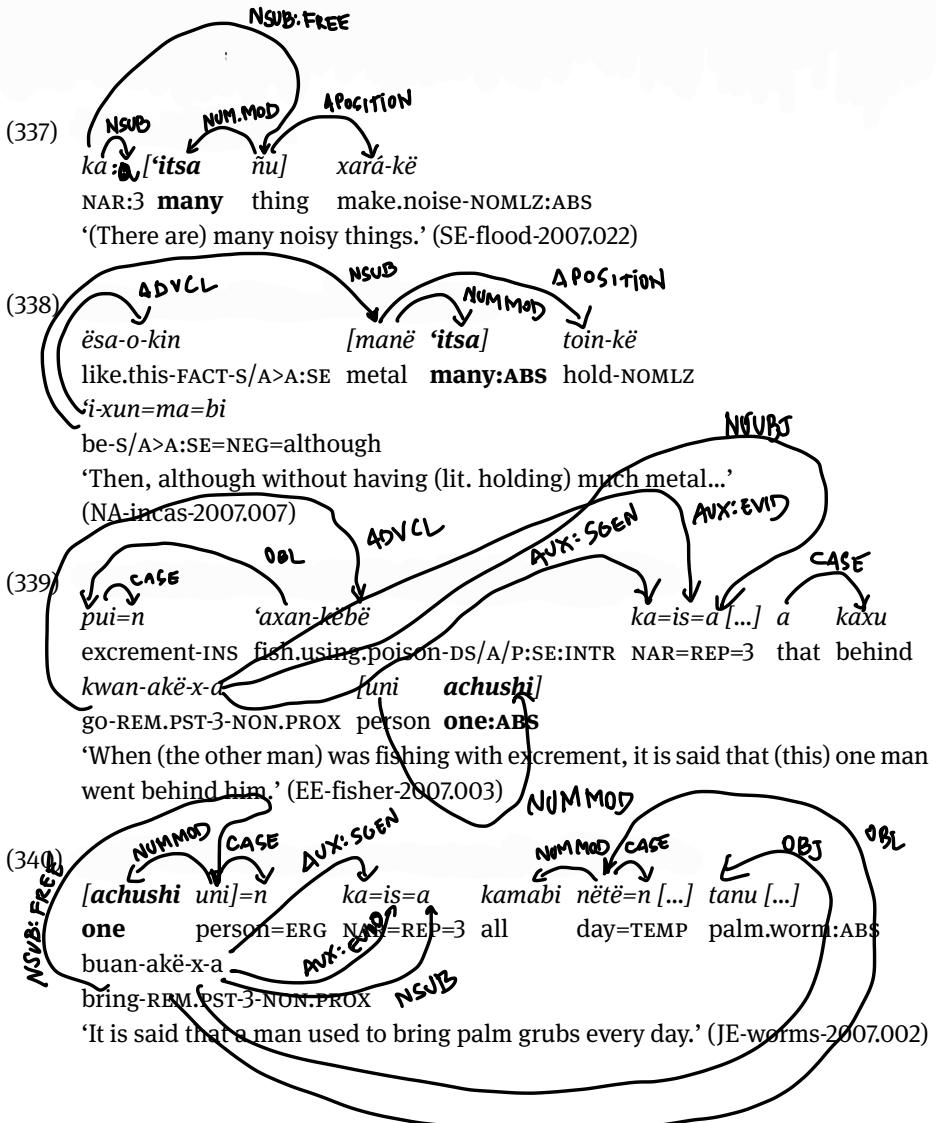
In my corpus of texts, there is no example of a noun modified by two adjectives and instead we find NPs in apposition, where each NP has its own adjective. Usually, the heads of the NPs are either the same or they are two nouns with a very similar meaning (see §6.9.2). In elicitation, it is possible to obtain examples of nouns modified by two or even three adjectives and, according to my teachers, in those cases the adjectives also show a free order in relation to the head. See the examples in (336a–d).

- (336) a. [chaxké uni xuá upí] 'good fat tall man'
tall man fat good
b. [chaxké xuá upí uni] 'good fat tall man'
tall fat good man
c. [chaxké xuá uni upí] 'good fat tall man'
tall fat man good
d. [uni chaxké xuá upí] 'good fat tall man'
man tall fat good

6.6.3 Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals and quantifiers have been presented in §5.1.3. Like demonstratives, they can be used both as head modifiers within NPs and by themselves in constituents that are functionally equivalent to NPs. As modifiers within NPs, they show a fairly free distribution relative to the head and can appear after or before it. The numeral *achushi* 'one' shows a different function in these two positions: before the head, it seems to act as an indefinite marker, and is used like this in discourse; and after the head, it is always a numeral.

Some examples follow. In the first two, we find the quantifier *itsa* 'a lot of, many, much' preceding the noun *ñiu* 'thing' (example (337)) and following the noun *mané* 'metal' (example (338)). In the last two examples, we find the same kind of distribu-



6.6.4 Bare nouns used as modifiers

Nouns that do not take any case marking and that directly modify other nouns within an NP are common in Kakataibo. Modifying nouns are pre-head modifiers and the meanings associated with them include non-referential genitive modification (see Dryer 2007: 191–192) as well as different types of qualification. The example below shows two instances of the first meaning (we find non-referential genitives in which nouns related to animal species modify the noun *rani* ‘feather’).

(341)

NMOD

[kana rani]

NMOD

[xon rani]

NSUB

ka-nanuna

macaw feather:ABS red.macaw feather:ABS NAR=1PL

dn tsipun=nū bētanit-i-n

his end=LOC tie-IPFV-1/2

'We (put) macaw feather and red macaw feather at the end (of our guns).'

(SE-arrows-2007.029)

OBL

The following example illustrates a case of a qualifying noun modifying another noun: *muxa* 'thorn' modifies *bimi* 'fruit' and the resulting meaning is 'thorny fruit':

(342) *muxa bimi* [...] *bēonxun...*[*muxa bimi* [...] *bē-on-xun*

thorn fruit bring-PST.day.before-s/A>A

oración incompleta

'Having brought the thorny fruits the day before...' (JE-deer.man-2007.041)

(343)

NMOD

NMOD

CASE

bana]-ishi

ADV MOD

a-i

ADV CL

tsót-i-n

PARATRÍXIS

and 1PL.GEN father=GEN tale:ABS=only do-s/A>S:SE live-IPFV-1/2

[a-ishi ka-na ka-i-n]

that:p=only NAR=1SG say-IPFV-1/2

'And I want to say only that I live telling our parents' tales.' (NA-incas-2007.063)

6.6.6 Word order in NPs

AUX.SEN

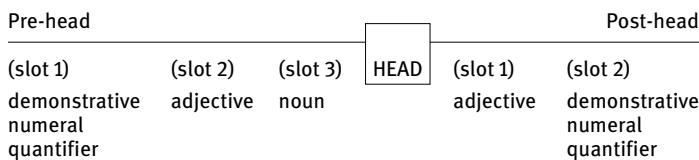
In the preceding sections, I have presented the different NP modifiers and their distributional possibilities in relation to the head they modify. All this information is summarized in Table 59.

Table 59. Distributional possibilities of the different NP modifiers

Type of modifier	pre-head	post-head
demonstratives	YES ⁴⁹	YES
adjectives	YES	YES
numerals/quantifiers	YES	YES
bare nouns	YES	NO
genitive phrases	YES	NO

As can be seen, all NP modifiers can appear in the pre-head position. In addition, demonstratives, adjectives, numerals and quantifiers can also appear in the post-head position. Genitives and modifying nouns cannot appear after the head.

NPs containing multiple modifiers are not common in Kakataibo speech. After a review of the few instances where a nominal head is combined with more than one modifier, and after some elicitation sessions exclusively focused on this issue, I have extracted the NP template in Figure 73, in which the positional possibilities of the different modifiers in relation to the head of the NP and in relation to each other are shown.

**Figure 73.** NP template in Kakataibo

As can be seen, there are three pre-head slots and two post-head ones, but, as the parentheses indicate, no slot is obligatory, and an NP can be formed just by its head. The modifiers listed in the same slot are not supposed to co-occur in the same position (but this does not include adjectives; see the elicited examples in (336)). That is, two modifiers from the same slot can only appear in different positions in relation to the head. For instance, a demonstrative and a quantifier will not appear both as pre-head modifiers, but can appear one in the pre-head position and the other in the post-head position, as shown in (344a–b).

- (344) a. [ënë̄ uni achushi]
this man one
'this one man'

⁴⁹ This position is not available for the demonstrative *u* 'distal from the speaker and the addressee'.

- b. *[ënë^ë achushi uni]
 this one man
 ('this one man')

We should also note that, with the exception of adjectives, the same type of modifier cannot appear twice in the same NP (we cannot have two demonstratives or two numerals, for instance). Two modifiers from two different slots can appear in the same position in relation to the head, but if this happens, the order proposed in Figure 73 is obligatory. This is shown in the examples (345a–b) and (346a–b).

- (345) a. [ënë^ë upí xanu]
 this beautiful woman
 'this beautiful woman'
 b. *[upí ënë^ë xanu]
 beautiful this woman
 ('this beautiful woman')

- (346) a. [xanu upí ënë]
 woman beautiful this
 'this beautiful woman'
 b. *[xanu ënë upí]
 woman this beautiful
 ('this beautiful woman')

As indicated in Figure 73, the presence of a genitive modifier blocks the inclusion of any other pre-head modifier (with the exception of a modifying noun). This is shown in examples (347a–c).

- (347) a. [xanun 'uchiti ënë]
 xanu=n 'uchiti ënë
 woman=GEN dog this
 'the woman's dog'
 b. *[xanun ënë 'uchiti]
 xanu=n ënë 'uchiti
 woman=GEN this dog
 ('the woman's dog')
 c. *[ënë xanun 'uchiti]
 ënë xanu=n 'uchiti
 this woman=GEN dog
 ('the woman's dog')

6.7 NP inflectional enclitics

As explained in §4.4, nominal inflectional morphemes operate at the level of the NP (and, thus, can be claimed to be enclitics instead of suffixes), while the derivational morphology presented in §6.3 operates over roots or stems and can be analyzed as suffixes (only the diminutive marker *-ra* can be used as both a suffix and an enclitic). The forms presented in the following subsections present the case (see §6.7.1), ‘plural’ (§6.7.2) and ‘distributive’ (§6.7.3) NP-enclitics. Most of these NP inflectional enclitics are similar in terms of their morphological and phonological properties (they are bound morphemes that modify NPs and are phonologically attached to the last prosodic unit of the phrase). However, the case marker *=kupí* ‘reason’ seems to carry its own final high tone (see §3.3.2).

6.7.1 Case

I use the label case to refer to both core and oblique cases (also referred to as grammatical and semantic cases, respectively; see Blake 1994). Generally, core cases are those that appear on arguments, i.e. participants that are determined by the syntax of the verb. In turn, oblique cases are used on adjuncts, which are not dependent on the valence of the verb.

In Kakataibo, neither core nor oblique arguments are obligatorily expressed in the clause. Thus, locative adjuncts and grammatical objects are equally optional in clauses like “I ate (apples)” and “I danced (in Lima)”. Therefore, obligatoriness, which represents a useful criterion in other languages, does not help us to distinguish between core and oblique arguments in Kakataibo. There are, however, two grammatical mechanisms that may be understood as establishing a distinction between core and oblique arguments: switch-reference (see Chapter 12) and participant agreement (see §10.3).

In relation to switch-reference, we find that only S, A and P arguments are used for purposes of argument-tracking. The T and the R arguments of ditransitive predicates behave in the same way as P arguments of transitive ones. Thus, we find different markers that indicate that the S, A or P (and the T or the R) argument of a dependent clause is coreferential with the S, A or P (and the T or the R) argument of the matrix clause, producing a very complex and fascinating system. However, if two clauses in a chain share any other participant (e.g. a locative, a comitative or an instrument) they are treated as not sharing arguments. Therefore, the switch-reference system makes a clear distinction between S, A and P (and T and R), which may be seen as core arguments, and the remaining participants, which may be seen as oblique.

Participant agreement is a special type of agreement, according to which certain types of adjuncts (mostly locative) grammatically agree in case with one argument of the clause and are semantically oriented to it (see §10.3). Interestingly, only S, A, P, R

and T arguments can be used for marking participant agreement and, therefore, this mechanism establishes a clear distinction between these arguments and any other.

Based on the mechanisms just mentioned, we can conclude that the Kakataibo grammar makes a distinction between S, A, P, R and T, on the one hand, and any other remaining type of participant, on the other. Such a distinction largely coincides with the distribution established between core arguments and oblique adjuncts, as found in other languages. Therefore, we can say that the case markers that appear on S, A, P, R and T arguments are core case markers, while the case markers that appear on the remaining types of clause participants are oblique case markers. Notice, however, that some of the case markers appear on both oblique and core arguments. For instance, *=n* marks the ergative (which is a core case) but also the instrumental, the genitive and the temporal locative (which are oblique cases). Thus, markers like *=n* are to be analyzed as oblique or core according to the construction in which they appear and cannot simply be labelled as core or oblique. A list of the different case markers and their related functions is presented in Table 60.

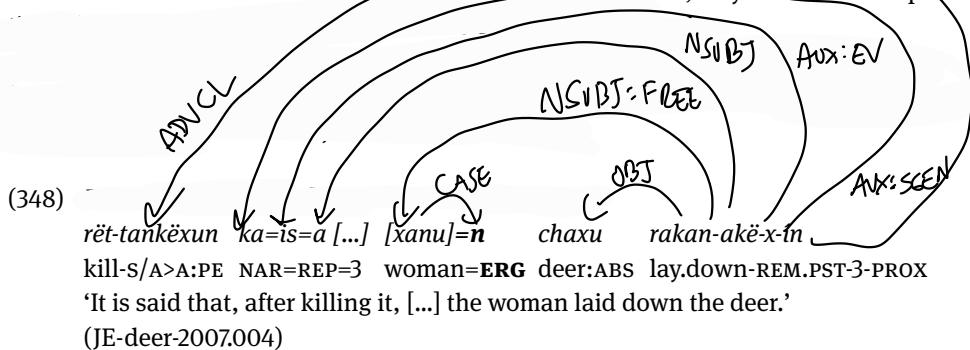
Table 60. Case markers in Kakataibo

marker	Functions
<i>=n</i>	ergative A (in the tripartite alignment) genitive instrumental temporal location vocative (on some kinship terms; see §6.2.2)
<i>=x</i>	S (in the tripartite alignment)
(unmarked)	absolutive P (in the tripartite alignment) T R
<i>=sa</i>	comparative
<i>=bë</i>	comitative (S)
<i>=bëtan</i>	comitative (A)
<i>=këñun</i>	comitative (P)
<i>=nu</i>	locative directional ablative
<i>=nu=ax</i>	
<i>=mi</i>	imprecise location (far from the addressee) 'object' of extended intransitive emotion predicates
<i>=mi(ki)</i>	indirect direction (towards the speaker)
<i>=u</i>	imprecise location (close to the addressee)
<i>=u(ki)</i>	indirect direction (away from the speaker)
<i>=nan</i>	possessive
<i>=kupí</i>	'reason'

The tripartite alignment, based on the distinction between *=n* 'A', *=x* 'S' and the unmarked 'P' is mainly restricted to pronouns, but NPs can also follow it under certain discourse conditions: basically when they refer to anaphoric topics. Since the tripartite system on NPs is a discourse-related phenomenon, I will discuss it in detail in §16.5 and will not exemplify here the use of the marker *=x* 'S' on NPs headed by nouns. Notice that, in general, co-occurrence of case markers is not possible in the synchronic language (but it is possible to combine the imprecise locative markers *=mi* and *=u*; see §16.7). Double case marking has been reconstructed for Proto-Panoan by Valenzuela (2003b: Chapter 20). In what follows I gloss the polyfunctional markers according to the specific meaning that they have in each particular construction. Thus, for instance, the marker *=n* may be glossed as 'ergative' or 'instrumental'. A final point deserves attention is that this same marker *=n* is glossed as 'A' when it appears on personal and anaphoric NPs headed by nouns, since it is assumed here that in these cases the marker is part of the tripartite alignment created by the presence of the dedicated S-marker *=x*. In the remaining instances, this marker is glossed as 'ergative'. A similar approach has been taken for the description of the unmarked case, which is glossed as 'absolutive' and as 'P', according to the type of constituent it is found in.

6.7.1.1 The *=n* marker

The *=n* marker is used with the following functions: ergative (and more specifically A, in the case of the tripartite system, mostly found with pronouns; see §5.1.1), genitive, instrumental, temporal locative and vocative. The last function is only found with some kinship terms and has been presented in some detail in §6.2.2. In this subsection, I will only illustrate the ergative, genitive, instrumental and temporal locative uses of this enclitic. In addition, at the end of this subsection, a systematic description



The genitive use of this enclitic is presented in (349), where the noun *bana* 'word' is modified by the genitive form *Dios-an* 'God=GEN' (note that the *=n* marker surfaces with the allomorph *=an*):

- (349) *Anuxun kana atu nukën papa Diosan bana ñuixunin.*
anu-xun ka-na atu [nukën papa Dios]-n bana
 there-PA.A NAR=1SG 3PL:P 1PL.GEN father God=GEN word:ABS
nui-xun-i-n
 tell-BEN-IPPFV-1/2
 ‘There, I will tell them God’s words.’ (AE-my.plans-2006.009)

The following example shows the function of *=n* as an instrumental marker. Here the *=n* marker (surfacing as *=nēn*) follows the quantifier *achushi* ‘one’, and not the noun *maxax* ‘rock’, showing that the morpheme is attached to the end of the NP and not to the noun itself.

- (350) *Anu bëru nankë kaisa kwanxun maxax achushinën chakakëshín.*
anu bëru nan-kë ka=is=a kwan-xun
 there eye:ABS put-NOMLZ NAR=REP=3 go-S/A>A:SE
[maxax achushi]=n chaka-akë-x-ín
 stone one=INS beat-REM,PST-3-PROX
 ‘It is said that, going to the place where (the other man) used to leave his eye, (he) beat it with one stone.’ (MO-fisher-2007.027)

In (351), *=n* appears marking temporal location, modifying the NP *bëri nëtë* ‘current day’.

- (351) ‘*Ainbi bëri nëtëñ kananuna piananbi maruin ñu nun ‘apákëkama nónsi ‘atsa xëki arroz akama.*
- ainbi [bëri nëtë]=n ka=nanuna pi-anan=bi maru-i-n*
 but:DS/A/P current day=TEMP NAR=1PL eat-D.OBJ:SE=same sell-IPFV-1/2
ñu nu=n ‘apat-kë=kama nónsi ‘atsa xëki arroz a=kama
 thing:ABS we=A plant-NOMLZ=PL banana manioc corn rice that=pl.p
 ‘But, nowadays, eating (other things), we sell the things that we plant:
 banana, manioc, corn, rice, all the things.’ (SE-agriculture-2007.045)

The morphophonemic alternations associated with this enclitic are quite complex. We find three allomorphs of *=n*: *=n*, *=an* and *=nēn*, which show the following distribution:

i. *=n*: nouns with no more than two syllables if the last syllable is open

- (352) a. ‘*i.nu* ‘jaguar, *Pantera onca*’ > ‘*inú=n*
 b. ‘*pi.a* ‘arrow’ > *piá=n*
 c. ‘*un.cha* ‘palm, *Wettinia* species’ > ‘*unchá=n*
 d. ‘*me* ‘earth’ > *me=n* [*me.én*]

ii. =*an*: nouns with two syllables if the last syllable is closed and does not end in *n*

- (353) a. *um.pax* ‘water’ > *umpax=an*
 b. *ma.is* ‘army ant, *Eciton* species’ > *mais=an*
 c. *max.ká(t)* ‘head’ > *maxkat=an*
 d. *ka.pé(k)* ‘caiman, Fam. *Alligatoridae*’ > *kapék=an*

iii. =*an* ~ =*nëñ*: nouns with two syllables if the last syllable ends in *n*⁵⁰

- (354) a. *mas.man* ‘shallow’ > *masman=nëñ* ~ *masman=an*
 b. *mi.nan* ‘unidentified plant’ > *minan=nëñ* ~ *minan=an*
 c. *a.pan* ‘older person’ > *apan=nëñ* ~ *apan=an*

iv. =*nëñ*: nouns with three or more syllables

- (355) a. *chi.chi.ka* ‘knife’ > *chichika=nëñ*
 b. *a.to.ri.pa* ‘hen’ > *atoripa=nëñ*
 c. *bë.chi.kë* ‘son’ > *bëchikë=nëñ*

The third person singular pronoun *a* is the only word in the language that has suppletive A, genitive and instrumental forms. The A-form is *an*, the genitive one is *ain* and the instrumental form is *anun*. In addition, as mentioned in §(314), the suffix -*rá* ‘diminutive’ shows the ergative form *ratsukun*.

6.7.1.2 =x ‘S’

As it has been already mentioned in §5.1.1.1, Kakataibo exhibits a tripartite alignment on pronouns, which is extended to NPs headed by nouns under some discursive conditions are satisfied. In this tripartite system, there is an overt ‘S’ marker, =*x*, which is illustrated below. More on the tripartite alignment of Kakataibo is presented in §15.2.

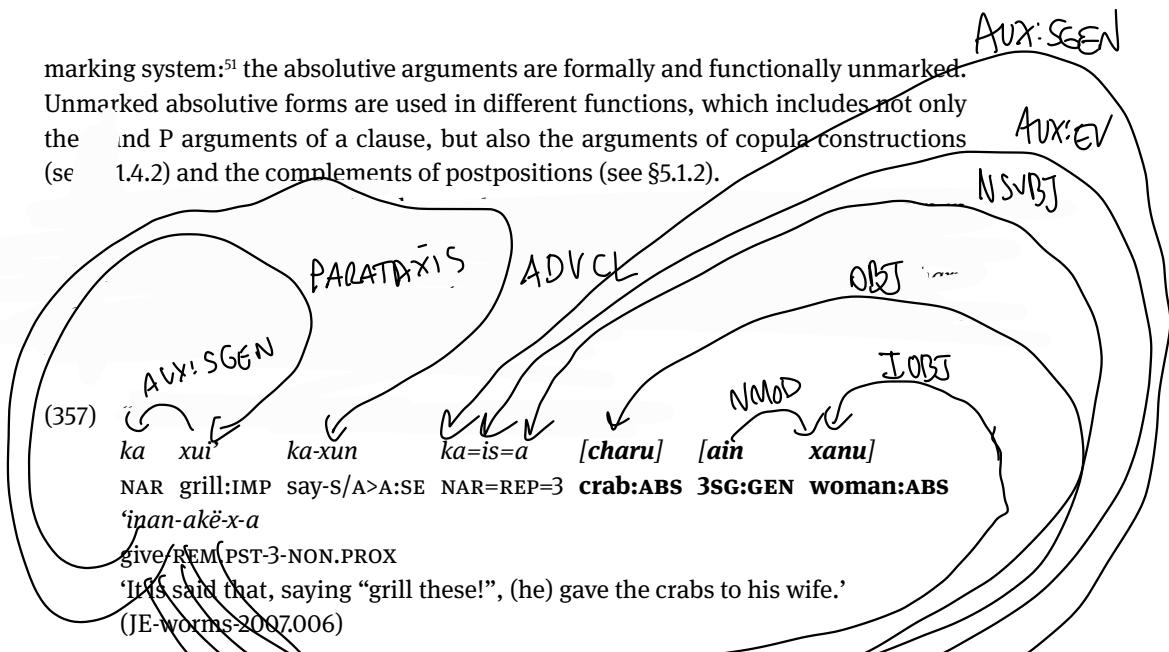
- (356) *Ax ka ‘uxaxa.*
a=x ka ‘ux-a-x-a
3SG=S NAR:3 sleep-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘(S)he slept’

6.7.1.3 Unmarked absolute

According to Dixon (1994: 56–57), “that case which covers S (i.e. absolute or nominative) is generally the unmarked term – both formally and functionally – in its system”. This generalization works for the Kakataibo ergative-absolute case

⁵⁰ My Kakataibo teachers showed some disagreement in relation to these forms: while some accepted both, others accepted either only the forms with -*an* or only the forms with -*nëñ*.

marking system:⁵¹ the absolute arguments are formally and functionally unmarked. Unmarked absolute forms are used in different functions, which includes not only the S and P arguments of a clause, but also the arguments of copula constructions (see §1.4.2) and the complements of postpositions (see §5.1.2).



In the following example, the absolute argument is the subject of the intransitive derived predicate *kanankëxa*, which includes the 'reciprocal' *-anan*.

- (358) *No tsitsirukëbë kaisa [...] nukën rara kanankëxa.*
- | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|
| no | tsit-tsit-ru-këbë | ka=is=a [...] |
| foreigner:ABS | occupy-occupy-up-DS/A/P:SE:INTR | NAR=REP=3 |
| [nukën rara | ka-anan-ake-x-a | |
| 1PL.GEN ancestors:ABS | say-RECP-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX | |
- 'It is said that, when the foreigners were occupying (the earth) almost completely, our ancestors talked to each other.' (EE-north-2006.004)

The unmarked form is also used for the P function within the tripartite alignment (see more on the tripartite alignment in §5.1.1 and in §15.2).

6.7.1.4 =bë(tan) and =këñun 'comitative'

The forms =*bë(tan)* and =*këñun* have a comitative meaning and create a very interesting paradigm where three different comitative markers are used to indicate that the comitative adjunct accompanies the S, A or P of the event: =*bë* 'comitative (S)', =*bëtan* 'comitative (A)' and =*këñun* 'comitative (P)'.⁵² The latter form is also used for comita-

⁵¹ Notice that, in the tripartite alignment, the unmarked function is O.

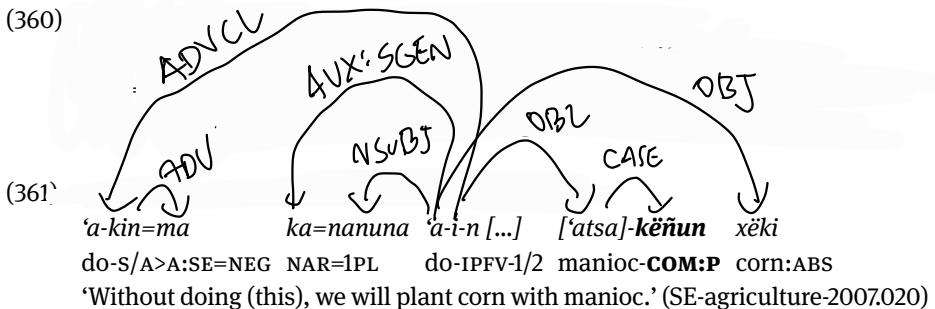
⁵² Matses also shows a tripartite alignment in its comitative marker: =*bëtan* 'A/Instrumental Comitative', =*bëta* 'P Comitative' and =*bëd* 'S Comitative' (Fleck 2003). Shipibo-Konibo, in turn, shows a dif-

tive participants that accompany the T or R of ditransitive predicates. Three examples including the three forms just mentioned are presented in (359)–(361).

- (359) *Kana abë banan.*

ka=na [a]=bë bana-a-n
NAR=1SG 3SG=COM:S speak-PFV-1/2
'I spoke with him.' (AE-my.work-2006.005)

- (360)



6.7.1.5 =sa 'comparative'

The comparative =sa is used to mark the standard of the comparison in equative constructions (see §7.3.5), but also modifies NPs that introduce comparative standards in other types of constructions (like the manner adverbial form in the English sentence "he walks like a chicken"). In the following example, the clitic =sa appears accompanied by the Spanish phrase *como si fuera* 'as if it were', which has a similar meaning to that of the enclitic. These kinds of double-marked constructions using equivalent Spanish and Kakataibo forms at the same time are common in Kakataibo discourse (see §6.9.3).

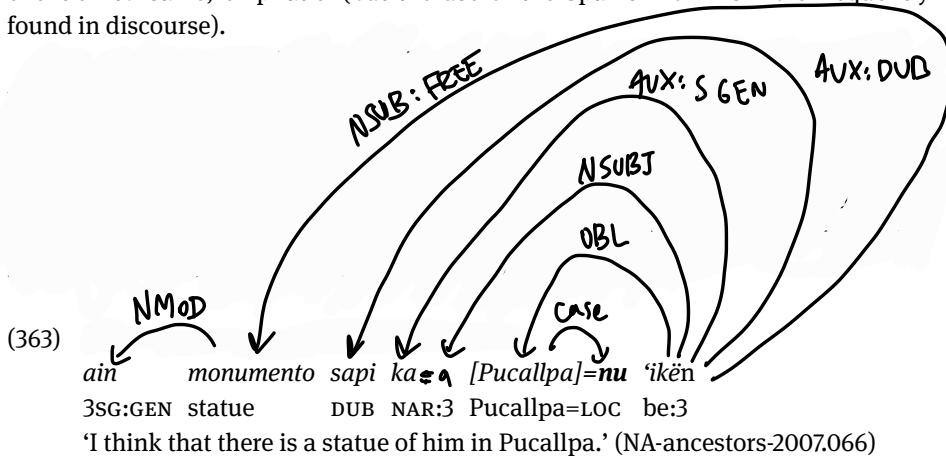
- (362) *Usa 'aish ka como si fuera amanu tsókë unisa...*

*usa 'aish ka como si fuera [amanu tsót-kë
like.that being:S/A>S NAR:3 like.if.it.was other.place live-NOMLZ
uni]=sa*
person=COMP
'Being like men who live in another place...' (NA-ancestors-2007.055)

ferent pattern: in that language, =bë modifies pronouns and =bëtan appears with nouns (Valenzuela 2003).

6.7.1.6 =nu 'locative/directional'

The enclitic =nu is a general locative/directional marker, but can also be used as part of the ablative and of the limitative constructions: in the former case, it is combined with a participant agreement marker (see §10.3) and in the latter case, it is usually combined with the Spanish preposition *hasta* 'until' or, sometimes, the adverbial enclitic =bi 'same, emphatic' (but the use of the Spanish form is more frequently found in discourse).



- (364) *Uax ka Yarinacochanu nukúakëxa.*

u-ax ka [Yarinacocha]=nu nukut-akë-x-a
 come-s/A>S NAR:3 Yarinacocha=LOC arrive-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 'Coming, they arrived at Yarinacocha.' (NA-incas-2007.074)

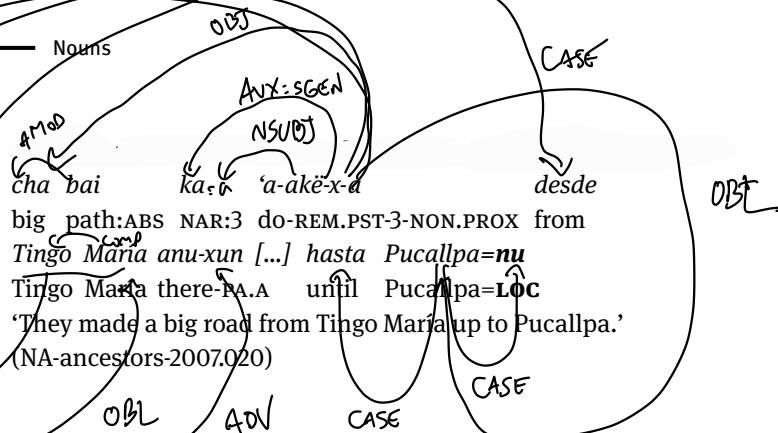
The two following examples show the other interpretations of this enclitic. In the first one we find the enclitic =nu followed by =ax 'Participant agreement: S' and it is interpreted as an ablative. The presence of the marker =ax is obligatory to obtain the ablative reading and, without it, *Pucallpa=nu* 'Pucallpa=LOC' would be a directional (i.e. 'after entering Pucallpa' and not 'after entering **from** Pucallpa'). In the second example, we find a limitative meaning, which is obtained by the combination of this enclitic with the Spanish preposition *hasta* 'until'.

- (365) *Urutankëx ka Pucallpanuax atsintankëx anu uakëxa.*

u-ru-tankëx ka Pucallpa=nu=ax atsin-tankëx
 come-up-s/A>S:PE NAR:3 Pucallpa=LOC=PA.S enter-S/A>S:PE
anu u-akë-x-a
 there come-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 'Coming up, entering from Pucallpa, they came there.' (NA-incas-2007.073)

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(366)



6.7.1.7 =*mi(ki)* and =*u(ki)* 'imprecise direction/location'

The enclitics =*mi(ki)* and =*u(ki)* seem to be largely synonymous, but a more careful study is required. In both cases, the forms without *ki* (=*mi* and =*u*) can be used to express both imprecise location and direction, while the forms with *ki* (=*miki* and =*uki*) are dedicated imprecise directionals. Compare the examples in (367)–(370).

(367) *Au ka 'ën piti nan!*

*a=u(*ki)* *ka* *'ë=n* *piti* *nan*
 that=IMPR.LOC NAR 1SG=GEN food:ABS put:IMP
 'Put my food around there!'

(368) *Ami ka 'ën piti nan!*

*a=mi(*ki)* *ka* *'ë=n* *piti* *nan*
 that=IMPR.LOC NAR 1SG=GEN food:ABS put:IMP
 'Put my food around there!'

(369)

(370)

[*hotel*]=*u(ki)* *ka=a* *'ë=n* *xukën* *u-i-a*
 hotel=IMPR.DIR NAR:3 1SG=GEN brother:ABS come-IPFV-NON.PROX
 'My brother is coming in the direction of the hotel.'

AUX:SGEN

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Hotel=miki

ka:a *'ë=n* *xukën* *u-i-a*

OB1

dedicated imprecise locative (without any possible directional interpretation), as shown in the following example:

- (371) *Ēnēmiu ka ‘ēn piti nan!*
 [ēnē]=**miu** *ka* ‘ē=n *piti* *nan*
 this=IMPR.LOC NAR 1SG=GEN food:ABS put:IMP
 ‘Put my food around here!’

The marker =*mi* is also used for the non-subject argument of some emotion predicates (§8.2.1.2.2), as illustrated in (372).

- (372) *Ami nishkin kaisa...*
 [a]=**mi** *nish-kin* *ka=is=a*
 he=IMPR.LOC hate-s/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3
 ‘It is said that hating him...’ (MO-fisher-2007.027)

6.7.1.8 =*nan* ‘proprietic’

This enclitic is used to indicate that the argument marked by it is the possessor of something else. This enclitic is thus semantically similar to a genitive, but possessive NPs marked with =*nan* are syntactically different in the sense that they cannot modify a nominal head. Thus, ‘ē=nan ‘1sg=POS’ or *mi=nan* ‘2sg=POS’ are to be translated as ‘mine’ and ‘yours’, rather than as ‘my’ or ‘your’. One example is presented in (373).

- (373) *Ēn kana Maríanan biti ‘ain.*
 ‘ē=n *ka=na* *María=nan* *bits-ti* ‘ain
 1SG=A NAR=1SG María=POS pick.up-NOMLZ be:1/2
 ‘I will pick up María’s.’

6.7.1.9 =*kupí* ‘reason’

The enclitic =*kupí* is a suffix with a lexically assigned high tone. This may have to do with the fact that there is also an independent word *kupí* ‘price’ and the two forms, the independent word and the case marker presented here, are very likely to be related. The marker =*kupí* ‘value, price’ is used to indicate the reason why a particular event has been developed. See (374).

- (374) *Akupí kaisa atux upiti xukutia.*
 [a]=**kupí** *ka=is=a* *atu=x* *upit-i* *xukut-i-a*
 that=REAS NAR=REP=3 they=s good-s/A>A:SE peel-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘It is said that because of that, they are peeling.’ (SE-flood-2007.019)

In one construction, the enclitic =*kupí* can appear with another case marker: in the interrogative word *ui=sa=kupí* ‘INT=COMP=REAS: why’, which also features the com-

parative case marker *=sa*. To some extent, this construction reveals the clear lexical origin of *=kupí*, but *uisakupí* can synchronically be understood as a lexicalized form. One example is offered in (375).

- (375) *Atian “uisakupí kara usaokin ‘aia” kixun kaisa unikaman sinankëxa.*
atian ui=sa=kupí ka=ra usa-o-kin ‘a-i-a
 then INT=COMP=REAS NAR=INT.3 like.that-FACT-S/A>A:SE do-IPFV-NON.PROX
ki-xun ka=is=a uni=kama=n sinan-akë-x-a
 say:INTR-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 person=PL=ERG think-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Then, it is said that the people thought, “Why does this man fish like that?”.’
 (MO-fisher-2007.007)

6.7.2 *=kama* ‘plural’

There is one inflectional number marker on NPs in Kakataibo: *=kama* ‘plural’. This marker is optional and is used only when the speaker wants to be explicit. It is entirely possible to find NPs without *=kama* talking about plural referents, if the number value can be inferred from the context. However, NPs marked by *=kama* cannot have singular interpretations. This is exemplified in (376) and (377).

- (376) *Unikama ka kwankëxa.*
uni=kama ka kwan-akë-x-a
 man=PL:ABS NAR:3 go-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘The men went.’ (*‘the man went’)
- (377) *Uni ka kwankëxa.*
uni ka kwan-akë-x-a
 uni:ABS NAR:3 go-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘The man went.’ / ‘The men went.’

In (378), *=kama* appears on the NP *nun aintsi* ‘our ancestor’, and also on the grammatical nominalization headed by *i-a* ‘be-nominalizer’ (for more on grammatical nominalizations, see Chapter 14).

- (378) *Kananuna ësaokin bana ñuixunkin nun aintzikama ‘iakama*
kananuna ësa-o-kin bana ñui-xun-kin
 NAR=1PL like.this-FACT-S/A>A:SE tale:ABS tell-BEN-PST:HAB:1/2
[[nun aintsi]=kama ‘i-a]=kama
 we=GEN relative=PL:ABS be-NOMLZ=PL
 ‘Doing like this, we used to tell the stories about the ones who were our relatives.’ (NA-incas-2007.020)

- (379)
 The diagram shows the sentence structure: 'xibu=kama' (houses=PL:ABS), 'ka' (NAR:3), and 'is-aké-x-a' (see-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX). A bracket labeled 'NSVBD' covers 'ka' and 'is-aké-x-a'. Another bracket labeled 'ANX! S[EN]' covers the entire verb phrase. A large bracket at the top labeled 'Obj' covers the whole sentence.
- xibu=kama ka' is-aké-x-a
 houses=PL:ABS NAR:3 see-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 '(S)he saw the houses a long time ago.'

As we have seen in §6.2.1, a few nouns can be considered non-count nouns and, therefore, cannot be pluralized (for instance, *uñe* ‘rain’ or *ni* ‘jungle’). In addition, nouns carrying the generic suffix *-ina(k)* cannot be pluralized by means of *=kama* (but they can carry the collective derivative marker *-baë*, and can then receive the plural marker too; see §6.3.4). Pronouns, in turn, seem to have had more number choices, including a distinction between dual/paucal and plural (see §5.1.1.1).

Plurality can be marked on the NP by means of *=kama*, on the verb (where we find the plural marker *-kan*, which is also optional; see §9.2.3) or on both (but there is no obligatory NP-V number agreement in the language).

6.7.3 *=tibi ~ =tiibi* ‘distributive’

There is one additional NP enclitic: *=tibi ~ =tiibi* ‘distributive’. This enclitic does not appear in my text database, but my Kakataibo teachers provided me with examples. Its morphosyntactic nature is special in the sense that it can co-occur with both the case markers and the plural enclitic. Therefore, I analyze it here independently from those forms.

Semantically, the distributive enclitic indicates that the event is associated independently with each of the individuals referred to by the NP. In terms of its morphophonology, this enclitic shows an allomorphic alternation: it has an extra long first vowel (*tiibi*) if it is attached to a host with an even number of syllables; and it has a short vowel if it attached to a host with an odd number of syllables. This is shown in the following examples. Notice that in the first example the allomorph *=tibi* appears after the case enclitic *=bë* ‘comitative (S)’; and, that in the second one, the allomorph *=tiibi* appears after the plural marker *=kama*.

- (380) 'Ex kana xanubëtibi Limanu kwanti 'ain.
 'ë=x ka=na xanu=bë=**tibi** Lima=nu kwan-ti 'ain
 1SG=S NAR=1SG woman=COM:S=**DIST** Lima=DIR go-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I will go to Lima with each woman.'
- (381) Xanukamatiibi ka Limanu kwanti 'ikën.
 xanu=kama=**tiibi** ka Lima=nu kwan-ti 'ikën
 woman=PL=**DIST** NAR:3 Lima=DIR go-NOMLZ be:3
 'Each woman will go to Lima.'

6.8 Constructions with *rabanan* ‘because of’

The form *rabanan* ‘because of’ is an independent word and it is different from NP inflectional enclitics because it modifies an instrumental NP. Semantically, it seems to be very similar to =*kupí* ‘reason’ and the distinction between these two forms still requires more research. This form might be analyzed as a special case of a postposition (since the postpositions presented in §5.1.2 obligatorily take unmarked complements), and it seems to be related to the verb *raban* ‘care about, adore’. See the example in (382).

- (382) *Usa 'ain ka nun kaibunën sinanxun ñu 'ati 'ikën [...] men rabananribi.*
usa 'ain ka nu=n kaibu=n sinan-xun
like.that being:DS/A/P NAR:3 we=GEN relative=ERG think-S/A>A:SE
*ñu 'a-ti 'ikën [...] [me=n **rabanan**]=ribi*
*thing:ABS do-NOMLZ be:3 land=INS **because.of**=also*
‘Being like this, thinking, our relatives will do the things because of (our) land.’
(NA-ancestors-2007.051)

6.9 Sequences of NPs

Sequences of NPs are very frequent in Kakataibo discourse. Their high frequency could be related to the fact that it is uncommon to have NPs with two modifiers of the same type and, thus, if the speaker intends to modify, for example, the same referent with two adjectives, the preferred solution is to form a sequence of independent NPs with the same or semantically equivalent heads containing one modifier each. This produces appositional constructions, which are pervasive in Kakataibo discourse (see §6.9.2). Sequences of NPs in which one NP is in Kakataibo and the other in Spanish or Shipibo-Konibo are also quite common (see §6.9.3). In addition to sequences in which the NPs have the same referent, enumerations and coordinated NPs are also very common in natural speech, as discussed in §6.9.1.

6.9.1 Coordination and enumeration of NPs

Coordination of two NPs is done by means of ‘*imainun* ‘and’, which appears between the two NPs in the coordination. When there are only two NPs in the structure, the use of ‘*imainun*’ is obligatory. This can be seen in examples (383) and (384).

- (383) *Juanën ka 'atsa 'imainun xëki biaxa.*
*Juan=n ka ['atsa] '**imainun** [xëki] bi-a-x-a*
*Juan=ERG NAR:3 manioc:ABS **and** corn:ABS pick.up-PFV-3-NON.PROX*
‘Juan picked up manioc and corn.’

- (384) *Juanën ka 'atsa xëki bi-a-x-a
 Juan=n ka [‘atsa] [xëki] bi-a-x-a
 Juan=ERG NAR:3 manioc:ABS corn:ABS pick.up-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ('Juan picked up manioc and corn')

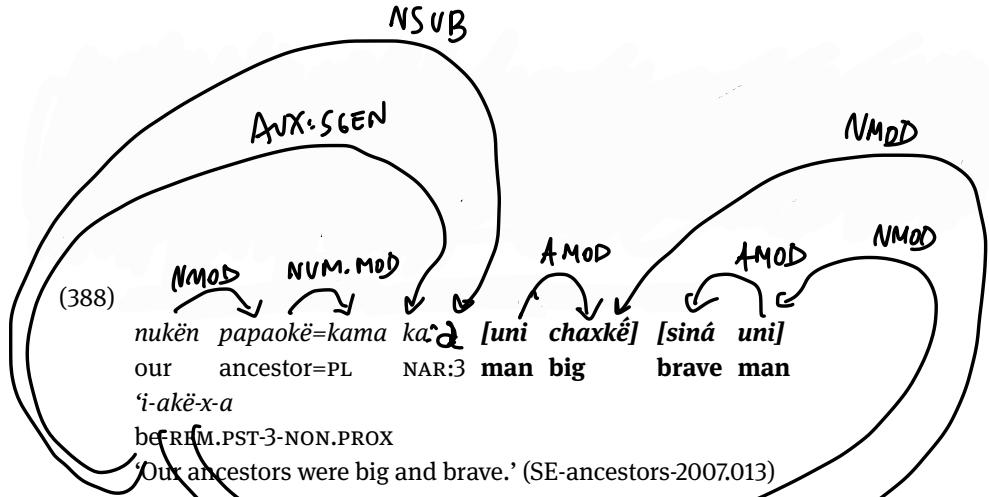
When we have more than two coordinated NPs in an enumerative construction, different strategies are attested in Kakataibo. In some cases, only the last element in the enumeration is preceded by the form '*imainun* 'and'; but in others this form appears after each NP except the last one. It is also very common for sequences of NPs to not contain the form '*imainun*', but rather to end with a final summarizing element like *akama* 'those' or *u=sa=bu* 'that=comparative=collective (= things like that)'. In very rare cases both '*imainun*' and the summarizing element appear together in the same construction.

In the following examples, I illustrate these different strategies: in (385), we find the form '*imainun*' before the noun *charu* 'crab', which is the last element of the enumeration; in (386) we find an elicited version with the form '*imainun*' included twice; and in (387), we encounter *akama* at the end of the enumeration and the form '*imainun*' does not occur.

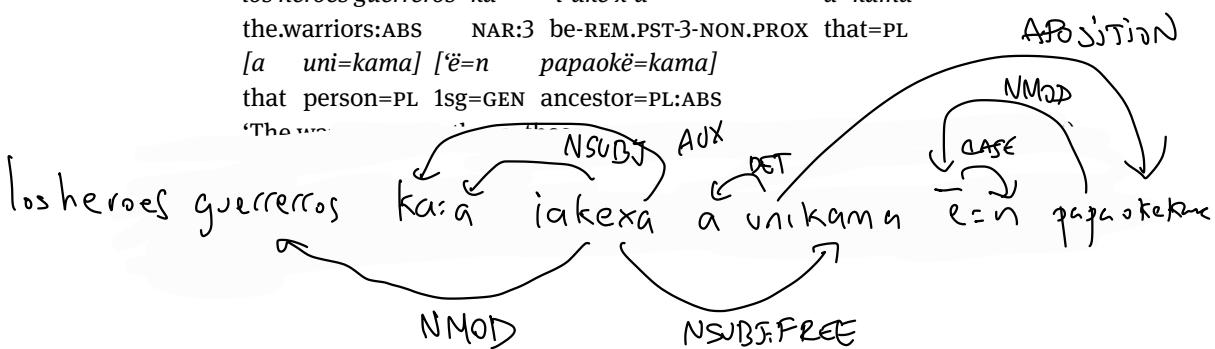
- (385) Atian kaisa xapi runu 'imainun charu...
 atian ka=is=a [xapi] [runu] '**imainun** [charu]
 then NAR=REP=3 shrimp:ABS snake:ABS **and** crab:ABS
 'Then, shrimp, snakes and crabs...' (SE-flood-2007.017)
- (386) Atian kaisa xapi 'imainun runu 'imainun charu...
 atian ka=is=a [xapi] '**imainun** [runu] '**imainun** [charu]
 then NAR=REP=3 prawn **and** snake **and** crab
 'Then, shrimp and snakes and crabs...' (elicited from SE-flood-2007.017)
- (387) Ñu nun 'apákékama nónsi 'atsa xëki arroz akama.
 ñu nu=n 'apat-kë=kama [nónsi] [‘atsa] [xëki]
 thing:ABS we=A plant-NOMLZ=PL banana:ABS manioc:ABS corn:ABS
 [arroz] [**a**]=kama
 rice:ABS **that=PL:P**
 'The things what we plant: bananas, manioc, corn, rice... all these things.'
 (SE-agriculture-2007.045)

6.9.2 Appositions

Appositional constructions are very common in Kakataibo discourse. They are used as a way to attribute different qualities to one referent and, also, they appear to have

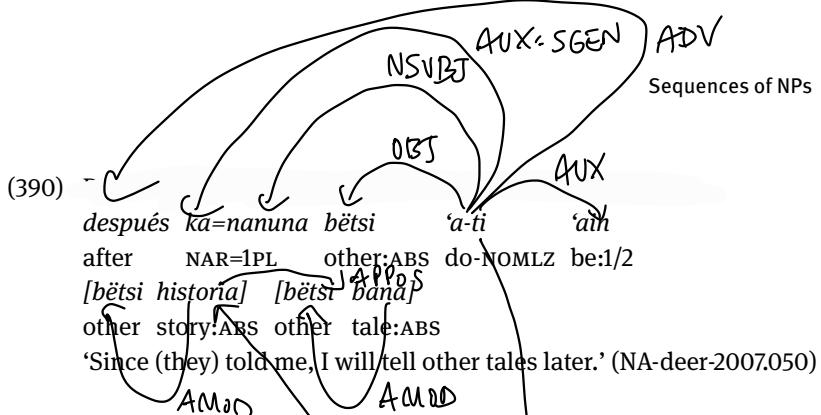


- (389) Los heroes guerreros *ka iakëxa akama a unikama 'en papaokëkama.*
 los heroes guerreros ka *'i-akë-x-a* a=kama
 the.warriors:ABS NAR:3 be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX that=PL
[a uni=kama] [e=n papaokë=kama]
 that person=PL 1sg=GEN ancestor=PL:ABS
 'The ...'

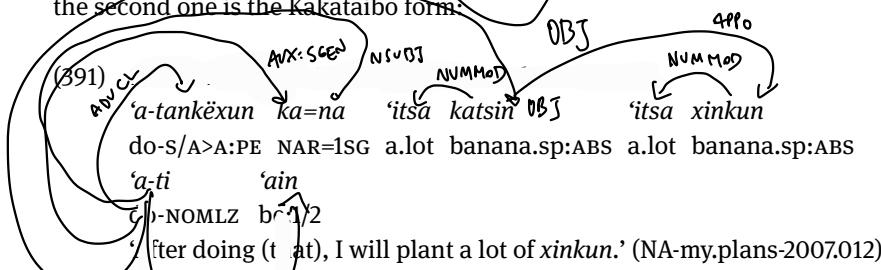


6.9.3 Bilingual repetitions

Kakataibo speech contains many instances of loans, code-switching and code-mixing with Spanish, which is the dominant and more prestigious language in the surrounding area. One characteristic consequence of the Spanish influence is that Kakataibo speakers sometimes repeat the same element once in Spanish and once in Kakataibo. This happens with different grammatical elements: for example we find nouns which are preceded by a Spanish preposition and then followed by the equivalent Kakataibo case marker (for example, **como gringo=sa** 'like an American', where we find the Spanish preposition *como* and the Kakataibo enclitic *=sa*, both meaning 'comparative'). This is very common in both narratives and conversations. In the former, this also happens with entire NPs and, thus, we find examples like the following one, where the Spanish and the Kakataibo NPs appear in an appositional construction.



Similar examples of Kakataibo and Shipibo-Konibo pairs are also attested, for instance, in the following example, where we find the pair *katsin* and *xinkun* both referring to the same banana species but the first one is the Shipibo-Konibo form and the second one is the Kakataibo form:



Speakers seem to use these repetitions in self-corrections, when they realize that they have used a non-Kakataibo form. Therefore, it is always the case that the Kakataibo form follows the Spanish or the Shipibo-Konibo one.

7 Adjectives

7.1 Introduction

As I have argued in §5.2, even though there are not always clear-cut boundaries between open word classes in Kakataibo, a class of adjectives can be identified in this language. There are around fifty words in my corpus that can be primarily catalogued as adjectives and there are also a few adjektivization processes.

Even though adjectives can be considered an open class, they are different from the more prototypical open classes of nouns or verbs, because the latter two are much larger, with hundreds of non-derived items in each. In that sense, adjectives are more similar to adverbs (the smallest open word class in Kakataibo; see Chapter 10) than to verbs or to nouns. However, we have seen in §5.2 that in terms of their distribution and their functions, adjectives are very similar to nouns. Like nouns, adjectives can be used as inchoative predicates and NP-modifiers (but in the latter case they exhibit a freer positional behavior, since they can be pre-head and post-head modifiers, while nouns in that function can only be pre-head modifiers). Like nouns, adjectives can be used as heads of NPs, generally if the discursive context allows one to identify the referent.

Adjectives can also be used as copula complements in predicative constructions, and as the parameter of comparison in comparative and equative constructions (functions which are also available for nouns in some contexts). It should be said that in these functions, adjectives appear as constituents of the clause and, therefore, must be considered as forming phrases that can be labelled **Adjective Phrases** (AdjP). However, since adjectives in Kakataibo cannot be modified by other lexical elements (as it happens, for example, in languages like English or Spanish, where adjectives can be modified, as in *very good*); adjectives do not form complex phrases in Kakataibo and, thus, a section about the structure and the internal order of AdjPs is not necessary. The only exceptions to this are the superlative forms which are obtained by combining the adjective with the third person singular genitive pronoun *ain*, and the possibility of combining an adjective with a demonstrative in order to create a constituent functionally equivalent to an NP (see §5.2.3). However, adjectives modified by demonstratives are not common in Kakataibo discourse and this combination of adjectives and demonstratives does not appear in my database of natural texts. This is an indicator of its marginal nature. Thus, this construction will not be commented on in this chapter (see §5.2.3 for some examples and more details).

The data presented in this chapter has been organized in the following way: first, in §7.2, I present a list of the adjective classes that can be identified in the language based on morphosyntactic grounds (§7.2.1 offers a description of the *a*-adjectives; §7.2.2 presents *t*-adjectives; and §7.2.3 discusses post-head adjectives). Then, §7.3 summarizes the syntactic functions of adjectives (§7.3.1 exemplifies adjectives as modifiers; §7.3.2 is about adjectives as intransitive predicates; §7.3.3 presents adjectives

as predicate modifiers; §7.3.4 describes adjectives in copula constructions and §7.3.5 presents comparative and copula constructions, respectively). §7.4 is about the use of the diminutive *-rá* with adjectives; and §7.5 describes superlative forms. Adjectives derived from nouns are presented in §7.6.

7.2 Adjective classes

Based on a detailed study of English adjectives, Dixon (1982) proposes seven basic semantic classes of adjectives: dimension, physical property, color, human propensity, age, value and speed. Dixon's (1982) semantic types of adjectives do not correspond exactly to grammatical distinctions within the adjective class or between adjectives and other word classes in Kakataibo, but they offer relevant clues. Notions related to dimension, color and value are the only ones exclusively expressed by adjectives in this language, while physical properties are mainly expressed by adjectives but also, in a few cases, by verbs like *ichú* 'be bright'. Human propensities (many of them also applicable to animals) are mainly expressed by verbs, but some adjectives with related meanings are also attested: *chikish* 'lazy', *ñusmá* 'stupid' and *siná* 'brave'. Finally, age and speed are expressed both by adverbs and adjectives.

Based on morphosyntactic criteria, it is possible to postulate different subclasses of adjectives: (i) the group of adjectives that show an additional *a* in certain positions; (ii) the group of adjectives that show a high pitch on their second and final syllable or a final *t* if followed by certain suffixes; (iii) the group of adjectives that can only occur as post-nominal modifiers; and (iv) all other adjectives, which do not show any special morphosyntactic property and will not be discussed in this section. Each of the classes just mentioned is formed by adjectives that belong to more than one of the semantic classes proposed by Dixon (1982).

7.2.1 A-adjectives

There is a group of adjectives that takes an additional *-a* suffix when appearing in the post-head position of an NP, showing the alternation *AdjN* ~ *NAdj-a*. The forms with *-a* can also function as heads of NPs by themselves without an additional nominal element and, for this reason, this additional *-a* could be considered an adjective nominalizer (although clearly unproductive, and probably only diachronically analyzable as such).

This alternation *AdjN* ~ *NAdj-a* (and the possibility of functioning as an NP when carrying the *-a*) is restricted to a short list of adjectives that includes mostly forms related to colors but also a couple of adjectives which express physical properties. Those adjectives are presented in Table 61. Note that the last two forms do not surface with an overt *-a* for morphophonological reasons: forms like *tunan-a* and *paxá-a*

will surface as *tunan* and *paxá*, due to vowel assimilation and, in the case of the first example, also because of metathesis of *n* (see §2.7). Therefore, the inclusion of these forms in Table 61 is open to debate.

Table 61. List of *a*-adjectives

Basic adjective form	- <i>a</i> form	Meaning
<i>uxu</i>	<i>uxua</i>	'white'
<i>panshin</i>	<i>panshian</i>	'yellow'
<i>ushin</i>	<i>ushian</i>	'red'
<i>kuru</i>	<i>kurua</i>	'ash-colored'
<i>turu</i>	<i>turua</i>	'rounded'
<i>tumú</i>	<i>tumúa</i>	'spherical'
<i>tunan</i>	<i>tunan</i>	'black'
<i>paxá</i>	<i>paxá</i>	'green'

Even though there are two exceptions (the forms *turu* 'rounded' and *tumú* 'spherical'), there is a strong correlation between the formal subclass of *a*-adjectives and the semantic domain of color, in that all the non-derived forms referring to colors belong to this class (if we accept the analysis proposed here for *tunan* 'black' and *paxá* 'green', which do not exhibit an overt additional -*a*).

7.2.2 *T*-adjectives

Among the seventy odd non-derived adjectives identified in my corpus, at least 16 are disyllabic words that show alternating forms, one with a high tone on their final syllable and the other with a final *t*. The alternation follows the same pattern attested in other phonologically similar cases (see §3.3.1.1); that is, the final *t* only surfaces when one of the morphemes in Table 26 follows the stem. A list of all the *t*-adjectives attested in my corpus is presented in Table 62.

The existence of minimally 16 adjectives that were systematically proved to carry a final *t* could be considered just a coincidence. Yet there are indications that something else may be revealed in this pattern. It might be possible to establish a connection between the 'middle marker' -*t* (see §9.1.1.2.3) that is synchronically attested in verbs and the final *t* in the adjectives in Table 62, because there is not only a formal but also a functional correspondence between them: both the verbs marked by -*t* and the adjectives describe states or related meanings. Even though it is possible to argue that there is a synchronic class of adjectives in Kakataibo, it might be the case that at least some of its members have come from stative verbs. This could explain why I have found (at least) 16 adjectives ending in *t*. It is also true, however, that this verbal

source is not necessarily the source for all adjectives. Others may have also come from nouns (see the discussion in §5.2.3 and the few forms that appear in both adjectival and nominal functions).

Table 62. List of *t*-adjectives

Form	Alternating form	Meaning
<i>bënät</i>	<i>bëná</i>	'young'
<i>bënët</i>	<i>bëné</i>	'fast'
<i>chabat</i>	<i>chabá</i>	'wet'
<i>chaxkët</i>	<i>chaxké</i>	'tall'
<i>chinít</i>	<i>chiní</i>	'last'
<i>'iët</i>	<i>'ié</i>	'heavy'
<i>këxtut</i>	<i>këxtú</i>	'thick'
<i>mëtut</i>	<i>mëtú</i>	'short'
<i>naxbat</i>	<i>naxbá</i>	'wide'
<i>nënkët</i>	<i>nënké</i>	'long'
<i>pënët</i>	<i>pëné</i>	'lighty'
<i>puntët</i>	<i>punté</i>	'correct'
<i>tirit</i>	<i>tirí</i>	'shiny'
<i>upit</i>	<i>upí</i>	'good'
<i>xabat</i>	<i>xabá</i>	'clear'
<i>xuat</i>	<i>xuá</i>	'fat'

7.2.3 Post-head adjectives (and one quantifier)

Finally, there is a small class of adjectives (and one quantifier) that can only appear in the post-head position (e.g., *baka masman* 'shallow river' but not **masman baka*). This makes the forms listed in Table 63 different from other adjectives in the language, which are freer in terms of their distribution within the NP and can usually appear either after or before the noun.

Table 63. Post-head adjectives and quantifier

Form	Meaning
<i>'itsi</i> (~ <i>betsi</i> in the pre-head position)	'other'
<i>masman</i>	'shallow'
<i>'iö</i>	'new'
<i>xëni</i>	'old, fat'
<i>matsi</i>	'cold'
<i>kamé èö</i>	'a lot, much, many'

Note that the forms in Table 63 should not be considered postpositions (see §5.1.2), since they do not create a PP, but are NP modifiers. One text example including the form *'itsi* ‘other’ is presented in (392).

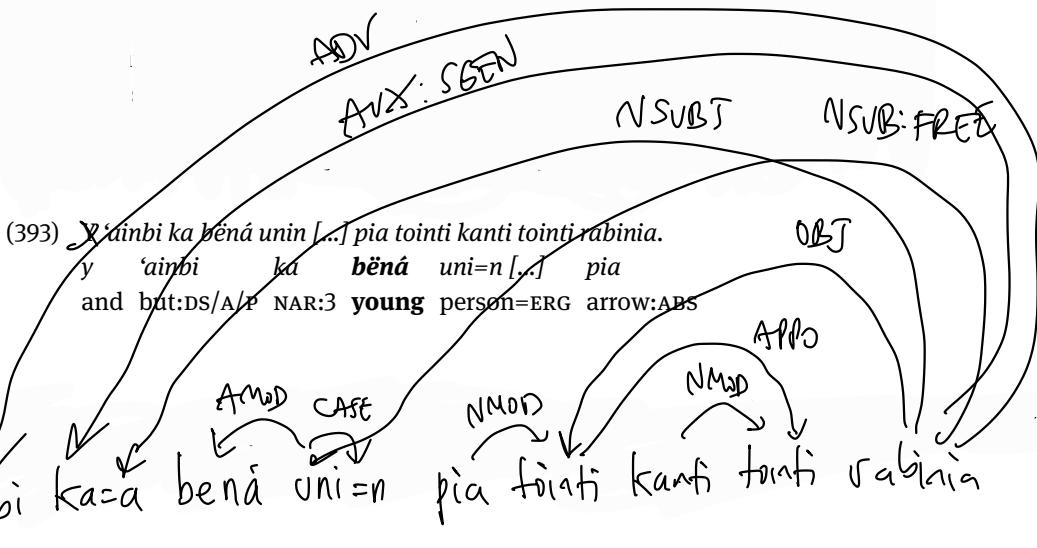
- (392) *Uni 'itsin 'aia...*

uni 'itsi=n 'a-ia
 person **other=ERG** do-S/A>P:SE
 ‘When the other man was doing (i.e. having sex with the woman)...’
 (SE-cheater.woman-2007.006)

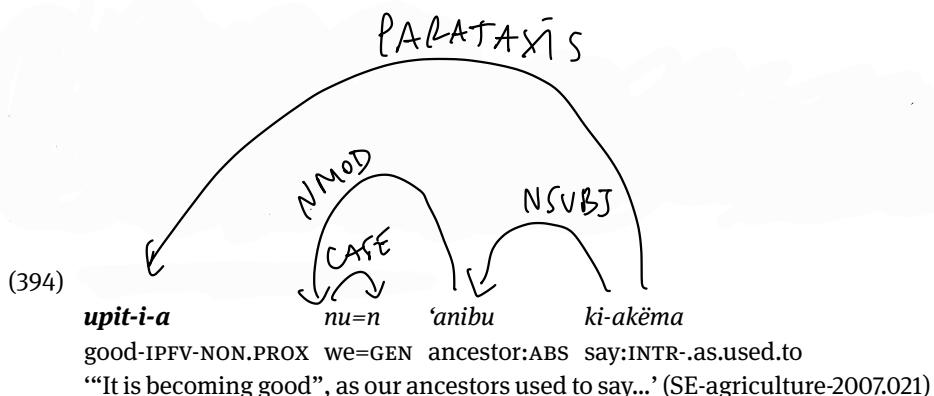
Conversely, it may be interesting to note that there is at least one adjective in Kakataibo which exhibits an obligatory pre-head position. This form is the adjective *bëné* ‘fast’, which has been classified as a *t*-adjective in this grammar. Thus, while the form *bëné uni* ‘fast man’ is grammatical, the form **uni bëné* is not. In the case of this adjective, my assumption, based on the reactions of my Kakataibo teachers during elicitation sessions, is that the reason for its restricted distribution is a possible ambiguity with *bëné* ‘male’: the second word of an NP, if disyllabic, does not carry a high pitch (see §3.4.1) and, thus, the forms *bëné* ‘fast’ and *bëné* ‘male’ surface with the same phonological form in such a position. In the pre-head position, the difference between the two forms remains intact and this may be the reason why the adjective *bëné* is confined to the pre-head position. Thus, strictly speaking, this adjective can be seen as the only pre-head adjective of the language.

7.3 Syntactic functions of adjectives

7.3.1 Adjectives as NP modifiers

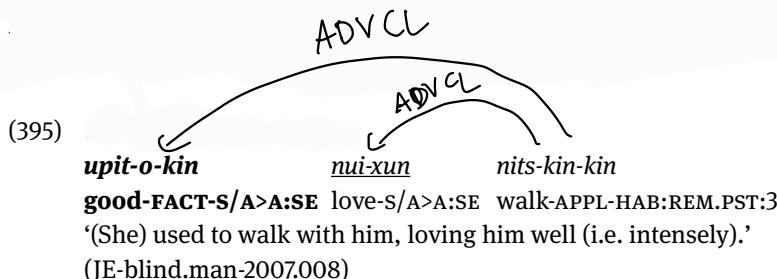


toin-ti kanti toin-ti rabin-i-a
 grab-NOMLZ bow hold-NOMLZ feel.embarrassed-IPFV-NON.PROX
 'But, in these times, young people feel embarrassed when they hold arrows and bows.' (SE-arrows-2007.054)



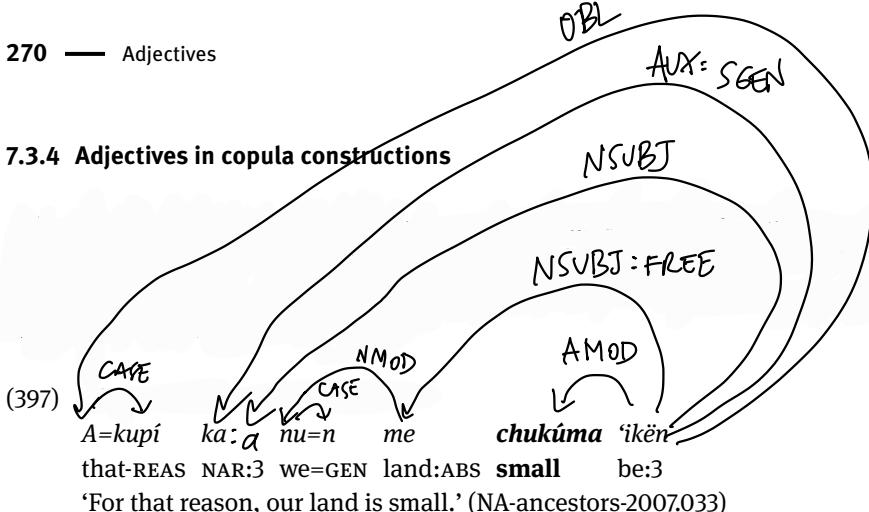
7.3.3 Adjectives as predicate modifiers

As verbal predicates, adjectival predicates can modify other predicates in discourse (see Chapter 12 on switch-reference and converbs). In that case, they receive a switch-reference marker and follow a transitivity harmony principle (see §12.5.1) that requires them to be transitivized by means of the factitive marker *-o* if the predicate they modify



- (396) *Upiti chushia kainkin*
upit-i chushi-ia kain-kin
 good-S/A>S:SE get.dry-s/A>P:SE wait-s/A>A:SE
 'Waiting for it to get well (i.e. completely) dry...' (SE-agriculture-2007.009)

7.3.4 Adjectives in copula constructions



- (398) *Padre Abad ax ka 'iakëxa chiní.*

Padre Abad a=x ka 'i-akë-x-a chiní

Padre Abad 3SG=S NAR:3 be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX last

'Padre Abad, he was the last.' (NA-ancestors-2007.068)

7.3.5 Adjectives in comparative and equative constructions

Adjectives do not have morphologically derived comparative forms, but they can appear in comparative constructions, which were borrowed from Spanish. Comparative forms in Kakataibo include the Spanish words *más que* 'more than', which are phonologically realized as *mas ki*. Like in the Spanish comparative construction, the adjective that functions as the parameter of the comparison appears between *mas* and *ki* (but sometimes speakers treat *maski* as a single morphological unit which follows the adjective). The comparative constructions in (399) and (400) were obtained in elicitation sessions:

- (399) *Roberto ka mas xuá ki Emilio 'ikën.*

Roberto ka mas xuá ki Emilio 'ikën

Roberto:ABS NAR:3 more fat than Emilio be:3

'Roberto is fatter than Emilio.'

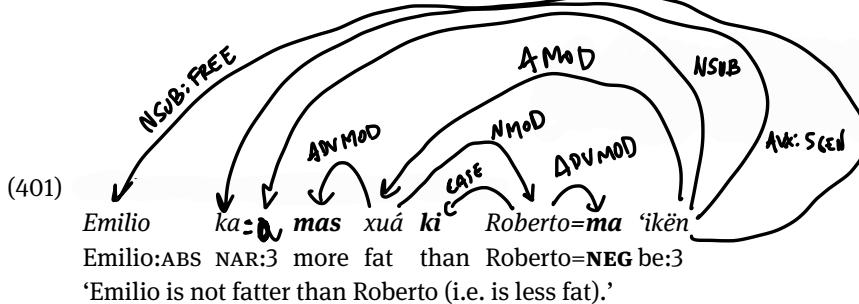
- (400) *Emilio ka mas ñusi ki Roberto 'ikën.*

Emilio ka mas ñusi ki Roberto 'ikën

Emilio:ABS NAR:3 more old than Roberto be:3

'Emilio is older than Roberto.'

Comparative constructions equivalent to the ones with *less* in English are obtained by adding the Kakataibo negative marker *=ma* to the standard of comparison. See the examples in (401) and (402).

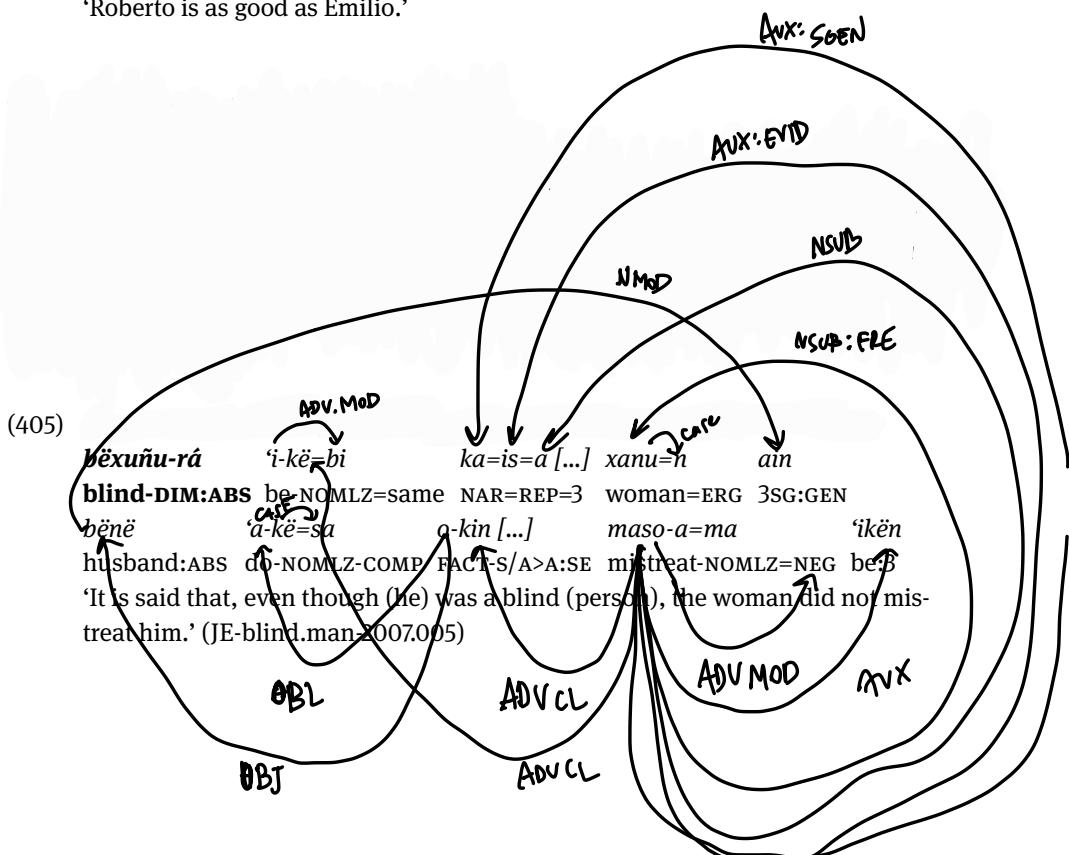


- (402) Roberto *ka* mas ñusi *ki* Emilio=*ma* ‘ikën.
Roberto ka mas ñusi *ki* Emilio=*ma* ‘ikën
Roberto:ABS NAR:3 more old than Emilio=NEG be:3
'Roberto is not older than Emilio (i.e. is less old).'

Equative constructions are obtained by adding the comparative marker =sa (see §6.7.1.5) and the adverbial enclitic =ribi 'also' (see §11.3.1.4) to the standard of the comparison. The examples in (403) and (404) are cases of equative constructions:

- (403) Emilio *ka* chaxké Roberto=ribi ‘ikën
Emilio ka chaxké Roberto=**sa=ribi** ‘ikën
Emilio:ABS NAR:3 tall Roberto=COMP=also be:3
'Emilio is as tall as Roberto.'

- (404) Roberto *ka* upí Emilio=ribi ‘ikën
Roberto ka upí Emilio=**sa=ribi** ‘ikën
Roberto NAR:3 good Emilio=COMP=also be:3
'Roberto is as good as Emilio.'



7.5 Superlative forms

Superlative forms of adjectives can be obtained by adding the third person singular genitive pronoun *ain*.⁵³ Thus, superlative forms may be seen as cases of complex AdjPs in which the adjective is modified by the genitive pronoun. However, superlative forms cannot function as NP modifiers (differently from English, a language where we find forms like *the most delicious food*), but are nominal in terms of their morphosyntactic behavior and can be translated as ‘the most X one’. Thus, adding the third person genitive pronoun to an adjective may be seen as changing its word class, since the whole phrase is now nominal rather than adjectival.

In addition, it is important to mention that some of the forms including the genitive pronoun and an adjective can also refer to the associated qualities: something like ‘its X-ness’, where X represents the meaning expressed by the adjective. This is usually the case with adjectives referring to physical properties of objects. A list of some adjectives including their superlative forms is presented in Table 64.

Table 64. Some adjectives with their corresponding superlative forms

Form	Meaning	Superlative form	Meaning
<i>béná</i>	‘young’	<i>ain béná</i>	‘the youngest’ ‘its youth’ (?)
<i>béné</i>	‘fast’	<i>ain béné</i>	‘the fastest’ ‘its speed’ (?)
<i>chaxké</i>	‘long’	<i>ain chaxké</i>	‘the longest’ ‘its length’
<i>upí</i>	‘good’	<i>ain upí</i>	‘the best’ ‘its quality, his/her beauty’

One example of a superlative construction is presented in (406)

- (406) *Ain chaxké ka ë ‘inan.*

ain chaxké ka ë ‘inan
 3SG:GEN long NAR 1SG:P give:IMP
 ‘Give me the longest one!’

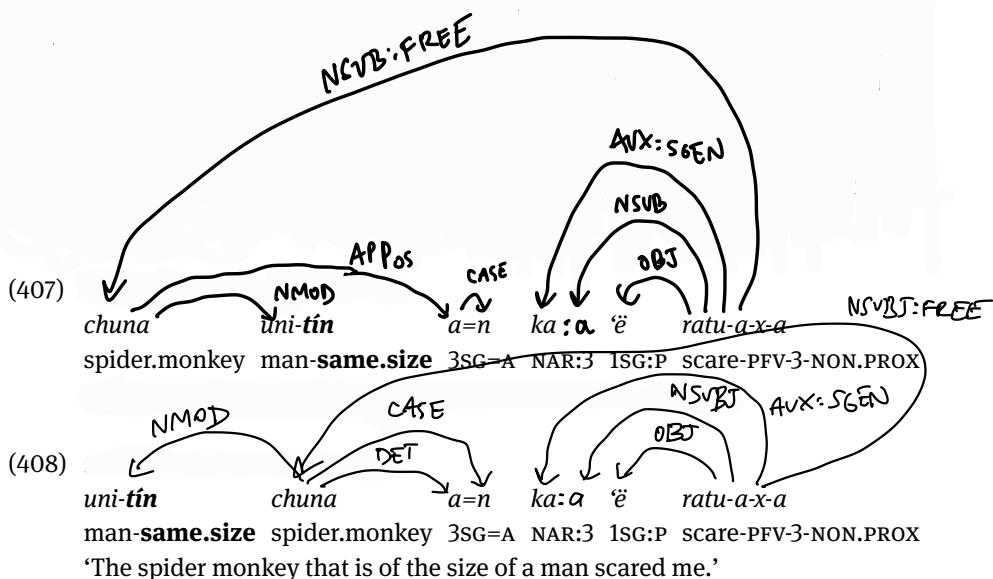
In many cases, the ‘intensifier’ adverbial enclitic =shaman (see §11.3.2) can have a meaning very similar to a superlative modifier when appearing on an adjective. Thus, *ain chaxké ~ chaxkéshaman* can both be translated as ‘the longest’. However, those

⁵³ This construction is also used in Spanish by Kakataibo people, who can say *su largo* (lit. his/her/its large) in order to say *the largest*. Notice that this construction is not grammatical in standard Spanish.

forms are morphosyntactically different. While superlative forms derived by the genitive are highly nominal; adjectives with *=shaman* seem to be used only as copula complements, which is one of the prototypical functions of adjectives, and do not exhibit more nominal uses.

7.6 Derived adjectives

There are two synchronic mechanisms for deriving adjectives, plus a non-productive one. Derived adjectives appear in the same positions as underived ones and, in principle, both types of adjectives share the same morphosyntactic properties. Note that nominalized verbs can also modify nominal expressions.



This suffix can be followed by the enclitic *=bu* 'collective' in order to indicate that it is not possible to determine the nature of the entity. Copula clauses including a noun modified by *-tín=bu* as their complement are not uncommon (see §11.3.2.1). See the example in (409).

- (409) *Xubutínbu ka ux ‘ikën*
xubu-tín=bu *ka* *u=x* *‘ikën*
 house-same.size=COL NAR:3 that=s be:3
 ‘Those things (perhaps rocks) are of the size of a house.’

7.6.2 =ñu ‘proprietic’

The enclitic =ñu ‘proprietic’ indicates that the nominal element it modifies is the property of the referent of the head of its NP. The marker =ñu is used to derive NP modifiers, functionally equivalent to adjectives. These modifiers require a head noun. This can clearly be seen in the examples in (410a–c).

- (410) a. *xubu=ñu uni* ‘man with a house’
 b. *xanu=ñu uni* ‘man with a woman (married man)’
 c. *bëchikë=ñu uni* ‘man with a son (father)’

The morpheme =ñu ‘proprietic’ is clearly an enclitic according to the definition followed here, as shown by the examples in (411a–b) where it modifies complex NPs:

- (411) a. *[xubu chaxkë]=ñu uni* ‘man with a big house’
 b. *[rabé xubu chaxkë]=ñu uni* ‘man with two big houses’

Like underived adjectives, adjectives derived by =ñu can also appear as copula complements. One text example of this is presented in (412). There, we find the noun *ian* ‘lake’ being modified by =ñu and the entire form appears as the complement of the copula *‘ikën*:

- (412) *kara ‘ianñu ‘ikën kixun kananuna barin.*
ka=ra ian=ñu ‘ikën ki-xun ka=nanuna bari-i-n
nar=INT.3 lake=PROP be:3 say:INTR-S/A>A NAR=1PL look.for-IPFV-1/2
 ‘We look for (a place to make our garden), saying, “Is it with lakes?”.’
 (SE-agriculture-2007.005)

7.6.3 Adjectives with *-ru and *-ntu

The form *-ru ‘lacking’ only appears with shortened versions of body-part nouns, which are equivalent to the synchronic body-part prefixes attested in the language, and which were presented in §4.6. In fact, the synchronic analysis of *-ru is complicated, because we would have to assume that it is a suffix that attaches to prefixes, and thus the resulting form would be a form without a root. This fact opens important

questions regarding the relationship between body-part nouns and body-part prefixes (see Zariquey and Fleck 2012, for a discussion of this issue). Some examples are listed in (413a–d).

- (413) a. *taru* ‘limping’
- b. *paru* ‘lacking one ear’
- c. *pënru* ‘one-handed’
- d. *xunru* ‘lacking one breast’

In addition to forms with **-ru*, we find cases in which a body-part prefix is combined with the ending **-ntu*. In this case, the resulting adjective is associated with the lacking not of the whole body part, but of a small portion of it (but the distinction is not always clear-cut). Some examples are listed in (414a–c).

- (414) a. *mëntu* ‘with a chopped finger’
- b. *rëntu* ‘with a chopped tip’
- c. *tsintu* ‘with a chopped tail’

Adjective forms with **-ru* and **-ntu* are similar to the adjectives presented in §7.2.3, in that they are exclusively post-head modifiers. See the examples in (415a–b).

- (415) a. *uni taru* **taru uni* ‘limping man’
- b. *uni mëntu* **mëntu uni* ‘man with a chopped finger’

8 Verbs (I): Verb classes

8.1 Introduction

From a semantic perspective, prototypical verbs are defined based on the notion of temporal instability (and other semantic principles listed, for example, in Givón 2001: 52, such as temporal compactness, concreteness, complexity and spatial diffuseness, and agentiveness and mental activity). Generally, “[verbs] are coherent bundles of experience of relatively short duration” (Givón 2001: 52). But, of course, the semantic content of verbal lexemes can be closer to, or further from, the above prototype, and different semantic types of verbs can be established in different languages based upon how closely they correspond to that prototypical definition.⁵⁴

In this chapter, I will not focus on the semantics of verbs, but on their syntactic nature, classifying them into transitivity classes. This is done because the category of transitivity is the one that has the clearest consequences for the grammar of Kakataibo, and it is consistently marked on different morphosyntactic elements.

Transitivity constitutes a core topic for linguistic typology and has been widely studied from various approaches, including purely formal, semantic and pragmatic (see Kittilä 2011 for a summary). The understanding of transitivity as a scalar category built around a transitivity prototype which combines semantic and discursive properties that have consequences for its formal expression, as proposed since Hopper and Thompson (1980), is currently widely accepted among typologists (see Næss 2007, for a recent example). However, the relevance of structural properties for the definition of transitivity (at least in some languages) is also straightforward and definitions of transitivity in the typological literature often also pay attention to those properties as well (in what Kittilä 2002: 26–29 calls “multiple definitions of transitivity”). This is the case, for instance, of Dixon (2010: 115), who defines transitivity as a “multi-layered phenomenon”.

As has also been argued for other Pano languages (see, for example, Loos 1999: 243 for a general characterization of the family), in Kakataibo transitivity is primarily a lexical phenomenon, in the sense that verbs are either inherently transitive (like *pi* ‘eat’) or inherently intransitive (like *ux* ‘sleep’). Transitivity is primarily a feature of the lexeme and this can be tested by means of a number of very strong and highly predictive morphosyntactic criteria that systematically show the same results for each verb stem. In Pano languages, the transitivity class of a verb is fixed (and can only be changed by means of valence-changing suffixes; see §9.1.1).

One important distinction to be made in this chapter is between **transitivity** and **valence**. I will identify two main transitivity classes in Kakataibo: intransitive and

⁵⁴ Just to give one example, Givón (2001: 106) establishes a distinction between states (which can be temporary or permanent), events (which can be bounded or unbounded) and actions (which can be also bounded or unbounded).

transitive. Those transitivity classes are not primarily defined by the number of core arguments that appear overtly, which may be understood as a verb's valence (see, for example, Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000: 3); but by a set of morphosyntactic mechanisms that will be presented in this chapter. As previously mentioned, transitivity will be understood here as a lexical property of the verb stem. By contrast, valence will be understood as a property that is manifested at the clausal level and that may vary according to how a verb is used in a particular context. While there is a tendency for transitivity and valence to coincide (e.g. intransitive verbs usually occur with one core argument), in Kakataibo, the transitivity class of a verb cannot be predicted 100% of the time based on its valence (see the discussion in §8.2).

The information on verb classes is presented according to the following structure: §8.2 presents a working definition of transitivity that will help understand how Kakataibo grammar works; §8.2.1 discusses intransitive verbs; and §8.2.2 describes transitive verbs. A distinction between plain and extended types of both intransitive and transitive verbs, in similar terms to the ones proposed by Dixon and Aikhenvald (1997), is argued to be relevant for Kakataibo and this distinction is followed here. §8.2.3 focuses on cases of verb pairs that obligatorily carry the forms *-n* 'transitive' and *-t* 'intransitive', whereas §8.2.4 presents verb pairs that end in the formatives *ka* 'transitive' and *ki* 'intransitive'. Cases of verbs showing a suppletive distinction between transitive and intransitive forms are discussed in §8.2.5. §8.2.6 presents cases of ambi-transitive verbs. Finally, §8.2.7 offers a summary of the chapter.

8.2 Transitivity classes in Kakataibo

All the transitivity-encoding morphosyntactic operations found throughout the Kakataibo clause are sensitive to the lexical transitivity of the verb. In Kakataibo, transitivity distinctions have grammaticalized in different sections of the grammar, and transitivity is not only reflected in the case marking of arguments, but also in the switch-reference system and in some oblique markers. In addition, some derivational morphemes show different forms for transitive vs. intransitive stems, and this is also true for some multi-verb constructions that observe the transitivity harmony principle (see §12.5.1). Thus, transitivity is overtly marked throughout the clause as part of different types of transitivity encoding, agreement and harmony, and an inaccurate use of these mechanisms results in the unacceptability of a clause. At least some of these mechanisms correspond to what Kittilä (2002: 67–72) calls “indirect transitivity marking”: “indirect marking is clearly the less studied of the types [of transitivity marking, RZ]” (Kittilä 2002: 68). In Kittilä’s (2002) terms, indirect transitivity marking refers to all the transitivity marking phenomena that “make only a minor contribution to the expression of transitivity [and, therefore, RZ] they are never alone responsible for whether classes are interpreted as intransitive or transitive [... and] are rather regarded as elements that are obligatorily adjusted to transitivity of clauses” (Kittilä

2002: 68). However, some of the mechanisms that will be illustrated here are participant-based and not transitivity-based, and therefore they are not directly related to transitivity. Nevertheless, since many participant-based phenomena (including the tracking of arguments in switch-reference, presented in Chapter 12, and participant agreement, discussed in §10.3) distinguish between transitive subject ('A') and intransitive subject ('S'), they also give us clues about the transitivity class of the predicate.

The existence of all these devices implies, as a consequence, that the transitivity of any verb stem can be easily tested by resorting to its morphosyntactic distribution. Transitive verbs will show subjects in the ergative/A case (if overtly expressed in the clause); will exhibit the transitivity agreement markers for transitive verbs or the switch-reference markers for transitive subjects; and will trigger the transitive version of those constructions that are sensitive to transitivity. Intransitive forms, by contrast, will do the opposite. I what follows I illustrate how these mechanisms work.

First, it can be seen that transitive verbs will have their pronominal subject-like arguments marked with the form =n 'A', while intransitive verbs will have their pronominal subjects marked with the S-marker =x instead (see §5.1.1 for case marking on pronouns). See the examples in (416) and (417).

- (416) *'En kana 'atsa pin.* (*'ëx kana atsa pin)
 'ë=n ka=na 'atsa pi-i-n
 1SG=A NAR=1SG manioc:ABS eat-IPFV-1/2
 'I am eating manioc.'

- (417) *'Ex kana tanin.* (*'ën kana tanin)
 'ë=x ka=na tan-i-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG rest-IPFV-1/2
 'I am resting.'

In addition to that, if we add a switch-reference predicate expressing coreferential subjects, we will see that it takes a different suffix when modifying a transitive vs. an intransitive verb (see Chapter 12 for switch-reference in Kakataibo). It is possible to describe the function of pairs of suffixes like -xun and -ax in examples (418) and (419) either as oriented towards the A vs. the P of the matrix clause (as reflected in my morpheme glosses), or as marking a distinction based on the transitivity of the verb (see Kneeland 1979: 86 and Fleck 2010, for Matses). In either case, in practical terms, these suffixes equally reveal the transitivity class of the matrix verb:

- (418) *Kwanxun(*-ax) kana 'ën 'atsa pin.*
kwan-xun ka=na 'ë=n 'atsa pi-i-n
 go-S/A>A:PE NAR=1SG 1SG=A manioc:ABS eat-IPFV-1/2
 'Having gone, I am eating manioc.'

- (419) *Kwanx(*-xun) kana 'ëx tanin.*

kwan-ax *ka=na* *'ë=x* *tan-i-n*
go-S/A>S:PE NAR=1SG 1SG=S rest-IPFV-1/2
 'Having gone, I am resting.'

We can also add an adjective in a predicate-modifying function, using this time the paradigm formed by the suffixes *-kin* 'S/A>A, simultaneous event' and *-i* 'S/A>S, simultaneous event'. In this context, it is interesting to observe that adjectives need to be transitivized first in order to be able to modify a transitive matrix verb (see §7.3.3). The transitivizer in that context is the 'factitive' marker *-o* (~*-a*) which is attested when the matrix verb is transitive (420) and not when the matrix verb is intransitive (421):

- (420) *Kwanxun kana upíokin(*-i) 'ën 'atsa pin.*

kwan-xun *ka=na* **upit-o-kin** *'ë=n* *'atsa* *pi-i-n*
go-S/A>A NAR=1SG **beautiful-FACT-S/A>A:SE** 1SG=A manioc:abs eat-IPFV-1/2
 'Having gone, I am eating manioc beautifully.'

- (421) *Kwanx kana upiti(*-o-kin) 'ëx tanin.*

kwan-ax *ka=na* **upit-i** *'ë=x* *tan-i-n*
go-S/A>S NAR=1SG **beautiful-S/A>S:SE** 1SG=S rest-IPFV-1/2
 'Having gone, I am resting beautifully.'

Let us now look at an operation that most clearly shows that transitivity in Kakataibo is a property of the verb stem, since it is a verb-internal derivational process (see §9.1.2). For example, if we add an associated motion suffix to the above examples, we will find the situation in (422) and (423), where different transitive and intransitive suffixes are found: *-bëtsin* 'coming, transitive' and *-kwatsin* 'coming, intransitive'.

- (422) *Kwanxun kana upíokin 'ën 'atsa pibëtsinin. (*pi-kwatsin-)*

kwan-xun *ka=na* **upit-o-kin** *'ë=n* *'atsa*
go-S/A>A NAR=1SG **good-FACT-S/A>A:SE** 1SG=A manioc:ABS
pi-bëtsin-i-n
eat-coming.TRAN-IPFV-1/2
 'Having gone, I am eating manioc beautifully while coming.'

- (423) *Kwanx kana upiti 'ëx tankwantsinin. (*tan-bëtsin-)*

kwan-ax *ka=na* **upit-i** *'ë-x* **tan-kwantsin-i-n**
go-S/A>S NAR=1SG **good-S/A>A:SE** 1SG=S **rest-coming:INTR-IPFV-1/2**
 'Having gone, I am resting beautifully while coming.'

In addition, we can also mention the comitative marker that shows different allomorphs according to the transitivity of the verb: it surfaces as *=bëtan* if the verb is

transitive and as *-bë* if the verb is intransitive (but, again, this variation could be understood as participant-based, rather than transitivity-based; see §6.7.1.4):

- (424) *Kwanxun kana upíokin Juanbëtan (*=bë) ‘ën ‘atsa pibëtsinin.*
kwan-xun ka=na upit-o-kin Juan=bëtan ‘ë=n
 go-S/A>AS NAR=1SG good-FACT-S/A>A:SE **Juan=COM:A** 1SG=A
‘atsa pi-bëtsin-i-n
 manioc:ABS eat-coming.TRAN-IPFV-1/2
 ‘Having gone, I am eating manioc beautifully with Juan while coming.’

- (425) *Kwanx kana upiti ‘ëx Juanbë (*=bëtan) tankwantsinin.*
kwan-ax ka=na upit-i ‘ë=x Juan=bë
 go-S/A>S NAR=1SG good-s/A>A:SE 1SG=S **Juan=COM:S**
tan-kwantsin-i-n
 rest-coming:INTR-IPFV-1/2
 ‘Having gone, I am resting beautifully with Juan while coming.’

It can be seen from the above discussion that transitivity is overtly coded in different parts of the grammar and that adding the wrong form will result in an unacceptable clause. The fact that the stems *pi* ‘eat’ and *tan* ‘rest’ are respectively inherently transitive and intransitive is particularly clear from the examples in (422) and (423): the verbal forms **pi-kwantsin-ti* (‘eat-coming:INTR-NOMLZ’) and **tan-bëntsinti* (‘rest-coming.TRAN-NOMLZ’) are ungrammatical in every possible context, even if they are produced in isolation and without appearing in a clause.

As an additional criterion for distinguishing between transitive and intransitive verbs, we can use the accessibility to valence decreasing suffixes, such as the ‘reflexive’ marker *-akat* (and its multiple allomorphs) and the ‘reciprocal’ marker *-anan*, which are not available for intransitive verbs (but see some exceptions in §15.3.3). See the examples in (426) and (427) of the transitive verb *is* ‘see’ and the intransitive verb *‘ux* ‘sleep’ with the reciprocal and notice that this suffix is unacceptable in the latter case (the same behavior is found with the reflexive).

- (426) *Nux kananuna isananin.*
nu=x ka=nanuna is-anan-i-n
 1PL=S NAR=1PL see-**RECP**-IPFV-1/2
 ‘We see each other.’
- (427) **nux kananuna ‘uxananin*
nu=x ka=nanuna ‘ux-anan-i-n
 1PL=S NAR=1PL sleep-**RECP**-IPFV-1/2
 (‘we sleep each other’)

Transitivity (in terms of the distinction between transitive and intransitive classes of verbs) is a lexical category and valence (understood here as the number of core arguments controlled by the verb) is a clausal one. The two correlate closely with each other, but valence cannot predict by itself the transitivity class of all verbs. Transitive verbs tend to appear with two overtly expressed arguments and intransitive verbs are even more likely to appear with only one. However, we also have many cases where a transitive verb appears in a clause with only one argument and some where an intransitive one appears with two. In addition, as will be seen in this chapter, we have verbs that are semantically bivalent (at least in some constructions), but are syntactically intransitive.

In most cases where a transitive verb appears without two overt arguments, we can easily argue that the object is recoverable from the context (i.e. the verb is still bivalent, but its object argument is omitted for pragmatic reasons). This happens very often when we have two clauses following each other and sharing the same object.

The following fragment has been taken from a narrative about the building of a road from Pucallpa to Tingo María. From the previous sentence, it is clear that the P argument of the verb '*a-tékëن-akö-x-a* 'do-again-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX' is the highway.

However, in other cases, it is not possible to recover an object from the context. This is the case, for example, with the imperative forms in the following examples, which do not have an overt object, but are still treated as transitive verbs by the grammar. In the positive form of the imperative construction in the first clause in (429) there is no overt object and, at the same time, no object can be recovered from the context. According to my Kakataibo teachers, the first clause in (429) means 'go to eat', but does not specify what will be eaten, since there is no previously identified type of food. The object is also not located in the immediate spatial context and the action is supposed to be accomplished in a different place, because of the marker *-tan* 'go to'. However, as the negative form suggests, in this context the verb *pi* 'eat' is still treated as transitive by the auxiliary and the switch-reference marker in (430) (and, thus, the situation differs from what we find regarding the intransitive form in the second clause).

- (429)
- Ka pitan!*

ka pi-tan

NAR eat-go.to:IMP

'Go to eat!'

- Ka 'uxtan!*

ka 'ux-tan

NAR sleep-go.to:IMP

'Go to sleep!'

- (430)
- Pixunma ka 'atan!*

pi-xun=ma ka 'a-tan

eat-S/A>A=NEG NAR TRAN.AUX-go.to:IMP

'Don't go to eat!'

- 'Uxaxma ka 'itan!*

'ux-ax=ma ka 'i-tan

eat-S/A>A=NEG NAR INTR.AUX-go.to:IMP

'Don't go to sleep!'

Examples like the ones in (429) and (430) show that the transitivity encoding mechanisms in Kakataibo are sensitive to the inherent transitivity class of the verb stem and not to the way in which the verb is being used in context. If we follow Hopper and Thompson (1980), it is possible to say that the context of *pi* 'eat' in the previous example is less transitive in that it refers to an atelic, imperfective and irrealis event, and this might have allowed for the omission of the P argument, but further research is needed to determine the exact contexts that allow for the omission of such arguments in Kakataibo. In any case, despite its omission, the lexical transitivity of the verb remains unaffected: *pi* 'eat' is always treated as transitive by Kakataibo grammar.

Something similar can be stated for intransitive verb stems. In most cases, they appear in clauses that have just one core argument and their lexical transitivity is reflected throughout the clause as expected. It is possible, however, to find cases in which intransitive verbs appear in clauses with more than one argument (see §15.3.3). Let us look at the intransitive verb stem *kanta* 'sing' in the following examples. In (431), it appears in an intransitive construction with only one argument; while in (432), we find the object-like phrase *ënë cumbia upí* 'this beautiful *cumbia* (a type of tropical song)', which is definite and referential and, therefore, might be seen as making the clause more transitive (again, in the sense of Hopper and Thompson 1980). Even though language-internal tests are needed for a more accurate analysis, we might say that the predicate *kanta* 'sing' in (432) is being used as some sort of (telic) accomplishment, which in the terms of VanValin and LaPolla (1997) has a semantic valence of two, thus accounting for the presence of an object. Kakataibo transitivity encoding, however, still indicates intransitivity and this fact is strong evidence for arguing that

the lexical transitivity of the verb determines the morphological marking of transitivity in the language.

- (431) *Piax kana 'ëx kantan.*

pi-ax ka=na 'ë=x kanta-a-n
eat-S/A>S NAR=1SG 1SG=S sing-PFV-1/2
'Having eaten, I sang.'

- (432) *Piax kana 'ëx ënë cumbia upí kantan.*

pi-ax ka=na 'ë=x ënë cumbia upí kanta-a-n
eat-S/A>S NAR=1SG 1SG=S this cumbia beautiful sing-PFV-1/2
'Having eaten, I sang this beautiful cumbia.'

One additional problem that requires more study has to do with the grammatical status of the second (unmarked) argument of examples like the ones in (432).⁵⁵ Objects of transitive verbs are formally unmarked and on this basis, the unmarked argument of (432) reminds us of them. However, as will be seen in §15.3.3, there are crucial differences between these types of arguments.

8.2.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs in Kakataibo are defined by means of the following features:

- (433) *Definitional features of intransitive verbs*

- The only argument or the more agent-like argument (in the case of bivalent intransitives like the one in (432)) appears as an absolutive-marked noun or as an S-marked pronoun.
- They use the intransitive version of the suffixes, enclitics and constructions that have alternating transitive and intransitive forms.
- In principle, they cannot be modified by valence decreasing suffixes, such as the ‘reflexive’ marker *-akat* (and its multiple allomorphs) and the ‘reciprocal’ marker *-anan* (but see the special case of a few emotion predicates that can carry the reciprocal in §15.4.3.2).

The features presented in (433) have already been exemplified in the examples offered in the previous section. Here I present the distinction between plain intransitive verbs (or, simply, intransitive verbs; see §8.2.1.1) and extended intransitive verbs (see §8.2.1.2). The former are grammatically intransitive (i.e. follow the principles presented in (433)) and have a valence of one. The latter are also grammatically intransitive, but have a valence of two.

⁵⁵ Notice that the verb *kanta-* is a loan from castellano (*kanta-* < *cantar* ‘sing’).

8.2.1.1 (Plain) intransitive verbs

Five of the most frequently attested plain intransitive verbs in my database are presented in Table 65.

Table 65. Some intransitive verbs

Verb	Meaning
<i>kwan</i>	'go'
<i>ni</i>	'walk'
<i>u</i>	'come'
<i>'ux</i>	'sleep'
<i>in</i>	'cry'

Two text examples of plain intransitive verbs follow (the verbs are underlined and the transitivity encoding devices that show their transitivity class are in bold):

- (434) *Kwabutankëx kaisa nukën chaitikama bëbakëxa Amazona 'imainun Marañón saékënu.*

*kwan-but-**tankëx*** *ka=is=a* *nukën* ***chaiti=kama***
go-down:INTR-S/A>S:PE *NAR=REP=3* *1pl.gen* *ancestor=PL:ABS*
bëba-akë-x-a *amazona* *'imainun* *marañon*
arrive-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX *amazon* *and* *marañon*
saékë=nu

near.by.a.river=LOC

'It is said that, after going down, our ancestors arrived at the mouth of the Amazon and Marañón rivers.' (EE-north-2006.011)

- (435) *Shitákëbëbi kaisa nukën chichi Xëxukë ax iankëxa.*

*shitat-**këbë=bi*** *ka=is=a* *nukën* *chichi*
cross-DS/A/P:SE:INTR=same *NAR=REP=3* *our* *grandmother*
Xëxukë *a=x* *in-akë-x-a*

proper.name:ABS **3SG=S** *cry-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX*

'It is said that, when they were crossing, our grandmother Xëxukë cried.'

(EE-north-2006.022)

8.2.1.2 Extended intransitives

8.2.1.2.1 *pishin* 'lack'

Differently from what we have seen for some intransitive verbs that can appear with an additional argument in specific contexts (see example (432) above), the verb *pishin* 'lack' is frequently used as an extended intransitive predicate and this seems to be its

primary use. Therefore, it deserves a special treatment in this section. The predicate *pishin* semantically refers to a situation with two arguments, one argument lacking something (the EXPERIENCER) and the other, the argument being lacked (the THEME). These two semantic roles can be expressed in two different ways and in two distinct constructions:

- (436) 'È ka arroz pishinia.

'è ka arroz pishin-i-a
1SG NAR:3 rice:ABS lack-IPFV-NON.PROX
'I lack rice (lit. to me, rice is lacking).'

'Èx kana arroz pishinin.

'è=x ka=na arroz pishin-i-n
1SG=S NAR=1SG rice lack-IPFV-1/2
'I lack rice.'

In the two constructions presented above, each sense of *pishin* is analyzed as an instance of an extended intransitive verb. In the first one, we can conclude that the subject argument of the clause is the NP *arroz* 'rice', since the second-position enclitics and the cross-referencing on the verb show a third person subject cross-reference. Thus, we have an absolute subject plus an unmarked argument (the first person pronoun 'è '1sg'). Another interesting fact about the first sentence presented in (436) is that even though the first person pronoun is not the grammatical subject of the clause, it nevertheless preferably appears as the first constituent of the clause, preceding the second-position enclitics. Thus, according to my Kakataibo teachers, the first example in (436) is preferred over the following one (which is grammatical, but pragmatically marked):

- (437) Arroz ka 'è pishinia.

arroz ka 'è pishin-i-a
rice:ABS NAR:3 1SG lack-IPFV-NON.PROX
'I lack rice (lit. to me, rice is lacking).'

The second construction illustrated in (436) shows a reversal of roles: it can be seen that, according to the cross-reference marking on the second-position enclitics and on the verb, the grammatical subject of the clause is the first person pronoun. This is also confirmed by the fact that it appears with the S-marker =x. Note that, again, we find an unmarked argument, *arroz* 'rice', which looks like the object of a transitive predicate but appears within an intransitive construction. I will come back to the grammatical nature of this unmarked argument in §15.3.3.

Therefore, we are dealing with an extended intransitive verb that occurs in two different constructions: one assigns the subject function to the EXPERIENCER and the

other, to the THEME. In both cases, *pishin* is clearly intransitive as seen in the subject marking (as in the examples above), but also in other transitivity encoding devices, such as in the intransitive form of the switch-reference markers. This is illustrated in (438) and (439).

- (438) Kupíra ‘aish ka arroz ‘ë pishia.

kupíra	‘aish	ka	arroz	‘ë	pishin-i-a
very.expensive	be.s/A>s	NAR:3	rice	1SG	lack-IPFV-NON.PROX

‘When it was very expensive, rice was scarce to me.’

- (439) Këñuax kana ‘ex arroz pishinin.

këñu-ax	ka=na	‘e=x	arroz	pishin-i-n
finish-s/A>s	NAR=1SG	1SG=S	rice	lack-IPFV-1/2

‘After finishing (it), I lack rice.’

8.2.1.2.2 Emotion predicates that can carry a second argument with =mi

A small set of emotion predicates exhibits a particular grammatical behavior, which requires separate treatment. Basically, the predicates to be presented here can be used as plain intransitive verbs and as extended intransitive ones. However, differently from the verb *pishin* ‘lack’ and from the use of some intransitive verbs with one extra argument, as *kanta* ‘sing’ in examples like the one in (432), these emotion predicates take a second argument marked by the case enclitic =mi ‘imprecise location’. In some cases, a semantic difference was attributed by my teachers according to the construction in which the verb appears. In others, the presence of this second argument marked with =mi was considered as almost obligatory (and examples without it were considered as highly marked or even ungrammatical). All this is presented in Table 66, which includes all the emotion predicates in my database that show this behavior:

Table 66. Emotion predicates that can carry a second argument marked by =mi⁵⁶

Verb	As a plain intransitive	As an extended intransitive with a =mi-marked argument
<i>nish</i>	‘be upset’	‘get angry at, hate, envy’
<i>nutsi</i>	‘feel sad’	‘get disappointed with/about’
<i>rakwét</i>	‘be afraid’	‘be afraid of’
<i>katamët</i>	(not attested)	‘trust’
<i>pishu</i>	(not attested)	‘cry for someone’

⁵⁶ The remaining emotion predicates are plain intransitive verbs and cannot be used with an extra argument marked with =mi ‘indirect location’; see, for instance, *kwëen* ‘to be happy’ or *nitëxé* ‘to be sad’. For more on the morphosyntactic nature of *kwëen* ‘to be happy’, see §8.2.6.2.

When used as extended intransitives, these emotion-predicates are bivalent, in the sense that they require an EXPERIENCER (a person undergoing the emotion) and a STIMULUS (something or someone producing the emotion). The former argument is encoded as an intransitive subject and the latter argument is marked by the indirect locative *=mi*, as mentioned above. The special grammatical nature of the second arguments of emotion predicates that are not simply adjuncts is treated in §15.3.3.

Some examples of these forms are presented in (440) and (441). In (440), we find the verb *nish* ‘get angry at, hate, envy’ appearing with the object *a* ‘3sg’, which is modified by the marker *=mi*. In (441), the verb *katamë* ‘trust’ is presented.

- (440) *Ami nishkin kaisa achushi unin[...] maxaxnu ain bëru nankë[...] kaisa kwanxun maxax achushinën chakakëshín.*

a=mi nish-kin ka=is=a achushi uni=n
3SG=IMPR.LOC envy-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 one person=ERG
maxax=nu ain bëru nan-kë[...] ka=is=a
stone=LOC 3SG:GEN eye:ABS put-NOMLZ NAR=REP=3
kwan-xun maxax achushi=n chaka-akë-x-in
go-s/A>A:SE stone one=INS hit-REM.PST-3-PROX

‘However, it is said that, envying him, one man, going to the place where the man had put his eye on a stone, hit the eye with (another) stone.’

(MO-fisher-2007.022)

- (441) *Pia ax ka 'ikën primero nun ami katamëkë nun kanti.*

pia a=x ka 'ikën primero nu=n a=mi
arrow that=s NAR:3 be:3 first 1PL=GEN 3SG=IMPR.LOC
katamëkë nu=n kanti
trust-NOMLZ 1PL=GEN bow:ABS

‘Arrows, they are the primary thing we depend on (lit. trust), as well as our bow.’
 (NA-incas-2007.004)

Among the forms in Table 66, the extended intransitive verb *rakwët* ‘be afraid of’ seems to be the only one that can appear with its second argument marked in a number of different ways. The verb *rakwët* ‘be scared of’ can appear with a simple object marked by *=mi* (442), also with a grammatical nominalization bearing the same case marking (443); with a switch-reference clause headed by the form *ki-ax* ‘say-S/A>S’ (444); or with an NP headed by *rabanan* ‘because of’ ((445); see §6.8):

- (442) *'Ex kana rakwëtin 'inumi.*

'ë=x ka=na rakwët-i-n inu=mi
1SG=S NAR=1SG be.affraid.of-IPFV-1/2 jaguar=IMPR.LOC
 ‘I am afraid of jaguars.’

- (443) ‘Ex kana rakwëtin ‘inun pitimi.

‘ë=x ka=na rakwët-i-n [‘inu=n pi-ti] =mi
1SG=S NAR=1SG be.affraid.of-IPFV-1/2 jaguar=ERG eat-NOMLZ=IMPR.LOC
‘I am afraid of the fact that a jaguar will eat me.’

- (444) ‘Ex kana rakwëtin ‘inun ma ‘e pia kiax.

‘ë=x ka=na rakwët-i-n [‘inu-n
1SG=S NAR=1SG be.affraid.of-IPFV-1/2 jaguar=ERG
ma ‘e pi-i-a ki]-ax
already 1SG:P eat-IPFV-NON.PROX say-S/A>S

‘I am afraid, saying a jaguar is almost eating me.’

- (445)
‘ë=x ka=na rakwet-i-n [‘inu-n pi-ti] rabanan
1SG=S IND=1SG be.affraid.of-IPFV-1/2 jaguar=ERG eat-NOMLZ because.of
‘I am afraid because a jaguar will eat me.’

8.2.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs in Kakataibo are defined by means of the following features:

- (446) *Definitional features of transitive verb stems*

- Their more agent-like argument is an ergative or an A-marked argument (and there may be one or two overt additional arguments, which appear in the absolute or P-case, i.e., formally unmarked).
- They use the transitive version of the suffixes, enclitics and constructions that have alternating transitive and intransitive forms.
- In addition, they can be modified by valence decreasing suffixes, such as the ‘reflexive’ marker *-akat* (and its multiple allomorphs) and the ‘reciprocal’ marker *-anan*.

The features in (446) have already been exemplified in §8.2. In this section, I will discuss the two major subtypes of verbs that follow the pattern in (446): plain transitive (or monotransitive) and extended transitive (or ditransitive) verbs. The former only take one absolute nominal or P-marked pronominal object, while the latter may have two overtly expressed absolute/P arguments. Those arguments are not obligatory and may be omitted in discourse. In addition, as commented on at the end of this section, procreation verbs may be seen as a special class of transitive verbs.

8.2.2.1 Plain transitive (monotransitive) verbs

Table 67 presents five of the most commonly attested transitive verbs in my database.

Table 67. Some monotransitive verbs

Verb	Meaning
‘unan	‘know’
bari	‘look for’
bi	‘grab, pick up’
is	‘see’
mëra	‘find’

Some examples taken from narratives follow. In the first example, we find the verb *kain* ‘wait’, which appears in the imperative mood and with the pronoun ‘*ë* ‘1sg’ functioning as the object. The object of a verb like ‘wait’ is semantically little affected and is not a true semantic patient; nevertheless, the verb is transitive as can be seen in the adverbial form *ënu* ‘here’ that appears with the marker *-xun* ‘participant agreement: A’. In the second example, we find the transitive verb *këñu* ‘finish, kill’, which is also transitive (as can be seen in the different transitivity-coding within that clause) and which has a semantically highly affected object argument.

- (447) *Ënuxun ka ‘ë kain*
ënu-xun ka ‘ë kain
 here-PA.A NAR 1SG:P wait:IMP
 ‘Wait (for) me here!’ (JE-blind.man-2007.015)

- (448) *Kaxun kaisa anuxun në kweoka ‘ikwatsinun nokama nokama këñumainun kweokan këñuakëxa.*
ka-xun ka=is=a anuxun në kwe-oka
 say-S/A>A:SE nar=rep=3 then:TRAN hmm Aguaytía.river:ABS
‘i-kwatsin-nun no=kama no=kama
 be-going:INTR-DS:PE foreigner=PL:ABS foreigner=PL:ABS
këñu-mainun kwe-oka=n këñu-akë-x-a
 finish-DS/A/P:SE:DUR Aguaytía.river=ERG finish-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘It is said that after they said (so), the Aguaytía river came and killed (lit.
 finished) several foreigners and white people.’ (SE-flood2-2007.026)

As we have seen, transitive verbs can be used in more “intransitive” contexts with only one participant. Therefore, we may say that transitive verbs allow for two core arguments, but they do not obligatorily present them (see the special case of procreation-verbs in §8.2.2.3).

8.2.2.2 Extended transitive (ditransitive) verbs

There are only four underived ditransitive verbs in my database: '*inan* 'give'', *ñon-* 'not share something with someone' *ribin-* 'owe something to someone' and *mëтика-* 'give the same amount to various people' (see §15.3.2 for a detailed discussion of ditransitive constructions). However, monotransitive verbs can be derived into ditransitive ones by using one of the valence increasing devices that will be presented in §9.1.1. Examples of both underived and derived extended transitive verbs follow. In (449), we find the verb '*inan* 'give'' with its two objects expressed overtly: we find the P-form of the pronoun '*ë* '1sg' and the absolute NP *ñu mëëti* 'job'. In (450), we find the monotransitive verb *ñui* 'tell', which appears here with the benefactive applicative suffix *-xun* and with two overtly expressed objects: *atu* 'they' and *nukëñ papa Dios-an bana* 'our father God's words':

- (449) *Usa ‘iti ka nukën papa Diosan ‘e ‘inankëxa a ñu mëëti.*
 usa ‘i-ti ka nukën papa Dios=n ‘e
 like.that be-NOMLZ NAR:3 1PL.GEN father God=ERG 1SG.R
 ‘inan-akë-x-a [a ñu mëëti]
 give-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX that job:ABS
 ‘In order to be like that, God gave me that work.’ (AE-my.plans-2006.022)

(450) *Anuxun kana atu nukën papa Diosan bana ñuixunin.*
 anu-xun ka=na [atu] [nukën papa Dios=n bana]
 there-PA.A NAR=1SG 3PL.R 1PL.GEN father God=ERG word:ABS
 ñui-xun-i-n
 tell-BEN-IPFV-1/2
 ‘There, I will tell them God’s words.’ (AE-my.plans-2006.009)

8.2.2.3 Procreation verbs

Procreation verbs are grammatically transitive but are interesting and unusual in terms of their argument realization. Differently from other transitive verbs, the verbs *tua* ‘give birth’ and *bëchi* ‘father’ are transitive verbs that carry an overt grammatical object in very specific contexts only. This is shown in the following examples:

- (451) a. *Juannën ka bëchixa.*
Juan=n *ka* *bëchi-a-x-a*
 Juan=ERG NAR:3 father-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'Juan fathered.'

b. *Maríänën ka tuaaxa.*
María-n *ka* *tua-a-x-a*
 María=ERG NAR:3 give.birth-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'María gave birth.'

- (452) a. *Juanëñ ka bëchikë bëchiaxa.

Juan=n ka bëchikë bëchi-a-x-a

Juan=ERG NAR:3 son father-PFV-3-NON.PROX
(‘Juan fathered a son’)

- b. *Maríañëñ ka tua tuaxa.

María=nëñ ka tua tua-a-x-a

María=ERG NAR:3 son give.birth-PFV-3-NON.PROX
(‘Mary gave birth to a son’)

Procreation verbs can potentially appear with proper names acting as their objects, but this construction is unusual and not equally accepted by all the speakers. See the examples in (453).

- (453) a. (?) Juanëñ ka Ricardo bëchiaxa.

Juan=n ka Ricardo bëchi-a-x-a

Juan=ERG NAR:3 Ricardo father-PFV-3-NON.PROX
(‘Juan fathered Ricardo.’)

- b. (?) Maríañëñ ka Ricardo tuaxa.

María=n ka Ricardo tua-a-x-a

María=ERG NAR:3 Ricardo give.birth-PFV-3-NON.PROX
(‘María gave birth to Ricardo.’)

Thus, the verbs presented in this subsection and exemplified in (451)–(453) are transitive in terms of the marking of their subject-like argument; but they, as suggested by the examples in (452) and (453), are unlikely to have an overt grammatical object. Including an object-like argument produces very marked constructions that are rejected by the speakers if the included object is not definite and specific (e.g., a proper name). One could argue that the direct object of these verbs is so obvious that speakers simply do not feel the need to mention it (i.e., we are dealing with an extreme case of the tendency to not overtly express an object that can be recovered from the context).

Despite this restriction, these verbs are transitive, not only in the marking of their subject, but also in how other transitivity encoding devices treat them. This is illustrated in (454).

- (454) a. Limanu kwanxun ka Juanëñ bëchiaxa.

Lima=nu kwan-xun ka Juan=nëñ bëchi-a-x-a

Lima=DIR go-S/A>A NAR:3 Juan=ERG father-PFV-3-NON.PROX
(‘While going to Lima, Juan fathered.’)

- b. Limanu kwanxun ka Maríañëñ tuaxa.

Lima=nu kwan-xun ka María=nëñ tua-a-x-a

Lima=DIR go-S/A>A NAR:3 María=ERG procreate-PFV-3-NON.PROX
(‘While going to Lima, María gave birth.’)

8.2.3 Verbs roots that carry -t or -n

The morphological means of encoding transitivity are sensitive to the lexical transitivity of the verb. A logical consequence of this is that the grammatical system of the language requires verbs to be either transitive or intransitive, and that this is an obligatory feature of verbs. This is true for the majority of verbs (presented in §8.2.1 and in §8.2.2): verb roots like *pi* ‘eat’ or ‘*ux* ‘sleep’ are already subcategorized for transitivity and, therefore, they can appear also as verb stems without any other additional modification (they can directly receive inflection and be used in discourse). A few forms like **tsó-* or **ërë-* (see Table 68 below), by contrast, can be seen as verb roots that are not subcategorized for transitivity and that are obligatorily combined with one of the suffixes *-n* ‘transitive’ or *-t* ‘intransitive’, thus producing pairs of verbs that are distinguished by transitivity. Forms like **tsó-* or **ërë-* cannot occur without one of these suffixes, and are not recognized by the speakers in isolation.

Table 68. Verb roots that carry -t or -n

Etymological root	Transitive form	Meaning	Intransitive form	Meaning
* <i>tsó</i>	<i>tsón</i>	‘seat’	<i>tsót</i>	‘sit down, live’
* <i>ërë</i>	<i>ërén</i>	‘light’	<i>ërët</i>	‘burn’
* <i>niri</i>	<i>nirin</i>	‘drag’	<i>nirit</i>	‘crawl’
* <i>nanë</i>	<i>nanén</i>	‘submerge (something)’	<i>nanët</i>	‘submerge oneself’
* <i>kepi</i>	<i>kepin</i>	‘bring closer’	<i>këpit</i>	‘get closer’
* <i>chiki</i>	<i>chikin</i>	‘take out’	<i>chikit</i>	‘go out’

The distinction between *tsón-* ‘seat somebody else’ and *tsót-* ‘sit down or live’ is presented in examples (455) and (456), which are taken from narratives:

- (455) *Ikë kaisa buanxun ain tsatin mëinbiankin buanxun kaisa naë rësun tsónkin.*
i-kë ka=is=a buan-xun ain tsati=n
 be-NOMLZ NAR=REP=3 bring-S/A>A:SE 3SG:GEN walking.stick=INS
mëin-bian-kin buan-xun ka=is=a
 take.some.else’s.hands-going:TRAN-S/A>A:SE bring-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3
naë rësun tsón-kin
 garden at.the.end.of seat.somebody.else-S/A>A:SE
 ‘It is said that (she), bringing (her husband) with his walking stick and taking his hand, seating him at the end of the garden...’ (JE-blind.man-2007.014)

- (456) *Nukën chaiti kaisa ënu tsóma 'ikën sino nukën chaiti kaisa tsókëxa Rima kaxu Nortenu.*
- nukën chaiti ka=is=a ënu tsót-a=ma 'ikën sino nukën
 1PL.GEN ancestor NAR=REP=3 here live-NOMLZ=NEG be:3 but 1PL.GEN
 chaiti ka=is=a tsót-akë-x-a Rima kaxu Norte=nu
 ancestor NAR=REP=3 live-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX Lima behind north=LOC
 'It is said that our ancestors did not live here, but behind Lima, in the North-side.' (EE-north-2006.001)

Even though the opposition between *-n* 'transitive' or *-t* 'intransitive' is straightforward in examples like the ones presented above, and even though the two formatives can be easily identified and segmented analytically, there are problems with regard to their synchronic analysis. It is difficult to decide if the two formatives can be synchronically segmented, or if we have to assume that verbs like *tsón-* and *tsót-* are synchronically non-segmentable (lexicalized) forms. If we segment the suffixes, the remaining roots are not identified as verbs by Kakataibo speakers. In addition, we do not have a basic and a derived form: both *tsón* 'seat' and *tsót* 'sit down or live' are equally derived; and, in this case, we find some semantic idiosyncrasy in the sense that the intransitive form also has the meaning 'live', which is not attested in the transitive form. This might be seen as a sign of lexicalization. In this grammar, I analyze cases like *tsón* 'seat' and *tsót* 'sit down or live' as two lexicalized elements. However, the markers *-n* 'transitivizer' and *-t* 'middle' are still productive in some other contexts and can be used as valence-changing devices with some other verbal forms (see §9.1.1).⁵⁷

8.2.4 Verbs roots that carry *-ki* or *-ka*

The verbs presented in Table 69 always carry one of the two following formatives: *-ki* 'intransitive' and *-ka* 'transitive', which define the transitivity value of the verbs and allow them to appear in discourse and to receive inflectional morphology. Without one of these two suffixes, the hypothetical roots in the first column of Table 69 cannot appear in discourse.

⁵⁷ Historically, there is no doubt that forms like *tsót-* and *tsón-* were morphologically complex and that the *t* and *n* formatives attested in those examples are equivalent to the valency-changing suffixes *-t* 'middle' and *-n* 'transitiviser' presented in §9.1.1. In fact, similar patterns are found in various Pano languages, including, for instance, Matses (Fleck 2002: 396).

Table 69. Verb forms which carry *-ki* and *-ka*

hypothetical root	transitive form	meaning	intransitive form	meaning
* <i>anta</i>	<i>anta-ka</i>	'spill'	<i>anta-ki</i>	'be spilled', 'spill over'
* <i>bá</i>	<i>bá-ka</i>	'lift'	<i>bá-ki</i>	'rise'
* <i>bais</i>	<i>bais-ka</i>	'relive'	<i>bais-ki</i>	'revive'
* <i>barash</i>	<i>barash-ka</i>	'rip a piece of fabric, making noise'	<i>barash-ki</i>	'be ripped (a piece of fabric)' 'get ripped making noise (a piece of fabric)'
* <i>báx</i>	<i>báx-ka</i>	'bend'	<i>báx-ki</i>	'be bent' 'get bent'
* <i>bë</i>	<i>bë-ka</i>	'carry something off (by the wind)'	<i>bë-ki</i>	'be carried by the wind' 'fan oneself'
* <i>bëó</i>	<i>bëó-ka</i>	'take the top off; open (something)'	<i>bëó-ki</i>	'open (by itself)'
* <i>bëré</i>	<i>bëré-ka</i>	'rub with pitch'	<i>bëré-ki</i>	'be rubbed with pitch' 'rub oneself with pitch'
* <i>buá</i>	<i>buá-ka</i>	'fill'	<i>buá-ki</i>	'become full'
* <i>chán</i>	<i>chán-ka</i>	'cut to pieces'	<i>chán-ki</i>	'be in pieces' 'come to be into pieces (or fall apart into pieces)'
* <i>chax</i>	<i>chax-ka</i>	'sting'	<i>chax-ki</i>	'be stung' 'get stung'
* <i>ës</i>	<i>ës-ka</i>	'dry (something)'	<i>ës-ki</i>	'become dry'
* <i>kë</i>	<i>kë-ka</i>	'call shouting'	<i>kë-ki</i>	'shout'
* <i>këru</i>	<i>këru-ka</i>	'make something produce noise'	<i>këru-ki</i>	'produce noise'
* <i>mëtí</i>	<i>mëtí-ka</i>	'distribute the same quantity among several people'	<i>mëtí-ki</i>	'receive the same quantity'
* <i>náx</i>	<i>náx-ka</i>	'insert'	<i>náx-ki</i>	'get inserted' 'go into the jungle'
* <i>naxa</i>	<i>naxa-ka</i>	'make objects like dry leaves, paper, carton produce noise'	<i>naxa-ki</i>	'produce noise (objects like dry leaves, paper, carton)'
* <i>pëan</i>	<i>pëan-ka</i>	'pierce'	<i>pëan-ki</i>	'be pierced' 'get pierced'
* <i>tax</i>	<i>tax-ka</i>	'hit somebody'	<i>tax-ki</i>	'hit oneself (by accident)'

Grammatically, examples like *pëanka* 'pierce' and *pëanki* 'be/get pierced' are unitary forms equivalent to *pi* 'eat' or '*ux* 'sleep' but, they are clearly morphologically complex:

they include the formatives *ka* ‘transitive’ and *ki* ‘intransitive’ (that are formally identical to the verbs *ka* ‘say, transitive’ and *ki* ‘say, intransitive’; see §8.2.5.1). However, similar arguments to the ones presented in the previous section can be used here to argue that we are dealing with lexicalized elements: the segmentation of *ki* and *ka* leaves us with elements that are not synchronically productive or identifiable.

It is very likely that the formatives *ki* and *ka* originated in the ‘say’-verbs *ka* and *ki* (which perhaps had a more general meaning like ‘say, do (x sound-symbolic action), make (x noise)’. That means that the forms presented in Table 69 are the result of a grammaticalization process from syntactically more complex structures: probably a ‘say’-construction including an onomatopoeic word, which then developed fixed and conventionalized meanings and whose synchronic grammatical nature differs from that of synchronic ‘say’ constructions including an onomatopoeic word (e.g., where we can separate the verb and the onomatopoeia or change their relative order).

At least one of the hypothetical roots, *kēru-* ‘make noise’ is clearly related to a synchronic onomatopoeic word. As expected, the non-grammaticalized form is phonologically longer, but the similarity is straightforward: compare the onomatopoeic word *kējēru*, which is used to refer to any unspecific noise, with the verbs *kēruka* ‘make something produce noise’ and *kēruki* ‘produce noise’. This example suggests that the origin proposed here for the verbs Table 69 is possible. However, this hypothesis seems more likely in some cases than in others (see, for example, the form *mēti* in *mētika-* ‘distribute the same quantity among several people’ and *mētiki-* ‘receive the same quantity’, which is hardly analyzable as an onomatopoeic word). Indeed, many of the forms found in these verbal entries might be better associated as cases of sound-symbolic associations, without a straightforward iconic principle.

8.2.5 Suppletive transitive/intransitive verbs

There are some verbs in Kakataibo that show a suppletive (or quasi-suppletive) transitive/intransitive distinction. Those are discussed in the following sections.

8.2.5.1 ‘Say’-verbs *ka* and *ki*

In Kakataibo the quoted speech that appears with a ‘say’-verb is not its P-argument and is not taken into account for its transitivity value (see §13.2). However, there are both a transitive and an intransitive version of the verb ‘say’. The former is *ka* and the latter is *ki*. In the case of the transitive version of this verb, the addressee functions as the P-argument, and thus its more accurate translation would be ‘say (something) to someone’, while the intransitive form could simply be translated as ‘say (something)’. This is shown in (457), in which the form of the subject and the switch-reference marker (in bold case) indicate that the verb *ki* (underlined) is intransitive:

- (457) *Ini bënékinsa kakëx kaisa nukën chaitikama kiakëxa:* “*nukën chira bake xanu ka ain sinan bënéoia.*”
- in-i bënët-kin-isa ka-këx*
cry-S/A>S:SE get.scared-S/A>A:SE-REP.3 say:TRAN-P>S:PE
*kaisa **nukën chaiti=kama** ki-akë-x-a*
NAR.REP.3 1PL.GEN ancestor=PL:ABS say:INTR-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
nukën chira bakë xanu ka ain sinan bënët-o-i-a”
our sister woman:ABS NAR:3 3SG:GEN thought fast-FACT-IPFV-NON.PROX
‘It is said that, crying, getting scared, she talked to our ancestors and they said,
‘Our sister is scared (lit. is thinking quickly)’. (EE-north-2006.024–025)

Conversely, the verb *ka* (underlined) is clearly transitive as the following example shows (see all the transitivity-coding devices in bold case):

- (458) *Unin kaisa ain xanu ‘aia bëunan ‘ixun uni achushi uni kakëxa:* “*iskuan bake kana isan ain tua-ti isan.*”
- uni=n ka=is=a ain xanu ‘a-ia*
person=ERG NAR=REP=3 3SG:GEN woman:ABS do-S/A>P:SE
bë-‘unan-a ‘i-xun uni achushi uni
eyes-know-NOMLZ be-S/A>A:SE person one person:ABS
ka-akë-x-a iskuan bakë ka-na
say:TRAN-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX paucar offspring:ABS NAR=1SG
is-a-n ain tua-ti is-a-n
see-PFV-1/2 3SG:GEN breeding see-PFV-1/2
‘It is said that, knowing that the man had sex with his wife, the husband said to that other man, “I saw oropendola offspring”. (EE-king.vulture-2007.002–3)

After a detailed cross-linguistic presentation of the intransitive-like and transitive-like characteristics of ‘say’-verbs, Munro (1982: 317–318) preliminarily concludes: “[t]he characterization of ‘say’ plus a quotation as syntactically intransitive (to different language-specific degrees) appears to be a valid cross-linguistic generalization with some semantic support.” As we have seen in this section, Kakataibo supports this generalization.

8.2.5.2 Auxiliaries

The copula verb ‘i- ‘be’ and the transitive verb ‘a- ‘do’ function as the intransitive and the transitive auxiliaries, respectively. This distinction is particularly important for those constructions in which the transitivity class of the auxiliary needs to match the transitivity class of the lexical verb, like in the prohibitive constructions presented in (430), which observes the principle of transitivity harmony (see §12.5.1). Notice, however, that there are other constructions where the intransitive form is used regard-

less of the transitivity value of the main verb. As we will see, these constructions are referred to as periphrastic in this grammar (see §9.5 for details).

8.2.5.3 Suppletive verb pairs

There are a few cases of verbs for which there are suppletive intransitive and transitive verb pairs. This is true, for example, for the verbs *bama* ‘die’ and *rëtë* ‘kill’; *kwan* ‘go’ and *buau* ‘take’; *u* ‘come’ and *bë* ‘bring’; and *kwain* ‘move (by itself, to another location)’ and *buin-* ‘transport (something to another location)’ (see §15.4.2.1 for more details).

8.2.6 Ambitransitive (labile) verbs

In the previous subsections, I have discussed the most important verb classes in Kakataibo. I have followed a morphosyntactic basis for establishing this classification: verbs have been divided into classes based on their transitivity value. Such a classification presupposes that verbs are either transitive or intransitive, and that their lexical transitivity is the main feature that controls the different mechanisms of transitivity encoding throughout the clause. In this section, I present the only two verbs that exhibit features associated with both the transitive and the intransitive classes. These two verbs may be analyzed as the only ambitransitive (labile) verbs in Kakataibo.

8.2.6.1 *sinan-* ‘think/miss’

The verb *sinan-* ‘think/miss’ is a polysemous verb, whose two different senses are associated with two different transitivity classes. This verb appears both in a transitive construction (meaning ‘think’) and also as an extended intransitive verb with a second argument marked with *=mi* (meaning ‘miss’). The two different uses of *sinan* are exemplified in (459). The fact that the verb *sinan* is intransitive in its latter use can be seen in the form of the pronominal subject, which appears with the ‘S’ marker *=x* and in the form of the switch-reference verb, which takes the form *-i* ‘A/S>S, simultaneous events’.

- (459) a. Transitive use of *sinan* ‘think’

A kana 'ën sinanin.

a *ka=na 'ë=n sinan-i-n*

this:P *nar=1SG 1sg=A think-IPFV-1/2*

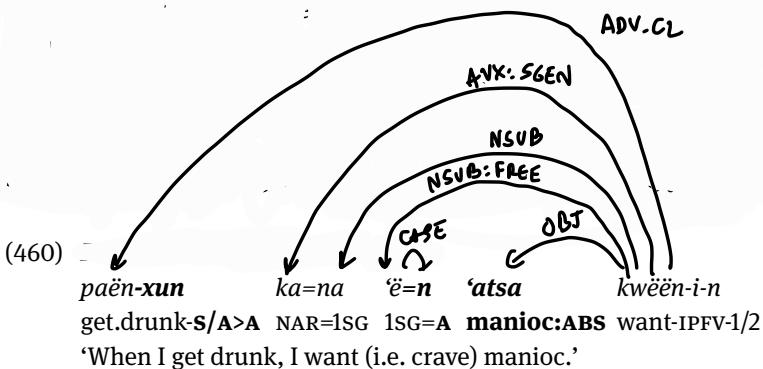
‘This, I think.’

- b. Intransitive use of *sinan* ‘miss’

‘*Ēn bēchikē kwan kana tsótí ‘ēx ami sinanin.*
 ‘*ē=n bēchikē kwan-an ka=na tsót-i*
 1SG=GEN son:ABS go-DS/A/P:PE NAR=1SG sit.down-A/**S>S:SE**
 ‘*ē=x a=mi sinan-i-n*
 1SG=**S** 3SG=IMPR.LOC miss-IPFV-1/2
 ‘After my son left, sitting down, I miss him.’

8.2.6.2 *kwéen* ‘want, like, be happy’

In Kakataibo, *kwéen* means ‘want’ in a transitive construction with an ergative-marked noun (or A-marked pronominal form) and an absolute-marked noun (or P-marked pronoun), as in (460). However, it also means ‘be happy’ when used as a plain intransitive verb (with an S-argument, as in (461)). In addition, it also appears in a construction that is not attested for any other verb class in the language. In this last case, where the verb means ‘like’, we find an S/absolute-marked argument that refers to the EXPERIENCEEER and the object that appears with an *i*-marker, which refers to the MF



- (461) *Paēanx kana ‘ēx kwéenin.*

paēn-ax ka=na ‘ē=x kwéen-i-n
 get.drunk-S/A>S NAR=1SG 1SG=S like-IPFV-1/2
 ‘When I get drunk, I am happy.’

- (462) *Paēanx kana ‘ēx ‘atsan kwéenin.*

paēn-ax ka=na ‘ē=x ‘atsa=n kwéen-i-n
 get.drunk-S/A>S NAR=1SG 1SG=S manioc=INS like-IPFV-1/2
 ‘When I get drunk, I like (enjoy) manioc.’

58 I base this conclusion on the observation that if ‘*atsa=n* in (462) is substituted by a third person pronoun, it could only be by the third person singular pronoun *anun*, which is unambiguous with respect to its case and is exclusively used for the instrumental function.

The instrumental THEME of the third example is obligatory to obtain the meaning ‘like’. This instrumental argument seems to be similar in nature to the argument marked with *=mi* in emotion-predicates (see Valenzuela 2000 for the special syntactic behavior of the same predicate ‘want’ in Shipibo-Konibo). In the case of Kakataibo, we could probably assume a development from something like ‘I am happy **with** manioc’ to ‘I like manioc’.

8.2.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the different morphosyntactic classes of verbs attested in Kakataibo. I have demonstrated that most Kakataibo verbs are lexically defined as transitive or intransitive, and that this inherent transitivity controls all the transitivity-encoding morphosyntactic mechanisms. In fact, there are only two verbs which can be used in both transitive and intransitive constructions.

Inherently transitive and intransitive verb stems can appear in semantically “more or less transitive contexts” (following, for instance, Hopper and Thompson’s 1980 definition of transitivity) but the form of the transitivity-encoding devices throughout the clause remains the same and agrees with the verb’s lexical transitivity class. This fact is the basis for understanding transitivity in Kakataibo (but see Chapter 14 for further reflexions of transitivity in Kakataibo).

Based on this argument, I have established two morphosyntactically defined classes of verbs: transitive and intransitive. A large majority of verbs in Kakataibo clearly belongs to one class or the other, which include both extended and non-extended (or plain) subclasses. Extended-transitive (or ditransitive) verbs exhibit a kind of double-object construction with two unmaked non-subject arguments. Extended-intransitive verbs show three different possible patterns, which include an unmarked second argument, a second argument marked by *=mi* ‘imprecise locative’ and a second argument marked by *=n* ‘instrumental’. Extended intransitive verbs are intransitive with respect to the parameters presented in this section, but have a syntactic valence of two.

As we have seen in §8.2.3 and §8.2.4, there are two types of verbs that obligatorily carry a formative indicating their transitivity class: one type requires either *n* ‘transitive’ or *t* ‘intransitive’. The other type carries either *ka* ‘transitive’ or *ki* ‘intransitive’. Their properties and probable origins have briefly been discussed in this chapter, but synchronically I am considering them to be non-segmentable stems that produce transitive/intransitive pairs. In addition, we have seen that some verbs produce pairs of transitive and intransitive verbs based on suppletive forms (§8.2.5).

Finally, we have also seen two polysemous verbs that can be used in more than one transitivity construction. Table 95 summarizes the different pattern associated with the different classes of verbs.

Table 70. Verb classes, semantic valence and argument structures

Verb class		Valence	Argument structure		
			I	II	III
Plain intransitive verbs	lexical (<i>abat</i> ‘run’)	1	S/absolutive	NO	NO
	with <i>-t</i> (<i>tsót</i> ‘sit down’)	1	S/absolutive	NO	NO
	with <i>ki</i> (<i>taxki</i> ‘hit oneself’)	1	S/absolutive	NO	NO
	intransitive form in suppletive pairs (<i>ki</i> ‘say’)	1	S/absolutive	NO	NO
Extended intransitive verbs	emotion-predicates with a <i>=mi</i> -second argument (<i>nish</i> ‘hate’)	2	S/absolutive	<i>=mi</i>	NO
	with unmarked object (<i>pishi</i> ‘lack’)	2	S/absolutive	P/absolutive	NO
	with instrumental object (<i>kwéén</i> ‘like’)	2	S/absolutive	<i>=n</i>	NO
	lexical (<i>pi</i> ‘eat’)	2	A/ergative	P/absolutive	NO
Plain transitive verbs	with <i>-n</i> (<i>tsón</i> ‘seat’)	2	A/ergative	P/absolutive	NO
	with <i>ka</i> (<i>taxka</i> ‘hit somebody’)	2	A/ergative	P/absolutive	NO
	transitive form in suppletive pairs <i>ka</i> ‘say’	2	A/ergative	P/absolutive	NO
	ditransitive verbs (<i>iinan</i> ‘give’)	3	A/ergative	T/absolutive	R/absolutive
Monovalent transitive verbs(?)	procreation verbs (<i>tua</i> ‘give birth’)	1	A/ergative	NO(?)	NO

Payne (2009) proposes a typology of transitivity systems based on the distinction between three different domains in which transitivity may be manifested in languages: at the level of roots, at the level of bases and at the level of the clause. Based on those distinctions, Payne (2009) establishes four types of transitivity, which are listed below:

(463) *Types of transitivity according to Payne (2009)*

- Type 1: Roots and stems highly lexicalized as transitive or intransitive
- Type 2: Lexicalized (but gradient) transitivity
- Type 3: Over-specified transitivity (there are no transitive or intransitive roots or bases)
- Type 4: Over-specified roots (there are no transitive or intransitive roots but specified bases (bases are transitive or intransitive))

This section has shown that transitivity in Kakataibo mostly fits Payne's Type 1. In Kakataibo, most roots are lexically specified as transitive or intransitive. However, this language also exhibits areas which manifest transitivity-related phenomena that can be characterized as belonging to Types 2 and 4. Gradient transitivity might be seen to some extent in extended intransitives. As we will see in §15.3.3, non-subject arguments of those types of intransitives exhibit properties which put them as an intermediate category between transitive objects and adjuncts. In fact, in §15.3.3 these arguments are referred to as "quasi-objects" and "oblique objects". In turn, transitivity of Type 4 is found to some extent in the roots discussed in §8.2.3 and §8.2.4. Those roots might be seen, at least diachronically, as unspecified for transitivity and it is their combination with additional morphology (*-t* 'intransitive' and *-n* 'transitive', or *ki* 'intransitive' and *ka* 'transitive', respectively), that determines their adscription to one particular transitivity class. Therefore, in these cases, bases, rather than roots, are specified for transitivity.

9 Verbs (II): Verbal morphology

9.1 Verbal derivation

Kakataibo derivational verbal morphology is richer than that found for any other word class. This makes the analysis more interesting but also more difficult. The difficulty does not only follow from the fact that there are so many suffixes, but also from other significant characteristics: the polyfunctionality of forms, the presence of complex morphophonemic alternations and the existence of pairs of suffixes that mark the same category but distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs.

In addition, differently from the inflectional forms to be presented in the next section, derivational verbal suffixes exhibit an almost completely free order (most potential combinational restrictions are due to semantic reasons, rather than morphosyntactic principles; see §4.4). Derivational suffixes do not constitute morphosyntactic paradigms within which the presence of one member excludes the possibility of having another one. Therefore, the main criterion for grouping derivational suffixes into classes is their semantics/function, as shown in Table 71:

Table 71. List of verbal suffixes

Valence changing markers (§9.1.1)	Associated movement markers (§9.1.2)
Valence increasing -mi 'general causative' -kin 'associative applicative' -xun 'benefactive applicative' -n 'transitivizer' -o ~ -a 'factitive'	Aspectual/directionals -uku 'iterative in one direction' -bëkin 'iterative in different places' -bu 'continuously in one direction'
Valence decreasing -anan 'reciprocal' -akat (and its allomorphs) 'reflexive' -t 'middle marker'	Trajectory directionals -ru 'upward' -but, -pat and -pakët 'downward' -at, akët (and its allomorphs) 'curved trajectory'
Valence manipulation -anan ~ -naan 'malefactive'	'Go'/'come' directionals -kian, -bian 'going' -kwatsin, -bëtsin 'coming' -kwain, -buin 'passing by'
Quantificational markers (§9.1.3)	Deontic/irrealis markers (§9.1.4)
-tabat 'for the first time' -tëkën 'again' -rabat 'distributive'	-kas 'desiderative/abilitative' -isa 'irrealis'
Aspectual markers (§9.1.5)	Non-productive suffixes (§9.1.6)
-rat ~ -rakët 'iterative, continuously' -rès 'frequently, distractedly'	*-chi 'taking off' and *-kut 'going out' *-kët 'middle marker'

9.1.1 Valence-changing suffixes

Kakataibo has five derivational suffixes that increase the valence of a predicate: *-mi* ‘general causative’ (§9.1.1.1), *-kin* ‘associative applicative’, (§9.1.1.2), *-xun* ‘benefactive applicative’ (§9.1.1.3), *-n* ‘transitivizer’ (§9.1.1.4), and *-o ~ -a* ‘factitive’ (§9.1.1.5), the last of which is used to transitivize intransitive predicates obtained from nouns or adjectives. In addition, there are three suffixes that decrease valence: the reciprocal suffix *-anan* (presented in §9.1.2.1), the reflexive suffix *-akat*, which shows complex morphophonological alternations (see §9.1.2.2), and the suffix *-t* ‘middle marker’ (see §9.1.2.3). Finally, Kakataibo also presents one suffix that does not increase or reduce the valence of the predicate, but only attributes a malefactive semantic role to one of the arguments previously specified by the predicate: *-anan ~ -naan* ‘malefactive’. In this section, I exemplify the use and morphological nature of these forms; a more detailed discussion of their semantic and syntactic properties is offered in §15.4.

9.1.1.1 Valence increasing

Derivational suffixes that increase the valence of the verb add one core argument to the predicate converting intransitive predicates into transitive ones, and transitive ones into ditransitive ones (ditransitive predicates can also be modified by these suffixes, but this is not frequent in natural speech). There are two types of valence increasing suffixes: causatives (which include the causative *-mi*, the transitivizer *-n* and the factitive *-o ~ -a*) and applicatives (which include the benefactive *-xun* and the associative *-kin*). In the first case, the suffixes add an A argument to the clause, which semantically corresponds to the initiator of the causative event. The P argument of the causative predicate (which was the original S or A of the verb) can show different levels of agency and volition in relation to the caused event (see the discussion in §15.4.2.6). Applicative suffixes, by contrast, promote oblique arguments to P arguments.

9.1.1.1.1 *-mi* ‘general causative’

Instances of the suffix *-mi* ‘general causative’ are presented in (464) and (465), where this suffix modifies the intransitive verb ‘*inut* ‘cross’ and the transitive verb ‘*unan* ‘know’, respectively.

- (464) *Upiokin numëntankëxun “ën ruën tëntan ‘ën ruën tënta-n” amiribishi ‘inúmia-këshín.*
- | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>upit-o-kin</i> | <i>numën-tankëxun</i> | <i>“ë=n</i> | <i>ruë=n</i> |
| <i>good-FACT-S/A>A:SE</i> | <i>cut.a.tree-S/A>A:PE</i> | <i>1SG=GEN</i> | <i>ax=INS</i> |
| <i>tënta-a-n</i> | <i>‘ë=n</i> | <i>ruë=n</i> | |
| <i>chop-PFV-1/2</i> | <i>1SG=GEN</i> | <i>ax=INS</i> | |

*tënt-a-n” amiribishi ‘inut-mi-akë-x-ín
 saw-PFV-1/2 again cross-CAUS-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘After cutting the tree carefully, (saying) ‘I chop with my ax, I chop with my
 ax’, (she) made (the ax) pass through the trunk.’ (NA-deer-2007.015)*

- (465) ‘En aintsikama ‘akinkin kana upíokin a unikama ‘unámiti ‘ain atux upíribi
 bukutikupí.
 ‘ë=n aintsi=kama ‘a-kin-kin ka=na upí-o-kin a
 1SG=GEN relative=PL do-APPL-S/A>A:SE NAR=1SG good-FACT-S/A>A:SE that
 uni=kama ‘unan-mi-ti ‘ain atu=x upí=ribi
 person=PL know-CAUS-NOMLZ be:1/2 they=s good=also
 buku-ti=kupí
 live.together-NOMLZ=REAS
 ‘Doing it with my relatives, I will teach them well in order for them to live well
 too.’ (AE-my.plans-2006.024)

Intransitive predicates modified by the causative suffix trigger transitive marking throughout the clause (see (464)). In other words, in (464), *-mi* has not only increased the valence of the verb (from 1 to 2), but it has also changed the transitivity class of the stem. Meanwhile, in (465), *-mi* has increased the valence (from 2 to 3), but has not affected the transitivity class (we still have a transitive verb that triggers the use of transitive markers throughout the clause).

9.1.1.1.2 *-kin* ‘associative applicative’

The associative applicative in Kakataibo is used to promote comitative adjuncts to direct objects. Thus, it expresses the idea of doing something in the company of or with the help of somebody else, as shown in the following example. This suffix can appear with both intransitive and transitive verbs. It also triggers a change in transitivity class of formerly intransitive verbs. The following example illustrates this suffix with a transitive verb.

- (466) *Kwanxun kaisa ain tuakama kaxun ‘aruxun pikiankëshín.*
 kwan-xun ka=is=a ain tua=kama ka-xun
 go-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 3SG:GEN boy=PL:ABS say-S/A>A:SE
 ‘aru-xun pi-kin-akë-x-ín
 cook-S/A>A:SE eat-ASSO-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘It is said that, going, telling her children, cooking (the food), she ate with them.’
 (JE-blind.man-2007.048)

9.1.1.3 -xun ‘benefactive applicative’

The benefactive applicative maps the beneficiary of an event onto the grammatical relation of object. This suffix can modify both intransitive and transitive predicates. In the following example, we find the transitive verb *ñui* ‘tell’ modified by the benefactive applicative -xun. The original object of the verb is the grammatical nominalization in brackets (headed by the nominalized verb ‘i-a ‘be-nominalizer, remote past’) and the added beneficiary object is ‘ë ‘1SG’.

- (467) *Ñsa-i ka xanu itsin ain aintsi ‘ia ‘ë ñuixuankëxa*
ësa-i ka xanu itsi=n [ain aintsi
like.this-s/A>S:SE NAR:3 woman other=ERG 3SG:GEN relative:ABS
‘i-a] ‘ë ñui-xun-akë-x-a
be-NOMLZ:ABS 1SG:P tell-BEN-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Being like this, another woman told me a long time ago how her relatives were.’ (JE-blind.man-2007.001)

9.1.1.4 -n ‘transitivizer’

The form -n ‘transitivizer’ appears as part of the transitive version of a small group of verbs in the transitive/intransitive pairs described in §8.2.3 (where I have argued that these verb stems can be analyzed as lexicalized elements). However, there is a totally segmentable suffix -n ‘transitivizer’, which appears in combination with other intransitive verbal roots, as a valence increasing strategy. In those cases, as shown in the following table, this suffix represents a derivational form that can be segmented.

Table 72. Examples of -n ‘transitivizer’

Intransitive form	Meaning	Transitive form	Meaning
bëna	‘fade (a fire)’	bëna-n	‘extinguish’
bësu	‘wake up’	bësu-n	‘wake somebody’
buku	‘be together, live together’	buku-n	‘put things together, gather’

9.1.1.5 -o ~ -a ‘factivitive’

The suffix -o ~ -a ‘factivitive’ is frequently used in discourse to obtain transitive predicates from adjectives and nouns. It surfaces as *a* after *u*, and in any other case it surfaces as *o*. In general, adjectives and nouns can be used as intransitive predicates with an inchoative meaning, and the addition of -o ~ -a increases the valence of the nominal or adjectival predicate. This implies a change in the transitivity class of the predicate: predicates with -o ~ -a are transitive in relation to all the principles presented in §8.2.

The factitive can only occur with nouns and adjectives, not with verbs, and is thus of analytical importance in distinguishing between word classes (see §5.2.1 and §5.2.2).

In most cases, this form can be translated into English as ‘make’. For example, *naë* ‘garden’ > *naë-o-* ‘make a garden’ or *xubu* ‘house’ > *xubu-a-* ‘make a house (i.e. build a house)’. Two examples of this form, one with a noun and the other with an adjective, are presented in (468) and (469), respectively.

- (468) *'Ixun kana ën 'atima 'ixunbi más que todo ën baba kupí ën xutakama kupí kana naëon.*

*'i-xun ka=ná 'ë=n 'a-ti=ma 'ixunbi más que todo
be-S/A>A:SE NAR=1SG 1SG=A do-NOMLZ=NEG but:S/A>A basically
'ë-n baba=kupí 'ë=n xuta=kama=kupí
1SG=GEN grandson=REAS 1SG=GEN grandson=PL=REAS
kana **naë-o-a-n**
NAR=1SG **garden-FACT-PFV-1/2***

‘I do not do that because I want to; it is because of my grandchildren that I made a garden.’ (SE-my.plans-2007.015)

- (469) *An ka i chaxkéoxa.*

*a=n ka i chaxké-o-a-x-a
3SG=A NAR:3 stick:ABS **long-FACT-PFV-3-NON.PROX**
(S)he made the stick long.’ ~ (S)he lengthened the stick.’*

9.1.1.2 Valence reduction

Languages of the world show different mechanisms for reducing valence; those mechanisms include (1) passives and anticausatives; (2) antipassives; and (3) reflexives and reciprocals (see Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000). In Kakataibo, there is special verbal morphology for reflexives and reciprocals, but there are no passive, antipassive or anticausative constructions. Additionally, the marker *-t* could be analyzed as a middle marker in those cases where it is productive and segmentable.

9.1.1.2.1 *-anan* ‘reciprocal’

The reciprocal marker *-anan* reduces the number of core arguments of a transitive verb and, syntactically, derives intransitive predicates from transitive ones by demoting the object argument and optionally coding it as an oblique comitative participant. One example of this form follows (we can clearly see in the form of the comitative marker that the reciprocal predicate is intransitive).

- (470) “*Ēnu kananuna urainra tsón ukëmanan paru ukëmanan kwanun ka kwan*”
kaisa kiakëxa ain xukënkamabë ain aintskamabë kanankëxa.
ēnu ka=nanuna uran=ira tsót-a-n ukëmanan paru
 here NAR=1PL much.time=INT live-PFV-1/2 other.side big.river
ukëmanan kwan-nun ka kwan” *ka=is=a*
 other.side go-PURP NAR go:IMP NAR=REP=3
ki-akë-x-a ain xukën=kama=bë
 say:INTR-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX 3SG:GEN brother-PL-COM:S
ain aintsi=kama=bë ka-anan-akë-x-a
 3SG:GEN relative-PL-COM:S say-RECP-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 “We have lived much time here, let’s go to the other side of the river!”, it is
 said that they said, talking to each other with their brothers and their rela-
 tives.’ (EE-north-2006.017)

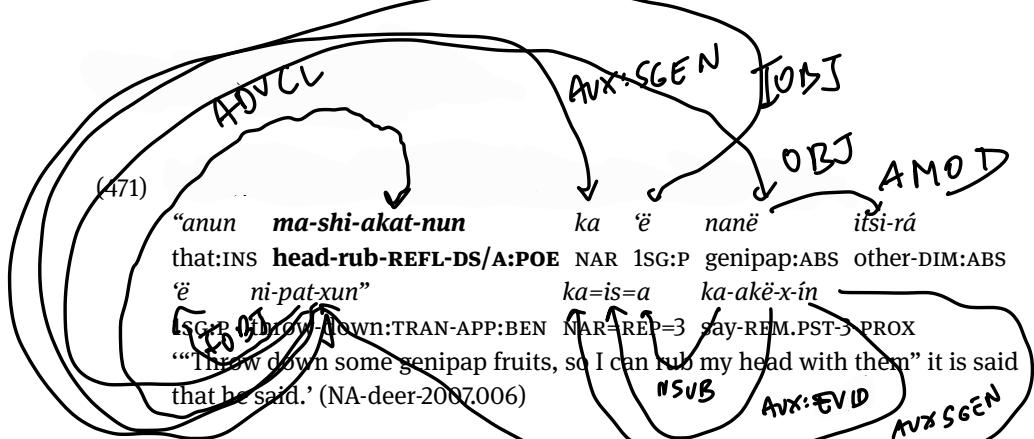
9.1.1.2.2 -akat (and its allomorphs) ‘reflexive’

The reflexive suffix exhibits one of the most complex allomorphic alternations in the language. It can surface as *-akat*, *-(ë)kët*, *-(u)kut*, *-(i)kit*, *-mët* and *-mëkët*.⁵⁹ The first one appears in the majority of contexts, while *-(ë)kët*, *-(u)kut*, and *-(i)kit* surface when following a stem that ends in a syllable containing *ë*, *u*, and *i*, respectively. Thus, *-(ë)kët*, *-(u)kut*, and *-(i)kit* are the result of a vowel harmony process. If the previous syllable does not have an overt coda, we obtain *-kët*, *-kut*, and *-kit*; if the previous syllable ends in a fricative, we obtain *-ëkët*, *-ukut*, and *-ikit*; and, if the stem ends in *n* the allomorphs *-mët* and *-mëkët* appear in apparently free alternation.

While the forms *-akat*, *-(ë)kët*, *-(u)kut*, and *-(i)kit* are clearly related, the forms *-mët* and *-mëkët* may have had a different origin.⁶⁰ In addition, the form *-kët* is attested as part of some other suffixes, always associated with an intransitive meaning (see §9.1.7). Thus, it is possible that *-kët* was an old suffix in itself. In the two following examples, we find the reflexive forms *-kit* and *-kut* modifying the verbs *ma-shi-* ‘head-rub’ and *churu-* ‘untie’:

⁵⁹ I have no examples of *-(e)ket*, simply because there are no transitive predicates attested in my database that end in the vowel *e*. In addition, there is no *-(o)kot* allomorph: when a transitive predicate ends in *o*, as is the case of forms carrying the factitive *-o* (see §9.1.1.5), it takes the reflexive form *-akat*.

⁶⁰ Notice, however, that in Matses there is a regular process involving the suffixes *-ad* ‘reflexive/anticausative/passive’ and *-an* ‘antipassive’ when attached to *n*-final verb roots, whereby *n-ad* and *n-an* become *mëd* and *mën* (David Fleck, pc). Even though an equivalent process is not attested in Kakataibo, a similar historical scenario might explain the forms *-mët* and *-mëkët*: we might have had *n-akat > mëkët*.



- (472) Matsutiabi kaisa chaxu an churukukwainkin kaisa xanu xënirá chaxun
 makwëxakëshín.
matsut-ia=bi *ka=is=a* *chaxu a-n*
 sweep-S/A>P:SE=same NAR=REP=3 deer 3SG-A
churu-akat-kwain-kin *ka=is=a* *xanu xëni-rá*
 untie-REFL-passing:INTR-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 woman old:ABS-DIM
chaxu=n makwëx-akë-x-íñ
 deer=ERG beat.up.with.a.mallet-REM.PST-3-PROX
 'It is said that, while (the woman) was sweeping, the deer beat her up, untying
 himself.' (JE-deer-2007.010)

In the following example, we find the reflexive form *-mët* (note that in this context *-mëkët* is also possible without any change in meaning):

- (473) Kaisa uni "ëëëëëë" ki kaisa bëmamëakëshín.
kaisa *uni* *ëëëëëë*
 NAR.REP.3 person:ABS ëëëëëë
ki-i *ka=is=a* *bë=man-akat-akë-x-íñ*
 say:INTR-S/A>S:SE NAR=REP=3 eyes-touch-REFL-REM.PST-3-PROX
 'It is said that the man touched his eyes saying "ëëëëëë".' (EE-fisher-2007.008)

9.1.1.2.3 -t 'middle'

The form *-t* 'middle' appears as a lexicalized part of the intransitive version of a group of verbs involved in transitive/intransitive pairs (see also §9.1.1.4). In addition, as was the case of *-n* 'transitivizer', *-t* 'middle' appears in combination with some (transitive) verbal roots, as a valence decreasing strategy. See the examples in Table 73.

Table 73. Examples of -t ‘detransitivizer’

Transitive form	Meaning	Intransitive form	Meaning
pëxku	‘cure somebody’	pexku-t	‘become cured, cure oneself’
unë	‘hide’	unë-t	‘be hidden, hide oneself’
xui	‘grill’	xui-t	‘be grilled’
këñu	‘finish’	këñu-t	‘finish up, run out’
chuka	‘wash’	chuka-t	‘wash oneself’

As can be seen in the glosses, the marker -t expresses stative and/or reflexive meanings, as is often the case with middle markers.

9.1.2 Directional and associated motion suffixes

Directional and associated motion suffixes in Kakataibo constitute a complex and rich paradigm that exhibits a number of salient features, such as the existence of pairs of suffixes that have the same content meaning but appear with verbs of different transitivity classes. In addition, some forms have very complex allomorphic alternations. Another remarkable feature is that some directional suffixes have additional aspectual senses.

The semantic domain that these suffixes form can be divided into three categories, each composed of a different set of suffixes: one group that expresses aspectual and directional meanings (called here *aspectual/directional suffixes*); another group that expresses different trajectories, called here *directionals* (‘upward’, ‘downward’, ‘curved trajectory’); and a last group of suffixes that uses the location of the speaker (or any other character in a narrative) as the deictic reference point (this category includes meanings like ‘coming’, ‘going’ but also ‘passing by’, and are called associated motion suffixes). The term “associated motion” was first proposed by Koch (1984), Tunbrige (1988) and Wilkins (1991), but has been introduced in the study of Amazonian languages by Guillaume (2006). The distinction between directional (or trajectory) suffixes and associated motion suffixes used in this section also comes from Guillaume (2000).

Suffixes belonging to these categories can be combined in the same verb. When this happens, they observe a rigid order: aspectual/directional suffixes appear before directionals, which are followed by associate motion suffixes. This is presented in the following figure.

SLOT 1	SLOT 2	SLOT 3
‘iterative in different places’ - <i>bëkin</i>	‘upward’ - <i>ru</i>	‘going’ - <i>kian</i> , - <i>bian</i>
‘iterative in one direction’ - <i>uku</i>	‘downward’ - <i>but</i> , - <i>pat</i>	‘coming’ - <i>kwatsin</i> , - <i>bëtsin</i>
‘continuously in one direction’ - <i>bu</i>	‘curved trajectory’ - <i>akët</i> , - <i>at</i>	‘passing by’ - <i>kwain</i> , - <i>buin</i>

Figure 74. Order of directionals and associate motion suffixes

This order is shown in the example (474), where we find the sequence *-uku-ru-kian* ‘iterative in one direction-upwards-going’:

- (474) *Iruax tapititu ukairi anun nëabaikë anun kwës kwës kiukurukiani kwarukëbë kaisa axribi a kaxu ukairi a tënkanux kwaruakëshin.*
iru-ax tapiti=nu ukairi anun nëa-bait-kë anun
 go.up-s/A>s ladder=LOC ladder that:INS tie-DUR-NOMLZ that:INS
kwës kwës ki-uku-ru-kian-i
kwës kwës say:INTR-ITER:one.direction-up-going:INTR-S/A>S:SE
kwan-ru-këbë ka=is=a a=x=ribi a kaxu ukairi a
go-up-DS/A/P:SE:INTR NAR=REP=3 3SG=S=also 3SG behind ladder that:ABS
tënka-nux kwan-ru-akë-x-ín
cut.making.noise-S/A>A:POE go-up-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘It is said that, going up, using a ladder, making the noise *kwes* *kwes* several times while going up, leaving the other man behind, (he) climbed (the tree).’
 (JE-king.vulture-2007.019)

9.1.2.1 Aspectual/directional suffixes

Aspectual/directional suffixes do not simply specify a direction, but rather indicate that the event is developing in a certain way (iteratively or continuously), at the same time that a displacement in space is happening. Aspectual/directional markers include the three following suffixes: -*uku* ‘iterative in one direction’, -*bëkin* ‘iterative in different places’ and -*bu* ‘continuously in one direction’. These three forms are described in the following subsections.

9.1.2.1.1 -*uku* ‘iterative in one direction’

As its gloss indicates, -*uku* expresses that a specific event happens several times (iteratively) in one direction or along a path. The nature of the direction is obligatorily expressed by an additional directional suffix. This co-occurrence may suggest that the directional meaning is encoded in the second suffix, and not so much in -*uku* itself. That is, the ‘in one direction’ semantic component of -*uku* seems to be contributed by the directional suffix, while -*uku* seems to have an aspectual (iterative) function only. However, the fact that this form cannot appear without a directional marker strongly suggests that it needs to refer to events that develop in one direction, and that it therefore has some kind of spatial specification itself.

- (476) *no incluir* (476) *bëru-ix ka=i=a bëru-an ka=is=a ukairi a tënka-patake-xin u-but-kin No es isa rët-**uku-but-an** oración*
- stay-S/A>S NAR=REP=3 stay-DS:PE NAR=REP=3 ladder that:P come-down:INTR-S/A>A:SE cut.making.noise-down:TRAN-REM.PST-3-PROX REP.3 cut-ITER:one.direction-down:INTR-DS/A/P:PE*
- 'It is said that, after (the other man) stayed (on the tree), he cut the ladder making noises, coming down and cutting it several times.' (JE-king.vulture-2007.033)

9.1.2.1.2 -*bëkin* 'iterative in different places'

The form -*bëkin* shares with -*uku* 'iterative in one direction' the idea of iterativity. Both suffixes indicate that the event is repeated several times, but they differ in that -*uku* is used when the repetitions of the event happen along a straight direction or following a specific path, while -*bëkin* is used when the repetitions are unsystematically distributed throughout space.

In addition to this semantic difference, -*bëkin* 'iterative in different places' is different from -*uku* 'iterative in one direction' in that the former form does not need to be followed by another directional/associated motion suffix, while the latter always co-occurs with one. In (477), -*bëkin* appears by itself without any other directional marker.

- (477) *Bakakama 'imainun xëxá raran papakama 'imainun baka chakama akëñunbi kaisa urukin chákibëkinkin achushi uni Isa Kuna kakë an ain mane xon chákibëkinkin kaisa a unin baka kamabi xëxá 'imainun raran papakama anëruakëxa.*

baka=kama ‘imainun xëxá rara=n *papa=kama* ‘imainun baka
 river=PL and creek ancestor=GEN big=PL and river
cha=kama a-këñun=bi *ka=is=a u-ru-kin*
 big=pl that-COM;P=same NAR=REP=3 come-up-S/A>A
cháxki-bëkin-kin *achushi uni Isa Kuna ka-kë*
 poke-ITER:here.there-s/A>A one man Isa Kuna say-NOMLZ
a=n ain manë xo=n cháxki-bëkin-kin
 3SG=ERG 3SG:GEN metal stick=INS poke-ITER:here.there-s/A>A:SE
kaisa a uni=n baka kamabi xëxá ‘imainun
 NAR.REP.3 that man=ERG river all current and
rara=n papa=kama anë-ru-akë-x-a
 ancestor=GEN big=PL name-up-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘It is said that, as he came traveling from the mouth to the headwaters, a man called Isa Kunabu named all the rivers and creeks, even the big ones, poking his metal stick here and there.’ (NA-isakuna-2008.001–002)

The form *-bëkin* can also be followed by other directional markers. Thus, for example, we can have forms like *cháxki-bëkin-ru* ‘stick-iterative, different places-upward’ which can be translated as ‘poke (something) here and there, while going up’.

9.1.2.1.3 -*bu* ‘continuously in one direction’

The form *-bu* ‘continuously in one direction’ does not need to be followed by other directional markers (but, according to my Kakataibo teachers, it can). The marker *-bu* ‘continuously in one direction’ is not attested in my text database and was taught to me by my teachers during elicitation sessions. Note that *-bu* ‘continuously in one direction’ is different from *-but* ‘downwards, intransitive’ and that these two forms are independent from each other. The difference is not only in the presence or absence of a final consonant *t*, but also in their morphosyntactic properties: *-but* is used with intransitive stems only, and *-bu* is used with both transitive and intransitive forms. At least synchronically, the meaning ‘continuously in one direction’ is not a semantic extension or an aspectual overtone of the form *-but* ‘downward, intransitive’, and the two forms need to be distinguished. Two examples of this form are presented in (478) and (479). In the examples, *-bu* ‘continuously in one direction’ appears with an intransitive and with a transitive predicate, respectively.

- (478) *Autonu kana ‘uxbuān.*

auto-nu ka-na ‘ux-bu-a-n
 car=LOC NAR=1SG sleep-CONTI:one.direction-PFV-1/2
 ‘I was sleeping continuously (going) in the car.’

- (479) *Autonuxun kana pibuan.*

auto-nu=xun ka-na pi-bu-a-n
 car=LOC=PA.A NAR=1SG eat-**CONTI:one.direction**-PFV-1/2
 'I was eating continuously (going) in the car.'

The examples in (480) and (481) are ungrammatical, because the event is presented as happening at one specific place and therefore there is no displacement in space (*Tropitop* is a café in Pucallpa, which cannot move along a path and therefore is different from a car):

- (480) **Tropitopnu kana 'uxbuān*

Tropitop-nu ka-na 'ux-bu-a-n
 tropitop=LOC NAR=1SG sleep-**CONTI:one.direction**-PFV-1/2
 ('I am sleeping frequently at Tropitop')

- (481) **Tropitopnuxun kana pibuin*

Tropitop-nu=xun ka-na pi-bu-i-n
 tropitop=LOC=PA.A NAR=1SG eat-**CONTI:one.direction**-IPFV-1/2
 ('I am eating continuously at Tropitop')

9.1.2.2 Directionals

Directionals in Kakataibo include three categories: *-ru*: 'upward'; *-but*, *-pat* and *-pakët* 'downward'; and *-akët* ~ *-at* ~ *-rat* ~ *-rakët* (plus *-arat* and *-arakët*) 'curved trajectory'.

9.1.2.2.1 *-ru* 'upward'

The morpheme *-ru* 'upward' is the only form in this subclass that can modify both intransitive and transitive verbs; and it does not show any allomorphic alternation. The next two examples present this form with an intransitive verb (*kwan* 'go', but also in the lexicalized form *rónru* 'climb', in (482)) and a transitive verb (*put* 'put', in (483)).

- (482) “*‘En tsipun ‘en tsipun ‘en tsipun” kakëx kaisa kwaruakëxa Nishibun ax rónruakëxa.*

‘ë=n tsi-pun ‘ë=n tsi-pun ‘ë=n tsi-pun ka-këx
 1SG=A buttock-poke 1SG=A buttock-poke 1SG=A buttock-poke say-P>S:PE
kaisa kwan-ru-akë-x-a Nishibun a=x
 NAR.REP.3 go-up-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX nishibun that=s
rónru-akë-x-a
climb-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

'It is said that, when the woman said to him 'I poke you on your buttock, I poke you on your buttock, I poke you on your buttock', Nishibun climbed up the tree.'
 (NA-deer-2007.010)

- (483) *'Axun kaisa amanu atun bakë bëchikë ini bëchikë a puruakëxa 'ani tapan 'atankëxun.*
 'a-xun ka=is=a amanu atu=n bake bëchikë
 make-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 other.place they=GEN son
ini bëchikë a put-ru-akë-x-a 'ani tapan 'a-tankëxun
 daughter 3SG:P put-up-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX big raft:ABS make-S/A>A:PE
 'it is said that, after making (it), they took their sons and daughters upstream
 on this big raft.' (SE-flood2-2007.015)

The suffix *-ru* is polysemous in that it has a secondary aspectual meaning associated with the idea that the event is almost totally completed. This is exemplified in (484), where we find the verb *këñu-* 'finish' modified by the suffix *-ru* and expressing the idea that the mythical jaguar which the tale is about was killing people until there were only very few people remaining.

- (484) *'Inun rara an kaisa uni uni chabu 'ixunbisa ain aintsi këñuriabi kaisa unin kupiama 'ikën.*
 'inu=n rara a=n ka=is=a uni uni cha-bu
 jaguar=GEN ancestor 3SG=A NAR=REP=3 man man big-COL
'i-xun=bi=is=a ain aintsi
 be-S/A>A-although=REP=3 3SG:GEN relative:ABS
këñu-ru-ia=bi ka=is=a uni-n
 finish-up-A/S>P-although NAR=REP=3 man=ERG
kupi-a=ma 'ikën
 revenge-REM.PST=NEG be:3
 'It is said that, although the ancestor of the jaguar was almost completely finishing off the people (even though they were very big), the people did not do anything and did not take revenge.' (JE-jaguar-2007.033)

9.1.2.2.2 *-but*, *-pat* and *-pakët* 'downward'

9.1.2.2.2.1 *-but* and *-pat*

These two suffixes are in a clear intransitive/transitive distribution: *-but* only modifies intransitive forms and *-pat* only appears with transitive ones. Thus, they can be glossed as 'downward, intransitive' and 'downward, transitive'. Examples of these two forms are presented in (485) and (486), respectively. In the first one, we find *-but* 'downward, intransitive' modifying the verb *rit* 'go together' and in the second one, we find *-pat* 'downward, transitive' modifying the verb *ni* 'throw'.

- (485) *A buani ka kwankëxa tapanën cuatro tapanën ka ribuakëxa.*

a buan-i ka kwan-akë-x-a tapan=n
 that:P bring-S/A>S:SE NAR:3 go-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX raft=INS
cuatro tapan=n ka rit-but-akë-x-a
 four raft=INS NAR:3 go.together-down:INTR-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Bringing those (rafts), they went downstream together in four rafts.’
 (NA-ancestors-2007.006)

- (486) *Ronrutankëxun kaisa xëmën ‘akëxa pian pian ‘axun ‘axun nipakëxa.*

ronru-tankëxun ka=is=a xëmën ‘a-akë-x-a
 climb-S/A>A:PE NAR=REP=3 kinkajou:ABS kill-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
pia=n pia=n ‘a-xun ‘a-xun
 arrow=INS arrow=INS kill-S/A>A kill-S/A>A
ni-pat-akë-x-a
 throw-down:TRAN-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘It is said that, after he climbed, he killed the kinkajous, killing them with
 arrows, killing them with arrows, he threw the kinkajous down.’
 (EE-kinkajous-2007.006)

The forms *-but* and *-pat* are polysemous and have other meanings in some contexts. The suffix *-but* also means ‘advanced change of state’ and can only be used with intransitive predicates, basically with predicates expressing states (including adjectives). The directional meaning of this form in such a construction was pragmatically marked for my teachers, who always preferred the aspectual value just mentioned. Elicited examples of adjectives modified by *-but* are presented in (487a–b)–(489a–b).

- (487) a. *Ax ka uxuín.*

a=x ka uxu-i-ín
 3=S NAR:3 white-IPFV-PROX
 ‘(S)he becomes white.’

- b. *Ax ka uxubutín.*

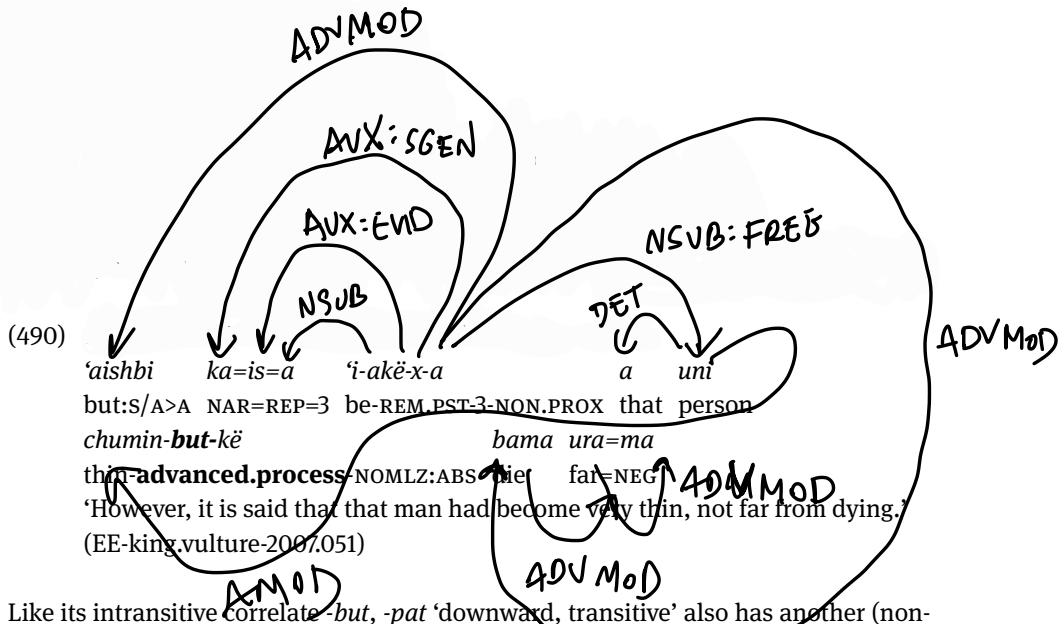
a=x ka uxu-but-i-ín
 3=S NAR:3 white-advanced.process-IPFV-PROX
 ‘(S)he is becoming white (and the process is advanced).’

- (488) a. *Ax ka xuatín.*

a=x ka xuat-i-ín
 3=S NAR:3 fat-IPFV-PROX
 ‘(S)he becomes fat.’

- b. *Ax ka xuabutín.*

a=x ka xuat-but-i-ín
 3=S NAR:3 fat-advanced.process-IPFV-PROX
 ‘(S)he is becoming fat (and the process is advanced).’



Like its intransitive correlate *-but*, *-pat* ‘downward, transitive’ also has another (non-directional) meaning, which can be glossed as ‘plural/iterative objects’. The form *-pat*, both as a directional and as a ‘plural object’ marker, exclusively appears with transitive verbs. Two examples of *-pat* meaning ‘plural objects’ are presented in (491) and (492).

- (491) *Rératankëxun kananuna mëchuishkapatin upitia a xarótikupí.*
*réra-tankëxun ka=nanuna më-chuishka-**pat**-i-n*
 cut.down-S/A>A:PE NAR=1PL hand-cut-**PL.P**-IPFV-1/2
upit-ia a xaró-ti-kupí
 good-S/A>P:SE that:P burn-NOMLZ-reason
 ‘Cutting down (the tree), we cut perfectly the branches in order to burn them.’
 (SE-agriculture-2007.008)
- (492) *Ain xëni ‘ati ka raëskapa’.*
*ain xëni ‘a-ti ka raëskapa-**pat***
 their fat cook-NOMLZ NAR singe-**PL.P**:IMP
 ‘Singe (all these animals) in order to cook their fat!’ (EE-kinkajous-2007.015)

This meaning of *-pat* in the example above is similar to (but should not be confused with) iterativity. In the case of an iterative meaning, the same event can be repeated several times on the same object; but the examples presented here obligatorily implicate that there is more than one branch to cut or animal to singe. If we would like to

express the meanings ‘cut several time the same branch’ or ‘singe several times the same animal’, we would need to use reduplicated verb forms: *mëchuis-mëchuiska-* and *raës-raëska-*, respectively (see §9.3 on verbal reduplication).

One could imagine that *-pat* or *-but* could appear twice on the same verbal form, in one instance expressing aspect/plurality, and in the second expressing direction, but this is ungrammatical. However, interestingly, *-pat* as a ‘plural object’ marker can be combined with *-ru* ‘upward’. This would be semantically impossible if *-pat* were used in its directional sense of ‘downward’. Thus, we can find combinations such as *raëska-pat-ru* ‘singe several animals while going up’, where *-pat*, which appears first, is being used with the meaning ‘plural object’. This suggests that the paradigms of each of the directional slots are not really mutually exclusive on morphosyntactic grounds, but on semantic grounds: one cannot simultaneously go upward and downward, but one can simultaneously do something iteratively while going upward. This fact strengthens the argument that derivational suffixes do not form paradigms: every combination that makes sense is in principle allowed.

9.1.2.2.2.2 *-pakët*

The form *-pakët* is used to obtain an intransitive form from the transitive verb *ni* ‘throw’. The form *nipakët* seems to exhibit a high degree of lexicalization and to be idiosyncratic. On the basis of the verb root *ni*, we can obtain the forms *ni-pat* ‘throw down’ and *ni-pakët* ‘fall down (or come down)’. The first one is a transitive stem while the second one is an intransitive one, as can be seen from the form of the auxiliaries in the prohibitive constructions in (493a–b).

- (493) a. *Nipáxuma ka ‘a’!*

<i>ni-pat-xun=ma</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>‘a’</i>
throw- DOWN:TRAN-S/A>A=NEG	NAR	TRAN.AUX:IMP
‘Don’t throw it down!’		

- b. *Nipakëaxma ka ‘i’!*

<i>ni-pakët-ax=ma</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>‘i’</i>
throw- DOWN:TRAN>INTR-S/A>S=NEG	NAR	INTR.AUX:IMP
‘Don’t fall down!’		

The suffix *-pakët* could be analyzed as *-pat-kët*: there are reasons to assume that there was a kind of detransitivizing suffix *-kët* that is not productive synchronically, but is still attested with certain derivational suffixes (see §9.1.7 for a discussion of the issue). Synchronously, however, we can consider *-pakët* as a directional suffix that is used with the transitive verb *ni* ‘throw’ and that derives an intransitive form. Alternatively, *pakët* is also an independent verb meaning ‘fall’ in Kakataibo and perhaps *nipakët* has its origin in a straightforward verb compound of ‘throw’ plus ‘fall’, whose transitivity value is defined by the second verbal form.

9.1.2.2.3 -at ~ -(a)rat ~ and ~ -akët ~ -(a)rakët ‘curved trajectory’

The category ‘curved trajectory’ is the most difficult to identify and to analyze among the directional suffixes. The reason is the considerable number of forms, and their seemingly unsystematic distribution (particularly in relation to the fact that a distinction between two different types of curved trajectory is only available for verbs ending in a nasal). An additional problem is that there is variation in speaker intuitions, as well as among dialects, in relation to the morphophonemic pattern associated with this form. Thus, the patterns presented below require further confirmation.

Based on the data I have collected so far, I can tentatively conclude that all the transitive forms of this suffix follow the pattern presented in (i), while the intransitive forms follow the pattern proposed in (ii).

i. Transitive verbs: -at ~ -(a)rat

Transitive verbs ending in a vowel or in a fricative receive the allomorph *-arat*. Transitive verbs ending in a stop receive the allomorph *-rat* and, as expected, the verb-final stop is deleted. Finally, transitive verbs ending in *n* can take both *-at* and *-arat*. Interestingly, there is a semantic difference associated with these two forms: the former is used for single/short curved trajectories (e.g., walk in a small circle) and the latter is used for multiple/long ones (e.g., walk around the perimeter of one or more gardens). This distinction is not available for verbs that do not end in *n*. Paradigms based on the combination of the allomorphs of this suffix with different verb roots are listed in (494)–(496).

(494) *-arat*:

- a. *An ka piaratio.*
 $a=n \quad ka \quad pi\text{-}arat\text{-}i\text{-}a$
 3SG=A NAR:3 eat-curve-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he eats following a curved trajectory.'
- b. *An ka bariaratio.*
 $a=n \quad ka \quad bari\text{-}arat\text{-}i\text{-}a$
 3SG=A NAR:3 look.for-curve-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he looks for (something) following a curved trajectory.'
- c. *An ka xëaratio.*
 $a=n \quad ka \quad xëa\text{-}arat\text{-}i\text{-}a$
 3SG=A NAR:3 drink-curve-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he drinks going in a curve, several times.'
- d. *An ka kaisaratio.*
 $a=n \quad ka \quad kais\text{-}arat\text{-}i\text{-}a$
 3SG=A NAR:3 choose-curve-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he chooses (something) following a curved trajectory.'

(495) *-rat*:

- a. *An ka xēratia.*
a=n ka xēt-rat-i-a
 3SG=A NAR:3 smell-**curve**-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he smells (something) following a curved trajectory.'
- b. *An ka 'ikuratia.*
a=n ka 'ikut-rat-i-a
 3SG=A NAR:3 hug-**curve**-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he hugs (people) following a curved trajectory.'

(496) *-at* and *-arat*:

- a. *'Ēn kana xubu maēnatin.*
'ē=n ka=na xubu maēn-at-i-n
 1SG=A NAR=1SG house:ABS sweep-**curve**-IPFV-1/2
 'I sweep the house following a short curved trajectory or turning.'
- b. *'Ēn kana xubu maēaratin.*
'ē=n ka=na xubu maēn-arat-i-n
 1SG=A NAR=1SG house:ABS sweep-**curve:ITER/DUR**-IPFV-1/2
 'I sweep the house following a multiple/long curved trajectory.'
- c. *'Ēn kana mesa buinatin*
'ē=n ka=na mesa buin-at-i-n
 1SG=A NAR=1SG table:ABS move-**curve**-IPFV-1/2
 'I move the table following a short curved trajectory.' / 'I turn the table.'
- d. *'Ēn kana mesa buinaratin*
'ē=n ka=na mesa buin-arat-i-n
 1SG=A NAR=1SG table:ABS move-**curve:ITER/DUR**-IPFV-1/2
 'I move the table following a multiple/long curved trajectory'

ii. Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs ending in a vowel or in a fricative receive the allomorph *-arakët*, regardless of the number of syllables. Intransitive verbs ending in a stop receive the allomorph *-rakët* and, as expected, the verb-final stop is deleted. Finally, intransitive verbs ending in *n* can take both *-akët* and *-arakët*. As with transitive verbs, there is a semantic difference associated with these two forms: the former is used for single/short curved trajectories and the latter is used for multiple/long ones. This distinction is not available for verbs that do not end in *n*. Paradigms based on the combination of the alomorphs of this suffix with different intransitive verb roots are listed in (497)–(499).

(497) *-arakët*:

- a. *Ax ka niarakëtia.*
 $a=x \quad ka \quad ni\text{-}arakët-i-a$
 3SG=S NAR:3 walk-**curve**-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he walks following a curved trayectory.'
- b. *Ax ka mëñuarakëtia.*
 $a=x \quad ka \quad mëñu\text{-}arakët-i-a$
 3SG=S NAR:3 swim-**curve**-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he swims following a curved trayectory.'
- c. *Ax ka báxëxarakëtia.*
 $a=x \quad ka \quad báxëx\text{-}arakët-i-a$
 3SG=S NAR:3 gossip-**curve**-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he gossips following a curved trayectory.'

(498) *-rakët*

- a. *Ax ka 'abarakëtia.*
 $a=x \quad ka \quad 'abat\text{-}rakët-i-a$
 3SG=S NAR:3 run-**curve**-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he runs following a curved trayectory.'
- b. *Ax ka 'unérakëtia.*
 $a=x \quad ka \quad 'unët\text{-}rakët-i-a$
 3SG=S NAR:3 hide.one.self-**curve**-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he hides himself following a curved trayectory.'

(499) *-akët* and *-arakët*:

- a. *Ax ka kwainakëtia.*
 $a=x \quad ka \quad kwain\text{-}akët-i-a$
 3SG=S NAR:3 move-**curve**-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he goes following a short curved trayectory.'
- b. *Ax ka kwainarakëtia.*
 $a=x \quad ka \quad kwain\text{-}arakët-i-a$
 3SG=S NAR:3 move-**curve:ITER/DUR**-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he goes following a multiple/long curved trayectory.'
- c. *Ax ka churuankëtia.*
 $a=x \quad ka \quad churun\text{-}akët-i-a$
 3SG=S NAR:3 jump-**curve**-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he jumps following a short curved trayectory.'
- d. *Ax ka churunarakëtia.*
 $a=x \quad ka \quad churun\text{-}arakët-i-a$
 3SG=S NAR:3 jump-**curve:ITER/DUR**-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he jumps following a multiple/long curved trayectory.'

The complexity described above has to do with the fact that the paradigm seems to have merged at least two different markers: *-at* ‘curved movement’ and *-rat ~ -rakët* ‘continuously’ (and probably even three, if we assume that **-kët* was at some point segmentable from *-rat*, see §9.1.7).

The directional category of ‘curved trajectory’ also has an aspectual semantic extension. This marker, exhibiting the same allomorphy, can modify adjectives used as intransitive predicates in order to express a slow change of state that may be glossed as ‘gradually’ and thus contrasts with *-but* ‘downward, advanced change of state’. This is illustrated in the examples in (500a–c).

- (500) a. *Ax ka uxuín.*

a=x ka uxu-i-ín
3=S NAR:3 white-IPFV-PROX
'It is becoming white.'

- b. *Ax ka uxubuín.*

a=x ka uxu-but-i-ín
3=S NAR:3 white-**advanced.state**-IPFV-PROX
'It is becoming white (and the process is advanced).'

- c. *Ax ka uxuakëtín.*

a=x ka uxu-akët-i-ín
3=S NAR:3 white-**gradually**-IPFV-PROX
'It is becoming white gradually.'

9.1.2.3 Associated motion suffixes

The suffixes presented here use as their spatial reference point the speaker, the hearer or a specific discourse participant. The forms included in this category are: *-kian* and *-bian* ‘going’; *-kwatsin* and *-bëtsin* ‘coming’; and *-kwain* and *-buin* ‘passing by’, and all of them show an intransitive/transitive alternation (the intransitive forms are always the ones that begin with *k*; whereas the transitive ones systematically begin with *b*).

Particles with the first two meanings (‘going’ and ‘coming’) are commonly attested in different languages and are usually referred to as “translocative” and “cislative” or “andative” and “venitive”, respectively. The meaning ‘passing by’ appears to be less common cross-linguistically. Note that both the transitive and the intransitive forms for ‘passing by’ are also attested as independent verbs, suggesting that the whole paradigm might have come from multi-verb constructions (see Valenzuela 2011b, for a similar analysis regarding Shipibo-Konibo).

Another interesting observation is that there are different temporal relationships between the motion and the event expressed by the verb stem depending on the construction type. If the verb stem modified by the directional is the main verb in the clause, the interpretation can be either simultaneous (‘go, come or pass by, doing X’) or sequential (‘go, come or pass by, having done X’). Among the two, the

second interpretation tends to be preferred by the speakers. If we want to code explicitly that both events are simultaneous, then the verb stem modified by the directional suffix occurs as a switch-reference predicate linked to a verb such as *kwan* ‘go’ or *u* ‘come’. This distinction is shown in the examples in (501) and (502). In the first one, the verb with the directional is the matrix verb and a preferred sequential reading is obtained: *rakan-bian* is interpreted as ‘lay down (something) before going’. In the second example, the verb modified by the directional is functioning as a switch-reference element dependent on the main verb *kwan* ‘go’ and the interpretation is that both actions are simultaneous.

- (501) *Kwankin kaisa kapé kapé rëxun ain tëxaká maxaxnu rakanbiankëshín.*
kwan-kin ka=is=a kapé kapé rët-xun
go-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 caiman caiman:ABS kill-s/A>A
ain të-xakat maxax=nu rakan-bian-akë-x-in
3SG:GEN neck-skin:ABS stone=LOC lay.down-going:TRA-REM.PST-3-PROX
‘It is said that, going, killing several caimans, (they) laid down its neck skin on a stone and thus went.’ (JE-deer.man-2007.023)
- (502) *Butui kaisa kaxori a ributamainun bëchunan rinpatamainun kaisa kwënkébukiani kwankëxa uni ñusi ax bakan bina këñukëx.*
butu-i ka=is=a kaxori a
dive-s/A>S:SE NAR=REP=3 pomegranate that:P
rit-but-tan-mainun bëchun=n
go.together-down:INTR-go.to-DS/A/P:SE:DUR wave=ERG
rin-pat-tan-mainun ka=is=a
carry.together-down:TRAN-go.to-DS/A/P:SE:DUR NAR=REP=3
kwënkën-but-kian-i kwan-akë-x-a
shout-down:INTR-going:INTR-S/A>S:SE go-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
uni ñusi a=x bakan bina këñu-këx
person old 3SG=S wasp.sp finish-P>S:PE
‘It is said that, when the pomegranate sank down, going together, when the waves carried them far, the old man went shouting, because a wasp stung him all over.’ (NA-pomegranates-2007.018)

9.1.2.3.1 *-kian* and *-bian* ‘going’

The forms *-kian* and *-bian* express the meaning ‘going’ and appear in complementary distribution: the first one is exclusively used with intransitive forms, while the second form is only used with transitive ones. Any other combination will result in an unacceptable form. Cases of these two suffixes are presented in (503) and (504).

- (503) *Ain chain kwamikëx usai kixun kaisa raíripan isa rikiaënxan raíripan.*

*ain chai-n kwat-mi-këx usa-i
 3SG:GEN brother.in.law=ERG hear-CAUS-P>S:PE like.that-s/A>S:SE
 ki-xun ka=is=a raíri-pan is=a
 say:INTR-s/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 different-first REP=3
 rit-kian-ëxan-a*

- (504)

*ui-sa 'ën ta o-i ka=ra
 how 1SG.GEN mother.short.form:ABS FACT-S/A>S:SE NAR=INT.3
 uni nëtët-a-x-a ki-ax kwan-kin
 person:ABS disappear-PFV-3-NON.PROX say:INTR-S/A>S go-S/A>A:SE
 kaisa ain taë-rá
 NAR.REP.3 3SG:GEN foot-DIM:ABS
 tana-uku-bian-akë-x-a
 follow.footprints-ITER:one.direction-going:TRA-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 'It is said that, saying, "Doing what to my mother, this man has disappeared?",
 (the boy) went following his footprints.' (NA-boy-2007.012)*

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9.1.2.3.2 *-kwatsin* and *-bëtsin* ‘coming’

The forms *-kwatsin* and *-bëtsin* indicate that the event is unfolding in the direction of the speaker, the hearer, or any other spatial reference point established in discourse and can be translated as ‘coming’. The suffixes *-kwatsin* and *-bëtsin* also appear in complementary distribution: the first one is used with intransitive verbs and the second form is used exclusively with transitive ones. Again, any other combination will result in an ungrammatical form. These two suffixes are exemplified in the fragments in (505) and (506).

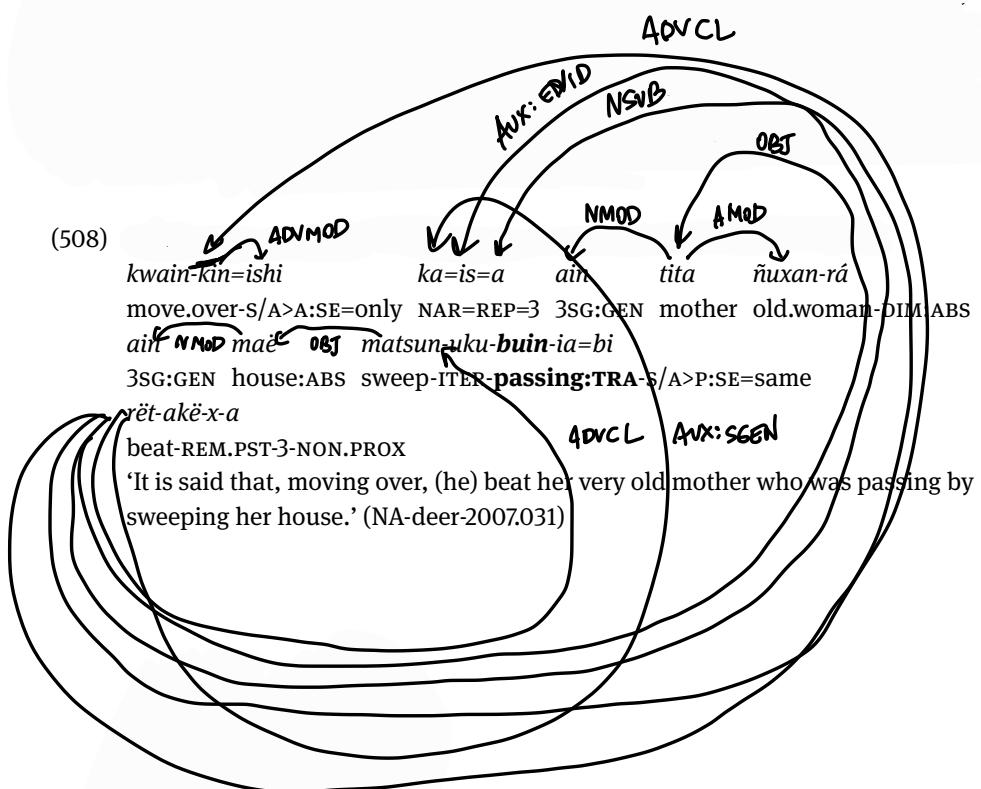
- (505) *Bukunbëtsini kana urupunin.*

*bukun-bëtsin-i ka-na u-ru-pun-i-n
 gather-coming:TRAN-S/A>S:SE NAR=1SG come-up-PST.hours-IPFV-1/2
 'After gathering (it), I came up the river'. (C00A05-EE-2006.006)*

- (506) *Bari rikianpunia kaisa kainxun kainkëxbi kaisa sharárabati rikwatsiankëshín*
bari-i rit-kian-pun-i-a
 look.for-s/A>S:SE go.together-going:INTR-PST.hours-IPFV-NON.PROX
kaisa kain-xun kain-këx=bi ka=is=a
 NAR,REP.3 wait-s/A>A:SE wait-P>S:PE=same NAR=REP=3
sharat-rabat-i ri-kwatsin-akë-x-in
 make.noise-separately-S/A>S:SE walk.together-**coming:INTR-REM.PST-3-PROX**
 'It is said that, when he was waiting for (his enemies), the ones who went early
 that day to look for animals, they came together making noise.'
 (JE-king.vulture-2007.073)

When the form *-bëtsin* appears modifying the verb *bits* 'pick up' the form *bits-bëtsin* is reduced to *bitsin*, as shown in the next example:

- (507) *Tanu kana bitsian.*
tanu ka-na bits-bëtsin-a-n
 palm.grub:ABS NAR=1SG pick.up-**coming:TRA-PFV-1/2**
 'I came gathering palms grubs.' (JE-worms-2007.005)



(509)

- Quinto del ejemplo*
- ~~chaxu-a-n~~ chaxu a=n
deer that=A
~~ka-is-a-n~~ ka-is=a-n
woman
~~chaxu-n makwö-akë-x-in~~ chaxu=n makwö-akë-x-in
old-DIM:ABS deer ETC beat.up.with.a.mallet-REM.PST-3-PROX
- untie-REFL-passing:INTR-S/A>::S>NAR=REP=3 woman
xëni-rá chaxu=n makwö-akë-x-in
old-DIM:ABS deer ETC beat.up.with.a.mallet-REM.PST-3-PROX
- It is said that, while (the woman) was sweeping, the deer beat her up, passing by, after untying himself.' (JE-deer-2007.010)

The suffixes *-kwain* ‘passing by, intransitive’ and *-buin* ‘passing by, transitive’ are straightforwardly related, both formally and semantically, to the verbs *kwain* ‘move (by itself)’ and *buin* ‘transport (something)’. There is even a correspondence with respect to their valence: the transitive verb *buin* ‘transport (something)’ relates to the transitive suffix *-buin* ‘passing by, transitive’; while the intransitive verb *kwain* ‘move over’ relates to the intransitive suffix *-kwain* ‘passing by, intransitive’. In the examples in (510) and (511), the forms discussed here appear as verbs.

(510) *Parun papamiax unitankëx ka nukën chaiti kwainakëakëxa.*

paru=n papa-mi-ax uni-tankëx ka
big.river=GEN father=IMPR.LOC-PA.S reproduce-S/A>S:PE NAR:3
nukën chaiti kwain-akë-akë-x-a
1PL.GEN ancestor:ABS move-curve-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
‘After reproducing themselves around the biggest river, our ancestors went, going in a curve.’ (NA-incas-2007.071)

(511) *Kananuna 'arupain buintankëxun bukunin.*

kananuna 'aru-pain-i-n buin-tankëxun bukun-i-n
NAR=1PL cook-first-IPFV-1/2 transport-S/A>A:PE gather-IPFV-1/2
‘We boil (them) first and carrying (the arrows) we gather (them).’
(SE-arrows-2007.027)

Even though we are synchronically dealing with bound morphemes, we may argue that those directional suffixes (and possibly some of the other ones as well) were derived from a multi-verb construction, which operated under the transitivity harmony principle (see §12.5.1) in the sense that the transitive directional verb *buin* ‘carry’ was combined with other transitive verbs, and the intransitive directional predicate *kwain* ‘move’ was combined with other intransitive verbs.

9.1.3 Quantificational markers

I use the term “quantificational” for a group of derivational forms that do not express valence-changes, direction or aspect: *-taba* ‘for the first time’, *-tökëñ* ‘again’ and *-(r)abat* ‘distributive’. All these suffixes have to do, in one way or the other, with numeric or quantificational values.

9.1.3.1 *-taba* ‘for the first time’

The suffix *-taba* ‘for the first time’ is rarely used as a productive derivational suffix in natural texts and the example presented here was given to me by one of my teachers during an elicitation session. There is, however, a very common nominalized form used to refer to the first people in the world, which carries this suffix: *unitabakë*. This form can be analyzed as *uni-taba-kë*, where *uni* is functioning as the predicate ‘reproduce’, *-taba* is the suffix ‘for the first time’ and *-kë* is a nominalizer. Thus, the literal meaning of *uni-taba-kë* is ‘the one(s) who reproduced themselves for the first time’. One example of this suffix in a sentence is presented in (512) (notice that, in certain contexts, *-taba* is followed by an epentetic or harmonic *t*; see §2.7):

- (512) ‘*Ën kana chaxu name pitabatin.*
 ‘ë=n ka=na chaxu nami pi-**taba**-t-i-n
 1SG=ERG NAR=1SG deer meat:ABS eat-for.the.first.time-HARM-IPFV-1/2
 ‘I am eating deer meat for the first time.’

9.1.3.2 *-tökëñ* ‘again’

The suffix *-tökëñ* ‘again’ is frequently attested in texts and natural speech, and is very productive. The suffix *-tökëñ* can be accompanied by the adverb *amiribishi*, which also means ‘again’. One example of *-tökëñ* ‘again’ follows:

- (513) ‘*Amikin ‘amipunkin kaisa ñantanbukëbëtan ‘amitëkëankëshín.*
 ‘a-mi-kin ‘a-mi-pun-kin ka=is=a
 do-CAUS-S/A>A:SE do-CAUS-PST.hours-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3
 ñantan-but-këbëtan ‘a-mi-**tökëñ**-akë-x-ín
 get.dark-advanced-DS/A/P:SE:TRAN do-CAUS-again-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘It is said that, having made (them) do it earlier, when it got dark, they made
 them do it again.’ (NA-foreigner-2007.052)

9.1.3.3 *-rabat* ~ *-abat* ‘distributive’

The suffix *-rabat* ‘distributive’ is inherently plural, but differently from the inflectional plural marker *-kan*, *-rabat* indicates that the action is being carried out by different participants independently. Sometimes, the events modified by *-rabat* ‘distributive’ are interpreted as being disorganized and chaotic, but this seems to be an implicature

associated with certain types of events (like fighting, for example). The primary value of this suffix is a strong individuation of every member in the group that carries out the event, and this event is conceptualized as being formed by various individualized actions. This suffix shows an alternation between *-abat* and *-rabat*, whereby the last form surfaces if the verb stem ends in a stop. One example of *-rabat* ‘distributive’ is presented in (514) (the same example was presented in (506)).

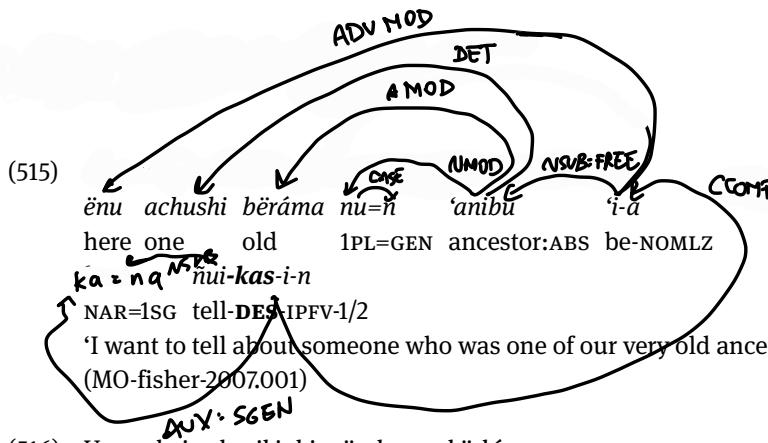
- (514) *Bari rikianpunia kaisa kainxun kainkëxbi kaisa sharárabati rikwatsiankëshín.*
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|--------------------|----------------|
| <i>bari-i</i> | <i>rit-kian-pun-i-a</i> | | |
| look.for-s/A>S:SE | go.together-going:INTR-PST.hours-IPFV-NON.PROX | | |
| <i>kaisa</i> | <i>kain-xun</i> | <i>kain-këx=bi</i> | <i>ka=is=a</i> |
| NAR.REP.3 | wait-S/A>A:SE | wait-P>S:PE=same | NAR=REP=3 |
| <i>sharat-rabat-i</i> | <i>ri-kwatsin-akë-x-íñ</i> | | |
| make.noise- DIST -S/A>S:SE | walk.together-coming:INTR-REM.PST-3-PROX | | |
- ‘It is said that, when he was waiting for (his enemies), the ones who had gone early that day to look for animals came together, each of them making noise.’
 (JE-king.vulture-2007.073)

9.1.4 Deontic modality/irrealis markers

9.1.4.1 *-kas* ‘desiderative/abilitive’

The suffix *-kas* has both a desiderative and an abilitive meaning depending on the polarity of the expression. With a positive polarity it is always interpreted as a desiderative marker (i.e., ‘want to’), but with a negative polarity it expresses an abilitive value (i.e., ‘cannot’, instead of ‘not want to’). Desiderative and abilitive functions are semantically similar (both are part of what Chung and Timberlake 1985: 246–250 define as the deontic mode) and, thus, some interaction between these two functions is expected and typologically common. The interesting fact about Kakataibo is that, when *-kas* appears with a negative polarity, the desiderative meaning is not possible at all; but this semantic distribution requires more research.⁶¹ The semantic distribution is illustrated in (515) and (516). In the first one, *-kas* is modifying the verb *ñui* ‘tell’ and, since it appears in an affirmative clause, the meaning is desiderative. In the second example, *-kas* is modifying the verb *mëra* ‘find’, and since it is followed by the negative marker, *-kas* is interpreted as a negated abilitive marker.

⁶¹ Another possible analysis is that the form containing the negator, *-kasma*, is synchronically a unitary morpheme. This analysis might find support in the fact that the position of the negator immediately after the desiderative marker is unusual (see the discussion below). But I prefer to analyze it as a segmentable form, not only because the two morphemes are still identifiable and productive, but also because the negator *-ma* also appears in this unusual position with another marker (*-isa* ‘irrealis’), for which there is no unpredictable change in meaning attested.



- (516) *Uama kaisa barikinbi mérakasmakéshín.*
u-a=ma ka=is=a bari-kin=bi
 come-NOMLZ=NEG NAR=REP=3 look.for-s/A>A:SE-although
méra-kas-ma-aké-x-ín
 find-DES-NEG-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 'And, it is said that, although they were looking for (him), they could not find (him).' (JE-king.vulture-2007.046)

Another important fact about this suffix is that it is one of the only two suffixes (the other being the irrealis marker *-isa*) that allow the negator marker *=ma* to appear in an internal position within the verb and before the inflectional forms. The more usual position for the negative marker *=ma* is at the end of a previously nominalized verb (see §11.3.1.6).

The negative desiderative can be obtained by negating the irrealis marker *-isa* (see the next section) or by forming a complement clause with the complement verb *kwéen* 'want' in its negative form (see §14.4). The latter possibility is exemplified in (517).

- (517) *Ën kana a bana ñuiti kwéen-i=ma*
ë=n ka=na a bana ñui-ti kwéen-i=ma
 1SG=A NAR=1SG that tale:ABS tell-NOMLZ want-IPFV=NEG
 'I do not want to tell that tale.'

Conversely, a positive ability value equivalent to 'can' in English is expressed through a periphrastic construction containing an auxiliary and the nominalizer *-ti* on the main verb (see §9.5.2). One example is provided in (518).

- (518) *Ën kana a bana ñui-ti 'ain*
ë=n ka=na a bana ñui-ti 'ain
 1SG=A NAR=1SG that tale:ABS tell-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I can tell that tale.'

The form *-kas* appears to have come from **-kats* and this older form is still attested in at least one Kakataibo construction where it expresses 'failed intention' or 'fake action' (see §12.5.2.2).

9.1.4.2 *-isa* ‘irrealis’

I use the label “irrealis” to refer to a marker that locates the event in a possible world other than the real one. The irrealis suffix *-isa* is used in three basic constructions: one with a desiderative meaning, another with the meaning ‘not yet’ and the last one expressing impossibility. Cross-linguistically, these three meanings are typically associated with the more general category of irrealis, which usually also covers categories such as future, possibility, negation and imperative (see Chung and Timberlake 1985).

This suffix is not easy to classify in terms of the distinction between derivation and inflection. We will see that its position is not completely fixed but not completely free either. In fact, it is possible to claim that this form appears in different fixed positions in the different constructions in which it is involved. This is discussed in the following subsections.

9.1.4.2.1 Desiderative meaning

The most common use of the irrealis *-isa* is as a desiderative marker. With this function, *-isa* is almost equivalent to the desiderative suffix *-kas* and with a positive polarity it was not possible to find any clear difference between the two. The difference is that the desiderative suffix *-kas* obtains an ability meaning when it is negated (see §9.1.4), and this does not happen with the irrealis marker, which, when negated, keeps its desiderative meaning: we have *pi-isa-tan-i-n* ‘I want to eat’ and *pi-isa-ma-tan-i-n* ‘I do not want to eat’. Notice that the irrealis marker in the desiderative construction obligatorily co-occurs with the suffix *-tan* (which is probably the same as the one with the meaning ‘go to’ attested in imperatives, see §11.2.1.3.5).

Two examples of the irrealis marker with a desiderative meaning are presented in (519) and (520). In the first one, we find the verb *ka* ‘say’ and the polarity is positive; while in the second, the verb is ‘*a* ‘do’ and the polarity is negative:

- (519) *Ashi kana kaisatanin.*

a=ishi ka=na ka-isa-tan-i-n
 that:P=only NAR=1SG say-IRR-go.to-IPFV-1/2
 ‘I want to say only that thing.’ (NA-my.plans-2007.018)

- (520) *Aisamatankin kananuna ‘apatin nónsibirës.*

a-isa-ma-tan-kin ka=nanuna ‘apat-i-n
 do-IRR-NEG-go.to-S/A>A:SE NAR=1PL plant-IPFV-1/2
nónsi=birës
 banana:ABS=purely
 ‘Without wanting to do (something else), we plant only bananas.’
 (SE-agriculture-2007.041)

9.1.4.2.2 ‘Not yet’ meaning

If the irrealis marker *-isa* appears followed by the adverbial enclitics *=ma* ‘negator’ plus *=pain ~ =pan* ‘first’, and the suffix *-tan* ‘go to’, the resulting meaning is ‘not yet’. This meaning is attested in the following examples:

- (521) *Ēnē nami kana ‘ēn pisamapaintanin.*
 $\ddot{e}n\acute{e}$ *nami* *ka=na* $\ddot{e}=n$ *pi-isa-ma-pain-tan-i-n*
 this meat:ABS NAR=1SG 1SG=A eat-IRR-NEG-first-go.to-IPFV-1/2
 ‘I have not eaten this meat yet.’
- (522) *‘Ēn naë kana ‘ēn ‘aisamapaintanin.*
 $\ddot{e}=n$ *naë* *ka=na* $\ddot{e}=n$ *‘a-isa-ma-pain-tan-i-n*
 1sg=GEN garden:ABS NAR=1SG 1SG=A do-IRR-NEG-first-go.to-IPFV-1/2
 ‘I have not made my garden yet.’

9.1.4.2.3 Impossibility meaning

The irrealis marker *-isa* also appears in a construction in which it indicates that the event is impossible or did not happen. In this case, a lexical verb is modified by the irrealis maker and followed by the auxiliary *‘i* ‘be’. This auxiliary is negated and appears as the head of a switch-reference clause. The main predicate usually repeats the lexical verb of the switch-reference clause. This can be seen in (523) and (524).

- (523) *Ēnē nami nun pisa ‘aimabi ka Juanën piaxa.*
 $\ddot{e}n\acute{e}$ *nami* *nu=n* *pi-isa* *‘ain=ma=bi* *ka*
 this meat:ABS 1PL=A eat-IRR be:DS/A/P=NEG=although NAR:3
 Juan=n *pi-a-x-a*
 Juan=ERG eat-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Although we were not able to eat this meat, Juan ate it.’
- (524) *Ēnē radio ‘ēn marutisa ‘ainmabi ka Maríanën maruaxa.*
 $\ddot{e}n\acute{e}$ *radio* $\ddot{e}n$ *maru-t-isa* *‘ain=ma=bi* *ka*
 this radio:ABS 1SG=A buy-HAR-IRR be:DS/A/P=NEG=although NAR:3
 María=n *maru-a-x-a*
 María=ERG buy-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Although I was not able to buy this radio, María bought it.’

9.1.5 Aspectual markers

9.1.5.1 *-rat ~ -rakët* ‘iterative, continuously’

In §9.1.2.2.3, I have presented the category ‘curved trajectory’ and have briefly mentioned its possible relationship with *-rat ~ -rakët*: ‘iterative, continuously’. In the

examples presented in §9.1.2.2.3, verbs ending in *n* were able to receive two different ‘curved trajectory’ markers. The one expressing ‘long/multiple curved trajectory’, *-arakët*, may be seen as including the form presented here. The marker *-rat* ~ *-rakët* ‘iterative, continuously’ is also attested by itself in other contexts without any associated directional meaning. This can be seen in (525a–b) and (526a–b), where it can be seen that the allomorph *-rat* appears with transitive verbs and the allomorph *-rakët* with intransitive ones.

- (525) a. *An ka piratia.*

<i>a=n</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>pi-rat-i-a</i>
3SG=A	NAR:3	eat-CONT-IPFV-NON.PROX
'(S)he eats several times, continuously, desperately.'		
b. <i>An ka xëaratio.</i>		

<i>a=n</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>xëa-rat-i-a</i>
3SG=A	NAR:3	drink-CONT-IPFV-NON.PROX
'(S)he drinks several times, continuously, desperately.'		

- (526) a. *Ax ka tsórakëtia.*

<i>a=x</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>tsót-rakët-i-a</i>
3SG=S	NAR:3	sit.down-CONT-IPFV-NON.PROX
'(S)he sits down and stays in that position.'		
b. <i>Ax ka rakarakëtia.</i>		

<i>a=x</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>rakat-rakët-i-a</i>
3SG=S	NAR:3	lay.down-CONT-IPFV-NON.PROX
'(S)he lies down and stays in that position.'		

9.1.5.2 *-rës* ‘frequently, distractedly’

This suffix was taught to me by my Kakataibo teachers in elicitation sessions and does not appear in my text database. Its semantic characterization still requires further research. In principle, this form seems to express two different meanings according to the context. When combined with *-i* ‘imperfective’, it was translated to me as ‘frequently’ or ‘always’. In turn, when used with past markers or with the perfective, the interpretation is translatable as ‘distractedly’ or ‘without being conscious of what one was doing’. The two meanings associated with this suffix are presented in the following examples ((527) ‘frequently’, (528) ‘distractedly’), but a more detailed semantic description of this form is still needed:

- (527) *An ka 'atapa pirësia.*

<i>a=n</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>'atapa</i>	<i>pi-rës-i-a</i>
3SG=A	NAR:3	chicken:ABS	eat-frequently-IPFV-NON.PROX
'(S)he always eats chicken.'			

- (528) *An ka 'atapa pirësëxanxa*
a=n ka 'atapa pi-rës-ëxan-x-a
 3SG=A NAR:3 chicken:ABS eat-distractedly-PST.days-3-NON.PROX
 '(S)he ate chicken without realizing what (s)he was doing.'

9.1.6 Non-productive (old) suffixes

9.1.6.1 Two old directional suffixes?

There is some correspondence between verbal roots expressing meanings associated with ‘taking out’ and ‘going out’ and the presence of the two endings *chi* and *kut*, respectively. These endings appear to be related to two old suffixes *-*chi* and *-*kut* that have the directional meanings ‘outward, transitive’ and ‘outward, intransitive’, respectively. These two suffixes, however, are not productive any longer. Some examples of verbs showing these endings are presented in (529a–c) and (530a–c).

- (529) Verbs with *-*chi* ‘outward, transitive’
 a. *puchi* ‘take the intestines of an animal off’
 b. *ëchi* ‘take off’
 c. *bëchi* ‘pull out’
- (530) Verbs with *-*kut* ‘outward, intransitive’
 a. *pikut* ‘go out’
 b. *chikut* ‘appear’
 c. *mapikut* ‘stick one’s head out’

9.1.7 An old suffix -*kët* ‘detransitivizer’?

There are four suffixes that end in -*kët* and all of them relate to intransitive values in one way or the other: -*akat* (and its realizations) ‘reflexive’ (which can surface as -*mëkët*; §9.1.1.2.2), -*pakët* ‘downward’ (§9.1.2.2.2.2), -*at* ~ -(a)*rat* ~ and ~ -*akët* ~ -(a)*rakët* ‘curved trajectory’ (§9.1.2.2.3) and -*rat* ~ -*rakët* ‘iterative, continuously’ (§9.1.7).

All the forms associated with -*kët* presented so far in this chapter show intransitive values and this represents a systematic pattern. Based on this, it might be possible to argue that this form was an old detransitivizer marker in the language. Notice also that -*kët* ends in -*t*, which can be analyzed as a synchronic middle marker in Kakataibo (see §9.1.1.2.3).

9.2 Verbal inflection

Verbal morphology is clearly the most complex morphological system of Kakataibo: in addition to the 30 odd derivational forms (this number could vary depending on how we count certain alternating forms) presented in the previous chapter, there are 24 suffixes that can be analyzed as inflectional (see Table 74).

According to the analysis proposed in this chapter, there are four verbal inflectional slots that exhibit a rigid order and are numbered according to their left-to-right: slot I: tense/aspect/modality; slot II: tense/aspect; slot III: subject cross-reference; and slot IV: addressee's perspective. These slots constitute morphosyntactic paradigms, as the suffixes in each of them are mutually exclusive. This makes these forms different from the derivational suffixes presented in the previous chapter, which were classified into semantic classes (whose members do not necessarily exclude each other) and were shown to be freer in terms of their position.

In addition, there are five portmanteau suffixes that can be considered inflectional and one suffix, the plural marker *-kan*, that shows a distinctive distributional behavior and is difficult to classify as part of any of the proposed inflectional slots. All this is presented in Table 74 (where cross-references to the section discussing each slot are included).

Table 74. Verbal inflectional suffixes and their relative position

Inflection I (§9.2.1)	Inflection II-A (§9.2.2)	- <i>kan</i> 'plural' (§9.2.3)	Inflection II-B (§9.2.4)	Inflection III (§9.2.5)	Inflection IV (§9.2.7)
- <i>bait</i> 'durative, the same day'	- <i>on</i> 'the day before'		- <i>i</i> 'imperfective'	- <i>n</i> 'first/second person'	- <i>a</i> 'non- proximal to the addressee'
- <i>nët</i> 'durative, the night before'	- <i>ëxan</i> 'days ago'		- <i>a</i> 'perfective'	- <i>x</i> and unmarked	
- <i>pun</i> 'hours ago'	- <i>yantan</i>		- <i>akë</i> 'remote past'	'third person'	- <i>ín</i> 'proximal to the addressee'
- <i>rabé</i> 'habitual non-remote past'	'months ago'		- <i>a</i> 'stative'		
- <i>inë</i> 'durative remote past'					
- <i>itsin</i> 'condi- tional'					
- <i>kéan</i> 'frustrative'					

Word-final portmanteau inflectional morphemes (§9.2.8)

- <i>kian</i> 'habitual, remote past, third person'	- <i>mín</i> 'complaining negator, third person'
- <i>kin</i> 'habitual, remote past, first/second person'	
- <i>ie:</i> 'accusatory speech act'	- <i>mán</i> 'complaining negator, first/second person'

Note that there is an analytical difficulty in relation to the proposed slot II. This slot includes seven suffixes that show different positions relative to the plural marker *-kan*. As indicated in Table 74, the markers *-on* ‘past, the day before’, *-ëxan* ‘past, some days ago’ and *-yantan* ‘past, one or some months ago’ appear before the plural marker, while the markers *-i* ‘imperfective’, *-a* ‘perfective’, *-akë* ‘remote past’ and *-a* ‘stative’ appear after the plural suffix. Their position in relation to the plural marker may be taken as indicating that these forms do not belong to the same paradigm. Even though this seems to be true from a diachronic perspective, the synchronic analysis of these forms is much more complex. The main issue is that, despite their different positions in relation to the plural marker, the forms in the proposed slot II are mutually exclusive (as is the case for the other inflectional paradigms presented in this chapter), and this represents a strong argument for grouping them in the same slot. This is the synchronic pattern, and based on it I have included all forms within the same slot, which has been divided into two columns, separated by the plural marker. However, as I explain in the following paragraph, an alternative analysis, perhaps more diachronic in nature, is also possible.

The markers *-on* ‘past, the day before’, *-ëxan* ‘past, some days ago’ and *-yantan* ‘past, one or some months ago’ systematically receive perfective interpretations and, based on this, one can argue that those forms are obligatorily combined with the perfective marker *-a*, which, due to the process of *n*-metathesis (see §2.7.1.4), does not surface. Thus, we would have *-on-a* > *-on* (where the process of assimilation of *a* also plays a role; see §2.7.1.3.1); *-ëxan-a* > *-ëxan* and *-yantan-a* > *-yantan*. Their analysis as including the perfective marker in these contexts would explain the systematic perfective interpretation of these three forms, and it would allow us to explain the position of these forms in relation to the plural marker: this analysis would entail two different paradigms: if *-on* ‘past, the day before’, *-ëxan* ‘past, some days ago’ and *-yantan* ‘past, one or some months ago’ can be combined with *-a* ‘perfective’, they could not belong to the same inflectional slot. Although this analysis is potentially possible, it also has a number of disadvantages. The first one is the need to postulate the presence of the perfective marker *-a* in contexts where it cannot be recovered under any circumstance. Even though from a diachronic point of view the presence of this marker is very likely, I do not have any evidence to argue that this is the case from a synchronic point of view (or that the speakers cognitively analyze those forms in that way). In addition, this analysis will lead to a larger number of inflectional slots (and will add non-obligatory ones), and it will make the classification of some forms in slot I more difficult (particularly, *-tsin* ‘conditional’ and *-këan* ‘frustrative’). One possibility is to analyze all those forms as derivational, considering inflectional only those that appear after the plural marker, but this analysis is also problematic, since we will then have to postulate a list of derivational suffixes with a fixed order and involved in culminative slots, within which the presence of one form excludes the presence of the others. In order to avoid these difficulties, I have followed the analysis

proposed in Table 74; where slot II has been divided into slots II-A and II-B, in order to account for the different position of its members in relation to the plural marker.

In the analysis proposed here, Inflection I is the only non-obligatory slot and, in that sense, is more similar to the derivational forms presented in the previous section (and also closer to them in terms of its proximity to the root) than to the other inflectional forms (see §4.4 for a discussion of the distinction between derivation and inflection in Kakataibo). The four proposed inflectional slots, however, consists of mutually-exclusive forms and have a fixed position. These properties are considered definitional of inflectional categories (see again §4.4.)

In turn, as indicated in Table 74, word-final portmanteau inflectional suffixes follow two different combinatorial patterns. The complaining negators *-mín* and *-mán* require the presence of the ‘imperfective’ marker *-i* and can potentially be combined with some of the suffixes in slot I (particularly, *-pun* ‘hours ago’). In turn, the presence of *-kian* ‘habitual remote past, 3’, *-kin* ‘habitual remote past, 1/2’ and *-iéé* ‘accusatory speech’ prevents the occurrence of any of the forms analyzed as inflectional and presented in Table 74. As commented on in §9.2.8, the impossibility of being combined with these forms seem to be another criterion for identifying verbal inflectional suffixes in the language (but see the problematic case of the plural marker *-kan* in §9.2.3).

As is clear from Table 74, Kakataibo tense markers compose a metrical tense system, which includes different past markers with different temporal distances from the time of speech (Comrie 1985; Chung and Timberlake 1985). These markers are included in slot I (*-bait* ‘durative, the same day’, *-nët* ‘durative, the night before’ *-pun* ‘hours ago’, *-rabé* ‘habitual non-remote past’, *-inë* ‘durative remote past’), but also in slots II-A (*-on* ‘the day before’, *-ëxan* ‘days ago’ and *-yantan* ‘months ago’) and slot II-B (*-akë* ‘remote past’).

This chapter also includes information on other morphological processes of importance for the understanding of verbal forms: §9.3 presents reduplication, §9.4 discusses irregular verbal forms, and §9.5 describes different periphrastic verbal forms.

9.2.1 Inflection I: tense/aspect/modality

9.2.1.1 *-bait* ‘durative, the same day’

The suffix *-bait* ‘durative, the same day’ indicates that the event started the same day as the speech act (or any other temporal reference point in discourse) and that it is long in duration (several hours). It may be translated into English as ‘all day long’. The event is, in addition, understood as having its endpoint relatively close to the temporal reference point (which can be the speech act or any other temporal point in discourse). This suffix can be combined either with the imperfective marker *-i* or with any of the tense markers in slot II, but never with the perfective marker *-a*. One example of *-bait* ‘durative, the same day’ is presented in (531). This form is used in the example

to indicate that the character was digging for a long time and then, as soon as he had finished, he took his enemy to the hole he had made in advance in order to bury him.

- (531) *Mëraxun kaisa naëbaiakëxa uri buankin.*
*mëra-xun ka=is=a naë-**bait**-akë-x-a* *uri*
 find-s/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 dig-DUR.same.day-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX far
buan-kin
 bring-s/A>A:SE
 ‘It is said that, finding this, he was digging for a long time, making the hole very deep.’ (WO-armadillo-2007.006)

9.2.1.2 *-nët* ‘durative, the night before’

The suffix *-nët* ‘durative, the night before’ is used to indicate that the event took place over several hours the night before the temporal reference point (which can be the speech act or any other temporal point in discourse). Thus, it may be translated into English as ‘all night long’. Like *-bait* ‘durative, the same day’, *-nët* ‘durative, the night before’ cannot appear with the perfective marker *-a*, and only appears either before *-i* ‘imperfective’ or before one of the past tense markers available in slot II. In (532), we find the form *-nët* ‘durative, the night before’ followed by the imperfective marker *-i* and the temporal reference point is the speech act.

- (532) ‘*Ën kana ‘ën xuta rabé kinetin bëtsikin akupí kana ‘ëx kana kwëënин.*
*‘ë=n ka=na ‘ë=n xuta rabé ka-**nët**-i-n*
 1SG=A NAR=1SG 1SG=GEN grandson two:ABS say-DUR.night.before-IPFV1/2
bëtsi-kin a=kupí ka=na ‘ë=x ka=na kwëën-i-n
 other-s/A>A:SE that=REAS NAR=1SG 1SG=S NAR=1SG feel.happy-IPFV1/2
 ‘I told another (tale) to my two grandchildren all night long. For that reason, I feel happy.’ (NA-incas-2007.061)

9.2.1.3 *-pun* ‘some hours ago’

This marker indicates that the event was finished a few hours ago (but necessarily on the same day as the speech act). In that sense, *-pun* is clearly a tense marker. According to my Kakataibo teachers, events expressed with *-pun* seem to always be imperfective in aspect. This interpretation finds support in its combinatory possibilities. Among the forms in the inflectional slot II, the suffix *-pun* can only be combined with the marker *-i* ‘imperfective’ and any combination with *-a* ‘perfective’ or with any of the past tense markers included in that slot is rejected by the speakers. An example of the use of the suffix *-pun* is presented in (533).

- (533) *Pëkarakëbëtan kana sinanpunin ñu mëëi kwanti.*

pëkara-këbëtan *ka=na* *sinan-pun-i-n* *ñu mëë-i*
 dawn-DS/A:P:SE:TRAN NAR=1SG think-PST.hours-IPFV-1/2 work-PURP
kwan-ti
 go-NOMLZ

‘When it dawned (a few hours ago), I was thinking about going to work.’

(COOA05-EE-2006.002)

9.2.1.4 *-rabé* ‘habitual non-remote past’

The only suffix from inflectional slot II with which the suffix *-rabé* ‘habitual past’ can co-occur is the perfective marker *-a*, from the inflectional slot II, and any other combination will result in an ungrammatical construction. Semantically, this form refers to events that used to happen in the past; but it cannot be used to refer to events that happened more than two years ago. Habitual events in the remote past are expressed instead by the markers *-kin* ‘habitual remote past, 1/2’ and *-kian* ‘habitual remote past, 3’ (see §9.2.8.1). An example of *-rabé* ‘habitual past’ follows:

- (534) *Y ka nu ñonrabéaxa.*

y ka nu ñon-rabé-a-x-a
 and NAR:3 1PL:P not.share.with-HAB.PAST-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘They used not to share (the land) with us, not long ago.’ (NA-ancestors-2007.052)

9.2.1.5 *-iné* ‘durative, remote past’

This form is very rare in discourse and was found during elicitation sessions. The suffix *-iné* is only used for remote past events; that is, with predicates modified by the remote past marker *-aké*, from slot II. Any other combination with a suffix in slot II is unacceptable. This form can be analyzed as a durative: it refers to events that have lasted a very long time in the remote past. Examples of its use are presented in (535) and (536).

- (535) *Nukën chaitinën kaisa anuxun ñuina ‘ainéakëxa.*

nukën chaiti=n ka=is=a anu-xun ñuina
 our ancestor=ERG NAR=REP=3 there-PA.A animal:ABS
‘a-iné-aké-x-a
 kill-DUR-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

‘It is said that long ago our ancestors hunted (lit. killed animals) there for a long time.’

- (536) *Nukën chaiti kaisa anuax kwainakëinëäkëxa*
nukën chaiti ka=is=a anu-ax
 our ancestor:ABS NAR=REP=3 there-PA.S
kwain-akët-inë-akë-x-a
 go-curve.INT-DUR-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘It is said that our ancestors were going around for a long time from there a long time ago.’

9.2.1.6 *-tsin* ‘conditional’

There are three different conditional constructions in Kakataibo: cause-effect conditional; subjunctive conditional and counterfactual conditional. The first one is expressed by means of switch-reference (see §12.3.1 for details), and the last two by means of the suffix *-tsin* ‘conditional’, occurring in different constructions. The subjunctive conditional is used when the conditional event is considered to be unlikely or remote, as in (537). The counterfactual conditional is used to establish a relationship between a condition that has not happened (thus, it is not unlikely but unreal) and a consequence of that condition, as in (538). In (537), the conditional appears on the verb stem, and in (538), there is a periphrastic verb form with the conditional appearing on the auxiliary.

- (537) ‘*Ex Limanu kwanxun kana achushi casaca bitsian.*
*ë=x Lima=nu kwan-xun ka=na achushi casaca bits-**tsin**-a-n*
 1SG=S Lima=LOC go-S/A>A NAR=1SG one jacket buy-COND-PFV-1/2
 ‘If I were to go to Lima, I would buy a jacket.’
- (538) ‘*Ex Limanu kwanxun kana achushi casaca bike ‘itsian.*
ë=x Lima=nu kwan-xun ka=na achushi casaca bits-kë
 1SG=S Lima=LOC go-S/A>A NAR=1SG one jacket buy-NOMLZ
*‘i-**tsin**-a-n*
 be-COND-PFV-1/2
 ‘If I had gone to Lima, I would have bought a jacket.’

The example in (539) is taken from a narrative and illustrates the use of the conditional marker *-tsin*.

- (539) ‘*Ex ‘apu ‘ixun kana kamabi ñu upíokin nantsian.*
ë=x ‘apu ‘i-xun ka=na kamabi ñu
 1SG=S boss:ABS be-S/A>A:SE NAR=1SG all thing:ABS
*upit-o-kin nan-**tsin**-a-n*
 good-FACT-S/A>A:SE put-COND-PFV-1/2
 ‘If I were the boss, I would organize everything very well.’ (NA-ancestors-2007.040)

9.2.1.7 *-kēan* ‘frustrative’

The category of frustrative expresses the non-accomplishment of an event due to reasons that are beyond the control of the agent. In Kakataibo, frustrative-related meanings can be expressed by a number of different means. In addition to the suffix presented here, there are at least two frustrative multi-verb constructions (see §12.5). The frustrative suffix *-kēan* is presented in (540) and (541), where we see that it can appear with both transitive (*pi* ‘eat’ in (540)) and intransitive (*ux* ‘sleep’ in (541)) verbs and with both the perfective (540) and the imperfective marker (541).

- (540) ‘*Ēn kana* ‘ó *name* *pikēanin*.

‘ë=n ka=na ‘ó nami pi-**kēan**-i-n
1SG=A NAR=1SG tapir meat:ABS eat-**FRUST**-IPFV-1/2
'I almost ate tapir meat.'

- (541) ‘*Ēx kana* ‘*min xubunu* ‘*uxkēan*.

‘ë=x kana ‘mi=n xubu=nū ‘ux-**kēan**-a-n
1SG=S NAR=1SG 2SG=A house=LOC sleep-**FRUST**-PFV-1/2
'I almost slept at your house.'

9.2.2 Inflection II-A: tense/aspect

9.2.2.1 *-on* ‘past, the day before’

The marker *-on* is used for events that happened the day prior to the temporal point of reference. As mentioned in the introduction, *-on* always contributes a perfective aspectual meaning to the events it modifies. An example of the use of *-on* is presented in (542).

- (542) *Kékibi kaisa* “*a munu ka nitima nukēn nanēbaēn kamēnē kapē kamō* ‘*axun ain tēxaká rakanbionxa*”.

küki-i=bi ka=is=a a munu ka
shout-s/A>S:SE-although NAR=REP=3 that:P slowly NAR:3
nit-i=ma nukēn nanēt-baē=n ka=mēnē kapē
walk-s/A>S:SE=NEG 1PL.GEN brother-COL=ERG NAR:3=MIRAT caiman
kamō ‘a-xun ain tē-xaká
big do-s/A>A 3SG:GEN neck-hide:ABS
rakan-bian-on-x-a
lay-going:TRAN-PST.day.before-3-NON.PROX
'It is said that, shouting, (he said,) "Look! Without walking slowly, our brothers, killing a big caiman, have laid its neck hide".' (JE-caiman.meat-2007.027)

9.2.2.2 *-ëxan* ‘past, some days ago’

The suffix *-ëxan* is used for events that have happened a few days ago (around a week ago). Like *-on* ‘yesterday’, it was systematically given a perfective interpretation by my teachers. One example of its use is found in (543).

- (543) *Iskinun karamina 'aisamera isëxan.*

is-kin-nun *ka=ra=mina* ‘aisamera *is-ëxan-n*
 see-APPL-DS/A/P:POE NAR=INT=2 a.lot.of:ABS see-PST.days-1/2

‘Could you (let me go there) to see (the animals) with him? I have seen a lot a few days ago.’ (SE-paucar-2007.005)

9.2.2.3 *-yantan* ‘past, one or some months ago’

There is not a single instance of this suffix in my text database and I learned of it during elicitation sessions. Interestingly, *-yantan* appears to be cognate with the form *ñantan* ‘morning’. In the case of the free form *ñantan* ‘morning’, we find the phonological change **y* > *ñ*, which is systematically attested in the Kakataibo dialect described in this grammar (see §1.3.3). The bound form, by contrast, has not undergone this process and thus still carries the phoneme *y*, not attested in other words. Two elicited examples of this suffix are presented in (544a–b). In (544a) it appears with an intransitive predicate and in (544b) it is combined with a transitive one.

- (544) *Juan ka Limanu kwanyantanxa.*

Juan *ka* *Lima=nu* *kwan-yantan-x-a*
Juan:ABS NAR:3 *Lima=DIR* go-PST.months-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Juan went to Lima a few months ago.’

Juanën ka chaxu name piyantanxa.

Juan=n *ka* *chaxu nami* *pi-yantan-x-a*
Juan=ERG NAR:3 deer meat:ABS eat-PST.months-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Juan ate deer meat a few months ago.’

9.2.3 *-kan*: ‘plural’

The plural marker *-kan* is only used for third person subjects (never for objects), so plurality of 1/2 person subjects is only specified in the form of the pronoun (and in the case of the first person, also in the second-position enclitics; see §11.2). As shown in (545) and (546), *-kan* ‘plural’ is not obligatory and plurality of third person subjects do not need to be indicated on the verb.

- (545) *Nuken chaitiokëkaman kaisa* ‘ó name pikankëxa.
nukën chaitiokë=kama=n ka=is=a ‘ó *nami*
 1PL.GEN ancestor=PL=ERG NAR=REP=3 tapir meat:ABS
pi-kan-akë-x-a
 eat-PL-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘It is said that our ancestors ate tapir meat a long time ago.’

- (546) *Nukën chaitiokëkaman kaisa* ‘ó name piakëxa.
nukën chaitiokë=kama=n ka=is=a ‘ó *nami*
 1PL.GEN ancestor=PL=ERG NAR=REP=3 tapir meat:ABS
pi-akë-x-a
 eat-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘It is said that our ancestor(s) ate tapir meat a long time ago.’

One text example of the use of this suffix is presented in (547).

- (547) *Kakëx kaisa usai ëman bukubukankëxa.*
ka-këx ka=is=a usa-i ëman
 say-P>S:PE NAR=REP=3 like.that-s/A>S:SE outside
buku-but-kan-akë-x-a
 be.together-down:INTR-PL-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘It is said that, after (he) said (it) (to them), they gathered together outside, downward.’ (SE-cheater.woman-2007.073)

This suffix appears after the forms in inflection I and after part of the paradigm of inflection II (-on ‘past, the day before’, -ëxan ‘past, some days ago’ and -yantan ‘past, one or some months ago’). However, -kan ‘plural’ appears before the markers -i ‘imperfective’, -a ‘perfective’, -akë ‘remote past’ and -a ‘stative’. This is shown in the paradigms in (548)–(550), where the combinatory possibilities of -kan in relation to the marker -bait ‘durative, the same day’, from inflectional slot I, and -ëxan ‘past, some days ago’ and -i ‘imperfective’, from inflectional slot II, are shown:

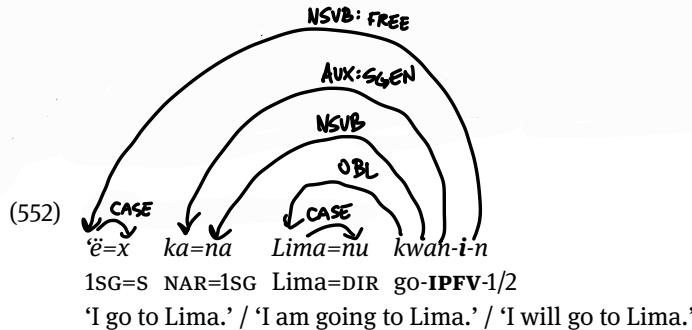
- (548) a. *pibaikania*
pi-bait-kan-i-a
 eat-DUR.same.day-PL-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘They were eating for a long time.’
- b. **pikanbaitia*
pi-kan-bait-i-a
 eat-PL-DUR.same.day-IPFV-NON.PROX
 (‘they were eating for a long time’)

- (549) a. *piëxankanxa*
pi-ëxan-kan-x-a
eat-PST.days.ag0-PL-3-NON.PROX
‘They ate some days ago.’
- b. **pikanëxantia*
pi-kan-ëxan-x-a
eat-PL-PST.days.ag0-3-NON.PROX
(‘they ate some days ago’)
- (550) a. *‘uxkania*
‘ux-kan-i-a
sleep-PL-IPFV-NON.PROX
‘They are sleeping.’
- b. **‘ux-i-kan*
‘ux-i-kan-a
sleep-IPFV-PL-3-NON.PROX
(‘they are sleeping’)

In addition, the plural marker *-kan* is the only verbal inflectional form presented in this chapter that can appear in combination with the final portmanteau inflectional suffixes *-kian* ‘habitual remote past, 3’, *-kin* ‘habitual remote past, 1/2’ and *-iéé* ‘accusatory speech’, as shown in (551).

- (551) *‘uxkankian*
‘ux-kan-kian
sleep-PL-HAB:REM.PST:3
‘They used to sleep a long time ago.’

A final peculiarity of the positional possibilities of *-kan* ‘plural’ can be seen in its behavior in combination with the derivative reciprocal marker *-anan*: *-kan* can appear immediately after the root before the reciprocal marker in order to indicate that the reciprocal event is carried out by the participants simultaneously (see particularly §15.3.2.5). In the case of this type of construction, it might be possible to argue for some level of lexicalization (*-kanan* ‘simultaneous reciprocal’ < *kan-anan*), since the position of *-kan* in this context is unusual for inflectional forms, which are expected to appear before derivational ones, such as the reciprocal marker.



9.2.4.2 *-a* ‘perfective’

The suffix *-a* ‘perfective’ can be used for any event that was completed in the past without adding a more specific temporal modification. One example of *-a* ‘perfective’ is presented in (553), in which this case, due to the context of the narrative, an immediate past reading is obtained.

- (553) *Chaxu ka ënu pakëaxa.*
chaxu ka ënu pakët-a-x-a
 deer:ABS NAR:3 here fall.down-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘The deer just fell here.’ (NA-deer-2007.018)

An elicited example of *-a* ‘perfective’ used to refer to an event that happened one year ago is featured in (554).

- (554) *U baritian kana 'ex Limanu kwan.*
u baritia=n ka=na 'e=x Lima=nu kwan-a-n
 last year=TEMP NAR=1SG 1SG=S Lima=LOC go-PFV-1/2
 ‘I went to Lima last year.’

9.2.4.3 *-akë* ‘remote past’

The suffix *-akë* is the remote past marker of the language and is used for any event that happened between two and many years ago. The suffix *-akë* is also used for narratives and tales, including those that talk about the time of the ancestors and mythological tales that belong to ancient times (“before the world became like it is now”).

The suffix *-akë* ‘remote past’ can have both perfective and imperfective values. For example, in the next fragment it is imperfective, since, according to the story, it is not the case that the character fished with excrements only once, but he used to do so for a certain amount of time.

- (555) *Nantankëxun kaisa puin 'axankëxa ñapa.*
nan-tankëxun ka=is=a pui=n
 put-S/A>A:PE NAR=REP=3 excrement=INS
'axan-akë-x-a ñapa
 fish.using.poison-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX fish.sp.:ABS
 ‘It is said that, after putting (it), he used to fish with excrement.’
 (SE-fisher-2007.016)

9.2.4.4 *-a* ‘stative’

The suffix *-a* ‘stative’ can only be used, according to my current knowledge of the language, with the verbs *rakat* ‘lie (down)’, *tsót* ‘sit (down)’, *nits* ‘stand (up)’, *bët* ‘hang’, *tëtot* ‘bend over’, *rantin puru* ‘kneel (down)’, and *unët* ‘hide oneself’. The presence of this suffix indicates that the subject is already in the posture specified by the predicate, as can be seen in (556) and (557):

- (556) ‘*Ex kana rakatan.*
ë=x ka=na rakat-a-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG lie.down-STAT-1/2
 ‘I am lying.’
- (557) ‘*Ex kana tsótan*
ë=x ka=na tsót-a-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG lie.down-STAT-1/2
 ‘I am sitting.’

The stative suffix *-a* is phonologically identical to, but morphophonologically different from, the perfective marker *-a*, since only the stative suffix retains stem-final stops. If we add the ‘perfective’ suffix to the same forms as in (556) and (557), we will get the following results:

- (558) ‘*Ex kana rakan.*
ë=x ka=na rakat-a-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG lie.down-PFV-1/2
 ‘I lied down.’

- (559) *'Ex kana tsóan.*

'ë=x ka=na tsót-a-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG sit.down-PFV-1/2
 'I sat down.'

Comparing the examples in (556) and (557) with the ones in (558) and (559), it can be seen that *-a* 'stative' and *-a* 'perfective' are different suffixes, both in terms of their morphophonological behavior and in terms of their semantics. It is important to mention, however, that both suffixes use the same subject cross-reference paradigm, with third person subjects being cross-referred with *-x* (see §9.2.5).

9.2.5 Inflection III: subject cross-reference

9.2.5.1 *-n* 'first/second person'

The *-n* marker is used for first and second person subjects, regardless of the marker that appears in the preceding inflectional slot. In the following examples, we find the marker *-n* 'first/second person' after the imperfective marker *-i* (560) and after the perfective marker *-a* (561).

- (560) *Y kana 'ati 'ain kixun kana sinanin.*

y ka=na 'a-ti 'ain ki-xun ka=na
 and NAR=1SG do-NOMLZ be:1/2 say:INTR-S/A>A:SE NAR=1SG
sinan-i-n
 think-IPFV-1/2
 'And I think (saying) "I will do it".' (NA-my.plans-2007.008)

- (561) *Anuax kana 'ën aintsibë mërananx kana abë banan.*

anu-ax ka=na 'ë=n aintsi=bë mëra-anan-ax
 there-PA.S NAR=1SG 1SG=A relative-COM:S find-RECP-S/A>S:PE
kana a=bë bana-a-n
 NAR=1SG 3SG-COM:S speak-PFV-1/2
 'There, meeting (lit. finding each other with) my relatives, I spoke with them.'
 (AE-my.work-2006.005)

9.2.6 *-x* and unmarked 'third person'

Third person subject cross-reference is expressed by two different morphological means: without any overt marker if the predicate carries the 'imperfective' marker *-i*; and with the suffix *-x* elsewhere (i.e. after all the remaining members of slot II). This is shown in the following examples: in (562), we find the unmarked version of this category and in (563) we find the marker *-x* 'third person subject cross-reference'.

- (562) *Akupí kaisa atux upiti xukutia.*
a=kupí ka=is=a atu=x upit-i xukut-i-a
 that=REAS NAR=REP=3 3PL=S good-S/A>S peel-**IPFV**-NON.PROX
 'It is said that, for that reason, they peel well.' (SE-flood-2007.019)
- (563) *Anu ka pakéaxa.*
anu ka pakét-a-x-a
 there NAR:3 fall.down-**PFV-3**-NON.PROX
 '(He) fell down there.' (NA-deer-2007.021)

9.2.7 Inflection IV: addressee's perspective

The category of addressee's perspective is used by the speaker to shift the information to the perspective of the addressee, establishing a distinction between information that is proximal from his or her perspective and information which is not (see §11.2.4.2 for a detailed semantic characterization of this category and §16.8.2 for its function in narratives). Addressee's perspective is marked in two different parts of the clause: the verbal morphology (particularly in the inflectional slot IV, and to some extent the *pormanteau* marker *-iéé* 'accusatory speech'; see §9.2.8.2) and the second-position enclitics (see §11.2.4.2).

Addressee's perspective is only marked for third person subjects (this category is not relevant for first or second person subjects). If the subject of the clause is the first or the second person, the verb will end by the subject cross-reference marker *-n* 'first/second person' from inflection III (see §9.2.5). In turn, if the second-position enclitic *ri* 'conversational' is used, a marker from this slot is not included on the verb either, and the verb obligatorily ends in *-n*, even though it has third person reference (see §11.2.4). Therefore, slot IV is marked only for third person subjects and when information about addressee's perspective has not been given in the second-position enclitics.

Slot IV includes two forms: *-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee' and *-in* 'proximal to the addressee'. The speaker will use *-in* if he or she considers that the information is proximal or accessible to the addressee. If the speaker considers that this is not the case, the form *-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee' is used. This marker can also be used if the speaker does not have any expectations about the addressee's perspective or does not want to be precise about it. Therefore, *-a* is the functionally unmarked member of the paradigm. Conversely, functionally unmarked uses of *-in* are not possible and this marker can only be used for those events that are explicitly considered proximal to the addressee. In §16.8.2, I discuss this category in detail and provide the conditions that make the use of *-in* 'proximal to the addressee' possible.

Note that it would be possible to unify inflection III and inflection IV within one slot by arguing that we have four different third person markers: after *-i* 'imperfective', *-a* '3, non-proximal to the addressee' and *-in* '3, proximal to the addressee';

and after the remaining members of the inflectional slot II, *-xa* ‘3, non-proximal to the addressee’ and *-shín* ‘3, proximal to the addressee’. This analysis also accounts correctly for the observed patterns, but I prefer to keep subject cross-reference and addressee’s perspective separate in two different paradigms, in order to give a clearer description of important facts associated with the category of addressee’s perspective (see, for instance, §11.2.4, where I discuss the interaction of this paradigm with second-position enclitics).

9.2.7.1 *-a* ‘non-proximal to the addressee’

The form *-a* ‘non-proximal to the addressee’ is presented in (564), taken from a narrative. Note that *-a* ‘non-proximal to the addressee’ is the unmarked form in this category and it has a wide use. Here, we find the verb form *pi-kan-akë-x-a* ‘eat=PL-REM. PST-3-NON.PROX’:

- (564) *Kixankë 'ain kaisa ashibaë ño 'axun pain time kamë ëoxun xëtën bata pëtsokin ashibaë ño 'axun pikankëxa.*

ki-ëxan-kë 'ain ka=is=a ashibaë ño
 say:INTR-PST.days-NOMLZ being:DS/A/P NAR=REP=3 mythical pig:ABS
 'a-xun=pain timë kamë ëo-xun xëtën bata
 kill-S/A>A:SE=first group AUG-S/A>A:SE corn.sp. sweet:ABS
 pëtso-kin ashibaë ño 'a-xun
 eat.with.the.fingers-s/A>A:SE mythical.pig:ABS kill-S/A>A:SE
 pi-kan-akë-x-a
 eat-PL-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

‘It is said that, having agreed some days before, killing first the mythical pig, meeting all together, eating sweet corn with their fingers, they ate the mythical pig a long time ago.’ (SE-flood2-2007.012)

9.2.7.2 *-ín*: ‘proximal to the addressee’

The next example was said to me in presence of Xëtu, a little boy of the family I lived with in Yamino. The speaker, one of my teachers, pointed to him and let me know that Xëtu had diarrhea and, therefore, was sick:

- (565) *Xëtu ka chixutín.*

Xëtu ka chixut-i-ín
 proper.name NAR:3 to.have.diarrhea-IPFV-PROX
 ‘Xëtu has diarrhea.’

In the example in (565), the use of *-ín* ‘proximal to addressee’ relates to two main facts: (i) Xëtu was present at the place of the speech act (and, therefore, I was able to see him); and (ii) the speaker knew that Xëtu was one of my favorite kids in the village

and, therefore, he expected me to be concerned about his health. In the next example the use of this marker has to do, among other things, with the fact that Nicolás Aguilar was previously introduced in discourse and therefore was clearly identifiable from the perspective of the addressee. The conditions that trigger the use *-ín* are discussed in §16.8.2 with more detail.

- (566) *Ax ka ain bëchikë Aguilar... este Nicolás Aguilar ax ‘iakëxín.*
a-x ka ain bëchikë Aguilar
 that-s NAR:3 3.GEN son aguilar
este Nicolás Aguilar a-x ‘i-akë-x-ín
 this nicolás aguilar 3-S be-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘That (man)... his son was this Nicolás Aguilar.’ (EE-three.men-2013)

9.2.8 Final *portmanteau* inflectional morphemes

Final *portmanteau* inflectional morphemes are a group of morphological elements that appear in the inflectional section of the verb and have complex meanings that can include tense, aspect, modality and subject cross-reference.

They follow two different patterns: *-kian* ‘3, habitual, remote past’, *-kin* ‘1/2, habitual, remote past’ and *-iéé* ‘accusatory speech act’ cannot be combined with any inflectional suffix, except for *-kan* ‘plural’; whereas *-mín* ‘3, complaining negator’ and *-mán* ‘1/2 complaining negator’ appear only with the imperfective marker *-i*.

9.2.8.1 *-kian* and *-kin*: ‘habitual, remote past’

The suffixes *-kian* and *-kin* ‘habitual, remote past’ not only have aspectual and tense values, but also express subject cross-reference: *-kian* is used for third person subjects and *-kin* is used for first and second person ones, as shown in the following elicited paradigm (567)–(569).

- (567) *No ka Limanu kwankian.*
no ka Lima=nu kwan-kian
 foreigner:ABS NAR:3 Lima=DIR go-HAB:REM.PST:3
 ‘The non-Kakataibo people used to go to Lima a long time ago.’
- (568) *Nux kananuna Limanu kwankin.*
nu=x ka=nanuna Lima=nu kwan-kin
 1PL=S NAR=1PL Lima=DIR go-HAB:REM.PST:1/2
 ‘We used to go to Lima a long time ago.’

- (569) *Mix kamina Limanu kwankin.*

mi=x ka=mina Lima=nu kwan-kin
 1SG=S NAR=2 Lima=DIR go-HAB:REM.PST:1/2
 ‘You used to go to Lima a long time ago.’

The elicited examples in (570) and (571) show the differences between the meanings of the forms presented here and the marker *-rabé* ‘habitual non-remote past’ (see §9.2.1.4).

- (570) *Non ka nu ñonrabéaxa.*

no=n ka nu ñon-rabé-a-x-a
 foreigner=ERG NAR:3 1PL:P not.share.with-HAB.PST-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘The non-Kakataibo people did not use to share (the land) with us, not long ago.’

- (571) *Non ka nu ñonkian*

no=n ka nu ñon-kian
 foreigner=ERG NAR:3 1PL:P not.share.with-HAB:REM.PAST:3
 ‘The non-Kakataibo people did not use to share (the land) with us a long time ago.’

In (572), we find the form *-kian* ‘3 person, habitual, remote past’ in a narrative. We have the verb *ñui-xun* ‘tell-benefactive’ modified by *-kian* ‘3 person, habitual, remote past’, which the speaker uses to assert that his uncle *Manë Bérükë* used to tell him tales (the object “tales” is not overtly expressed in the clause).

- (572) *Kixun ka nukën chaiti Manë Bérükë an ‘ë ñuixunkian.*

ki-xun ka nukën chaiti Manë Bérükë a=n
 say:INTR-S/A>A NAR:3 1PL.GEN ancestor proper.name 3SG=A
‘ë ñui-xun-kian
 1SG:P tell-BEN-HAB:REM.PST:3
 ‘Saying (that), our ancestor *Manë Bérükë* used to tell me (these tales).’ (EE-fisher-2007.011)

9.2.8.2 *-iéé* ‘accusatory speech act’

The form *-iéé* is a final *portmanteau* inflectional suffix used to tell the addressee that somebody else is doing something considered inappropriate. There is no other use of this suffix. The marker *-iéé* is exclusively used with the intention of accusing and, thus, it constitutes a very interesting case of grammaticalization of an illocutionary force meaning. The use of this form is more likely if the event is non-proximal to the addressee and, thus, it might be the case that category of addressee’s perspective is also playing a role in the semantic configuration of this suffix. However, I have not yet tested this carefully. The marker *-iéé* ‘accusatory speech act’ does not have different forms for different subject cross-reference meanings and is exclusively used with third person subjects. See (573) below.

- (573) *Goliathnēn kamēnē min kuriki mēkamatiéé*
Goliath=n ka=mēnē mi=n kuriki mēkamat-iéé
 goliath=ERG NAR:3=MIR you.GEN money:ABS steal-3:accusation
 '(Look there!) Goliath is stealing your money!'

9.2.8.3 *-mín* and *-mán*: ‘complaining negator’

As we have seen for the ‘habitual, remote past’ markers *-kian* and *-kin*, the complaining negators *-mín* and *-mán* also distinguish subject cross-reference values: *-mín* is for third person subjects and *-mán* for first and second person ones. The forms *-mín* ‘3 person, complaining negator’ and *-mán* ‘1/2 person, complaining negator’ co-occur with the aspect marker *-i* ‘imperfective’, which belongs to the slot Inflection II (§9.2.2). In both cases, they negate the event, but exhibit slight differences in their interpretations. With third person referents, *-mín* is used to convey that something that is not happening makes the speaker feel angry (e.g., ‘they are not working well (and that makes me angry)'). With first or second person referents, *-mán* is used to indicate that the subject should not do something (even if he or she receives pressure from someone else). For example, if one is about to fall asleep, but needs to stay awake for some reason, one can say something like “I should not sleep”, and the form *-mán* is likely to appear in this utterance.

The complaining negators are scarcely used in narratives. The example in (574) is one of the few cases where we find one of these forms appearing as part of a narrative. The speaker is talking about the old times, when young people were supposed to give food to their old relatives as a sign of respect and love. From her point of view, this is not happening in the current times and that makes her feel very angry and disappointed.

- (574) *Bëří ka uni ain chaibë ain kukubë ‘inananimín.*
bëří ka uni ain chai=bë ain
 today NAR:3 people:ABS 3:GEN brother.in.law-COM:S 3:GEN
kuku-bë ‘inan-anan-i-mín
 father.in.law-COM:S give-RECP-IPFV-COMPL.NEG.3
 ‘Today, people do not share (things) with their brothers-in-law and their fathers-in-law (and this makes me angry).' (IE-ancestors-2008.023)

In (575)–(576), we find the first/second person form of this category, which does not appear in my narrative text corpus:

- (575) *‘Ex kana ‘uximán.*
‘ë=x ka=na ‘ux-i-mán
 1SG=S NAR=1SG sleep-IPFV-COMPL.NEG.1/2
 ‘I should not sleep (even if they told me to do so).’

- (576) *Mix kamina ‘uximán.*

mi=x ka=mina ‘ux-i-mán

2SG=S NAR=2 sleep-IPFV-COMPL.NEG.1/2

‘You should not sleep (even if they told you to do so).’

The forms *-mín* and *-mán* ‘complaining negator’ are clearly related to the negative marker *=ma*. The form *-mín* also reminds us of the form *-ín* ‘proximal to the addressee’ (and could be analyzed as coming from *=ma-ín*). However, more research is needed in order to understand their diachronic origin. Notice also that the final nasal, which is found in both negators, is probably linked to the nasal contour of very strong imperatives (see §3.4.2.3).

9.3 Reduplication

Reduplication of predicates expresses iterativity or long duration. In terms of its formal characteristics, verbal reduplication follows a number of different patterns, which will be commented on briefly.

In the first type of reduplication, the whole word is reduplicated, including any word class changing derivational marker and any inflectional suffix and prefix. In (577), we see one case of this type of reduplication. We see the verb form *‘a-xun* ‘kill-S/A>A’, which is completely reduplicated (in this type of reduplication, each reduplicated form is prosodically and grammatically an independent word). Notice that the instrumental phrase *pia=n* ‘arrow=INS’ is also reduplicated.

- (577) *Ronrutankëxun kaisa xëmën ‘akëxa pian pian ‘axun ‘axun nipakëxa.*

ronru-tankëxun ka=is=a xëmën ‘a-akë-x-a

climb-S/A>A:PE NAR=REP=3 kinkajous:ABS kill-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

pia=n pia=n ‘a-xun ‘a-xun

arrow=INS arrow=INS kill-s/A>A kill-s/A>A

ni-pat-akë-x-a

throw-down:TRAN-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

‘It is said that, after climbing, (he) killed kinkajous, killing and killing (them) with arrows, he threw down several.’ (EE-kinkajous-2007)

In the second type of reduplication, only the stem, without any inflectional suffix, is reduplicated. Thus, in (578) we have the form *ni-pat* ‘throw-down’ reduplicated but the switch-reference marker *-kin* ‘S/A>A, simultaneous events’ is not included in the reduplicated unit and appears only once. In this case, the bare first reduplicated element is not a grammatical word and cannot be used by itself as a free element in any other construction (perhaps with the exception of the imperative, which may take bare verbal stems).

- (578) *Nipá nipákin iskëxbi kaisa ain xanu 'akë uni ax uakëxa.*

<i>ni-pat</i>	<i>ni-pat-kin</i>	<i>is-këx=bi</i>	<i>ka=is=a</i>
throw-down:TRAN	throw-down:TRAN-S/A>A	see-P>S=same	NAR=REP=3
<i>ain</i>	<i>xanu</i>	<i>'a-kë</i>	<i>uni</i>
3SG:GEN	wife:ABS	do-NOMLZ	man 3SG=S
<i>u-akë-x-a</i>			
come-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX			
'It is said that, throwing and throwing (the animals from a tree), (the husband) saw the man who used to have sex with his wife coming.'			
(SE-unloyal.woman-2008.12)			

Alternatively, the derivational suffixes may not be included in the reduplication either, resulting in a different interpretation. Thus, for instance, in (579), the derivational suffixes *-ru* 'upward' and *-bian* 'going (transitive)' are not reduplicated and the process only applies to the root *nëa* 'tie'. In this example, then, the reduplication mechanism only has scope over the root, indicating that the process of tying was repeated and that there was only one motion event associated with it: something like 'tie several times while going upward only once'. If we had *nëarubian nëarubian* (i.e. where reduplication applied over the root and the directionals), a better translation would have been: 'tie several times while going upward several times (i.e. going upward, coming downward, going upward, and so on)'. It seems to be the case that, in an example like *nëarubian*, we only have two possible reduplicated forms: *nëa nëarubian* and *nëarubian nëarubian*, and that *nëaru nëarubian* is unacceptable. That is, the available possibilities are either to reduplicate only the root or to reduplicate the whole stem, but more work needs to be done in order to demonstrate that this is systematically the case.

- (579) *Ukairi oxun kaisa nëa nëarubiankin 'abaikin kaisa kakëshín.*

<i>ukairi</i>	<i>o-xun</i>	<i>ka=is=a</i>	<i>nëa nëa-ru-bian-kin</i>
ladder	FACT-S/A>A:SE	NAR=REP=3	tie tie-up-going:TRAN-S/A>A:SE
<i>'a-bait-kin</i>		<i>ka=is=a</i>	<i>ka-akë-x-in</i>
do-DUR-S/A>A:SE	NAR=REP=3	say-REM.PST-3-PROX	
'It is said that, making a ladder, tying it several times while going upwards, doing it for a long time, he said...' (JE-king.vulture-2007.017)			

Special cases of verbal reduplication are found for verbs carrying an adverbial enclitic: differently from any other derivational form, adverbial enclitics cannot be included in the reduplicated unit. In turn, in the case of verbs of the *-ka/-ki* class (see §8.2.4), we find two different possibilities: either the formatives *-ka/-ki* or the preceding morphological elements are reduplicated. It is not possible, in this case, to reduplicate the whole stem (but it is still possible to reduplicate the whole word, similarly to what we have seen in (577)).

Examples of those two cases are presented in (580) and (581). In the first one, we find the verb *is* ‘see’ modified by the adverbial enclitic *-ishi* ‘only’ and, as predicted, only the root is reduplicated: **isëshi isëshi* is unacceptable (for more on adverbial enclitics in verb-internal positions; see §11.3). In the second example, we find the verb *rërëka* ‘spill’ and, again, only the form *rërë* is reduplicated: *rërë rërëka* (notice that *rërëka ka* is also possible but **rërëka rërëka* is unacceptable).

- (580) *Kaisa is isëshiakëxa atun.*

ka=is=a is is-isëhi-akë-x-a atu-n
NAR=REP=3 see see-only-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX 3PL-A
 ‘(Then), it is said that they saw (him) several times.’ (NA-foreigner-2007.009)

- (581) *Tsóbutankëx pëi ‘apatankëxun kaisa tanu tsitinkikin tanu rërë rërëkakëxa.*

tsót-but-tankëx pëi ‘a-pat-tankëxun ka=is=a
sit-down:INTR-S/A>S:PE leave:ABS do-down:TRAN-S/A>A:PE NAR=REP=3
tanu tsitinki-kin tanu
palm.grub:ABS make.noise-s/A>A:SE palm.grub:ABS
rërë rërëka-akë-x-a
spill spill-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

‘It is said that, sitting down, putting some leaves down her, making noise, she spilled and spilled the palm grubs.’ (JE-worms-2007.014)

9.4 Irregular verbal forms

Three cases of suppletion and/or stem modification on verbs are presented in Table 75 for their discussion in this section.

Table 75. Three cases of suppletion and stem modification in verbs

Verb	Meaning	Irregular form	Meaning
<i>i</i>	‘be’	<i>‘ain</i>	1/2 sing/plur
		<i>‘ikën</i>	3 sing/plur
		<i>‘i’</i>	3 sing/plur (shortened form)
		<i>‘it</i>	auxiliary in progressive periphrastic constructions
<i>u</i>	‘come’	<i>a</i>	in present forms
<i>kwan</i>	‘go’	<i>ri</i>	in collective plural

The case of *u* ‘come’ looks like stem modification, where the root *u* becomes *a* in present tense forms. One of the irregular forms of *i* can be analyzed as a case of suppletion where the transitive auxiliary ‘*a*’ is replacing the intransitive auxiliary ‘*i*’ in the

form ‘ain. However, in the cases of the third person form, the shortened version and the progressive version of the auxiliary, it is not easy to find sources for the endings -kën, -’ and -t (but the verbal suffixes -kë ‘nominalizer’ and -t ‘middle marker’ could be implicated in the development of these irregular verb forms). The form with the final glottal stop, in turn, may be reduced version of ‘ikën. The case of the collective plural form for *kwan* can be considered a case of suppletion, similar to a few other cases of transitive/intransitive verb pairs attested in the language (see §15.4.2.1).

9.5 Periphrastic verbal forms

The definitional principle underlying periphrastic constructions is clause fusion, that is, unlike the cases of clause chaining (see Chapter 12), periphrastic constructions represent single clauses, despite the fact that they include two verbal elements (a lexical verb plus an auxiliary). The proposal that we have one single clause finds support in a number of different facts: (i) the order of the verbal constituents is fixed in relation to each other (the auxiliary always follows the lexical verb); (ii) it is not possible to introduce any element (e.g. an argument) between the two verbal forms (i.e., they have to be adjacent to each other); (iii) the transitivity-encoding mechanisms (such as case marking or different types of transitivity agreement) are sensitive to the transitivity of the lexical verb; (iv) subject cross-reference is found on the auxiliary only; and (v) no mechanisms of transitivity harmony (see §12.5.1) are found. In this section, I will briefly present five periphrastic constructions expressing the following meanings: obligative (§9.5.1), non-remote future/abilitive (§9.5.2), remote future (§9.5.3), purposive (§9.5.4), and progressive (§9.5.5). Note that past negative constructions, presented in §11.3.1.6, can also be classified as periphrastic according to the principles proposed here.

9.5.1 Obligative: [V-i + AUX]

The obligative construction expresses that the event represents an obligation for the subject. The construction is formed by modifying the lexical verb with the switch-reference suffix -i ‘S/A>S, simultaneous events’; this verbal form is followed by the intransitive auxiliary ‘i agreeing with the subject. This is shown in the following examples, where the intransitive predicate ‘ux ‘sleep’ (see examples in (582)) and the transitive predicate *pi* ‘eat’ (see the examples in (583)) are combined with a third and a first person subject.

- (582) a. *Juan ka 'uxi 'ikën.*

Juan ka 'ux-i 'ikën

Juan:ABS NAR:3 sleep-S/A>S:SE be:3

'Juan should sleep.'

- b. *Ēx kana 'uxi 'ain.*

Ē=x ka=na 'ux-i 'ain

1SG=S NAR=1SG sleep-S/A>S:SE be:1/2

'I should sleep.'

- (583) a. *Juanēn ka pi 'ikën.*

Juan=n ka pi-i 'ikën

Juan=ERG NAR:3 eat-S/A>S:SE be:3

'Juan should eat.'

- b. *Ēn kana pi 'ain.*

Ē=n ka=na pi-i 'ain

1SG=A NAR=1SG eat-S/A>S:SE be:1/2

'I should eat.'

9.5.2 Non-remote future: [V-ti + AUX]

There are three forms that can express future meanings: the imperfective marker *-i* (§9.2.4.1); and two different periphrastic constructions that express non-remote and remote future, respectively (see the next section for the remote future construction). The non-remote future adds the nominalizer *-ti* to the lexical verb and combines the nominalized form with the auxiliary *'i* 'be'. It can be used for immediate and non-remote future events. In that sense, it overlaps with the imperfective marker *-i*, but not with the remote future construction. The construction also has an abilitive meaning (see §9.1.4.1, for the desiderative marker *-kas*, which receives a negative abilitive interpretation when it appears with the negative marker *=ma*)

The V-*ti* plus auxiliary construction can appear with both transitive (*pi* 'eat' in (584)) and intransitive matrix verbs (*kwan* 'go' in (585)):

- (584) *Ēn kana imēishi charu piti 'ain.*

Ē=n ka=na imēishi charu pi-ti 'ain

1SG=A NAR=1SG tomorrow crab:ABS eat-NOMLZ be:1/2

'I will eat crab tomorrow.' / 'I can eat crab tomorrow.'

An ka charu piti 'ikën.

a=n ka charu pi-ti 'ikën

3SG=A NAR:3 crab:ABS eat-NOMLZ be:3

'(S)he will eat crab.' / '(S)he can eat crab.'

- (585) ‘Ex kana imëishi Limanu kwanti ‘ain.
 ‘ë=x ka=na imëishi Limanu **kwan-ti** ‘ain
 1SG=S NAR=1SG tomorrow Lima=DIR **go-NOMLZ be:1/2**
 ‘I will go to Lima tomorrow.’ / ‘I can go to Lima tomorrow.’

Ax ka Limanu kwanti ‘ikën.
 a=x ka Limanu **kwan-ti** ‘ikën
 3SG=S NAR:3 Lima=DIR **go-NOMLZ be:3**
 ‘(S)he will go to Lima.’ / ‘(S)he can go to Lima.’

9.5.3 Remote future: [V-nuxun + AUX]

Kakataibo has a very complex switch-reference system (see Chapter 12). As part of this paradigm, we find forms that indicate that the dependent event is posterior to the matrix one (equivalent to ‘before’ in English). Those forms include: *-nux* ‘S/A>S, posterior event’, *-nuxun* ‘S/A>A, posterior event’ and *-nun* ‘different subjects, posterior event’. The form *-nuxun* has been recruited for a periphrastic verb form to express remote future tense. In this construction, *-nuxun* modifies the lexical verb that appears before the transitive auxiliary *a-* ‘do’. Therefore it does not encode ‘different subjects’ in this construction.

- (586) An ka ‘itsa baritia ‘inúkëbëtan charu pinuxun ‘aia.
 a=n ka ‘itsa baritia ‘inut-këbëtan charu
 3SG=A NAR:3 several year:ABS pass-DS/A/P:SE:TRAN crab:ABS
pi-nuxun ‘a-i-a
eat-S/A>S:POE do-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘(S)he will eat crab after several years.’

- (587) Ax ka ‘itsa bariation ‘inúkëbë Limanu kwanuxun ‘aia.
 a=x ka ‘itsa bariation ‘inut-këbë Lima=nu
 3SG=S NAR:3 several year:ABS pass-DS/A/P:SE:INTR Lima=DIR
kwan-nuxun ‘a-i-a
go-S/A>S:POE do-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘(S)he will go to Lima after several years.’

9.5.4 ‘Going to’-construction: [V-*i* + *kwan* ‘go’]

The verb *kwan* ‘go’ can function as an auxiliary, used for expressing purposive or future non-motion events (similar to English *going to*). In this construction, the lexical verb is modified by the switch-reference marker *-i* ‘S/A>S, simultaneous events’. See the example in (588).

- (588) *Anribi ka 'ai kwania.*
a=n=ribi ka 'a-i kwan-i-a
 3SG=A=also NAR:3 **do-PURP go-IPFV-NON.PROX**
 'He is also going to do (that)' (NA-my.plans-2007.013-014)

9.5.5 Progressive: [V-*i* + AUX]

There is a progressive construction in the language, formed with a lexical verb modified with the switch-reference marker *-i* 'S/A>S, simultaneous events', and combined with the auxiliary *'i*, which surfaces as '*it*'. Some examples of the progressive construction follow. The examples include both transitive (589) and intransitive (590) verbs with first/second and third person subjects.

- (589) a. *'Eñ kana charu pi 'itin.*
'e=n ka=na charu pi-i 'it-i-n
 1SG=A NAR=1SG crab:ABS **eat-S/A>S:SE be-IPFV-1/2**
 'You/I are/am eating crab.'
- b. *An ka charu pi 'itia.*
a=n ka charu pi-i 'it-i-a
 3SG=A NAR:3 crab:ABS **eat-S/A>S:SE be-IPFV-NON.PROX**
 '(S)he is eating crab.'
- (590) a. *'Ex kana Limanu kwani 'itin.*
'e=x ka=na Lima=nu kwan-i 'it-i-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG Lima=DIR **go-S/A>S:SE be-IPFV-1/2**
 'I am going to Lima.'
- b. *Ax ka Limanu kwani 'itia.*
a=x ka Limanu kwan-i 'it-i-a
 3SG=S NAR:3 Lima=DIR **go-S/A>S:SE be-IPFV-NON.PROX**
 '(S)he is going to Lima.'

10 Adverbs

10.1 Introduction

Adverbs represent the smallest open word class in Kakataibo. Their definitional feature is their ability to modify a predicate without any derivation. In addition, adverbs are the only open word class that cannot be prefixed; and, with only very few exceptions, adverbs cannot be used as predicates (see §5.2.4). Notice that adverbs in Kakataibo cannot modify adjectives. Similar meanings to the English phrase *deeply happy*, for instance, can be obtained by means of the adverbial enclitics presented in Chapter 11. However, a few adverbs in Kakataibo can modify nouns within NPs (see §5.2.4), in a function that is typologically unusual for this word class (Schachter 1985: 21–23).

Semantically, adverbs in Kakataibo can be classified into three classes: time, manner and space adverbs. It is important to mention that some temporal nouns can be used in an adverbial function without any overt derivation (like, for example, *imé* ‘night’; see §5.2.4); however, these words are to be analyzed primarily as nouns. NPs modified by some oblique case markers can also function as adverbial constituents and, in fact, a number of the space adverbs to be presented in §10.2.3 have clearly originated in the combination of a demonstrative and a locative case marker. Notice that most of the approximately 20 forms to be analyzed as primary adverbs in this chapter seem to have come from morphologically complex elements. Among the few exceptions to this, we have *bérí* ‘today/now’, *ma* ‘already’ and *munu* ‘slowly’ (but the latter form exhibits a particular behavior in that it can, for example, be used as a predicate).

All the words included in the class of adverbs in this grammar systematically appear by themselves and cases in which they appear in combination with another constituent such as a NP are extremely rare. This makes adverbs different from postpositions, which, as discussed in §5.1.2, can either appear with or without a NP acting as their complement, being the case that the latter situation is the more common one.

In the following sections, I will present the data on adverbs in this order: in §10.2, I will comment on the different semantic adverb classes (no clear morphosyntactic classes can be distinguished among the adverbs); and in §10.3 I discuss the category of participant agreement in Kakataibo, which is attested on adverbs, but also on other constituents (oblique noun phrases and postpositional phrases).

10.2 Adverb classes

10.2.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs in Kakataibo include the forms listed in Table 76.

Table 76. Temporal adverbs

Adverb	Meaning
<i>béráma</i>	'a long time ago, before'
<i>bérí</i>	'today/now'
<i>iménaëx</i>	'at midnight'
<i>'uran</i> (< Spanish <i>hora</i> 'hour'?)	'for a long time'
<i>iméishi</i>	'yesterday/tomorrow'
<i>ma</i>	'already'

The forms *béráma* and *bérí* can also be used as modifiers within NPs. For example *béráma uni* means 'people from a long time ago' and *bérí uni* means 'today's people'. However, this is not possible for other members of this class and the behavior of these two adverbs has to be understood as idiosyncratic.

As a manner of illustration, I present two examples. In (591), we find the form *bérí* 'today', and in (592) the adverb *ma* 'already' appears before the Spanish phrase *como dos años* 'about two years', which also has an adverbial function.

- (591) *Bérí kana 'itsa tēti kana mēran.*

bérí ka=na 'itsa tē-ti ka=na mēra-a-n
today NAR=1SG many work-NOMLZ NAR=1SG find-PFV-1/2
 'Now, I found much work to do.' (SE-my.plans-2007.009)

- (592) *Ma como dos años 'ixun rabē baritiañu 'ixun sinankëshín.*

ma como dos años 'i-xun rabē baritia=ñu
already like.two.years be-s/A>A:SE two year=PROP
i-xun sinan-akē-x-ín
 be-s/A>A:SE think-REM.PST-3-PROX
 'When two years had already passed, then they thought.'
 (NA-foreigner-2007.016)

In addition to the words listed in Table 76, there are other words that, despite being considered here to be primarily nouns, can be used as temporal adverbs. The most common form showing this behavior in texts is the word *ñantan* 'evening', but *imé ~ ñamé* 'night' was also accepted in an adverbial position during elicitation sessions (these cases have been exemplified in §5.2.4).

10.2.2 Manner adverbs

The only Kakataibo manner adverbs that do not show a morphologically complex diachronic structure are *munu* 'slowly' and *ñankan* 'in vain' (although the final *n* in this

form may be related to the Shipibo-Konibo adverbializer *-n*; see Valenzuela 2003b: 171–172).⁶² In addition to these two forms, we find the adverb *ratuishi* ‘suddenly’, formed with the Spanish root *rato* ‘moment’ and the adverbial enclitic *=ishi* ‘only’, and the Shipibo-Konibo loan *ishtun* ‘quickly’, which contains that language’s adverbializer *-n*, (the Kakataibo form with an equivalent meaning is the adjective *bëne* ‘fast’, which can be derived into a predicate modifier; see §5.2.4). In addition, we have the forms *ësa* ‘like this’ and *usa* ‘like that’, which include the comparative enclitic *=sa*. Finally, we have the manner adverb *amiribishi* which is also diachronically complex. Table 77 includes all manner adverbs in my Kakataibo database.

Table 77. Manner adverbs

Adverb	Meaning
<i>'ishtun</i> (< Shipibo-Konibo)	‘quickly’
<i>munu</i>	‘slowly’
<i>ratuishi</i> (< Spanish)	‘suddenly’
<i>ñankan</i>	‘in vain’
<i>ësa</i>	‘like this’
<i>usa</i>	‘like that’
<i>amiribishi</i>	‘again’

One example of *amiribishi* ‘again’ is presented in (593).

- (593) *Bëbatankëxun ka anuxun hasta Tingo Maríantu 'atëkëankëxa amiribishi.*
bëba-tankëxun ka anuxun hasta Tingo María=nu
arrive-S/A>A:PE NAR:3 then:TRAN up.to Tingo María=LOC
'a-tékën-akë-x-a amiribishi
do-again-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX again
'After arriving, then, they built it again up to Tingo María.' (EE-road-2006.007)

Note that at least two manner adverbs can be used as predicates: *munu* ‘slowly’ and *ñankan* ‘in vain’, which, when used in that predicative function, mean ‘to be delayed’ and ‘miss the shot’ (see again §5.2.4).

⁶² There are two different interpretations for this observation: the first one is to assume that the *-n* suffix was also attested at an earlier stage of Kakataibo. The second interpretation is to assume that the whole form *ñankan* is a loan from Shipibo-Konibo, as it seems to be the case of *ishtun* ‘fast’.

10.2.3 Space adverbs

Table 78 presents a list of all the space adverbs found in my database:

Table 78. Space adverbs

Adverb	Meaning
<i>anu</i>	'there'
<i>amanu</i>	'not here'
<i>amo</i>	'on/at that side'
<i>ēnu</i>	'here'
<i>nēkē</i>	'on/at this side'
<i>ukē</i>	'on/at the other side'
<i>unu</i>	'there (far)'
<i>uri</i>	'far'

It is difficult to determine if all the lexemes in Table 78 can be analyzed as morphologically simple adverbs in the synchronic language or whether they are to be considered morphologically complex forms. Some of them include formatives that do not seem to be synchronic morphemes in the language: *-kē* in *nēkē* 'this side' and *ukē* 'the other side' (which might be related to a locative marker *-kē* still attested in Shipibo-Konibo), and *-ri* in *uri* 'far'.

In other cases, we find formatives that are easily identifiable: the locative case marker *=nu* or the demonstratives: *ë* 'close to the speaker' (a shortened version of *ēnē*), *a* 'close to the addressee' and *u* 'far from the speaker and the addressee'. However, note that differently from demonstratives, which constitute a system based on speech-act-participants (see §5.1.1.3), space adverbs create a distance-based system: that is, adverbial forms containing the forms *ë(nē)* 'proximal to speaker' mean 'proximal to speech act (> here)'; forms containing *a* 'proximal to the addressee' mean 'distal to speech act (> there)'; and forms containing *u* 'distal from the speaker and the addressee' mean 'more distal to speech act (> there, far)'. This semantic shift may be seen as an indicator of lexicalization. This is also true in relation to the meaning of *=nu*: as a locative case marker, it expresses precise location/direction and is opposed to *=mi* 'imprecise locative, not close to the addressee' and *=u* 'imprecise locative, close to the addressee' (see §6.7.1). However, when used as part of some of the adverbs in the table above, *=nu* refers to both types of location, precise and imprecise.

Finally, the forms *amanu* 'not here' and *amo* 'that side' also show particularities that may reveal their lexicalized character. The first one has to do with the position of the negative marker *=ma*, which, being an adverbial enclitic, is expected to appear after the case markers, but this is not what we find in the forms above: in the first one, the negative marker appears before the locative marker *=nu* and, in the second, the negative may be argued to appear before the indirect locative *-u* (*ma-u > mo*). In addition,

tion, as can be seen in Table 78, the glosses are not what we would expect: *a=ma=nu* should mean ‘not there’, but its meaning is ‘not here’; and *a-ma-u* should mean ‘not around there’, but means ‘on/that that side’. Based on this evidence, I consider it appropriate to analyze the forms in Table 78 as lexical adverbs. The example in (594) illustrates one use of *uri* ‘there (far)’.

- (594) *Mëraxun kaisa naëbaiakëxa uri buankin.*
mëra-xun ka=is=a naë-bait-akë-x-a
 find-s/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 dig-DUR-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
uri buan-kin
far take-s/A>A:SE
 ‘It is said that, finding this, he dug for a long time, making (lit. taking) the hole very deep.’ (WO-armadillo-2007.006)

10.3 Participant agreement

The term “participant agreement” (PA) is used in Pano linguistics to refer to an inflectional category associated with different types of elements in an adverbial function. According to Valenzuela (2005: 286), it “can be considered the typologically most salient feature of Pano grammar. It refers to the use of a distinct inflectional morphology on adjuncts, in correlation with the syntactic function of the participant they are predicated of.” PA markers are the basis for the highly complex switch-reference system to be presented in Chapter 12, used for indicating coreferentiality relation between the arguments of two syntactically related clauses. In this section, I will only discuss and exemplify those cases where PA markers are used within a clause and not as part of a clause-chaining device.

Therefore, I will use the term “switch-reference” to refer to those cases in which a dependent clause predicates about one participant of the main clause, and I will use “participant agreement” to refer to those cases in which an adjunct predicates about one participant of the same clause.⁶³ This restricts the discussion to be presented here to two contexts: PA used on spatial adverbs and locative adjuncts (including the use of *anu* ‘there’ as a discourse connector) and PA used on numerals, quantifiers and a few nouns. In the case of spatial adverbs and locative phrases, PA exhibits a tripartite alignment with three different markers for S, A and P, but space adverbs used as discourse connectors can only agree with S and A participants (and not with P) and can also take the marker *-an* ‘different subjects/objects, previous event’, which is used for the meaning ‘different subjects’ in this paradigm (see §10.3.1). In turn, numer-

⁶³ A similar distinction has been made by Valenzuela (2005), who distinguishes between intra-clausal and inter-clausal participant agreement.

als, quantifiers and nouns can only take S and A participant agreement markers (see §10.3.2).

In the case of spatial adverbs and locative phrases, the PA markers are not obligatory and we can find instances of adjuncts unmarked for this category. The presence or absence of a PA marker conveys a semantic difference: a locative adjunct specified for PA predicates about (or is semantically oriented to) one participant and not about the whole event. In other words, a locative adjunct with a PA marker indicates the location of the participant it agrees with, and not of the event as a whole (this will become clear in the examples to be presented below). In that sense, constituents carrying PA markers are not prototypically adverbial, since adverbial elements tend to be semantically oriented towards the whole event and not towards particular participants. They might be considered to be closer to depictive modifiers instead, which are defined as expressing “a state that holds during the reference time of the event encoded by the main predicate” and, at the same time, are “interpret[ed] as holding for one of the participants of the main predicate” (Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005: 4). In turn, locative adjuncts unmarked for PA locate the event as a whole and not one particular participant.

Conversely, unmarked cases of numerals, quantifiers and nouns in this function **obligatorily** carry a PA marker and, therefore, they are always depictive modifiers that predicate about one specific participant (in their case, the S or the A, since no specialized P forms are available), and not about the event as a whole.

10.3.1 PA on space adverbs and locative adjuncts

One of the more salient typological features of Kakataibo is that this language shows tripartite case alignment for different types of pronouns (see §5.1.1) and for nouns expressing anaphoric arguments (see §16.5). This tripartite system is not only attested in the case alignment of the language, but also in the PA paradigm discussed here, where we find three different markers for semantic orientation towards the A, the S and the P arguments: =xun ‘PA: A’, =ax ‘PA: S’ and =a ‘PA: P’. These markers appear on locative adjuncts of different types (space adverbs, postpositional phrases and NPs marked with a locative case). This is shown in (595)–(597) where the PA markers semantically orient the locative adjunct to one of the arguments of the clause.

- (595) Participant agreement: A

Unin ka bakanuxun chaxu ‘axa.

uni=n *ka* *baka=nu=xun* *chaxu* ‘*a-a-x-a*

man=ERG **NAR:3** **river=LOC=PA.A** **deer:ABS** **kill-PFV-3-NON.PROX**

‘The man, being exactly in the river, killed the deer.’

- (596) Participant agreement: P

Unin ka bakanua chaxu ‘axa.

uni=n ka baka=nu=a chaxu ‘axa
man=ERG NAR:3 river=LOC=PA.P deer:ABS kill-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘The man killed the deer, which was in the river.’

- (597) Participant agreement: S

Uni ka bakanuax kwai ‘iaxa.

uni ka baka=nu=ax kwa-i ‘i-a-x-a
man:ABS NAR:3 river=LOC=PA.S play-S/A>S be-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘The man, being in the river, was playing.’

The locative adjunct carrying the PA marker is semantically participant-oriented. This fact may not always be clear in English or Spanish translations: a more idiomatic translation of (597) would be ‘the man was playing in the river’, and we might translate both (595) and (596), as ‘the man killed the deer in the river’ – but such a translation suggests that *in the river* modifies the verb. This interpretation is not true. The markers presented here are always oriented towards one participant, regardless of the way in which examples in (595)–(597) would be translated idiomatically into English or Spanish. It is important to recall that a locative adjunct modified by a PA marker specifies the location of the argument cross-referred by the marker and this may have at least three potential interpretations: (1) that the participant was in the location before the event; (2) that there is a close relationship between the participant and the location (e.g. the latter may be the house of the former); and (3) in the case of transitive verbs, that only one of the participants was in the location and the other was not. For instance, in the case of (595), only interpretations (1) and (3) are possible: the speaker may use =xun ‘PA: A’ in that context to state that the man was in the river before the deer arrived or that the man killed the deer from the river, but that the deer was somewhere else (e.g. behind a tree). Interpretation (2) is not possible simply because people do not live in rivers. The same happens with (596): the deer may have been in the river before the man arrived or the man may have killed it from somewhere else (e.g. from a tree). However, deer do not live in rivers either and therefore interpretation (2) is awkward. Conversely, in the following examples, interpretation (2) is possible. In the first one the man referred to has a house next to his garden and lives there most of the time (which is something that some people often do). In the second example, interpretation (2) is straightforward: plantains grow in gardens and in that sense belong to them.

- (598) Participant agreement: A

Unin ka naënuxun nónsi bëaxa.

uni=n ka naë=nu=xun nónsi bë-a-x-a
man=ERG NAR:3 garden=LOC=**PA.A** banana:ABS bring-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘The man, who lives there, brought plantains from the garden.’

- (599) Participant agreement: P

Unin ka naënua nónsi bëaxa

uni=n ka naë=nu=a nónsi bë-a-x-a
man=ERG NAR:3 garden=LOC=**PA.P** **plantain:ABS** bring-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘The man brought the plantains, that grow there, from the garden.’

As I mentioned in the introduction to this section, PA is not obligatory on locative adjuncts. Thus, we find minimal pairs like the one in (600a–b), where the locative adjunct may be semantically oriented to the participant or to the event, as a whole. Note that in the first example a ‘previous location’ reading is obtained, since people do not live in the jungle.

- (600) a. *Juan ka ninuax ‘uxaxa.*

Juan ka ni=nu=ax ux-a-x-a
Juan:ABS NAR:3 jungle=LOC=**PA.S** sleep-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Juan, being in the jungle, slept.’

- b. *Juan ka ninu ‘uxaxa*

Juan ka ni=nu uxaxa
Juan:ABS NAR:3 jungle=**LOC** sleep-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Juan slept in the jungle.’

Interestingly, this ‘previous location’ interpretation of PA forms has led to their translation as ablative obliques when they are used with predicates expressing direction, where the PA marker is added to an NP marked by a locative morpheme.⁶⁴ In (601a), *ninuax* ‘jungle=LOC=PA: S’ is oriented to the S and encodes ‘previous location’, thus obtaining an ablative reading. In (601b), *ninu* ‘jungle=LOC’ is a directional oblique oriented to the event, and functioning as the goal of the predicate.

⁶⁴ It is important to stress that I am presenting a synchronic analysis of the Kakataibo data. The form *-a* is, according to Valenzuela (2003b), the ablative marker of Shipibo-Konibo and she analyses forms like *-a* ‘PA: P’ and *-ax* ‘PA: S’ as being *-a-ø* and *-a-x*, whereby only the final forms *-ø* and *-x* are the proper PA markers. Such an analysis is not synchronically possible for Kakataibo, since this language does not have the ablative marker *-a* (in fact, Kakataibo does not have any specialized ablative marker; see §6.7.1). Thus, it may be the case that the forms *-ax* ‘PA: S’ and *-a* ‘PA: P’ in Kakataibo resulted from the fusion of an old ablative marker plus a core case marker (the ‘S’ marker =*x* and the unmarked P-category are still found in Kakataibo), as Valenzuela (2003b: Chapter 20) proposes.

- (601) a. *Juan ka ninuax kwanxa*
Juan ka ni=nu=ax kwan-a-x-a
 Juan:ABS NAR:3 jungle=LOC=PA.S go-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Juan went from the jungle (to another place).’
- b. *Juan ka ninu kwanxa*
Juan ka ni=nu kwan-a-x-a
 Juan:ABS NAR:3 jungle=LOC go-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Juan went to the jungle.’

PA markers can appear twice in the same clause. This is shown in the example in (602), where we find *=a* ‘PA: P’ and *=xun* ‘PA: A’. Note that only the latter gets an ablative interpretation. The adjunct *naë=nu=a* ‘garden=LOC=PA: P’ predicates about the P argument *nónsi* ‘plantain’ and indicates that the plantains came from the garden. However, it does not express the origin of the displacement expressed by the predicate ‘bring’, as it would be expected for a real ablative. Examples like this one support the analysis proposed here: that the PA are not ablatives but receive an ablative interpretation in some contexts (see footnote 64).

- (602) *Unin ka naënuá nónsi xubunuxun bëaxa.*
uni=n ka naë=nu=a nónsi xubu=nu=xun
 man=ERG NAR:3 garden=LOC=PA.P plantain:ABS house=LOC=PA.A
bë-a-x-a
 bring-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘The man brought the plantains that grow in the garden from the house.’

Notice that in the example above, *naë=nu=a* ‘garden=LOC=PA: P’ is not a modifier within the NP headed by *nónsi* ‘plantain’, as is clearly shown in (603), where the two forms are not adjacent to each other:

- (603) *Naënuá ka unin nónsi xubunuxun bëaxa.*
naë=nu=a ka uni=n nónsi xubu=nu=xun
 garden=LOC=PA.P NAR:3 man=ERG plantain:ABS house=LOC=PA.A
bë-a-x-a
 bring-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘The man brought the plantains that grow in the garden from the house.’

When following a form ending in *u* or *o*, there is an additional sequence *kw* in the participant agreement markers for S and P, *=ax* and *=a* respectively. This *kw* segment may be related to the form *kë* (**kwë*), which is still a locative marker in Shipibo-Konibo (and might be associated with the formative *-kë* attested in the forms *nëkë* ‘this side’ and *ukë* ‘the other side’). However, synchronically, this form is not productive in Kakataibo and the alternation just mentioned has to be understood as an allomorph-

mic pattern. See the examples in (604a–b) and (605a–b), where we find this alternation happening after *o* and after *u*, respectively.

- (604) a. *Juan ka amokwax ‘uxaxa.*

Juan ka amo=kwax ‘ux-a-x-a
Juan:ABS NAR:3 that.side=PA.S sleep-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Juan slept at that side.’

- b. *Juan=ñ ka amokwa ño méraxa.*

Juan=n ka amo=kwa ño méra-a-x-a
Juan=ERG NAR:3 that.side=PA.P tapir:ABS find-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Juan found the tapir at that side (where it was before).’

- (605) a. *Kini mëukwax ka ‘uxia.*

kini mëu=kwax ka ‘ux-i-a
hole inside=PA.S NAR:3 sleep-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘(The animal) is sleeping in the hole.’

- b. *Kini mëukwa ka pia.*

kini mëu=kwa ka pi-i-a
hole inside=PA.P NAR:3 eat-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘(The animal) is eating in the hole (and the food was there before).’

The space adverb *anu* ‘there’ can be used as a discourse connector, expressing a sequential relationship. When it is used in such a function, it appears in the first position of the sentence, preceding the second-position enclitics. As a connector, *anu* retains remnants of the PA marking system: the markers *=ax* ‘PA: S’ and *=xun* ‘PA: A’ are kept, and are opposed to the marker *-an* ‘different subjects/objects, previous event’ (see the discussion on switch-reference in Chapter 12); and the marker *=a* ‘PA: P’ is not included in the paradigm. Notice that, as indicated in the examples below, the form *-an* ‘different subjects/objects, previous event’ means only ‘different subjects’ when used on a discourse connector. The paradigm is illustrated in (606)–(608).

- (606) Participant agreement: A

Anuxun ka unin chaxu ‘axa.
anuxun ka uni=n chaxu ‘a-a-x-a
then:PA.A NAR:3 man=ERG deer:ABS kill-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Then (after A = the man did something), the man killed the deer.’

- (607) Participant agreement: S

Anuax ka uni ‘uxaxa.
anuax ka uni ‘ux-a-x-a
then:PA.S NAR:3 man:ABS sleep-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Then (after S = the man did something), the man slept.’

- (608) Different subjects

Anuan ka unin chaxu 'axa.

anuan ka uni=n chaxu 'a-a-x-a
then:DS/A/P NAR:3 man=ERG deer:ABS kill-PFV-3-NON.PROX

'Then (after another person did something), the man killed the deer.'

10.3.2 PA on other types of adjuncts

The forms *=ax* 'PA: S' and *=xun* 'PA: A' (but not *=a* 'PA: P') also appear attached to numerals, quantifiers and a few nouns. In such cases, the resulting forms take on a kind of adverbial meaning, although they remain oriented towards one specific participant of the event, and not to the event in general (as it is the case of forms carrying participant agreement markers).

The forms *=ax* 'PA: S' and *=xun* 'PA: A' can appear with quantifiers and numerals like *kamabi* 'all' and *rabé* 'two', with which they combine to derive the following forms: *kama=(a)x=bi* 'all together, PA: S', *kama=xun=bi* 'all together, PA: A', *rabé=ax* 'the two together, PA: S', *rabé=xun* 'the two together, PA: A'. Note that the intransitive versions (i.e. the ones which carry the PA form for 'S') are not attested in my natural database, but were accepted by my teachers during elicitation sessions. An example of *kama=xun=bi* 'all together, PA: A' follows:

- (609) *Usa 'ain kana tointi 'ain nun pia 'atankëxun kamaxunbi pia 'atankëxun tointi 'ain.*

usa 'ain ka=na toin-ti 'ain nu=n pia
like.that being:DS/A/P NAR=1PL hold.on-NOMLZ be:1/2 we=GEN arrow:ABS
'a-tankëxun **kamaxunbi pia 'a-tankëxun**
make-s/A>A:PE all.together:PA.A arrow:ABS make-s/A>A:PE
tointi 'ain
grap-NOMLZ be:1/2

'Being like this, we will grab our arrows, after preparing arrows, we, all together, will grab them.' (NA-incas-2007.025)

A similar situation is found when the PA markers *=ax* 'PA: S' and *=xun* 'PA: A' appear on some nouns. This usually happens with nouns like *bëbu* 'man' and *xanu* 'woman', in order to indicate that the event is carried out by men or women exclusively. See the following example:

- (610) *Xanuxun ka 'axa.*

xanu-xun ka 'a-a-x-a
woman-PA.A NAR:3 do.PFV-3-NON.PROX
'bWomen exclusively did it.'

11 Independent clauses

11.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the properties and grammatical elements that help to provide a definition and general characterization of independent clauses in Kakataibo (as opposed to the different types of dependent clauses that will be discussed in Chapters 12 and 13). In §11.2, I present the Kakataibo second-position enclitics, which are positionally-fixed elements that appear as the second constituent of the sentence and carry information about register, mood, modality, evidentiality, mirativity, addressee's perspective and subject cross-reference. In §11.3, I discuss adverbial enclitics, which are free-positional elements that are non-selective in terms of their combinatory possibilities. Semantically, adverbial enclitics express meanings usually conveyed by adverbs in other languages, such as 'only', 'also', 'first' and so on. Finally, in §11.4, I present the different criteria for defining independent clauses in the language (the particular properties of copula clauses are also discussed in that section).

11.2 Second position enclitics

Second position enclitics are positionally-fixed elements that appear as the second constituent of the sentence (see §16.2 for a discussion of constituent order in Kakataibo) and express register, mood, modality, evidentiality, mirativity, addressee's perspective and subject cross-reference. In some cases, second-position enclitics appear as the first element of the sentence. When this happens, the sentence is obligatorily interpreted as having a non-overtly expressed topic (and not a non-overtly expressed subject, as explained in detail in §16.2). Some of the forms that will be discussed in this section, however, must be attached to a preceding constituent, and therefore are obligatorily second position elements.

In the analysis proposed in this grammar, the paradigm of second-position enclitics includes 14 different forms. These elements combine with each other following a fixed order to express different meanings (see Table 79). The major morphological differences are associated with the so-called 'register' distinction in slot II: as will be seen, the conversational forms with *ri* do not have access to the contrastive enclitic *kaia* (slot I), the interrogative enclitic *ra* (slot III), the reportative enclitic *is* (slot IV) and the mirative enclitic *méné* (slot VI). In turn, conversational forms with *ri* do have access to the forms *pa* 'assertive, non-proximal to the addressee' and *péné* 'mirative, non-proximal to the addressee', which cannot be combined with the narrative marker *ka*. Each independent clause in Kakataibo requires register, mood and subject cross-reference specifications. However, since, as explained below, some mood and subject cross-reference categories are formally unmarked, it is possible to claim that slot II (register) is the only strictly obligatory slot in the paradigm of second-position enclitics.

Both the declarative and the imperative moods are formally unmarked and the interpretation of a sentence that does not carry the interrogative enclitic (slot III) as declarative or imperative depends on the presence or absence of other elements, particularly of the second-position enclitics expressing subject cross-reference (slot V). Imperative constructions are unmarked for subject cross-reference and have the addressee (plus the speaker in the case of the hortative) as the subject (but see §11.2.3.2.1 for some cases of imperative forms that take the reportative marker and a subsequent subject cross-reference enclitic). Conversely, slot V is obligatorily marked for sentences in the interrogative or declarative moods. The remaining slots are clearly non-obligatory. Table 79 summarizes all this information.

Table 79. Order of second-position enclitics

Slot I	Slot II	Slot III	Slot IV	Slot V	Slot VI
modality	register	mood	evidentiality	subject cross-reference	mirativity/participant agreement
<i>kuni</i> 'assertive'	<i>ka</i> 'narrative'	<i>ra</i> 'interrogative'	<i>is</i> 'reportative'	<i>a</i> '3' <i>mina</i> '2' <i>na</i> '1sing' (<i>na</i>) <i>nuna</i> '1plur'	<i>mēnē</i> 'mirative'
<i>sapi</i> 'dubitatively'			—		
<i>kaia</i> 'contrastive'	<i>ri</i> 'conversational'	—	—		<i>pa</i> 'assertive, non-proximal to the addressee' <i>pēnē</i> 'mirative, non-proximal to the addressee'

Second position enclitics marking modality, register, mood, mirativity and addressee's perspective (slots I, II, III and VI) represent a definitional criterion for distinguishing between independent and dependent clauses in Kakataibo: they are only found in independent clauses, with slot II being obligatory in independent clauses (see §11.4).

Usually, second-position enclitics are morphologically complex (with the imperative forms being the only exception). Their components form a sequence with a rigid order (as shown in Table 79 above), producing an interesting prosodic effect: second-position enclitics tend to form one prosodic unit equivalent to a word, starting with the forms included in slot II. The clitics associated with slot I are prosodically and distributionally different. First of all, they prosodically attach to the preceding element and do not create a single prosodic unit with the rest of second-position enclitics. Furthermore, while combinations of second-position enclitics beginning with the forms in slot II can appear without a preceding constituent (i.e., they can appear as the first constituent of the clause), the presence of any of the markers of slot I always requires a preceding constituent. Therefore, only the forms in slot I are obligatorily second position elements. The different behavior found between forms from slot I and the remaining slots suggests that the former might have had a different diachronic origin.

However, what groups all the forms in Table 79 is the fact that they cannot appear after any other constituent but the first one.

§11.2.1 presents the register, mood and subject cross-reference distinctions that these enclitics express. The reason why I discuss these three categories together is because each sentence must have them. The second-position enclitics from slot I, which mark modality, are described in §11.2.2, and the reportative enclitic from slot IV and other topics related to evidentiality are presented in §11.2.3. Finally, §11.2.4 presents the forms found in slot VI, which express mirativity and addressee's perspective. A more detailed discussion of some of the forms introduced here is offered in §16.8, paying particular attention to their function in verbal interactions.

11.2.1 Register, mood and subject cross-reference

Every independent clause in Kakataibo must carry a set of second-position enclitics indicating its register, mood and subject cross-reference categories. This excludes the imperative and the hortative, where subject cross-reference is not available if the form does not also include a reportative marker.

Among all those categories, the one that I call “**register**” exhibits perhaps the most typologically interesting nature. The Kakataibo language establishes a distinction between a narrative and a conversational register by means of the second-position enclitics *ka* and *ri*, respectively. While *ka* appears in both conversations and narratives, *ri* is non-existent in the latter and is clearly restricted to the former, where it interacts with *ka* in ways that are discussed in §16.8. Their exact nature requires more study, but a first account of this cross-linguistically highly interesting category is presented in this grammar (see also Shell 1975, who also offers a brief discussion of their function). What will be argued in §16.8 is that the register distinction in Kakataibo establishes a distinction between storytelling-like speech acts (in which a single speech act participant keeps the turn for a long portion of the verbal interaction) and conversation-like speech acts (in which both speech act participants are expected to constantly negotiate the turns). The former are associated with the marker *ka* ‘narrative’ and the latter, with the marker *ri* ‘conversational’. As we will also see in §16.8, both markers carry presuppositions regarding the information status of the addressee, and therefore exhibit interesting interactions with the verbal markers that express addressee’s perspective (see in §9.2.7).

Based on the register distinction, second-position enclitics in Kakataibo establish a system with three basic speech acts (Sadock and Zwicky 1985) or mood distinctions: declarative, interrogative and imperative. While declarative and imperative sentences can contain either *ri* ‘conversational’ or *ka* ‘narrative’ (see §11.2.1.1 and §11.2.1.2), interrogative sentences can only be expressed by means of *ka* ‘narrative’ (see §11.2.1.3; but see also §11.2.2.2 for an interesting use of *sapi* ‘dubitative’ plus *ri* ‘conversational’ for expressing a kind of rhetorical question).

With respect to subject cross-reference marking, second-position enclitics establish four basic distinctions: first person singular, second person, third person and first person plural, as shown in Table 80.

Table 80. Subject cross-reference and register distinctions in second-position enclitics

Conversational register	Narrative register
<i>ri</i> a ‘third person’	<i>ka</i> (< <i>kaa</i>) ‘third person’
<i>rimi</i> na ‘second person’	<i>kamina</i> ‘second person’
<i>ri</i> na ‘first person singular’	<i>kana</i> ‘first person singular’
<i>ri(na)nuna</i> ‘first person plural’	<i>ka(na)nuna</i> ‘first person plural’

As can be seen, in the case of the second person and the first person plural, we can identify a formative *-na*, which follows the bound pronominal forms *mi* ‘second person’ and *nu* ‘first person plural’. In the case of *nu* ‘first person plural’, it can additionally precede the bound pronominal element (but *na* is phonologically unstable in that position). This results in the forms *mina* ‘2’ and *nanuna* (~ *nuna*) ‘1pl’. In the case of the third person, we can also identify a bound form that is phonologically equivalent to the free pronoun (i.e., *a* ‘3sg’), but there is no ending *-na* following it. Note that the bound pronoun for the third person is only identifiable following *ri* ‘conversational’; when it appears after *ka*, the underlying form *ka-a* surfaces as [ka(:)]. In the case of the first person singular, we do not find a bound version of the pronoun ‘*ë* ‘1.sg’, following either *ka* or *ri*, but only the form *na*. The presence and absence of *na* produces a distinction between first and second persons (or speech act participants), on the one hand, and third persons (or non-speech act participants), on the other. A similar distinction is found in the verbal subject cross-reference markers (see §9.2.5).

11.2.1.1 Register distinctions in the declarative mood

In general, the declarative mood “is subject to judgments of truth and falsehood. It is used for making announcements, stating conclusions, making claims, relating stories and so on” (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 160). In many languages, declarative utterances do not carry any special or overt marker and the declarative mood is expressed by using “the most basic and widespread form of the clause available in the language” (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 160), which is usually unmarked. According to the analysis proposed here, in Kakataibo, declarative mood is also unmarked and the speakers only have to choose between the narrative and the conversational enclitics (that is, *ka* and *ri*, respectively), which are followed by a pronominal enclitic that cross-references the subject argument.

As previously mentioned, declarative statements can be expressed both in the narrative and the conversational registers, and in §16.8 it will be shown how this distinction interacts in natural conversations. In what follows, I offer two examples of

declarative utterances in both registers. In the example in (611) we find a declarative utterance in the conversational register and in (612) we encounter a declarative utterance in the narrative register. Both examples come from the same conversation and were uttered by the same speaker. As will also be shown in §16.8, where we will see a larger portion of the same conversation, the former example comes from a fragment in which both speakers were constantly exchanging the turns, while the latter comes from a section in which one of the speech-act participants keeps the turn to tell something new to the other. The conversation is about a tapir calf that was adopted as a pet in the village of Yamino and suddenly was killed by a group of outsiders.

- (611) *Ajá ‘ënribi rina ñantamashi ‘ia kwaëxan.*
 ajá ‘ë=n=ribi **rina** ñanta=ma=shi ‘i-ia kwat-ëxa-n
 yes 1SG=A=also **CON.1** morning=NEG=only be-A/S>P hear-PST.days.ago-1/2
 ‘Yes... I also heard so before it dawned.’ (ME.FE-tapir-2008.007)

- (612) *‘E ka ain ‘ibun kaxa bikinun kaxa.*
 ‘ë **ka** ain ‘ibu=n ka-a-x-a
 1SG:ABS **NAR:3** 3:GEN owner=ERG say-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 bi-kin-nun ka-a-x-a
 pick.up-APPL-PURP say-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘(That they killed the tapir) its owner said it to me, he asked me to help him to
 pick it up’ (ME.FE-tapir-2008.021)

11.2.1.2 The narrative register and the interrogative mood

Interrogative utterances elicit “a verbal response from the addressee” (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 160). Both main types of questions can be identified in Kakataibo: yes/no questions (see §11.2.1.2.1) and content questions (see §11.2.1.2.2). These are restricted to the narrative register encoded by the enclitic *ka*, which is the only register enclitic that can be combined with the interrogative clitic *ra*.

11.2.1.2.1 Yes/no questions

Polar questions seek “a comment on the degree of truth of the questioned proposition” (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 179). Thus, since they are not seeking information, they do not contain question words. In Kakataibo, yes/no questions show the same constituent order attested in non-interrogative utterances, and the differences between declarative utterances and yes/no questions surface in the second-position enclitics (where we find the interrogative enclitic *ra*), and in the interrogative intonational contour presented in §3.4.1 (i.e., interrogative utterances end in a rising pitch), Example (613) below illustrates two yes/no questions.

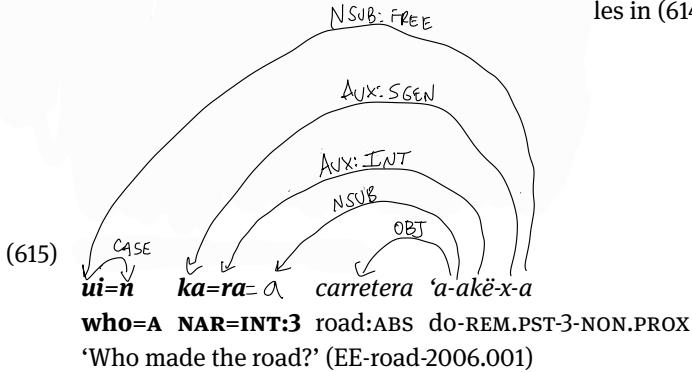
- (613) *Kara ain bashi 'ikën? kara 'ianñu 'ikën? kixun kananuna barin.*

ka=ra *ain* *bashi* *'ikën*
NAR=INT:3 3SG:GEN mountain:ABS be:3
ka=ra *'ian=ñu* *'ikën ki-xun* *ka=nanuna*
NAR=INT:3 lake=PROP be:3 say:INTR-S/A>A:SE NAR=1PL
bari-i-n
look.for-IPFV-1/2

‘Saying, “Are there mountains? Does (this piece of land) have lakes?”, we look for (a place to make a garden).’ (SE-agriculture-2007.004–005)

11.2.1.2.2 Content questions

Content questions seek a specific piece of information. In Kakataibo, content questions include a question word (see §5.1.1.2 for a list of the question words), and they use a final marker as yes/no questions. That is, they use the form *ra* in question words are fronted and les in (614) and (615).



11.2.1.3 Register distinctions in the imperative mood

Imperative constructions in Kakataibo include: (1) a register enclitic (either *ka* ‘narrative’ or *ri* ‘conversational’), (2) no subject cross-reference (but see the special case of reported imperatives in §11.2.3.2.1), and (3) a bare verbal stem (not further inflected). Thus, there is no dedicated imperative marker and the imperative meaning comes from the imperative construction just mentioned and its three components. Note that it is cross-linguistically very common for imperative forms to lack subject cross-reference and to use unmarked verbs; the salient point about Kakataibo is the use of the register enclitic, which creates interesting distinctions that will be commented on here.

In addition, imperative constructions can be recognized through their distinctive imperative contour: imperative constructions obligatorily end in a high pitch and, if the verb stem ends in a vowel and has one or two syllables, a verb-final glottal stop or nasalization is also added. The imperative nasalized contour, which can only

be used in the conversational register, is considered pragmatically stronger than the glottalized one and very rude (see §3.4.2.3 for more details on the imperative contour). Examples of the simplest imperative forms are the following:

- (616) *ka* 'ux! ‘sleep!’
ri 'ux! ‘sleep!’

The two forms above have clear pragmatic differences: *ri* is always dependent on other contextual information. It can be used, for example, if one presupposes that the addressee of the imperative does not want to carry out the command or that carrying out the command would be positive for him or her. Thus, *ri ux* ‘sleep!’ can be said, for example, when the addressee is a child who refuses to sleep, and this refusal makes the speaker feel upset. In such contexts, imperatives with *ri* receive very strong overtones. Under other conditions, however, the use of this imperative can be considered cordial. For example, if we have a guest in our house and we believe that he or she is tired but too shy or polite to ask to go to sleep, *ri ux* can be used to let him or her know that he or she is welcome to rest. The important point is that in both situations, the imperative is highly dependent on the context. Short imperatives with *ka*, as in the first example in (616) are pragmatically unmarked in relation to this: their use does not presuppose any contextual information; they can be used in most situations and, thus, constitute the most common imperative construction in Kakataibo.

The imperative construction described above is not only used for proper imperatives, but also for related meanings, such as hortative, prohibitive and possible consequence, which in general express “the speaker’s desire to influence future events” (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 160). All of them will be presented in the following sections, which also include other types of imperative forms.

11.2.1.3.1 Plural imperatives

Plural imperatives make use of the same second-position enclitics as singular imperatives. But they add the plural verbal morpheme *-kan* to the verb (without further inflection) as in the examples in (617a–b).

- (617) a. *Ka pikan!*
ka pi-kan
 NAR eat-PL:IMP
 ‘Eat you all!’
- b. *Ri ‘abakan!*
ri abat-kan
 CON run-PL:IMP
 ‘Run you all!’

11.2.1.3.2 Hortatives

Hortative constructions in Kakataibo do not overtly mark any subject, but it is understood that their subject includes the speaker, in addition to the addressee, very similar to *let's*-forms in English. In Kakataibo, hortative imperatives are expressed by a complex structure: the lexical verb is expressed as a non-finite verb ending in either *-ti* 'nominalizer' or *-nun* 'different subjects and objects, posterior event', which is followed by the register enclitic without a subject cross-reference specification (just like the imperative) and the verb *kwan* 'go' in its imperative (unmarked) form. Hortatives with *-nun* are considered less immediate, or more remote, than imperatives with *-ti*. Therefore, hortatives with *-nun* are not accepted with *ri* 'conversational', which presupposes that the speaker is already involved in the event. See the examples in (618a–b) and (619).

- (618) a. *Kwanun ka kwan!*

kwan-nun *ka* *kwan*
go-DS/A/P:POE NAR go:IMP

'Let's go (lit. you go and I will also go)!'

- b. *Kwanti ka kwan!*

kwan-ti *ka* *kwan*
go-NOMLZ NAR go:IMP

'Let's go (soon, now)!'

- (619) *Nashiti ri kwan!*

nashi-ti *ri* *kwan*
wash-NOMLZ CON go:IMP

'Let's go to wash ourselves in the river (I am doing so, and it is very nice, e.g. it is sunny)!'

Hortatives with *ri* 'conversational' can be highly cordial and are often used as *invitations*. They are very likely to be used when the speaker is already doing something and invites the addressee to join him or her. However, this cordiality seems to be a pragmatic implicature, because under other circumstances, it may not be attested: for instance, if the speaker is working hard and thinks that the addressee should also be working, the speaker would use a hortative with *ri* in order to express a very strong command. Again, *ri* 'conversational' is used in situations that are highly dependent on the context and presuppose some contextual information. This seems to be a clear generalization from the data.

There is also an exhortative particle in Kakataibo, *tain*, which is used at the beginning of the different types of hortative constructions presented in this section. One example is presented in (620).

- (620) **Tain** *tanti ka miribi!*
tain *tan-ti* *ka* *mi=ribi*
EXH rest-NOMLZ NAR you=also
'Let's rest, you also!' (NA-foreigner-2007.036)

11.2.1.3.3 Prohibitives

Prohibitive constructions are negative imperatives. In Kakataibo they are formed on the basis of the imperative construction previously described, but include two verbal forms: a lexical verb and an auxiliary. The lexical verb is modified by the switch-reference form *-xun* 'S/A>A' (for transitive verbs) or *-ax* 'S/A>S' (for intransitive verbs), as well as the negative marker *=ma*. This negative verb is then followed by the enclitic *ka* 'narrative' and by either the transitive or the intransitive auxiliary, '*a*' or '*i*', in harmony with the transitivity of the lexical verb. As expected (since it ends in a vowel), the auxiliary appears with the final glottal stop that is part of the imperative contour. Note that prohibitive constructions with *ri* were systematically rejected by my teachers, but I do not have a satisfactory explanation for this: in principle, it should be possible to have a prohibitive construction that presupposes contextual information.

- (621) a. *Pixunma ka 'a'!*
pi-xun=ma *ka* **'a'**
eat-S/A>A=NEG NAR **do:IMP**
'Don't eat (it)!'
b. *Uxaxma ka 'i'!*
'ux-ax=ma *ka* **'i'**
eat-S/A>A=NEG NAR **do-IMP**
'Don't sleep!'

Prohibitive constructions constitute a case of **transitivity harmony** (see §12.5.1 for a definition of transitivity harmony and a list of other constructions that follow this principle). In prohibitive constructions, the transitivity class of the lexical verb determines the transitivity class of the auxiliary: if the lexical verb is transitive, the auxiliary also has to be transitive (and vice-versa). See (622).

- (622) *pi-* ('eat', transitive) > *'a* 'transitive auxiliary'
'ux- ('sleep', intransitive) > *'i* 'intransitive auxiliary'

Then, if the auxiliary is transitive, the switch-reference marker in the lexical verb has to be *-xun* 'S/A>A' and if the auxiliary is intransitive the switch-reference marker in the lexical verb has to be *-ax* 'S/A>S', in order to agree with the grammatical subject of the auxiliary: S, in the case of '*i* 'intransitive auxiliary', and A, in the case of '*a* 'transitive auxiliary'. See (623).

- (623) *a* ‘transitive auxiliary’ > *pi-xun* (‘eat-s/A>A’)
i ‘intransitive auxiliary’ > *ux-ax* (‘sleep-s/A>s’)

11.2.1.3.4 Possible consequence

There is a final type of construction that is formed on the basis of the imperative construction and, like the prohibitive, it can only appear with *ka* (and not with *ri*). Its function can be referred to as ‘possible consequence’ (Dixon 2009), since it warns about a possible danger in case the addressee does not carry out the command. This construction also exhibits a complex structure, which includes an overt pronominal form ending in *-na* and a finite verb. Following that finite verb, we find the imperative construction consisting of the register marker *ka* and a verb in its unmarked form. Notice that the ‘possible consequence’ command admits first person plural subjects, as in example (625), in addition to second person ones, as in example (624). The subject can also be a third person subject, in which case, the pronoun obligatorily carries the negative marker *=ma* (and not *-na*), as illustrated in (626). I do not have an explanation for this difference other than the existence of two different constructions with similar meaning. See the following examples:

- (624) *Mina nipakëtin ka ‘ibut!*
mi-na nipakët-i-n ka ‘ibut
 2SG-lest fall.down-IPFV-1/2 NAR descend:IMP
 ‘Come down, lest you fall!’
- (625) *Nuna nipakëtin ka ‘ibu’!*
nu-na nipakët-i-n ka ‘ibut
 1PL-lest fall.down-IPFV-1/2 NAR descend:IMP
 ‘Let’s come down, lest we fall!’
- (626) *A=ma nipakët-i-a ka ‘apat!*
a=ma nipakët-i-a ka ‘apat
 3SG=NEG fall.down-IPFV-NON.PROX NAR take.down
 ‘Take him down, lest he falls!’

11.2.1.3.5 Space and imperatives

There are two different markers that can occur in imperatives and that indicate that the event in question is going to happen far away from the speaker. Both occur in imperatives with *ka* and have not been attested in imperatives with *ri*. The reason for this might be that the events that they express are going to happen far from the speech act location, and are therefore not contextual in the sense previously proposed. These suffixes are *-tan* and *-ai*, and both could be glossed as ‘there’. The former presupposes that the speaker and the addressee are in the same location and that the addressee

will go to another place in order to accomplish the command. Conversely, the latter suffix is used when the speaker and the addressee are not in the same place and the speaker asks the addressee to do something where he or she already is. Thus, *-ai* does not imply that the addressee has to go somewhere else in order to accomplish the command. Based on this, a more precise gloss for *-tan* may be ‘go to’ and a better gloss for *-ai* may be something like ‘(do it) there (where you already are)’. The two forms are presented in the examples in (627) and (628).

- (627) *Kaxori kana bitsima ka buantan!*

<i>kaxori</i>	<i>ka-na</i>	<i>bits-i=ma</i>	<i>ka buan-tan</i>
pomegranate:ABS	NAR=1SG	pick.up-IPFV=NEG	NAR take-go.to
‘I will not pick up the pomegranates, take them with you!’			
(JE-pomegranates-2007.015)			

- (628) *Ka nipamiai! Ka nipamiai!*

<i>ka nipat-mi-ai</i>	<i>ka nipat-mi-ai</i>
NAR fall.down-CAUS-there	NAR fall.down-CAUS-there
‘Make (him) throw down (the fire) there where you are! Make (him) throw down (the fire) there where you are!’ (JE-parakeet-2007.011)	

11.2.2 Slot I: Modality

Modality “codes the speaker’s attitude toward the proposition” (Givón 2001: 300). With the term “attitude”, Givón refers to two types of judgements: epistemic judgements and evaluative (‘deontic’) judgements. While the second type includes categories such as desirability, ability and obligation (and is largely expressed through verbal morphology in Kakataibo; see §9.1.4); the first type includes notions such as truth, probability, certainty, belief and evidence. Kakataibo second-position enclitics are associated with judgements considered to express epistemic rather than evaluative modality (but see the discussion on *kaia* ‘contrastive’ in §11.2.2.3 below).

11.2.2.1 *=kuni* ‘assertive’

The enclitic *=kuni* is used to indicate that the propositional content of the clause is considered highly certain. Such a meaning corresponds to what Givón (2001: 31) calls a “realis assertion”. The enclitic *=kuni* can be used with different purposes and in different contexts. It can be used to talk about predictions that are sure to happen, or to express emphasis about the truth value of a proposition that refers to either general knowledge or to particular events that have happened in the past. The examples in (629) and (630) illustrate some uses of *=kuni*.

- (629) ‘*Ēkuni kana Limanu kwanti ‘ain.*
 ‘*ë=x=kuni ka=na Lima=nu kwan-ti ‘ain*
 1SG=S=ASSE NAR=1SG Lima=LOC go-NOMLZ be:1/2
 ‘I will go to Lima for sure.’ (Sure prediction)
- (630) *Bashinukuni ka ‘itsaira ñuinakama ‘ikēn.*
 bashi=nu=kuni ka ‘itsa=ira ñuina=kama ‘ikēn
 mountain=LOC=ASSE NAR:3 a.lot=INT animal=PL:ABS be:3
 ‘Certainly, there are lots of animals in the mountain.’ (General knowledge)

The following example of =*kuni* has been taken from a narrative:

- (631) ‘*Ēnkuni kana ‘unan a ñukama.*
 ‘*ë=n=kuni ka=na ‘unan a ñu=kama*
 1SG=A=ASSE NAR=1SG know:1/2 that thing=PL:ABS
 ‘I do know all those things.’ (EE-conquerors-2007-21)

The marker =*kuni* ‘assertive’ can appear with both *ka* and *ri*, as shown in the examples in (632) and (633), respectively. Note that in the latter case, the event is interpreted as contextual and, during elicitation sessions, my Kakataibo teachers always told me that you can only say (633) if you are taking a car to Lima or if you are packing your bags. Therefore, the contextual nature attributed to *ri* ‘conversational’ is also attested in this example.

- (632) ‘*Ēkuni kana Limanu kwanti ‘ain.*
 ‘*ë=x=kuni ka=na Lima=nu kwan-ti ‘ain*
 1SG=S=ASSE NAR=1SG Lima=LOC go-NOMLZ be:1/2
 ‘I will go to Lima for sure.’
- (633) ‘*Ēkuni rina Limanu kwanti ‘ain*
 ‘*ë=x=kuni ri=na Lima=nu kwan-ti ‘ain*
 1SG=S=ASSE CON=1SG Lima=LOC will-NOMLZ be:1/2
 ‘I will go to Lima for sure (as you can see).’

11.2.2.2 =*sapi* ‘dubitative’

Clauses with the enclitic =*sapi* correspond to what Givón (2001: 302) calls “irrealis assertion”. The enclitic *sapi* can be used for weak predictions and inferences based on indirect evidence or speculation. In that last context, *sapi* is similar to an indirect inferential evidential, but this function should be understood as a secondary, pragmatically-triggered, function only (see also §11.2.3). The primary meaning of *sapi* is to code uncertainty and doubt, which are related to the speaker’s attitude (towards the truth value/probability of the statement), rather than to the source of information.

Two examples of *=sapi* follow. In the first one, this form expresses a weak prediction: the speaker is planning to work somewhere far away, and he is not sure if this will be possible. In the second example, the speaker expresses uncertainty about a past event. The speaker knows that two engineers went to visit the Kakataibo people a long time ago, but he is unsure about the identity of these engineers and uses *=sapi* to indicate this uncertainty. Note that no evidential meaning is expressed in any of the two examples.

- (634) *Anusapi kana 'iti 'ain rabë uxë o kimisha uxë kana isti 'ain.*

anu=sapi ka=na 'i-ti 'ain rabë uxë o kimisha uxë
there=DUB NAR=1SG be-NOMLZ be:1/2 two month or three month
ka=na is-ti 'ain
NAR=1SG see-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I will probably be there for two or three months, I will see.'
 (SE-my.plans-2007.006)

- (635) *Ingeniero Habich 'imainun ingeniero Tamishisapi ka 'iakëxa a.*

ingeniero Habich 'imainun ingeniero Tamishi=sapi
engineer Habich:ABS and engineer Tamishi:ABS=DUB
ka 'i-akë-x-a a
NAR:3 be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX that:P
 'Those ones were, I think, the engineers Habich and Tamishi.'
 (NA-ancestors-2007.007)

There are two basic contexts where *=sapi* can receive overtones of evidentiality: (1) in the case of weak direct evidence for an event (for example, when there is uncertain non-visual evidence or when the circumstances may shed doubt on our visual evidence); or (2) in the case of statements based on speculations for which we only have very weak indirect evidence (if any). Thus, for instance, the example in (636), can be said under the conditions given between parentheses.

- (636) *Emiliosapi ka bëbaxa.*

Emilio=sapi ka bëba-a-x-a
emilio:ABS=DUB NAR:3 arrive-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'Emilio probably arrived.' (I saw a shadow, or heard some noise, and it is probably him) / (I knew that he was planning to arrive that day and I guess he did)

Another important fact about *=sapi* is that, although it can appear with both *ka* 'narrative' and *ri* 'conversational', the combination *=sapi ri* always receives an interrogative-like interpretation. Sentences with *=sapi ri* are understood as some kind of rhetorical question, which presupposes that the propositional content presented is correct and asks for a confirmation. This is shown in (637) and (638).

- (637) *Juansapi ka Limanu kwanxa*
Juan=sapi ka Limanu kwan-a-x-a
 Juan:ABS=DUB NAR:3 Lima=DIR go-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'Juan went to Lima, I think.'
- (638) *Juansapi ria Limanu kwanxa*
Juan=sapi ri=a Limanu kwan-a-x-a
 Juan:ABS=DUB CON=3 Lima=DIR go-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'Did Juan go to Lima (as I believe)?'

In (639) (which is a part of a conversation), we can clearly see that the introduction of an utterance with *=sapi ria* by speaker ME immediately elicits a confirmation from speaker FE.

- (639) **ME:** ajá a las siete de la noche *sapi ria 'ixan*.
ajá a las siete de la noche=sapi ri=a 'i-ëxan-n
 yes at seven.p.m.=DUB CON=3 be-PST.days.ago-1/2
 'Hmm, was it at seven p.m. (as I believe)?' (ME.FE-tapir-2008.010)
- FE:** *a esa hora ria 'ixan*
a esa hora ri=a 'i-ëxan-n
 at.that.time CON=3 be-PST.days.ago-1/2
 'It was at that time' (ME.FE-tapir-2008.011)

It is important to mention that I do not have any example where one of these question-like utterances is answered negatively and that my Kakataibo teachers systematically rejected such a possibility in elicitation.

11.2.2.3 *=kaia* 'contrastive'

The contrastive meaning of *=kaia* is not properly epistemic, since it contrasts the proposition expressed in the clause with other possible worlds, which may or may not have been mentioned previously in discourse. In many cases, an epistemic interpretation is obtained, in the sense that the proposition is supposed to be true in relation to another possible situation; but in some other instances (mostly concerned with future propositions), a 'preference'-reading is obtained ('it would be good if' or 'it is better if'). In this case, *=kaia* is an evaluative rather than an epistemic marker. In the following sections, I discuss the function of this form in declarative and interrogative utterances. I have not found any case of this form in an imperative construction (something like the following construction: **mix=kaia ka kwan* 'better, go!') and such sentences were rejected by my Kakataibo teachers in elicitation.

11.2.2.3.1 =kaia in the declarative mood

In the declarative mood, =kaia establishes a comparison between the whole event expressed by the clause and another event, which may be overtly expressed or just presupposed; or between one participant of the event and another individual that was either previously introduced into discourse (including the addressee or the speaker). In addition, as mentioned in the introduction, =kaia is used to indicate the preference of the speaker in relation to the event; that is, it functions as a deontic marker that indicates that the event should happen in one particular way and not in any other. This can be seen in the examples in (640) and (641).

- (640) ‘Exkaia kana Limanu tsótin.

‘ë=x=**kaia** **ka=na** *Lima=nu* *tsót-i-n*
 1SG=S=CONT NAR=1SG Lima=LOC live-IPFV-1/2

‘Differently from you, or somebody else, I live in Lima.’

‘**It is better if** I live in Lima.’

- (641) ‘Exkaia kana Limanu kwanin.

‘ë=x=**kaia** **ka=na** *Lima=nu* *kwan-i-n*
 1SG=S=CONT NAR=1SG Lima=DIR go-IPFV-1/2

‘Differently from you, or somebody else, I will go to Lima.’

‘**It is better if** I go to Lima.’

11.2.2.3.2 =kaia in the interrogative mood

The enclitic =kaia can also be used in the interrogative mood in one particular context: the speaker realizes that an event has happened and then asks a rhetoric question about it. The presence of =kaia as part of this question indicates that the event expressed is contrary to (i.e. contrasts with) the speaker’s expectations. Something like “are you arriving, even though I expected something else (e.g., that you will come tomorrow)?” or “has the devil brought you here even though I expected something else (e.g., that he killed you)?” That is, the interrogative clitic in this construction produces a rhetorical question and =kaia conveys ‘contrast with expectations’. From the combination of these two meanings, a ‘surprising’-interpretation is obtained. Note that the interrogative enclitic (excluding any modality markers) can be used by itself for rhetorical purposes in certain contexts, as is the case of the question *kaina uan?* ‘Have you come?’, which is a greeting form equivalent to *hello* in English. The use of =kaia in combination with the interrogative is illustrated in (642) and (643).

- (642) ‘Exkaia karana Puerto Azulnu ain.

‘ë=x=**kaia** **ka=ra-na** *Puerto Azul=nu* *ain*
 1SG=S=CONT NAR=INT=1SG Puerto Azul=DIR come:1/2

‘I am arriving at Puerto Azul, surprisingly, because I wanted to go to somewhere else instead (lit. am I arriving to Puerto Azul contrary to my expectations?).’

- (643) *Mixkaia kaina ain.*
mi=x=kaia kaina ain
2SG=S=CONT NAR:INT:2 come:1/2
 ‘You arrive, surprisingly?’ (lit. are you arriving contrary to my expectations?).’

According to my teachers, these examples are not proper questions: there is no doubt about the truth of the event, because the speaker is already at Puerto Azul or is seeing the addressee (whom he did not expect to arrive that day). In the example in (644), the addressee is the object of the clause containing the enclitics =*kaia kara*, and a similar interpretation is obtained. The narrative is about a father whose daughter was kidnapped by a devil. Many years after this, the father was walking in the jungle and fell down into a hole, where he found his daughter with several children. Then, the father says: "ah, the demon brought you here", expressing his deep surprise, but not asking a real question (because he could see that she was there).

- (644) 'Itsaira tuañu tuañu 'ikë kaisa an méraxun kakëxa "ënukaia kara mi bëakëxa tsikiumanun bëakëxa 'ën inin".
 'itsa=ira tua=ñu tua=ñu 'i-kë ka=is=a a=n mëra-xun
 a.lot.of-INT child=PROP child=PROP be-NOMLZ NAR=REP=3 3SG=a find-S/A>A
 ka-akë-x-a ënu=kai a ka=ra mi
 say-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX here=CONT NAR=INT.3 you:P
 bë-akë-x-a tsikiumanu=n bë-akë-x-a
 take-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX demon=ERG take-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 'ë=n inin
 1SG=GEN daughter:voc
 'It is said that, when he found her many children, he said, "My daughter, the demon brought you here.' (NA-tsikiumano-2007.023)

The ‘contrary to expectations’ reading is only possible if the event expressed by the sentence includes the first or the second persons as one of the participants (e.g. the subject in (642) and (643); or the object in (644)). In the case of third person participants, a dubitative reading is always obtained. This is shown in (645), where we never find a shortened verbal form with an addressee’s perspective marker:

- (645) *'Inunkaia kara anu 'axun rakanbianx.*
 *'inu=n=kaia ka=ra anu 'a-xun rakan=bian-a-x *-a, *-in*
 jaguar=ERG=CONT NAR=INT:3 there kill-s/A>A lean-going-PFV-3
 ‘Killing (it) there, perhaps a jaguar leaned (the meat) on the ground and went away.’

Given the two different interpretations with first/second and third persons, it seems more likely that neither the ‘surprise’ nor the ‘dubitative’ meaning is directly coded by

the enclitic, because otherwise there would be no reason for why a different meaning is obtained in each case. If we assume, however, that we are dealing with rhetorical questions in both cases, it is easier to account for the two readings. Since the third person is not a speech act participant, we do not necessarily have clear evidence that contradicts our expectations and this does not trigger a ‘surprise’ reading, but a ‘dubitative’ reading. This is different from a context where the unexpected event has to do with one of the speech act participants. In this case, the evidence that contradicts our expectations is clearly available in the speech act context itself.

11.2.3 Slot IV: evidentiality

Evidentiality systems can be of different types depending on the number and the meanings of the available choices. Kakataibo has one clear evidential marker: *is* ‘reportative’, which contrasts with utterances unmarked for evidentiality that express ‘everything else’. These types of evidentiality systems that allow for two choices, “with one, reported, evidential, which covers information acquired through someone else’s narration, are widespread all over the world” (Aikhenvald 2004: 31). Even though there is only one primary evidential marker in the language, Kakataibo also has some other forms that may be interpreted as evidentials in certain contexts and under certain conditions: *sapi* ‘dubitative’ (see §11.2.2) and *méné* ‘mirative’ (see §11.2.4.1). The analysis proposed in this book is, however, that these markers are not primarily evidentials.

11.2.3.1 The only true evidential: =*is* ‘reportative’

Throughout this grammar, we have seen many examples where the reportative marker was used. The reasons for its frequency are that most of the examples come from narratives, that most of these narratives are traditional tales and similar stories, and that the reportative =*is* has to be used once per sentence (and additionally in some dependent clauses) throughout such narratives. Thus, each sentence in traditional narratives and in stories that were learned second-hand includes at least one reportative marker.

The enclitic =*is* also appears in legends and tales about mythical characters. Dreams are also told using this evidential, as is the case of narratives about information obtained from listening to the radio. However, information obtained from viewing television shows or movies does not appear with the reportative evidential. Below, I present some examples of the different contexts where the evidential =*is* is used or not used, in order to illustrate the functional distribution of this enclitic. The first three constitute the most common contexts, and include clauses taken from a myth (646) and from narratives about historical facts, one unwitnessed (647) and the other witnessed by the speaker (648). Notice that the enclitic =*is* is not found in the last example because the speaker has witnessed the event himself. In addition to that, examples (649), (650) and (651) include instances of clauses taken from narratives

about dreams, about information obtained through the radio and about information from a movie, respectively. The last one does not include the reportative marker.

- (646) *Chérékënén rara kaisa ‘iakëxa tsi kwëbí.*
chérékën=n rara ka=is=a ‘i-akë-x-a tsi kwëbí
 parakeet=GEN ancestor:ABS **NAR=REP=3** be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX fire near.by
 ‘It is said that the ancestor of the parakeet was close to the fire.’
 (JE-parakeet-2007.002, myth)
- (647) *Nukën chaiti kaisa ënu tsóma ‘ikën sino nukën chaiti kaisa tsókëxa Rima kaxu nortenu.*
nukën chaiti ka=is=a ënu tsoot-a=ma ‘ikën sino nukën
 1PL.GEN ancestor **NAR=REP=3** here live-NOMLZ=NEG be:3 but 1PL:GEN
chaiti ka=is=a tsoot-akë-x-a Rima kaxu Norte=nu
 ancestor **NAR=REP=3** live-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX Lima behind north=LOC
 ‘It is said that our ancestors did not live here, they lived behind Lima, to the North.’ (EE-north-2006.001, narrative about an historical fact told to the speaker)
- (648) *‘Ën chaiti Bolivar ‘imainun ‘ën papa ‘imainun ‘ën kuku akaman ka a carretera akëxa.*
‘ë=n chaiti Bolivar ‘imainun ‘ë=n papa ‘imainun ‘ë=n
 1SG=GEN ancestor bolivar and 1SG=GEN father and 1SG=GEN
kuku a=kama=n ka a carretera ‘a-akë-x-a
 uncle 3SG=PL=ERG **NAR:3** that path:ABS do-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘My relative Bolivar, my father and my uncle, they, built the path.’ (EE-road-2006.004, narrative about a historical fact that the speaker witnessed)
- (649) *Usa ‘aish kaisna Robertonëñ xubunu ‘ain ‘itsaira tuakamabë kwai.*
usa ‘aish ka=is=na Roberto-nëñ xubu=nu ‘ain
 being.like.that **NAR=REP=1** Roberto=GEN house=LOC be:1/2
‘itsa=ira tua=kama=bë kwai-i
 a.lot.of=INTF child=PL=COM:S play-S/A>S:SE
 ‘Then, in my dream, I was at Roberto’s house, playing with lots of children.’
 (YE-dream-2008.006, narrative about a dream)
- (650) *Achushi huelga kaisa Ucayalinubi kamabi ëmanu ‘iti ‘ikën.*
achushi huelga ka=is=a Ucayali=nu=bi kamabi
 one strike:ABS **NAR=REP=3** Ucayali=LOC=same all
ëma=nu ‘i-ti ‘ikën
 town=LOC be-NOMLZ be:3
 ‘It is said that there will be a strike here in Ucayali, in each town.’
 (EE-radio-2008.013, information obtained by the radio)

- (651) *A amiricanonën ka achushi nötën ‘itsaira uni ‘axa amiricanokama ‘itsi
 a amiricano=n ka achushi nötë=n ‘itsa=ira
 that American=ERG NAR:3 one day-TEMP.LOC a.lot.of-INT
 uni ‘a-a-x-a americano=kama ‘itsi
 man kill-PFV-3-NON.PROX American=PL other:ABS*
 ‘That American person killed lots of people in one day, other American people.’
 (EE-movie-2008.007, a narrative about an action movie)

Based on the previous examples, we can appreciate the basic function of the reportative evidential *=is* in both traditional communicative situations (i.e. tale-telling) and new contexts, associated with the introduction of new technologies, such as television and radio. We can see that the evidential enclitic *=is* is used for information obtained through the radio, but not for events watched on TV. Even though events on TV are not directly experienced, they are not told using the reportative, very likely because they have a visual basis. Differently from that, the information obtained through the radio is presented with the reportative (i.e., such information is treated as hearsay information).

According to data obtained through elicitation, non-visual but directly experienced events (i.e. events experienced through other senses, including hearing) are expressed in clauses unmarked for evidentiality; thus they are treated similarly to direct and visual information. However, it is also possible to find the use of the dubitative marker *=sapi* in such contexts, which is also used for inferences with a low level of certainty, or based on indirect evidence. In such contexts, this form receives overtones of evidentiality.

Finally, it is important to say that the reportative *=is* does not have any inherent epistemic meaning. The example in (647) is a true historical event from the speaker’s perspective. He is convinced that his ancestors lived in the Northern territories, and he uses the evidential *is* to indicate that this information was told to him – he does not use it to indicate that the information is uncertain.

11.2.3.2 Interaction between evidentiality and other categories

Interesting observations can often be made when we look at the interaction between evidentiality and other grammatical categories, such as person, mood, modality, tense, aspect and negation, among others (see Aikhenvald 2004: Chapters 7 and 8). Some interactions between the assertive enclitic *=sapi* and the mirative enclitic *=mëné* and evidentiality can be found in §11.2.2.2 and §11.2.4.1, respectively. In this section, I will present some relevant information and examples on the interaction between evidentiality, mood and person.

11.2.3.2.1 Evidentiality and mood

According to Aikhenvald (2004: 242), “[i]n an overwhelming majority of languages more evidential choices are available in statements than in any other clause type.” In light of this generalization, it is interesting to observe that the Kakataibo reportative evidential =is is not restricted to statements: it can appear with both questions and commands.

The interrogative and the reportative appear together when the question is related to something said by other people, as shown in the example in (652).

- (652) *Uin karaisa carretera ‘akëxa?*

ui=n ka=ra=is=a carretera ‘a-akë-x-a
who=A NAR=INT=REP=3 road:ABS do-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Who do they say made the road?’

The reportative is also used in commands to convey that the order comes from a person different from the speaker. This can be seen in the example in (653).

- (653) *Motor kaisa bënan!*

motor ka=is=a bënan
engine NAR=REP=3 turn.off:IMP
 ‘As he said, turn off the engine!’

11.2.3.2.2 Evidentiality and person

The reportative enclitic =is can appear in combination with any person category, including the first person singular. In this context, the presence of the reportative usually indicates that the propositional content of the utterance is false (“they say something about me, but it is not true”; see (654)). Thus, in this case, it could be argued that the evidential receives epistemic overtones. Interestingly, with the first person plural, the evidential does not only have a negative reading, and it can be used for counselling and recommendations (see example (657)). Thus, it receives, in this case, a deontic reading. The paradigm in (654)–(657) shows the reportative with all the person categories:

- (654) ‘*Ex kaisna Limanu kwan.*

‘ë=x ka=is=na Lima=nu kwan-a-n
1SG=S NAR=REP=1SG Lima=DIR go-PFV-1/2
 ‘It is said that I went to Lima (but it is not true).’

- (655) *Mix kaismina Limanu kwan.*

mi=x ka=is=mina Lima=nu kwan-a-n
1SG=S NAR=REP=2SG Lima=DIR go-PFV-1/2
 ‘It is said that you went to Lima.’

- (656) *Ax kaisa Limanu kwanxa.*
a=x ka-is=a Lima=nu kwan-a-x-a
 3SG=S NAR=REP=3SG Lima=DIR go-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'It is said that he went to Lima.'
- (657) *Nux kaisnuna Limanu kwan.*
nu=x ka-is=nuna Lima=nu kwan-a-n
 1SG=S NAR=REP=1PL Lima=DIR go-PFV-1/2
 'It is said that we went to Lima.' / 'We should have gone to Lima, it is said.'

11.2.3.3 Different evidentiality categories in matrix and dependent clauses

The evidential marker can appear both in main and dependent clauses or grammatical nominalizations. Since we find the same system of two evidentiality choices (reportative vs. everything else) in both cases, there are four possible combinations, listed in Table 81.

Table 81. Evidentiality combinations in complex sentences

Dependent clause (or grammatical nominalization)	Matrix clause
Non-reportative	Non-reportative
Non-reportative	Reportative
Reportative	Reportative
Reportative	Non-reportative

Interestingly, all four combinations are possible in Kakataibo, as the following examples show. Note that, in the examples in (658)–(661), each choice of reportative vs. nothing applies over either the grammatical nominalization or the matrix clause:

- (658) *Nukën chaitinën nokama 'a anu ka Emilio kwanxa.*
nukën chaiti-nën no=kama 'a-a anu ka Emilio
 1PL.GEN ancestor=ERG enemy=PL kill-NOMLZ there NAR:3 Emilio:ABS
kwan-a-x-a
 go-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'Emilio went to (the place) where our ancestors killed their enemies.'
- (659) *Nukën chaitinën nokama 'a anu kaisa Emilio kwanxa.*
nukën chaiti-nën no=kama 'a-a anu ka-is=a
 1PL.GEN ancestor=ERG enemy=PL kill-NOMLZ there NAR=REP=3
Emilio kwan-a-x-a
 Emilio:ABS go-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'It is said that Emilio went to (the place) where our ancestors killed their enemies.'

- (660) *Nukën chaitinëñ isa nokama 'a anu kaisa Emilio kwanxa.*
nukën chaiti=nëñ=is=a no=kama 'a-a anu
 1PL.GEN ancestor=ERG=REP=3 enemy=PL kill-NOMLZ there
ka=is=a Emilio kwan-a-x-a
NAR=REP=3 Emilio:ABS go-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘It is said that Emilio went to (the place) where it is said that our ancestors killed their enemies.’
- (661) *Nukën chaitinëñ isa nokama 'a anu ka Emilio kwanxa.*
nukën chaiti=nëñ=is=a no=kama 'a-a anu ka
 1PL.GEN ancestor=ERG=REP=3 enemy=PL kill-NOMLZ there **NAR:3**
Emilio kwan-a-x-a
 Emilio:ABS go-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Emilio went to (the place) where it is said that our ancestors killed their enemies.’

11.2.4 Slot VI: mirativity, modality and addressee's perspective

11.2.4.1 =mënë ‘mirative’

“The term ‘mirativity’ refers to the linguistic marking of an utterance as conveying information which is new or unexpected to the speaker” (DeLancey 2001: 369–370). In Kakataibo, similar meanings are expressed by the enclitic =mënë, which I present in this section. Even though there is “a well-known overlap between the expression of mirativity and an inferential evidential” (DeLancey 2001: 378), DeLancey (1997 and 2001) considers these two as different categories. Aikhenvald (2004: 209–215) also discusses some languages where an independent category of mirativity can be identified and should be analyzed separately from evidentiality. For Kakataibo, I will present evidence below that =mënë indeed codes mirativity, not evidentiality (however, the probably cognate marker -mëin ~ -main is a speculative evidential in Shipibo-Konibo; Valenzuela 2003a: 47). The first instance of =mënë that I found in my database is presented in (662).

- (662) *'Inun kamënë 'aisama 'inúma 'aisama 'inun kamënë ñais ñaismaira bipunia.*
'inu=n ka=mënë 'aisama
 jaguar=ERG **NAR:3=MIR** bad
'inu-n=ma 'aisama 'inu=n ka=mënë ñais
 jaguar=ERG=NEG bad jaguar=ERG **NAR:3=MIR** armadillo
ñais-ma=ira bits-pun-i-a
 armadillo:ABS-NEG-INT pick.up-PST.same.day-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘Look! The jaguar did not do it completely. Look! The jaguar did not pick up the whole armadillo and left here part of it.’ (JE-blind.man-2007.029)

According to the tale, there once was a woman married to a blind man who was not able to work. Instead of leaving him, she took care of her husband. However, since it is not expected that a woman would hunt, she had a secret lover, who used to hunt animals and give part of the meat to her, in order to help her feed her husband and family. Thus, according to the tale, she was in her garden with her husband and pretended to have found some armadillo meat on the ground by accident (and that is the reason why she uses the mirative), saying that it was probably the case that a jaguar was eating the meat but did not finish it. Note that in this case it is thus easy to wrongly interpret that *méné* ‘mirative’ is indicating that her statement is based on inferential evidence: the partially eaten animal (see DeLancey 2001). While this particular kind of context might trigger an evidential interpretation, there are other examples, where this evidential interpretation is not possible, as shown by the example in (663).

- (663) *Usaia okin kaisa sinankëxa an “usai kaméné ‘en xabionkë”.*

usa-ia *o-kin* *ka-is=a*
 like.that-s/A>P:SE FACT-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3
sinan-akë-x-a *a=n* *usa-i*
 think-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX 3SG=A like.that-s/A>S:SE
ka=méné ***‘ë=n*** ***xabionkë***
NAR:3=MIR 1SG=GEN wife:ABS

‘While he was seeing that she was doing like this, he thought, “Ah, my wife (is) like this.”’ (SE-cheater.woman-2007.009–01)

In (663), the form *méné* appears in the present tense: the verbless copula clause “my wife (is) like this” appears with the mirative marker and, according to the story, the man utters this sentence at the same time that he discovers his wife playing in the river with her secret lover. In this case, the character is not engaged in any inference based on indirect evidence, but is directly watching his wife cheating on him. Therefore, an inferential evidential reading is not possible and *méné* cannot be analyzed as an inferential evidential in this context.

Mirative marking always conveys that the speech act is simultaneous with the discovery of the event, but not necessarily simultaneous to the event itself (this is exactly the difference between the examples in (664) and (665)). If the mirative occurs in the present tense, the speech act, the discovery of the event and the event are presented as happening at the same time. However, if mirativity occurs with a past event, the speaker discovers not the event while it is happening, but indirect evidence of it.

- (664) *Min tuakën kaméné me piashín.*

mi=n *tuakë=n* *ka=méné* *me* *pi-a-x-íñ*
 2SG=GEN son=ERG **NAR:3=MIR** soil:ABS eat-PFV-3-PROX
 ‘Look!, your son has eaten soil.’

- (665) *Min tuakēn kamēnē me pín.*
mi=n tuakē=n ka=mēnē me pi-i-ín
 2SG=GEN son=ERG **NAR:3=MIR** soil:ABS eat-IPFV-PROX
 ‘Look!, your son is eating soil.’

The example in (664) could be uttered when the speaker sees that the boy’s mouth is dirty with soil, that is, when the event is in the past but the time of the discovery is simultaneous to the speech act. What the speaker sees is not the event but its results and, therefore, an inferential interpretation may be triggered by the context, even though such evidential interpretation is not encoded in the sentence. In (665), the speaker discovers the boy while he is eating the soil and, therefore, the event, the discovery and the speech act are simultaneous. In this case, an inferential reading is not possible. These two different situations are represented by the two following diagrams:

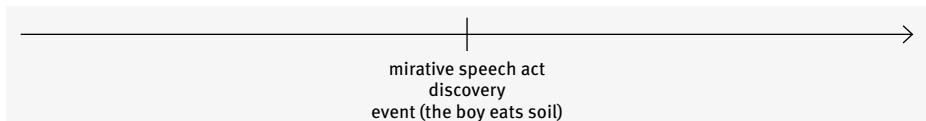


Figure 75. The mirative in the present tense



Figure 76. The mirative in the past tense

Speakers can use the different past tense markers presented in §9.2.2 in order to establish different temporal relationships between the time of the event and the time of both the discovery and the mirative speech act. Thus, for example, if we compare the example in (662) with the one in (666), we find two different past reference points. In the case of the woman finding the armadillo meat in (662), she uses the form *-pun* ‘past, hours ago’, indicating that the meat that she found was left by the jaguar early on the same day, and is thus still fresh. In (666), by contrast, there is a man who is trying to find his relatives who went hunting. He then finds the leftovers of the neck skin of a caiman, and concludes that his relatives left this skin the day before (using the form *-on* ‘past, the day before’), and he is upset because he wants to receive some of the meat, too, and does not want his relatives to finish it all.

- (666) *Nukën nanébaën kamëné kapé kamó 'axun ain tëxaká rakanbionxa.*
 nukën nanët-baë=n ka=mëné kapé kamó 'a-xun
 1PL.GEN brother-COL=ERG NAR:3=MIR caiman big do-S/A>A:SE
 ain të-xakat rakan-bian-on-x-a
 3SG:GEN neck-hide:ABS lean-going:TRAN-PST.day.before-3-NON.PROX
 'Look! Killing a big caiman, our brothers went leaving its neck hide yesterday.'
 (JE-caiman-2007.027)

The enclitic *=mëné* can only be used with the third person, and the form *ka=mëné* also surfaces as *këné* in some cases. According to my current knowledge of the language, *kamëné* and *këné* are just alternating forms with no semantic difference. In addition, this enclitic cannot appear with *ri* 'conversational' (but see §11.2.4.2, where *pëné* 'mirative, non-proximal to the addressee' is presented).

11.2.4.2 *=pa* 'assertive, non-proximal to the addressee' and *=pëné* 'mirative, non-proximal to the addressee'

The enclitics *=pa* 'assertive, non-proximal to the addressee' and *=pëné* mirative, non-proximal to the addressee' share important properties: they can only be combined with the conversational enclitic *ri* and both indicate that the location of the addressee and the location of the event expressed by the utterance are not the same. Furthermore, these markers also presuppose that the speaker believes that the addressee is emotionally involved in the event.

Thus, the two forms *=pa* and *=pëné* indicate an identical deictic meaning in terms of addressee's perspective: 'non-proximal'. But they differ in that the former enclitic is used if the discovery of the event and the moment of the speech act are not simultaneous, while the latter enclitic is used if they are. The marker *=pëné* is also mirative, as already suggested by its formal similarity to *=mëné*: in fact, *=pëné* could be seen as a shortened version of the sequence *=pa=mëné*.⁶⁵ In addition, *=pa* has an 'assertive' meaning that is used by the speaker when he wants to make it clear to the addressee that, even though he or she cannot access the information (because it is non-proximal to addressee), it is nevertheless true. According to my teachers, by using *=pa*, the speaker is assuming that the addressee might think that the information is false and expresses a high degree of concern about the state of mind of the addressee. The following are elicited examples of these two forms.

⁶⁵ This indicates that, at least at some point, *pa* and *mëné* were able to appear together and therefore belonged to two different paradigms. The change from **pa mëné* to *pëné* is equivalent to the one from *kamëné* to *këné*, but in the latter case the original form is still available and the two forms are in free alternation. I consider that in the current language *pa*, *pëné* and *mëné* can be considered as forming one paradigm, as proposed in Table 79.

- (667) *Min bëchikë riapa abakasi ‘itin.*

<i>mi=n</i>	<i>bëchikë</i>	<i>ri=a=pa</i>	<i>abat-kas-i</i>	‘itin
2SG=GEN	son:ABS	CON=3=ASSE:NON.PROX	escape-DES-S/A>S:SE	be.PROG.1/2

‘Your son is willing to escape (I discovered it and then went to tell you and it is true).’

- (668) *Min bëchikë riapënē abakasi ‘itin.*

<i>mi=n</i>	<i>bëchikë</i>	<i>ri=a=pënē</i>	<i>abat-kas-i</i>	‘itin
2SG=GEN	son:ABS	CON=3=MIR:NON.PROX	escape-DES-S/A>S:SE	be.PROG.1/2

‘Look! Your son is willing to escape (I am seeing it, but not you).’

Their very specific meanings strongly reduce the range of contexts in which those forms can be used. This makes these markers particularly interesting (see §9.2.8.2, for a similar case regarding the verbal suffix *-iéé* ‘accusatory speech act’, which is only used under very specific pragmatic conditions). The enclitic *=pa* is prototypically used when the speaker finds out that the event is happening, and then goes on to another place to inform the addressee about it (because the speaker assumes that the information is relevant for him or her). The form *=pënē*, by contrast, is pragmatically appropriate when the speaker discovers (suddenly) that the event is happening somewhere other than the location of the addressee and, rather than going to tell him or her, the speaker speaks loud enough to be heard by him or her. Thus, in both cases, the speaker and the addressee are not in the same place: while the speaker is or was close to the event, the addressee is not.

The enclitic *=pa* is used only in one of the conversations in my database of natural texts, while the enclitic *=pënē* does not appear at all. This is not surprising since their use requires very specific conditions that are difficult to recreate in the context of a recorded conversation; but I have heard both forms in daily conversations and the meanings proposed here have been checked in elicitation sessions (but are still tentative until more data become available).

The fragment in (669) presents a fragment of the only instance of *=pa* in my database. In this example, we find the speakers EE and AE talking about the building of the road from Aguaytía to Pucallpa. AE arrived from Pucallpa on the day before we made the recording and he was very surprised about the way in which the workers were building this road. The building of the road is shared knowledge in the village, thus justifying the use of the conversational enclitic *ri*. In addition, AE went to Pucallpa where he found out about the event and, then, underwent a spatial movement and came back to the village, where he is now telling the information to the addressee, to whom it is spatially non-proximal, but highly relevant (in fact, EE was about to travel with me to Pucallpa). According to my Kakataibo teachers who helped me with the translation of the conversation, AE uses *ri=a=pa* because he assumes that EE is not believing what he is saying.

- (669) AE.EE-road-2011:035–039

AE: *Mientras que ain hora sënënkëma ‘ain riapa anubi nitsin, barin riapa ain yokëran.*

*mientras que ain hora sënënkë=ma ‘ain
while 3.GEN time finish-NOMLZ=NEG be:1/2*

ri=a=pa anu=bi nits-i-n

CON=3=ASSE:NON.PROX *there=same stand-IPFV-1/2*

bari=n ri=a=pa ain yokëra=n

CON=3=ASSE:NON.PROX *3.GEN cap=INS*

‘While their shift has not finished, they stand just there under the sun, with their caps.’

Ax... ax riapa sëtëtan bari baritian...

a=x a=x ri=a=pa sëtët-a-n

3=S 3=S CON=3=ASSE:NON.PROX *be.stand.up-sta-1/2*

bari bari-tian

sun sun-while

‘They stay standing up under the very strong sun.’

EE: *Barin ‘akëx...*

bari=n ‘a-këx

sun=ERG do-P>S

‘The sun burning them...’

AE: *An kaia riapa nu policianën ‘akësaokin nu chitëin.*

a=n kaia ri=a=pa nu policia-nëñ

3=A CONT CON=3=ASSE:NON.PROX 1PL:P police=ERG

‘a-kë-sa-o-kin nu chitë-i-n

do-NOMLZ-COMP-FACT-S/A>A 1PL:P stop-IPFV-1/2

‘They, not other people, stop us, acting like policemen.’

Similar forms including both *ri* and *=pa* were described as ‘assertive’ by Shell (1975).⁶⁶ However, although they do express a strong assertion of the event, according to my current knowledge of the language, *pa* can only be used if the addressee and the event are not at the same place. This deictic meaning, which is what I call addressee’s perspective, is in my opinion just as important as its assertive value.

As we have mentioned throughout this chapter (and described in more detail in §9.2.7), the same category of addressee’s perspective is also found in slot IV of the verbal inflectional morphology. One may ask why Kakataibo has two different paradigms expressing the same grammatical category. I consider that a possible answer has to do with the fact that the verbal suffixes (-*a* ‘non-proximal to the addressee’

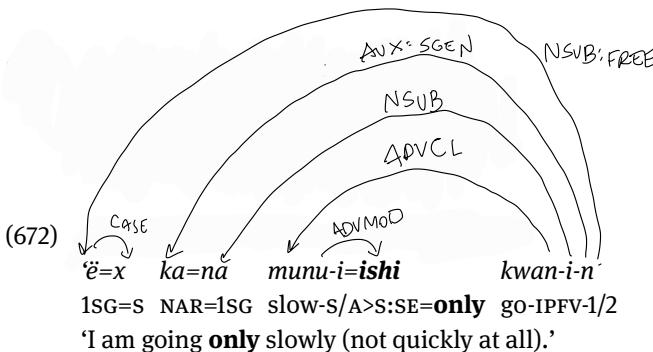
66 The enclitic *=pëñé* was not mentioned by Shell (1975).

and *-in* ‘proximal to the addressee’) can only be used in the narrative register with *ka*. We have seen in example (645) that, in the conversational register with *ri*, the verbal inflectional morphology does not make a formal distinction between different subject cross-reference categories and first, second and third person subjects are equally cross-referred by *-n* (which in the narrative paradigm is exclusively a ‘1/2 person’ marker). As a consequence, there are no addressee’s perspective markers on the verb of a sentence in the conversational register. Therefore, rather than unnecessarily expressing the same category twice, the second-position enclitics presented here and the verbal inflectional forms presented in §9.2.7 complement each other in a very efficient way. In addition, it is interesting to mention that, in the narrative register, the proximity between the addressee and the event is the pragmatically-marked situation. Therefore, the forms with *-in* ‘proximal to the addressee’ are much less common than the forms with *-a* ‘non-proximal to the addressee’. By contrast, in the conversational register, events are supposed to be contextual, and are therefore very likely to be proximal to the addressee. The forms *=pa* and *=pēnē*, according to the preliminary analysis proposed here, are associated with very specific situations in which the event is contextual from the perspective of the speaker and not from the perspective of the addressee. This may explain why they are so uncommon in my database. Another form that seems to operate based on the same principle is the suffix *-iéé* ‘accusatory speech’ (see §9.2.8.2), which can only be used when the addressee is not in the same location as the speaker, who witnesses the event and informs the addressee about it.

11.3 Adverbial enclitics

Adverbial enclitics are the only bound morphological forms that have not yet been discussed and exemplified in detail in this grammar (but a general characterization was presented in §4.5.2.2). Semantically, they express meanings usually conveyed by adverbs in other languages, such as ‘only’, ‘also’, ‘first’ and so on. Syntactically, these forms are not selective in terms of their combinatory possibilities and, therefore, do not exclusively belong to the morphology of one particular word class or type of constituent. Generally, they can equally be combined with nouns, adjectives, finite and non-finite verbs and adverbs; and they can appear in any position in the clause. However, as will be seen in this section, some of the forms in this class do not appear on finite verbal forms (see Table 82). Some examples of *=ishi* ‘only’, which is a distributionally unrestricted adverbial enclitic, follow in order to offer a preliminary exemplification of the behavior of this type of morpheme.

- (670) *Limanuishi ka kwania.* (on an NP)
Lima=nu=ishi ka kwan-i-a
 Lima=LOC=**only** NAR:3 go-IPFV-NON.PROX
 '(S)he is going **only** to Lima (nowhere else).'



- (673) *Xëaxuinshi kana piñ.* (on a non-finite verb)

xëa-xun=išhi ka-na pi-i-n
 drink-S/A>A=only NAR=1SG eat-IPFV-1/2
 'I am eating only while drinking.'

- (674) *Èn kana pishitin.* (on a finite verb)

ë=n ka-na pi-išhi-t-i-n
 1SG=A NAR=1SG eat-only-HARM-IPFV-1/2
 'I am **only** eating (not drinking or doing something else).'

The elicited examples above illustrate the non-selectiveness of most adverbial enclitics and also indicate that their different positions produce differences in meaning (as indicated by the translations of each sentence). We can also see that adverbial enclitics follow case markers (670) and switch-reference markers (673). This fact strongly suggests that they operate over phrases and this is one of the main reasons to classify them as enclitics (see the argumentation in §4.5.2.2). However, adverbial enclitics behave differently on finite verbs, where they occur in an internal position, before any inflectional marker(s) (see example (674), where we also find the harmonic *t* described in §2.7.1.5). Thus, in this position, the forms to be presented here behave like derivational suffixes.

As in examples (675) and (676), there can be more than one adverbial enclitic on the same constituent. When this happens, they can appear in different positions that may then produce differences in meaning.

- (675) *Èxtaniribi kana Limanu kwanti 'ain.*

ë=x=tani=ribi ka-na Lima=nú kwan-ti 'ain
 1SG=S=at.least=also NAR=1SG Lima=LOC go-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I will at least go to Lima as well (i.e., other people are also going).'

- (676) *Èxhibitani kana Limanu kwanti 'ain.*

ë=x=ribi=tani ka-na Lima=nú kwan-ti 'ain
 1SG=S=also=at.least NAR=1SG Lima=LOC go-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'At least, I will also go to Lima (which is not that bad).'

11.3.1 Inventory of adverbial enclitics

This section offers a brief description with relevant examples of the 11 forms that I am currently analyzing as adverbial enclitic in Kakataibo. As can be seen in Table 82, all of them can appear on different types of constituents: NPs, adjective phrases, adverb phrases and non finite verbs. However, only seven members of the class can also appear on finite verbs (in the construction illustrated in example (674) with the enclitic *=ishi* ‘only’). As we can also see in the table, two of the forms in this class (*=pain ~ =pan* ‘first, yet’ and *=ishi ~ ëshi ~ shi* ‘only’) show allomorphic alternations. The remaining members of the class show invariable phonological forms.

Table 82. Syntax and semantics of adverbial enclitics

Enclitic	Meaning	NP	Adjective phrase	Adverb phrase	Non-finite verb	Finite verb (internal)
<i>=pain ~ =pan</i>	‘first, yet’	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
<i>=tani</i>	‘at least’	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
<i>=ishi ~ ëshi ~ shi</i>	‘only’	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
<i>=ribi</i>	‘also’	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
<i>=ira</i>	‘intensifier’	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
<i>=ma</i>	‘negative’	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES ⁶⁷
<i>=bi</i>	‘same, self’	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
<i>=birës</i>	‘purely’	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO ⁶⁸
<i>=shaman</i>	‘intensifier’	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
<i>=bu</i>	‘collective’	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
<i>=ri</i>	‘counterfactual’	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO

11.3.1.1 *=pain ~ pan* ‘first, yet’

The adverbial enclitic *=pain ~ pan* can mean both ‘first’ and ‘yet’, according to the construction in which it appears. The latter reading is obtained in two specific constructions when the enclitic appears after the negative enclitic *=ma* on the verb and not before it (compare example (678) with examples (679) and (680)). Note that in example (679) the enclitic is followed by the imperfective marker *-i*; while in (680) the verbal form containing the negative marker and the enclitic has been nominalized with *-kë*. In this second construction we also find an auxiliary.

⁶⁷ Restricted to very few contexts (see §11.3.1.6).

⁶⁸ Notice that there is a verbal suffix *-rës* ‘frequently, distractedly’, which could be related to *-birës* ‘purely’. There is an adverbial enclitic *=rës* ‘purely’ in Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2003b: 146), which strongly suggests that *-rës* and *-birës* are historically related.

- (677) 'Ex kana 'uxpanin.
 'ë=x ka=na 'ux-**pan**-i-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG sleep-**first**-IPFV-1/2
 'I will sleep first (and then do something else).'

- (678) 'Ex kana 'uxpanima.
 'ë=x ka=na 'ux-**pan**-i=ma
 1SG=S NAR=1SG sleep-**first**-IPFV=NEG
 'I will not sleep first (I will do something else before).'

- (679) 'Ex kana 'uximapanin.
 'ë=x ka=na 'ux-i-ma-**pan**-i-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG sleep-IPFV-NEG-**yet**-IPFV-1/2⁶⁹
 'I have not slept yet.'

- (680) 'Ex kana 'uxkëmapan 'ain.
 'ë=x ka=na 'ux-kë=ma=**pan** 'ain
 1SG=S NAR=1SG sleep-NOMLZ=NEG=**yet** be:1/2
 'I had not slept yet.'

This enclitic shows an alternation between *=pan* and *=pain*, which follows a morphophonological rule: forms with an even number of syllables take the form *=pain*, while forms with an odd number of syllables trigger the allomorph *=pan*. Compare the examples above with the example in (681).

- (681) 'En kana baripainin.
 'ë=n ka=na bari-**pain**-i-n
 1SG=A NAR=1SG look.for-**first**-IPFV-1/2
 'First, I will look for something.'

The alternation between *=pan* and *=pain* is also found on non-verbal constituents (see the examples in (682)–(684)). In that context, as shown in the following examples, monosyllabic forms behave like disyllabic ones and trigger the allomorph *=pain*.

- (682) 'Expain kana Trujillonu kwan.
 'ë=x=**pain** ka=na Trujillo=nu kwan-a-n
 1SG=S=**first** NAR=1SG Trujillo=LOC go-PST-1/2
 'I went to Trujillo first.'

⁶⁹ Note that in this case we have the marker *-i* twice. My current analysis is that in both cases this form is the imperfective marker, which is being repeated in this particular construction.

- (683) *Uni=n ka 'atsapain piasha.*
uni=n ka 'atsa=pain pi-a-x-a
 man=ERG NAR:3 manioc:ABS=**first** eat-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 '(The) man ate (the) manioc first.'

- (684) *Uni=n ka 'atapanan biaxa.*
uni=n ka 'atapa=pan bi-a-x-a
 man=ERG NAR:3 chicken:ABS=**first** grab-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 '(The) man grabbed (the) chicken first.'

11.3.1.2 =*tani* ‘at least’

The enclitic =*tani* ‘at least’ does not have any allomorphic alternation. It is the only adverbial enclitic ending in a vowel that is not followed by the epenthetic *t* in a finite verb-internal position. One example of =*tani* on a finite verb is presented in (685).

- (685) *'En kana 'atsa pitanin*
'ë=n ka=na 'atsa pi-tani-i-n
 1SG=A NAR=1SG manioc:ABS eat-**at.least**-IPFV-1/2
 ‘At least, I am eating manioc.’

In the following example, the form =*tani* is emphasized by the Spanish word *siquiera*, which also means ‘at least’.

- (686) *Usa 'ain ka nun aintsi xanukama atun tua atun baba ñuixunti siquiera atani*
'uxëshikëma atunribi sinantikupí.
usa 'ain ka nu=n aintsi xanu=kama atu=n
 like.that being:DS/A/P NAR:3 1PL=GEN relative woman=PL 3PL=GEN
tua atu=n baba ñui-xun-ti siquiera a=tani
 boy:ABS 3PL=GEN grandson:ABS tell-BEN-NOMLZ at.least that:P=**at.least**
'ux-ishi-kë=ma atu=n=ribi sinan-ti-kupí
 sleep-only-NOMLZ=NEG 3PL=A=also think-NOMLZ-reason
 ‘Being like this, our female relatives have to tell at least that to their sons and
 grandsons, who do not have to sleep in order for them to also think.’
 (NA-incas-2007.050)

11.3.1.3 =*ishi* ~ *shi* ~ =*ëshi* ‘just, only’

The enclitic =*ishi* ~ *shi* ~ =*ëshi* ‘just, only’ has an allomorphic distribution based on the following principles: the allomorph =*ëshi* appears after *x*, and the allomorph =*shi* appears on words with an odd number of syllables ending in *a* (but also with the diminutive marker *-ra*, which surfaces as *-ratsu* before this adverbial enclitic). In the

remaining contexts, we find *=ishi*. In the following examples, I illustrate the three allomorphs of this enclitic:

- (687) *Ēnanantankëx kaisa achushi tapan anuishi auisa kwankë axëshi anu tsótankëx.*
 $\ddot{\text{e}}\text{n}-\text{an}-\text{an}-\text{tan}-\text{k}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{x}$ $\text{kai}=\text{i}s=a$ *achushi tapan anu* ***anu=ishi***
 separate-RECP-S/A>S:PE NAR=REP=3 one raft **there=only**
 $\text{au}=\text{i}s=a$ *kwan-kë a-x=ishi* *anu tsót-tan-këx*
 there(old)=REP=3 go-NOMLZ **that-s=only** there live-S/A>S:PE
 ‘It is said that, after separating from each other and after living for a while only
 at the place where only one of the rafts went...’ (EE-north-2006.034)
- (688) *Ashi kana kain.*
 a=ishi *ka=na ka-i-n*
 that:P=only NAR=1SG say-IPFV-1/2
 ‘I say only this.’ (NA-my.plans-2007.020)

11.3.1.4 *=ribi* ‘also’

The enclitic *=ribi* does not show either allomorphic alternation or different interpretations. Thus, its recognition and analysis are straightforward. In addition, it is one of the most frequently used adverbial enclitics in my database. One example of *=ribi* is presented in (689).

- (689) ‘*Ainbi kana aribi ‘amiti ‘ain*
 a-inbi *ka=na a=ribi ‘a-mi-ti ‘ain*
 but:DS/A/P NAR=1SG **that:P=also** do-CAUS-NOMLZ be:1/2
 ‘But I will make somebody else do it also.’ (SE-my.plans-2007.017)

11.3.1.5 *=ira* ‘intensifier’

The enclitic *=ira* is an intensifier. When combined with NPs, this form receives a quantificational interpretation similar to ‘a lot of’. In the remaining contexts, *=ira* is used to express an intensification of the meaning expressed by the constituent that it is attached to. Let us see some examples. In the first one, the enclitic *=ira* appears with a noun phrase and the meaning ‘many’ is attested:

- (690) *Nónsi a ñu ñububira piti*
 $\text{nónsi a } \tilde{\text{n}}\text{u } \tilde{\text{n}}\text{u}=bu=bi=\text{ira}$ *pi-ti*
 banana what thing=COL=same=INTF eat-NOMLZ
 ‘Bananas and a lot of different things to eat...’ (NA-foreigner-2007.016)

In the following examples, *=ira* appears on an adjective (691) and on an adverb (692).

- (691) *Tsóxun bakan bina nénkéira ain ba nénkéira an ain maxkatan tikakinsa tuka-këxun.*

tsót-xun *bakan bina nénké=ira* *ain* *ba*
 seat.down-s/A>A:SE wasp long:ABS=INTF 3SG:GEN nest
nénké=ira *a=n* *ain* *maxkat=n tika-kin=is=a* *tuka-këxun*
 long:ABS=INTF that=a 3SG:GEN head=INS beat-s/A>A:SE=REP=3 break-P>A:PE
 'It is said that, beating up and breaking the very long nest of very long wasps,
 when sitting down...' (NA-pomegranates-2007.016)

- (692) *Urira ain mérati kaisa ñais bëaxa.*

uri=ira *ain* *mérati* *ka=is=a* *ñais*
 far=INTF 3SG:GEN partner:ABS NAR=REP=3 armadillo:ABS
bë-a-x-a
 bring-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'It is said that (bringing it from) very far away, her partner gave armadillo meat
 (to her).' (JE-blind.man-2007.023)

Finally, an elicited example of =*ira* within a verb is presented:

- (693) *'Eñ kana 'atsa piratin*

'e=n *ka=na* *'atsa* *pi-ira-t-i-n*
 1SG=A NAR=1SG manioc:ABS eat-INTF-HARM-IPFV-1/2
 'I am eating manioc a lot (i.e., compulsively).'

11.3.1.6 =*ma* 'negator'

The negator =*ma* can appear with any type of word class, so it does not have a fixed position in the clause. In this respect, it behaves like other adverbial enclitics. However, it exhibits a very particular behavior with finite verbs and some adjectives (to be discussed below). Before discussing the more idiosyncratic instances of this enclitic, I first illustrate its use in a more prototypical context. In the following example, it appears modifying the NP *nun imí* 'our blood'.

- (694) *Aishbi ka nun imima 'ikën.*

'aishbi *ka* *[nu=n imí]=ma* *'ikën*
 but:S/A>S NAR:3 1PL=GEN blood:ABS=NEG be:3
 'But they are not our blood.' (NA-ancestors-2007.042)

In the following example, I present one token of =*ma* 'negator' modifying the adjective *upí*. The interesting point in relation to this example is that the adjective is a modifier within an NP headed by *ñu* 'thing' and, therefore, =*ma* 'negator' appears in an NP-internal position. This position of =*ma* 'negator', which is highly unusual in my data

and has not been attested for any other adverbial enclitic, requires more research. Interestingly, the other few examples also include the nominal head *ñu* ‘thing’:

- (695) *Upíma ñu ‘unanti...*

upit=ma *ñu* ‘*unan-ti*
 beautiful=NEG thing:ABS know-NOMLZ
 ‘Not beautiful things to know...’ (NA-incas-2007.052)

With regard to verbs, *=ma* ‘negator’ also exhibits idiosyncratic features. Differently from other adverbial enclitics, *=ma* ‘negator’ appears at the end of the verb stem in both non-finite (nominalized) verbs (in the case of the negative past tense forms, which require an auxiliary), and finite verbs (where it appears after the inflectional marker *-i* ‘imperfective’). Examples of these two constructions follow:

- (696) *Uni ‘uxun ka nukën raran ‘unáma ‘ikën.*

uni ‘*ux-xun* *ka* *nukën* *rara-n*
 person:ABS sleep-s/A>A:SE NAR:3 1PL.GEN ancestor=ERG
‘unan-a=ma ‘*ikën*
 know-NOMLZ:REM.PST=NEG be:3
 ‘Since they were sleeping, our ancestors did not know (that) a long time ago.’
 (SE-flood-2007.005)

- (697) *A kana ‘ën kwëenima*

a *ka=na* ‘*ë=n* ***kwëen-i=ma***
 that:ABS NAR=1SG 1SG=A **want-IPFV=NEG**
 ‘That, I do not want.’ (NA-ancestors-2007.041)

There are only two cases where the negative marker can appear in a verb-internal position: after the suffixes *-kas* ‘desiderative’ and *-isa* ‘irrealis’. This position of the negative marker is illustrated in the following example, where it appears after *-kas* ‘desiderative’, and their combination results in a negative abilitive meaning in this context. Exactly the same behavior is found with *-isa* ‘irrealis’ (but *-isa-ma* does not produce the negative abilitive meaning found in the desiderative; see §9.1.4 where the combination of these suffixes is described in more detail):

- (698) *Uama kaisa barikinbi mërakasmakëshín.*

u-an=ma *ka=is=a* *bari-kin=bi*
 come-DS/A/P:POE=NEG NAR=REP=3 look.for-s/A>A:SE-although
mëra-kas-ma-akë-x-ín
 find-DES-NEG-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘It is said that, after he did not come, they were not able to find him, even though they were looking for him.’ (JE-king.vulture-2007.046)

Thus, there are two possible positions for the negative enclitic in finite verbal forms and any attempt to relocate this enclitic to any other position is impossible. These two different positions of the negative enclitic seem to have two different scopes: when it follows the irrealis or the desiderative, *=ma* negates the meaning associated with these suffixes. If the negator appears at the end of the verb stem, the entire event is within the scope of the negation. This is especially clear in those cases where the negator appears twice in the same stem, as shown in the following example. Note that the form *sinan-kas-i-ma* ‘think-desiderative-imperfective-negative’ is also possible and means ‘I/you/(s)he do(es) not want to think’.

- (699) *Usa 'ain kamina mima "unin sinankasmaima".*

u=sa 'ain ka=mina mi=ma uni=n sinan-kas-ma-i=ma
that=COMP being NAR=2 2SG=NEG man=ERG think-DES-NEG-IPFV=NEG
*'Being like this, you (should) not (forget): "(our) people **are not** (people) who*
***cannot** think'.* (IE-ancestors-2008.031)

11.3.1.7 *=bi* ‘same, self’

The enclitic *=bi* ‘same, self’ does not exhibit an allomorphic alternation and is very frequent in discourse. Examples of this enclitic follow. In the first one, this enclitic can be translated as *self* in English in an emphatic sense. In the second example, the speaker is explaining that the Kakataibo ancestors used to hunt the ‘same’ species of animals as the Kakataibo hunt nowadays.

- (700) *Emilionënbì ka 'atsa 'bëan.*

Emilio=n=bi ka 'atsa 'bë-a-n
*Emilio=A=**self** NAR:3 manioc:ABS bring-PFV-1/2*
*'Emilio **himself** brought the manioc.'*

- (701) *'Ainbi ka nukën raran piakëxa chunabi rubi [...] ñobi ñuina pëchiñu kamabi.*

'ainbi ka nukën rara=n pi-akë-x-a
but:DS/A/P NAR:3 1PL.GEN ancestor=ERG eat-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
*chuna=**bi** ru=**bi** [...] ño=**bi***
*spider.monkey:ABS=**same** howler monkey=**same** peccary:ABS=**same***
ñuina pëchi=ñu kamabi
animal:ABS wing=PROP all
'But our ancestors ate the same spider monkeys, howler monkeys, peccaries and
all the animals with wings.' (SE-arrows-2007.057)

The enclitic *=bi* also appear in the set of emphatic pronouns that are used in some reflexive constructions. In these pronominal forms, the enclitic *=bi* is found before at least one case marker (a position that is not allowed for adverbial enclitics) and there-

fore these emphatic pronouns may be argued to have lexicalized (see, for example, *ëbi-x* '1sg.self-S'; see §5.1.1.1).

As shown in Table 82, *=bi* 'same, self' cannot appear in a verb-internal position. However, it very often appears on verbs marked for switch-reference, where it can receive two different readings: 'exactly at the same time' and 'though'. One example of the latter reading is presented in (702).

- (702) *Ukëbëbi ka abë banankëma 'ikën.*
- | | | |
|--|--------------|-------------|
| <i>u-këbë=bi</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>a=bë</i> |
| come-DS/A/P:SE:INTR= same | NAR:3 | 3sg-COM:S |
| <i>banan-kë=ma</i> | <i>'ikën</i> | |
| speak-NOMLZ=NEG | be:3 | |
| 'Even though (he) came, (he) did not talk to him.' | | |

11.3.1.8 *=birës* 'only'

The enclitic *=birës* 'only' appears in my database only scarcely and its semantic properties still require more research. The following example shows one instance of this enclitic occurring in a text, where it modifies the NP *nónsi* 'banana'.

- (703) *Aisamatankin kananuna 'apatin nónsibirës.*
- | | | |
|---|------------------|------------------|
| <i>'a-isa-ma-tan-kin</i> | <i>ka=nanuna</i> | <i>'apat-i-n</i> |
| do-IRR-NEG-go.to-S/A>A:SE | NAR=1PL | plant-IPFV-1/2 |
| <i>nónsi=birës</i> | | |
| 'Without wanting to do (something else), we only plant banana.' | | |
| (SE-agriculture-2007.041) | | |

Like *=bi*, this enclitic is never found on finite verbs. However, there is a verbal suffix *-rës* 'frequently, distractedly' that does appear in that context. Since *-rës* does not appear in other contexts but only as a derivational verbal suffix, I do not analyze it as an adverbial enclitic. As an adverbial enclitic, we only find *=birës*, which also includes the form *=bi*. Note, however, that, as mentioned in footnote 68, *-rës* is an enclitic with the meaning 'purely' in Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2003b: 146).

11.3.1.9 *=shaman* 'intensifier'

Like in the case of *=ira* (see §11.3.1.5), the basic meaning of *=shaman* is 'intensification'; but differently from the former enclitic, *=shaman* does not have a quantificational meaning. As indicated in Table 82, *=shaman* 'intensifier' does not appear on finite verbs. In the examples in (704) and (705), *=shaman* modifies the adjective *uxu* 'white' and the postpositional phrase *me chichu* 'inside the earth', respectively:

- (704) *Itsaira ka tashin 'akë buankëshín uxushamanbu.*
 'itsa=ira ka tashi=n 'a-kë buan-akë-x-in
 a.lot.of=INTF NAR:3 salt=INS do-NOMLZ:ABS bring-REM.PST-3-PROX
 uxu=**shaman**=bu
 white=INTF=COL:ABS
 'They brought a lot of things, salted stuff, the whitest ones.'
 (NA-ancestors-2007.005)

- (705) *Naëkin me chichushaman uria.*
 naë-kin [me chichu]=**shaman** uri-a
 dig-S/A>A:SE earth:ABS inside=INTF far-PA.P
 'Digging very deeply in the ground, far...' (SE-paucar-2007.028)

In the next example, =*shaman* modifies the NP *pëi* 'leaf' and indicates that the leaves referred to were the best possible ones:

- (706) *Pëi kwakokë pëishaman...*
 pëi kwakokë pëi=**shaman**
 leaf lay.out-NOMLZ leaf=INTF
 'Laid out on leaves, on the best possible leaves' (SE-cheater.woman-2007.072)

11.3.1.10 =*bu* 'collective'

The enclitic =*bu* 'collective' appears only scarcely in Kakataibo texts. It is used to indicate that the speaker refers to a collective entity, but it also often indicates that the speaker is being imprecise about what he or she is saying. It can be used on different types of constituents, but not on finite verbs. In all the instances that I have found in my database, it appears on NPs with very vague collective meanings (like ñu=*bu* 'things') at the end of enumerations. In (707), =*bu* appears on the form *usa* 'like that'. The resulting form *usabu* can be translated as 'things like those'.

- (707) *Axani kwanxun kaisa bëakëxa 'itsaira tsatsa tsatsa ñapa usabu.*
 'axan-i kwan-xun ka=is=a
 fish.using.poison-PURP go-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3
 bë-akë-x-a 'itsa=ira tsatsa tsatsa
 bring-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX many=INTF fish.species fish.species
 ñapa usa=**bu**
 fish.species like.that=COL:ABS
 'It is said that, going to fish, he brought tsatsa fish and ñapa fish, **thing like those.**' (MO-fisher-2007.006)

- (708)

'inu=n=bu *ka:a* *'a-a-x-a'*
jaguar=ERG=COL NAR:3 do-PFV-3-NON.PROX
'Something similar to a jaguar did it.'

Another elicited example of this enclitic is presented in (709). In this case, we find it on the adverb *anu* ‘there’ and again the collective interpretation is not obtained.

- (709) *Anubu ka 'iti 'iken.*
anu=bu *ka* *'i-ti* *'ikēn*
there=COL NAR:3 be-NOMLZ be:3
'It will be somewhere around there.'

11.3.1.11 =ri ‘counterfactual’

This form =ri ‘counterfactual’ still requires more study. It basically appears in a few constructions that express counterfactual and presumptive meanings (see §12.5 for examples of all these constructions). This enclitic may be related to the second-position enclitic *ri* ‘conversational’; but it shows a different distribution. As can be seen in the examples presented in §12.5, the marker =ri ‘counterfactual’ co-occurs with *ka* ‘narrative’ and this is not possible for *ri* ‘conversational’. Thus, any potential relationship between =ri ‘counterfactual’ and *ri* ‘conversational’ has to be understood as diachronic rather than synchronic, and it is not possible to completely disregard simply homonymy. One example of this form is found in (710). Notice that =ri appears on both the subject of the first sentence and on the non-finite dependent verb of the second.

- (710) *'Exri kana Limanu kwan; 'e ūukatibiri ka 'iava.*
'e=x=ri *ka=na* *Lima=nu* *kwan-a-n*
1SG=S=COUN NAR=1SG Lima=LOC go-PFV-1/2
'e ūuka-ti=bi=ri *ka* *'i-a-x-a'*
1SG:P ask-NOMLZ=same=COUN NAR:3 be-PFV-3-NON.PROX
'I went to Lima. He should have asked me about it (but he did not)'

11.3.2 Adverbial enclitics vs. second-position enclitics

Second position enclitics were presented in §11.2, where their most salient properties were discussed. They are a class of enclitics that exhibit a fixed position in the sentence: after the first constituent. However, if this constituent is dropped for pragmatic reasons, at least the enclitic encoding register (*ka* and *ri*) may appear as the first constituents of their sentences without being attached to any other constituent. In addition, when two or more second-position enclitics are found, they follow a fixed order in relation to each other and can be analyzed as belonging to different paradigms. Due to these properties they are clearly different from adverbial enclitics, which, as we have seen in this section, do not have a fixed position in the sentence; always need to be attached to a host; and do not follow a fixed order when combined with each other. Notice that, prosodically, second-position enclitics and adverbial enclitics (with more than one syllable) behave as independent phonological words. All this is summarized in Table 83.

Table 83. Adverbial enclitics vs. second-position enclitics

Criteria	Adverbial enclitics	Second-position enclitics
position	non-fixed	fixed
morphological nature	bound	bound / independent
order	free order in relation to each other	fixed order in relation to each other
prosody	phonological word (if longer than one syllable)	phonological word

11.4 Independent vs. dependent clauses

This section discusses the distinction between dependent and independent clauses in Kakataibo. It lists and describes a number of morphosyntactic criteria that are useful when establishing such a distinction, but it also discusses some counterexamples and difficult cases, paying special attention to copula classes, which may or may not carry an overt verb.

Independent clauses require one or more second-position enclitics marking register, mood and subject cross-reference (see §11.2 for a detailed discussion of second-position enclitics) in order to be used as sentences (i.e., as assertive utterances). In most cases, they exhibit a fully inflected verb, but they can also contain shortened (partially inflected) verbal forms or, in the case of verbless copula clauses, they can lack a verb completely (see §9.2 for verbal inflection). In addition, independent clauses

are mostly verb-final, but can exhibit post-verbal constituents under some pragmatic conditions (see §16.2 for a detailed discussion of constituent order in Kakataibo).

Three main types of dependent clauses are identified in this grammar: switch reference constructions (which are subdivided into converses and switch-reference clauses; see §12.2); speech report clauses (which are divided into direct speech, modified direct speech and indirect speech clauses; see §13.2); and elaborative clauses (see §13.3). Clausal nominalizations, which are called in this book “grammatical nominalizations”, is analyzed as creating complex nominal expressions rather than proper clauses (see Chapter 14, where the relativizing and complementing functions of grammatical nominalizations is discussed).

Dependent clauses must be attached to a main clause in order to be used in sentences. They are non-assertive and, accordingly, they are severely restricted in their possibilities to take second-position enclitics. For instance, elaborative clauses do not carry any second-position enclitic, although they exhibit fully inflected verbs. Switch-reference clauses can only carry the reportative second-position enclitic =is followed by a subject cross-reference marker. Modified direct speech and indirect speech clauses obligatorily require the presence of both the reportative and the subject cross-reference enclitics. Direct speech clauses can carry all second-position enclitics and are exceptional in this respect. All this will be discussed further in this section.

In addition, dependent clauses exhibit different possibilities in terms of their verbal morphology: converses and switch-reference clauses show non-finite verbal forms; modified direct speech clauses present predicates that are only partially inflected; and direct and indirect speech clauses and elaborative clauses have fully inflected verbs. Finally, all types of dependent clauses (including direct speech clauses) are obligatorily verb-final. All this is summarized in Table 84 below.

Table 84. Morphosyntactic properties of different types of Kakataibo clauses

Type of clause	Function	Syntactic nature	Second position enclitics	Form of the verb	Constituent order
independent clauses	assertive	independent	all	fully inflected	some constituents may appear after the verb
independent clauses with a shortened verb	assertive	independent	all	shortened verb form	verb final
verbless copula clauses	assertive	independent	all	no verb	non applicable

Table 84. (continued)

Type of clause	Function	Syntactic nature	Second position enclitics	Form of the verb	Constituent order
converbs	non-assertive	dependent	none	non-finite verb, but optionally marked for inflectional slots I and II-A	verb final
switch-reference clauses	non-assertive	dependent	optionally the reportative and the subject cross-reference enclitics	non-finite verb, but optionally marked for inflectional slots I and II-A	verb final
direct speech clauses	non-assertive	dependent	all	fully inflected	verb final
modified direct speech clauses	non-assertive	dependent	obligatorily the reportative and the subject cross-reference enclitics	partially inflected verb, marked for inflectional slots I and II-A/B	verb final
indirect speech clauses	non-assertive	dependent	obligatorily the reportative and the subject cross-reference enclitics	fully inflected	verb final
elaborative clauses	non-assertive	dependent	none	fully inflected	verb final

In the following subsections, I discuss in more detail, and with examples, the behavior of the different types of clauses in relation to the three morphosyntactic criteria listed in Table 84: second-position enclitics (§11.4.1); verbal morphology (§11.4.2) and constituent order (§11.4.4). Due to their special properties, independent discussion of copula clauses is offered in §11.4.3. A more detailed account of each dependent clause type is offered in Chapters 12 and 13. Grammatical nominalizations are formally very similar to dependent clauses (particularly to switch-reference clauses). However, as previously mentioned, they are analyzed as denoting expressions with nominal properties. Therefore, I do not include them in the discussion presented in this chapter (see Chapter 14 for a detailed account of grammatical nominalizations in Kakataibo).

11.4.1 Second-position enclitics

As we have seen in §11.2, second-position enclitics establish a basic distinction between a narrative register (expressed by the enclitic *ka*) and a conversational register (marked by the enclitic *ri*). These enclitics are combined with others in order

to express mood, modality, subject cross-reference, addressee's perspective and mirativity. The enclitics *ka* and *ri* (as well as the enclitics that mark mood, modality, addressee's perspective and mirativity; see §11.2) are only attested in independent clauses and in direct speech clauses, which are formally identical to independent clauses, since they attempt to repeat as accurately as possible what someone else (i.e. the original speaker) has said. Other enclitics do appear in dependent clauses: this is true for the reportative enclitic *=is*, followed by a subject cross-reference enclitic. These enclitics can be found in switch-reference clauses, and they are obligatory in modified direct speech and indirect speech clauses. These enclitics are not attested in either converses or elaborative clauses.

Let us look at the following example in order to clarify this pattern. In example (711), there is one sentence with two predicates, *uakamë eo-* 'grow, reproduce' and *buan-* 'take'. The first predicate is in a switch-reference clause, as can be seen from the verb form: it is a non-finite form with the switch-reference marker *-nun* 'different subjects, posterious event'. The second verb is the main verb of the sentence and, as expected, it is a fully-inflected verb form marked for tense, subject-cross reference and addressee's perspective. As can be seen in the example, we find the reportative enclitic *=is*, followed by the enclitic *a* '3' within the switch-reference clause. Any attempt to include a register enclitic such as *ka* 'narrative' will lead to an unacceptable construction. By contrast, we find the register enclitic *ka* 'narrative', followed by *=is* 'reportative' and *a* '3' within the main clause, and any attempt to delete the register marker will produce an unacceptable utterance.

- (711) *Anuax (*ka)isa uakamë öötanun [...] *(ka)isa [...] buankëxa a*
*[anuax (*ka)=is=a uakamë öö-tan-nun]SWITCH-REFERENCE CLAUSE [...]*
 then:INTR (NAR)=REP=3 grow/reproduce-go.to-ds/A:POE
**(ka)=is=a [...] buan-akë-x-a a*
NAR=REP=3 take-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX that:P
 'It is said that when (the bananas) grew, it is said that (the people) took them, a long time ago.' (NA-foreigner-2007.048)

Direct speech clauses are formally identical to independent clauses, and they only differ in their function: direct speech clauses are used as complements of say-verbs and, in that sense, are not assertive. In the following example, we find a direct speech clause that includes the second-position enclitic *kamina* 'NAR.2' (i.e., containing the narrative register enclitic *ka*), which is used for indicative utterances.

- (712) *Piaka kamina buanti 'ain kaisa kakëxa.*
 [piaka ka=mina buan-ti 'ain]_{DIRECT SPEECH CLAUSE}
 nephew:ABS NAR=2 bring-NOMPLZ be:1/2
kaisa ka-akë-x-a
 NAR.REP.3 say-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 'It is said that (she) said, "You will bring (your) nephew (to the jungle)".'
 (SE-paucar-2007.009)

11.4.2 Form of the verb

As we have seen in Chapter 9, fully inflected verbs exhibit four inflectional slots: slot I (tense/aspect/modality), slot II-A/B (tense/aspect), slot III (subject cross-reference) and slot IV (addressee's perspective and mirativity). The first slot is optional and the other three are obligatory (but recall that addressee's perspective is only marked for predicates with third person subjects in the narrative register).

Like independent clauses, direct and indirect speech clauses and elaborative clauses carry fully inflected verbs. By contrast, modified direct speech clauses take only partially inflected verbal forms. The verbal forms in this type of dependent clause are not marked for slots III (subject cross-reference) and IV (addressee's perspective), but carry tense and aspect markers from slots II-A/B (obligatorily) and I (optionally). Finally, predicates in converbs and switch-reference clauses end in a switch-reference marker and, therefore, are non-finite. However, they can optionally carry inflectional forms from slots I and II-A. All this is summarized in Figure 77, where I present the accessibility of different types of clauses to different verbal inflectional slots.

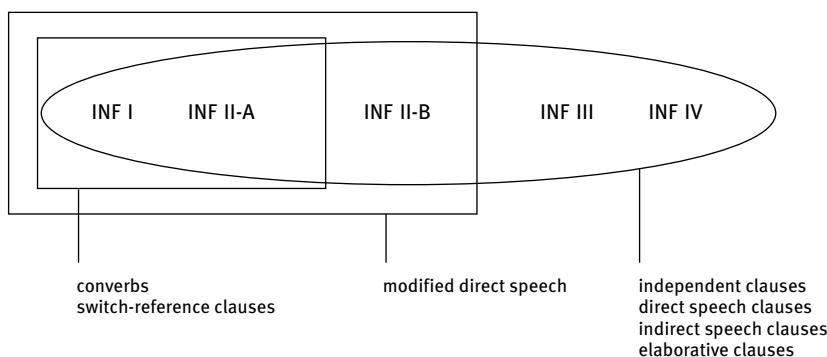


Figure 77. Inflectional categories and different types of clauses

One example of a switch-reference clause with a predicate carrying a marker from the inflectional slot I follows. There, we find both a dependent and a main clause forming

a complex sentence: the predicate '*a=mi* 'make someone else do something' occurs twice in the switch-reference clause, and in the second instance, it carries the inflectional marker *-pun* 'hours ago' from the inflectional slot I, plus the switch-reference marker *-kin* 'S/A>A, simultaneous events' (see §13.2.2 for examples of modified direct speech clauses, which also show partially inflected verbal forms). Notice that, as expected, the main predicate of the sentence, '*a-mi-tékén-aké-x-in* 'do-CAUS-again-REM.PST-3-PROX', has a fully inflected predicate that includes markers from slots II-IV. This is also true for the predicate '*inan-tékén-aké-x-in* 'give-again-REM.PST-3-PROX', which in this sentence functions as an elaborative clause.

- (713) 'Amikin 'amipunkin kaisa ñantanbutkëbëtan 'amitëkëankëshín 'inanteriority-3-PROX
 [a-mi-kin 'a-mi-pun-kin]_{SWITCH-REFERENCE CLAUSE} ka=is=a
 do-CAUS-S/A>A:SE do-CAUS-PST.same.day-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3
 ñantan-but-këbëtan 'a-mi-tékë-n-akë-x-ín
 get.dark-ADV.PROC-DS/A/P(SE.TRA) do-CAUS-again-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ['inan-tékë-n-akë-x-ín]_{ELAB.CLAUSE}
 give-again-REM.PST-3-PROX
 'It is said that, having made them try (the bananas) **early in the morning**, he
 made them try (the bananas) again when it got dark'. (NA-foreigner-2007.042)

The predicates of direct and indirect speech clauses are also marked for all inflectional slots, without restriction and, therefore, are fully-inflected (see §13.2.1 and §13.2.3 for more examples).

In almost all cases, inflectional slots III and IV are obligatory for independent clauses (unless the verb carries one of the final portmanteau suffixes presented in §9.2.8, which also produce fully inflected forms). However, sometimes we find shortened verbal forms. As far as I understand, they are restricted to very informal conversations, and occur only when we have a third person referent that is spatially close to the speech act event (or that is otherwise identifiable). In those shortened verbal forms, the markers associated with the inflectional slot IV (and optionally the markers from the inflectional slot III) are dropped. See the following examples, where fully inflected and two shortened forms of the verb *u* ‘come’ are illustrated. In (714) we find a fully inflected verbal form. In the first shortened form (715), markers for both inflectional slots III and IV are dropped and a final glottal stop is found. In the second shortened verb (716), we find a subject cross-reference marker from slot III, and only the marker associated with slot IV is dropped.

- (714) *Juan kara uaxa.*
Juan ka=ra u-a-x-a
 Juan:ABS NAR=INT.3 **come-PFV-3-NON.PROX**
 'Has Juan come?'

- (715)
- Juan kara ua'*
- .

*Juan ka=ra u-a'*Juan:ABS NAR=INT.3 **come-PFV** (shortened form)

'Has Juan come?'

- (716)
- Juan kara uax.*

*Juan ka=ra u-a-x*Juan:ABS NAR=INT.3 **come-PFV-3** (shortened form)

'Has Juan come?'

There seems to be a minimal semantic difference between the two shortened examples above. Apparently, the example in (716) does not necessarily imply that Juan has come, and it might be uttered if the speaker has only indirect evidence for this (e.g., (s)he finds his bag). The example in (715), by contrast, would be some sort of rhetorical question uttered in the presence of Juan, when the speaker realizes that Juan has arrived. However, more study of those forms is required. The important point to be highlighted here is that these clauses are independent clauses that carry “incomplete” verbal forms, and therefore fully inflected verbs are not definitional for independent clauses.

11.4.3 Copula clauses

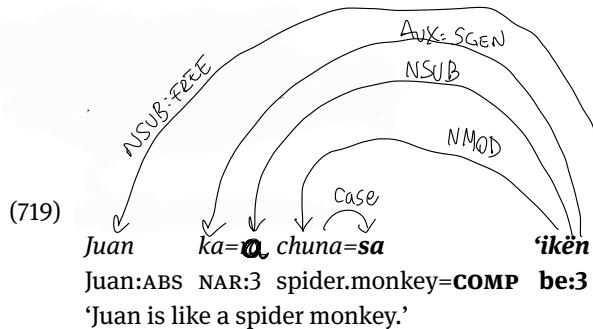
According to Dixon (2002), copula clauses express relations of identity or attribution. They are headed by copula verbs, which can be distinguished from transitive and intransitive verbs, since they do not have a referential meaning, but only a relational one.⁷⁰ Copula verbs appear with two core arguments that Dixon calls “copula subject” and “copula complement”, and may or may not be overtly expressed. The copula verb in Kakataibo is ‘i ‘be’ (see §8.2.5.2), which is used to express different types of relations between its two arguments. Three examples of copula clauses are presented in (717)–(719). The first one expresses identity; the second, attribution; and the third example expresses similarity:

- (717)
- Juan ka 'ën xukëñ 'ikëñ.*

*Juan ka=ra 'ë-n xukëñ 'ikëñ*Juan:ABS NAR:3 1SG=GEN brother **be:3**

'Juan is my brother.'

⁷⁰ However, in Kakataibo, the copula clearly belongs to the intransitive class.



Similarly to the examples in (714)–(716), copula verbs can also be shortened. In this case, they always drop the markers from both slots III and IV, and include a final glottal stop, as shown in (720).

- (720) *Enë xanu ka upí ‘i’.*
 enë xanu ka upí ‘i’
 this woman:ABS NAR:3 beautiful be (shortened.form)
 ‘This woman is beautiful.’

The most relevant property of copula clauses for the discussion presented here is that copula verbs can be omitted altogether. Therefore, Kakataibo has verbless copula clauses, formed usually by an adjective, an adverb or an NP plus a second position enclitic. See the example in (721).

- (721) *Asábi ka.*
 asábi ka
 good NAR:3
 ‘It’s good.’ (SE-paucar-2007.008)

The form *asábi ka* can be considered a full clause in Kakataibo. In the same way, *asábi kara* would be a question “(is it) fine?”, since *kara* expresses interrogative mood. Other verbless constructions are presented in (722).

- (722) *upí ka* ‘It (is) **good**.’
anu ka ‘**Here** it (is).’

11.4.4 Constituent order

As discussed in detail in §16.2, independent clauses in Kakataibo tend to be verb-final in isolation, but they can exhibit post-verbal constituents if these constituents introduce new information or elaborate on what has previously been said. I analyze those

post-verbal arguments as being in a focus position (but see Valle 2017b for a different account of focus in the Kakataibo dialect of San Alejandro). Focused constituents are very common in discourse, but they are never found in dependent clauses. At this stage, I can say that no type of dependent clause in Kakataibo can contain a (post-verbal) focused element. This is true even for those types of dependent clauses that are highly similar to independent clauses, such as elaborative clauses or speech report clauses (including direct speech clauses, which are otherwise formally identical to independent clauses). Examples of an independent and a dependent clause with a focused argument follow. Notice that the latter example is unacceptable:

- (723) *A xanubë banatankëx kana banati ‘ain Juanbë.*
 [a xanu=bë bana-tankëx] ka=na bana-ti ‘ain
 that woman-COM:S speak-s/A>S:PE NAR=1SG speak-NOMLZ be:1/2
Juan-bë
 Juan-COM:S
 ‘After talking with that woman, I will talk with Juan.’
- (724) **banatankëx a xanubë kana Juanbë banati ‘ain*
 [bana-tankëx a xanu-bë] ka=na Juan-bë
 speak-s/A>S:PE that woman-COM:S NAR=1SG Juan-COM:S
bana-ti ‘ain
 speak-NOMLZ be:1/2
 (‘after talking with that woman, I will talk with Juan’)

Independent clauses with shortened verbs are always verb-final, since they are used only to present information that is available from the context and, therefore, do not include constituents presenting new or focused information. In this sense, these clauses are more similar to dependent clauses than to independent clauses with fully inflected verbs.

12 Switch-reference constructions

12.1 Introduction

This chapter treats switch-reference in Kakataibo. Cross-linguistically, switch-reference constitutes one of the most common devices to keep track of entities that have previously been introduced in discourse. This discursive function is accomplished by means of verbal affixes that appear on dependent verbs in order to indicate whether the arguments (canonically, the subjects) of two related clauses are coreferential or not (see the papers in Haiman and Munro 1983; and also Stirling 1993, 2006; Comrie 1998, among many others). Therefore, switch-reference can be defined as a verbal category used to indicate whether the subject of one clause “has the same or different reference from the subject of an adjacent, syntactically related clause” (Stirling 1993: 1; see also Haiman and Munro 1983; or Austin 1981).

As discussed in Zariquiey (2016), in the case of Kakataibo, we additionally find a number of markers that indicate identity relations between the object and the subject of the syntactically related clauses. As in other Pano languages, most switch-reference forms in Kakataibo follow a tripartite system, distinguishing between S, A and P in the main clause, and “indicat[ing] the time of the subordinate verb relative to the main verb” (Loos 1999: 237). Due to the fact that all this information is encoded by them, Pano switch-reference systems tend to be very complex (see Valenzuela 2003b, for Shipibo-Konibo; Fleck 2003, for Matses; Sparing-Chávez 1998, for Amawaka; or Loos 1999, for Kapanawa). This is particularly true for the switch-reference system of Kakataibo, which may easily be one of the most complex systems within the family.

The complexity of switch reference in Kakataibo follows, in the first place, from the remarkably large number of suffixes (21 according to the analysis presented here; see §12.3), but also from the existence of two different types of switch-reference constructions that have different syntactic targets or scopes (see §12.2). As will be shown here, some switch-reference constructions in Kakataibo must always take the main predicate as their target, even if they are not immediately adjacent to it. I will use the label “switch-reference clause” to refer to switch-reference constructions showing these properties. In contrast, other switch-reference constructions in Kakataibo are freer in terms of their target and can take as their controlling predicate a non-adjacent main predicate or another adjacent dependent predicate, depending on the communicative needs of the speaker. The label “converb” is used to refer to such switch-reference constructions (see the arguments for the use of these terms in §12.2). The term “switch-reference construction” is used as a general category that covers both types and the term “switch-reference predicate” is used to refer to any predicate carrying switch-reference morphology.

In addition to these topics, in §12.4 I describe a construction used to indicate the indirect participation of the subject of the main clause in the dependent event; and, finally, in §12.5 I present some information on how switch-reference is used to express

different modal, aspectual and related meanings, distinguishing between constructions that observe the principle of transitivity harmony and constructions that do not. A definition of transitivity harmony is also presented in that section. For the use of switch-reference markers in tail-head linkage constructions, see §16.6.

As highlighted by Stirling (1993: 189–191), languages may exhibit differences in relation to how their switch-reference systems treat arguments that are in a part-whole relationship. Some languages may treat them as different arguments, others as the same argument and, finally, the remaining ones may use both treatments in order to express semantic or stylistic differences. I will briefly describe how Kakataibo behaves in relation to this in the following paragraphs.

In §6.2.3, I discussed and provided examples of the special morphosyntactic features of body-part nouns, where I have mentioned that, crucially, body parts of animates (e.g., a man and his eye) are treated as being the same argument as their possessors when they appear in any type of switch-reference construction. As was also explained and illustrated in §6.2.3, where the appropriate examples were presented, this is only partially true for nouns referring to parts of inanimates (objects and plants). Parts of objects and plants (e.g., a house and its roof) are treated as being the same arguments as their wholes only by some of the switch-reference markers to be discussed in this chapter. This only happens if they appear as the object argument of a dependent clause whose matrix clause contains a noun referring to the whole as its grammatical subject. This fact restricts this behavior to the switch-reference markers indicating an object-to-subject relationship (see §12.3.3). In any other type of relationship, parts of objects are treated as different arguments from their wholes.

In turn, arguments in an individual-group relationship (e.g., a peccary and its herd), which also express a type of part-whole relationship, are always treated as different arguments by the switch-reference system (but in other Pano languages like Matses they are treated as the same argument, see Fleck 2003: 1163). As I have argued in §6.2.3, it seems to be the case that in Kakataibo different types of part-whole relationships have grammaticalized differently and that body parts of animates represent the case in which the physical identity of a whole and its parts has been most radically analyzed as grammatical identity by the switch-reference system. However, the rise of these different patterns still needs an explanation.

Finally, relatives (e.g. a man and his mother) and arguments in an alienable possession relationship (e.g., a man and his house) are treated as different arguments by the switch-reference system. Figure 78 summarizes the facts listed here and proposes an analysis of the distinction between same and different arguments found in the switch-reference system of Kakataibo (notice that I analyze nouns referring to part-wholes of objects and plants as intermediate in terms of the distinction presented here).

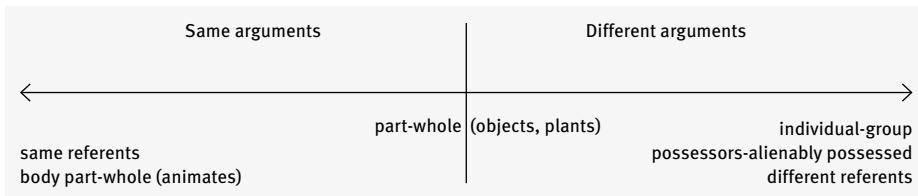


Figure 78. Same arguments/different arguments for switch-reference

Switch-reference markers with different meanings have appeared in many of the examples presented in previous chapters, and their glosses follow the conventions presented in the list of abbreviations at the beginning of this book. Since they are the topic of this chapter, it may be worthwhile to re-iterate and explicitly explain how different switch-reference meanings are glossed here. First, the reader should keep in mind that the suffixes with these meanings are attached to the predicate of the dependent clause. The abbreviations “A”, “S” and “P” correspond, respectively, to the grammatical functions of more agentive argument of transitive predicate, single argument of intransitive predicate and more patient-like argument of transitive predicate, respectively. The abbreviation “A/S” refers to the grammatical relation of subject, as opposed to object (“P”), which within the switch-reference system includes the two objects of ditransitive predicates (referred to by means of the labels T and R in this grammar; see §15.3.2). The symbol “>” is used to distinguish between the arguments of dependent and matrix clauses: arguments preceding “>” belong to the dependent clause, while the arguments following “>” belong to the matrix clause). Note that I distinguish between matrix clause and main clause. A matrix clause is a clause that is being modified by a (dependent) clause (a matrix clause can thus be either a main clause or another dependent clause). A main clause, by contrast, is a clause that is not dependent on any other clause in the sentence; in most cases, it carries the only fully finite verb of the whole structure (but see Chapter 13 for elaborative and reported speech clauses). Recall that the main criterion for distinguishing between the different types of dependent and independent clauses is the presence or absence of second-position enclitics that mark register and mood (see, particularly, §11.4).

Thus, “S/A>P”, for example, means that the subject of the switch-reference (dependent) clause is co-referential with the object of its matrix clause. Temporal information is also included in the glosses: “PE” means that the event expressed by the dependent clause precedes the event expressed by the matrix clause; “SE” indicates that the event expressed by the dependent clause is simultaneous to the event expressed by the matrix clause; and “POE” means that the event expressed by the dependent clause is posterior to the event expressed by the matrix clause. Finally, the abbreviation “DS/A/P” indicates that the dependent and the matrix clause do not share any core argument, the abbreviation “DS/A” is used for clauses that do not share the subject, and the abbreviations “TRAN” and “INTR” indicate specifications

about the transitivity of the matrix clause, specifically that the matrix clause is transitive or intransitive, respectively.

12.2 Converbs and switch-reference clauses

As it was mentioned in the introduction, in Kakataibo, it is useful to establish a distinction between two different types of switch-reference constructions, and I use the terms “converbs” and “switch-reference clauses” to distinguish between them. In turn, throughout this chapter, I use the labels “switch-reference construction” as a more general term that includes both converbs and switch-reference clauses, and “switch-reference predicate” as a label for any predicate carrying switch-reference morphology.

Notice that converbs and switch-reference clauses do not differ either in the form of the switch-reference markers, or in the potential syntactic complexity (for instance, as will be seen throughout this chapter, both types can include overtly expressed arguments or adjuncts).⁷¹ Instead, the differences between them have to do with their target or scope, their position and their degree of embedding. These differences are summarized in Table 85 and commented on in more detail in the following subsections.

Table 85. Differences between converbs and switch-reference clauses

Criteria	Converbs	Switch-reference clauses
target	can modify either the main predicate or the adjacent (dependent) one	can only modify the main predicate of the sentence, even if it is not adjacent to it
position	do not have a fixed position, but cannot appear immediately before second-position enclitics	appear as the first constituent of the clause, before the second-position enclitics, producing a kind of clause chain
degree of embedding	are embedded into their matrix clause (i.e. the main clause or another dependent clause)	depend on the main clause, but are not (completely) embedded into it

⁷¹ However, there is a tendency for so-called converbs to be simpler in terms of their clausal properties.

12.2.1 Target

In Kakataibo discourse, is it easy to find examples like the following elicited ones, where a chain of switch-reference predicates is uttered (diagrams with the dependency relations between switch-reference predicates and main verbs are offered after the free translation):

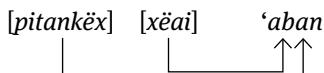
- (725) ‘Ex kana [pitankëxun] [xëai] ‘aban.

‘ë=x ka=na pi-tankëxun xëa-i ‘abat-a-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG eat-S/A>A:PE drink-s/A>s:SE run-PFV-1/2
 ‘Drinking after eating, I ran.’



- (726) ‘Ex kana [pitankëx] [xëai] ‘aban.

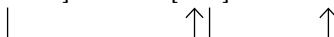
‘ë=x ka=na pi-tankëx xëa-i ‘abat-a-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG eat-S/A>s:PE drink-s/A>s:SE run-PFV-1/2
 ‘I ran drinking, after eating.’



The arrows indicate that, in the first example, the target of *pi* ‘eat’ is *xëa* ‘drink’, while in the second example, the target of *pi* ‘eat’ is *abat* ‘run’ (i.e. *pi* ‘eat’ modifies *xëa* ‘drink’ and *abat* ‘run’, respectively). In Kakataibo, this can be easily seen in the form of the switch-reference markers, which usually distinguish between S and A in the matrix predicate. In the first example, the form *-tankëxun* ‘S/A>A, PE’ on the dependent predicate *pi* ‘eat’ indicates that the co-referential argument is the A of the target predicate. Thus, this predicate has to be transitive (like *xëa* ‘drink’), and cannot be intransitive (like *abat* ‘run’). By contrast, the form *-tankëx* ‘S/A>S, PE’ in the second example indicates co-reference with an S argument, and, therefore, the target of *pi* ‘eat’ has to be the intransitive predicate *abat* ‘run’, which also happens to be the main predicate of the sentence.

Such flexibility is only attested in the converb construction. In switch-reference clauses, by contrast, the dependent predicate *pi* ‘eat’ appears in the first position of the sentence, before the second-position enclitics, and it can only modify the main predicate ‘*abat* ‘run’, even though *xëa* ‘drink’ is positioned between them. Trying to make *pi* modify the dependent predicate *xëa* results in an unacceptable form.

- (727) *[pitankëxun] *kana* [xëai] ‘aban
pi-tankëxun *ka-na* **xëa-i** ‘*abat-a-n*
eat-S/A>A:PE NAR=1SG **drink-S/A>S:SE** run-PFV-1/2
(‘drinking after eating, I ran’)

*[pitankëxun] *kana* [xëai] ‘aban


- (728) [Pitankëx] *kana* [xëai] ‘aban.
pi-tankëx *ka-na* **xëa-i** ‘*abat-a-n*
eat-S/A>S:PE NAR=1SG **drink-S/A>S:SE** run-PFV-1/2
‘After eating, I ran drinking.’

[pitankëx] *ka-na* [xëai] ‘aban


Thus, the syntactic nature of the switch-reference predicate headed by *pi* ‘eat’ depends on its position relative to a second-position enclitic (such as *kana* ‘NAR, 1SG’): it is possible for a switch-reference predicate to modify another dependent predicate only if the former follows such an enclitic. According to the distinction proposed here, *pi* ‘eat’ is functioning as a converb in (725) and (726) while, in (728), *pi* ‘eat’ is acting as (the head of) a switch-reference clause.

12.2.2 Position

The distinction between switch-reference clauses (SRC) and converbs (CVB) is not expressed by morphological means. As shown above, what matters instead is the position of the dependent predicate in relation to the second-position enclitics. Switch-reference predicates occurring immediately before the second-position enclitics can only modify the main predicate (see §12.2.1) and, according to the distinction proposed here, are (the heads of) switch-reference clauses (see example (728) above). In turn, converbs can appear either after the second-position enclitics (see the example (726) above) or as modifiers within switch-reference clauses. This latter position is shown in the following example, where *pi* ‘eat’ modifies the transitive dependent predicate *xëa* ‘drink’ (and not the intransitive main predicate ‘*abat* ‘run’). Thus, the form *pitankexun* functions as a converb since it is dependent on *xëai* (which in itself is a dependent element), and the whole construction *pitankexun xëai* functions as a single switch-reference clause.

- (729) [[*Pitankëxun*_{CVB} *xëai*]]_{SRC} *kana* ‘aban.
pi-tankëxun xëa-i *ka-na* ‘abat-a-n
eat-S/A>A:PE drink-S/A>S:SE NAR=1SG run-PFV-1/2
‘Drinking after eating, I ran.’

[*[pitankëxun*_{CVB} *xëai*]]_{SRC} *ka-na* ‘aban

There is only one available syntactic slot for such switch-reference clauses (but see one exception in §12.2.3). That is, it is not possible to have two switch-reference clauses preceding a second-position enclitic. This is the reason why the following sentence, where both *pi* ‘eat’ and *xëa* ‘drink’ appear as switch-reference clauses, is unacceptable.

- (730) *[*pitankëx*_{SRC} [*xëai*]_{SRC} *kana* ‘aban
pi-tankëx xëa-i *ka-na* ‘abat-a-n
eat-S/A>S:PE drink-S/A>S:SE NAR=1SG run-PFV-1/2
(‘after eating while drinking, I ran’)

*[*pitankëx*_{SRC} [*xëai*]_{SRC} *kana* ‘aban

Notice that switch reference predicates can be focused and, then, appear in a post-verbal position (see §16.2 for a description of focus in Kakataibo). In this case, each post-verbal switch-reference predicate needs to be oriented to the main predicate of the clause. Since modifying the main predicate is possible for both converbs and switch-reference clauses, this distinction is thus neutralized in this position, and it is impossible to decide whether we are dealing with switch-reference clause(s) or converb(s). Some examples follow. Note, however, that this position is unusual for switch-reference predicates in general.

- (731) ‘*Ex kana* ‘aban [*pitankëx*] [*xëai*].
‘*ë=x ka-na* ‘*abat-a-n pi-tankëx xëa-i*
1SG=S NAR=1SG run-PFV-1/2 **eat-S/A>S:PE drink-S/A>S:SE**
‘I ran, after eating, while drinking.’

‘aban [*pitankëx*] [*xëai*]

- (732) *‘Ex kana ‘aban [pitankëx] [xëakin]
 ‘ë=x ka=na ‘abat-a-n **pi-tankëx** xëa-**kin**
 1SG=S NAR=1SG run-PFV-1/2 eat-S/A>S:PE drink-S/A>A:SE
 (‘I ran, after eating while drinking’)

‘aban [pitankëx [xëakin]
 ↑ | |

- (733) *‘Ex kana ‘aban [pitankëxun]_{CVB} xëai]
 ‘ë=x ka=na ‘abat-a-n **pi-tankëxun** xëa-i
 1SG=S NAR=1SG run-PFV-1/2 eat-S/A>A:PE drink-S/A>S:SE
 (‘I ran, while drinking after eating’)

‘aban [pitankëxun]_{CVB} xëai]
 ↑ | |

12.2.3 Degree of embedding

So far we have seen that switch-reference clauses and converbs are different in terms of their position and their target. In this section, I argue that they are also different in terms of their degree of embedding and that switch-reference clauses can be seen as being less embedded than converbs.

A first indication is that, as mentioned in §12.2.2 above, switch-reference clauses are the first constituent of the sentence, appearing before the second-position enclitics and, thus, are not main clause-internal elements. Converbs, by contrast, can be seen as more embedded in the sense that they can appear within the clause they are dependent on. In addition, as mentioned in §12.2.1, only converbs can modify other dependent predicates. The fact that switch-reference clauses can only modify main predicates (and skip over adjacent dependent predicates) suggests that they are syntactic constituents of a higher level. Looking at this fact from another perspective, one can alternatively say that they cannot depend on converbs because converbs are more embedded than switch-reference clauses and are syntactic constituents of a lower level. This analysis is supported by another fact. Interestingly, there is one construction where we can have more than one switch-reference clause modifying the same main clause. In this case, each switch-reference verb needs to be followed by a second-position enclitic, as shown in the following example (note that the first instance of the enclitic is very often followed by a distinctive pause).

- (734) [Pitankëx]_{SRC} kana # [xëai]_{SRC} kana 'aban.
pi-tankëx *ka-na* **xëa-i** *ka-na* 'abat-a-n
eat-S/A>S:PE nar=1sg **drink-S/A>S:SE** nar=1sg run-pfv-1/2
'After eating, while drinking, I ran.'
- [Pitankëx]_{SRC} kana # [xëai]_{SRC} kana 'aban
-

I consider that the presence of more than one second-position enclitic marking register in the same sentence is a clear indicator that Kakataibo grammar treats switch-reference clauses as only weakly embedded elements. Recall that each independent clause requires such an enclitic – and the fact that contexts like the one presented in (734) require two separate enclitics suggests that we are dealing with a low level of embeddedness. The fact that each clause receives a register marker may be an indicator that we are dealing with a construction that is close to juxtaposition or coordination.⁷²

There is only one context where two switch-reference clauses can appear before the same second-position enclitic: if they have the same predicate. This includes reduplicated verbs, which are single predicates with an iterative aspect (see §9.3) or restatements, as shown in (735) (note that distinctive pauses are also likely to be found in the context of restatements).

- (735) [A pitankëx]_{SRC} # ['atsa pitankëx]_{SRC} kana [xëai]_{CVB} 'aban.
a **pi-tankëx** *atsa* **pi-tankëx** *ka-na*
that:ABS eat-S/A>A:PE manioc:ABS eat-S/A>A:PE NAR=1SG
xëa-i 'abat-a-n
drink-S/A>S:SE run-pfv-1/2
'After eating that, after eating manioc, I ran while drinking.'
- [pitankëx]_{SRC} # [pitankëx]_{SRC} *ka-na* [xëai]_{CVB} 'aban
-

The syntactic relationship between the two switch-reference clauses in the example above requires further study. It is important to note, however, that the second switch-reference clause seems to function as an elaborative clause in relation to the previous one; that is, the second switch-reference clause elaborates or adds more information (see §13.3 for more details on elaborative clauses).

72 Notice that this does not invalidate what I have said in §11.4.1, where I argued that a second position clitic marking register is a definitional property of independent sentences: the second position clitics exemplified in this section do not appear within the dependent clause and, therefore, are not true second position clitics in relation to them.

12.2.4 Final exemplification

In this section, I have argued that Kakataibo grammar distinguishes between two types of switch-reference constructions: converbs and switch-reference clauses. As we have seen in the previous subsections, such a distinction can be established based on three different criteria: target, position and level of embedding (see Table 85 for a summary).

Two text examples are included here in order to show how this distinction is used in discourse. In the first one, we find two converbs following the second-position enclitics and both modifying the matrix predicate *kwan-ru* ‘go-up’, as shown by the switch-reference markers *-i* ‘S/A>S :SE’ and *-ax* ‘S/A>S’. Note that *toin-* ‘hold on’ is a transitive verb, and therefore *tētan-i* ‘tie-S/A>S :SE’ cannot modify it. As expected, the switch-reference clause before the second-position enclitic, *kakëxbi*, modifies the main predicate and any attempt to make it modify any other dependent predicate will result in an unacceptable construction. In the second example, we find a very long switch-reference clause headed by the intransitive predicate *u* ‘come’. Note that the preceding converbs *ka-bian* ‘say-going’, *abá-kian* ‘run-going’ and *bi-bëtsin* ‘pick up-coming’ modify each other in a chain (I do not include *bënëtishi* in the analysis, because it is primarily an adjective).

- (736) [Kakëxbi]_{SRC} *kaisa* [kaxori tētani]_{CVB} [toianx]_{CVB} *kwaruakëshín* [*a xanu a nuirui*]⁷³
ka-këx=bi *ka=i=a* *kaxori* *tētan-i*
 say-P>S:PE-although NAR=REP=3 pomegranate:ABS tie-S/A>S:SE
toin-ax *kwan-ru-akë-x-ín* *a* *xanu* *a*
hold.on-S/A>S go-up-REM.PST-3-PROX that woman that:P
nui-nu-i
 follow-up-S/A>S:SE
 ‘It is said that, although (she) said it to him, he went up, following that woman, after holding on and tying the pomegranates.’ (JE-pomegranates-2007.016)

[kakëxbi]_{SRC} *kaisa* [kaxori tētani]_{CVB} [toianx]_{CVB} *kwaruakëshín*


- (737) [[Kabiani]_{CVB} *bënëtishi* [abákianxun]_{CVB} [chompëru bitsini]_{CVB} *uxun*]_{SRC} *kaisa*
rëakëxa nanë a.
ka-bian-i *bënët-i-ishí* *abat-kian-xun*
 say-going:TRAN-S/A>S:SE hurry-S/A>S:SE=only run-going:INTR-S/A>A:SE

⁷³ Since the distinction between switch-reference clauses and converbs is neutralized after the main verb, I do not include references to switch-reference predicates in this position in the examples discussed in this chapter.

<i>chompöru bits-bëtsin-i</i>	<i>u-xun</i>	<i>ka=is=a</i>
ax:ABS	pick.up-coming:TRAN-S/A>S:SE	come-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3
<i>rët-akë-x-a</i>	<i>nanë</i>	<i>a</i>
cut-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX	genipap	that:P
'It is said that, going after saying it, very quickly, running, picking up her ax and coming back, it is said that she cut that genipap tree.' (NA-deer-2007.014)		
<i>[[kabiani]_{CVB} [abákianxun]_{CVB} [bitsini]_{CV} uxun]_{SR} kaisa rëakëxa</i>		
	↑	↑

As can be seen, the combination of converbs and switch-reference clauses produces a rich system of argument tracking that is frequently used by the speakers in order to structure their discourse. The following sections illustrate each switch-reference marker attested in the language.

12.3 The switch-reference markers

As listed in Table 86, Kakataibo has a large number of suffixes that express different switch-reference meanings (plus another marker that is difficult to classify; see §12.5.2.5). All these forms establish different types of argument tracking, express different temporal relationships between the dependent and the matrix clauses (which can be either main or other dependent clauses), and observe different grammatical relations (see §15.2.3.4).

Upon comparison with the participant agreement system presented in §10.3, we can clearly see that the participant agreement forms *-xun* 'PA: A' and *-ax* 'PA: S' are formally identical respectively to the 'S/A>A, previous/simultaneous event' and the 'S/A>S, previous/simultaneous event' switch-reference markers. Additionally, a formal resemblance is also found between the participant agreement markers and the switch-reference markers *-tankëxun* 'S/A>A, previous event' and *-tankëx* 'S/A>S, previous event'. In addition, the participant agreement marker *-a* 'PA: P' may be diachronically involved in the development of the form *-ia* 'S/A/P>P, simultaneous event'.⁷⁴ Notice that the participant agreement markers (plus the suffixes *-kin* 'S/A>A, simultaneous event' and *-i* 'S/A>S, simultaneous event') can be reconstructed for Proto-Panoan (see Valenzuela 2003b: Chapter 20). By contrast, we find differences among Pano languages with regard to the number, the form and the meaning of other

⁷⁴ In this grammar, I use the label "participant agreement" for those cases where these forms are used in clause-internal function, and the label "switch-reference" for those cases where these forms (plus the many others presented in Table 86) are used to combine clauses (see §10.3 for a discussion on participant agreement).

switch-reference markers. This suggests that the Proto-Pano suffixes were combined with distinct forms in diverse ways in different Pano languages. For Kakataibo, such forms include, for instance, the nominalizer *-kë*, the formative *-tan* (which is similar to the synchronic Kakataibo suffix *-tan* ‘go to’), and, probably, the ‘locative’ marker *=nu*. In addition, a marker for ‘different subject/object’ (perhaps **-(a)n*, as this form recurs in most of the relevant forms) must have played a role in the creation of this complex system.

Table 86. Switch-reference markers in Kakataibo

switch-reference suffix	temporal value of the event coded by the dependent predicate in relation to the matrix event	function of the co-referential argument	
		dependent clause	matrix clause
<i>-i</i>	Simultaneous	S/A	S
<i>-ax</i>	Previous /simultaneous	S/A	S
<i>-tankëx</i>	Previous	S/A	S
<i>-nux</i>	Posterior	S/A	S
<i>-kin</i>	Simultaneous	S/A	A
<i>-xun</i>	Previous/simultaneous	S/A	A
<i>-tankëxun</i>	Previous	S/A	A
<i>-nuxun</i>	Posterior	S/A	A
<i>-tan</i>	Simultaneous	S/A	S/A
<i>-ia</i>	Simultaneous	S/A/P	P
<i>-këtian</i>	Previous	S/A/P	P
<i>-këx</i>	Previous	P	S
<i>-këxun</i>	Previous	P	A
<i>-këx=bi</i>	Simultaneous	P	S
<i>-këxun=bi</i>	Simultaneous	P	A
<i>-an</i>	Simultaneous	Same subjects / (one) different object	
<i>-këbë</i>	Simultaneous	Different subjects/objects, intransitive	
<i>-këbëtan</i>	Simultaneous	Different subjects/objects, transitive	
<i>-mainun</i>	Simultaneous, durative (‘while’)	Different subjects/objects	
<i>-an</i>	Previous	Different subjects/objects	
<i>-nun</i>	Posterior	Different subjects	

The paradigm in Table 86 also includes forms that do not show any of the expected participant agreement markers and that seem to be nominalizations occurring in some sort of adverbial function. This is true for forms such as *-këbë* and *-këbëtan* ‘different subjects/objects, simultaneous event’, where we find the nominalizer *-kë* and

the case marker *=bë(tan)* ‘comitative’; and *-këtian* ‘S/A/P>P, previous event’, where we find again the same nominalizer and the marker *-tian* (which is a case marker expressing a temporal meaning similar to ‘life stage’ in Shipibo-Konibo; see Valenzuela 2003b: 233). These forms are difficult to analyze and their inclusion in Table 86 is open to debate. The form *-tian* is not a synchronic case marker in Kakataibo, and the whole structure seems to have lexicalized into a single marker that expresses a clear switch-reference meaning. Despite their clear nominal origin, *-këtian* seems to be a synchronic marker that derives dependent clauses that predicate about the P argument of the clause they are dependent on.

The case of *-këbë(tan)* is more complex. Forms with *-këbë(tan)* have clearly come from event nominalizations in the comitative case (similar to the English example ‘with the arriving of María, I left the room’; see also Chapter 14 for more on nominalizations); but, in this case, *=bë(tan)* is still a synchronic comitative marker in the language and the whole form can be argued to be segmentable (*-kë=bë(tan)*). If we follow this analysis, constructions with *=bë(tan)* are still nominalizations. According to this analysis, *-këbë(tan)* should not be included in the paradigm presented in Table 86, which lists a set of morphological elements which derive switch-reference constructions. These cases show that the distinction between nominalizations and switch-reference forms is not clear-cut and the inclusion of *-këbë(tan)* in this paradigm is certainly open to debate.

The paradigm in Table 86 is the result of different diachronic processes and includes forms that have different origins. Given their synchronic distribution and behavior, I will treat all forms as monomorphemic suffixes forming a single paradigm, despite their morphologically complex diachronic origins. The switch-reference makers are mutually exclusive (i.e. they produce a culminative paradigm) and positionally-fixed (verb-final). The description of Kakataibo switch-reference markers has been organized into four basic types of argument tracking: same subjects (§12.3.1); subject/object > object (§12.3.2); object > subject (§12.3.3); and different subjects(/ objects) (§12.3.4).

12.3.1 Same subjects

12.3.1.1 *-i* ‘S/A>S, simultaneous event’

The form *-i* ‘S/A>S, simultaneous event’ is used to indicate that the S/A argument of the dependent clause is co-referential with the S argument of the matrix clause and that both events are simultaneous. In (738), *-i* ‘S/A>S, simultaneous event’ appears on the verb *buan* ‘bring’, which is modifying the main verb *kwan* ‘go’.

- (738) *A buani ka kwankëxa.*

a buan-i ka kwan-akë-x-a
 that:P bring-S/A>S:NAR:3 go-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Bringing that, they went.’ (NA-ancestors-2007.006)

[*buani*]_{SRC} *ka=is=a kwankëxa*


12.3.1.2 -ax ‘S/A>S, previous/simultaneous event’

The marker *-ax* has already been presented in §10.3, where the category of participant agreement was introduced. As part of the switch-reference system, this form is used to indicate that the S/A argument of the dependent clause is co-referential with the S argument of the matrix clause. This form has a wider semantic range in that includes both previous and simultaneous dependent events and cause-effect conditionals. Due to its wide semantics, I gloss it simply as ‘S/A>S’

- (739) *Piax kana ‘abatin.*

pi-ax ka-na ‘abat-i-n
 eat-S/A>S NAR=1SG run-IPFV-1/2
 ‘After eating, I run.’ / ‘If I eat, I run.’

[*piax*]_{SRC} *kana ‘abatin*


12.3.1.3 -tankëx ‘S/A>S, previous event’

The form *-tankëx* ‘S/A>S, previous event’ is used to indicate that the S/A argument of the dependent clause is co-referential with the S argument of the matrix clause, and that the dependent event is anterior to the matrix event. The example in (740) includes three instances of *-tankëx* ‘S/A>S, previous event’ which are modifying the main verb *u-ru* ‘come-up’ (in italics). Note the complexity of this example. Immediately after the first instance of *-tankëx*, there is a second-position enclitic and thus the form *ēnanantankëx* is to be interpreted as a switch-reference clause. The second and the third instances of the marker appear on the same predicate, and are followed by one second-position enclitic; again, they have to be interpreted as a switch-reference clause. All three switch-reference markers then modify the main intransitive predicate *u-ru* ‘come-up’:

- (740) *Ēnanantankëx kaisa achushi tapan anuishi auisa kwankë axëshi anu tsótankëx Amazonas saékë anu tsótankëx kaisa uruakëxa paru bëru Pucallpami kaisa uruakëxa.*

*ēnan-anan-tankëx ka=is=a achushi tapan anu=ishi
 separate-RECP-S/A>S:PE NAR=REP=3 one raft there=only
 au=is=a kwan-kë a=x=ishi anu
 there(old)=REP=3 go-NOMLZ that=s=only there
 tsót-tankëx Amazona saékë anu tsót-tankëx ka=is=a
 live-S/A>S:PE Amazon near.by.a.river there live-S/A>S:PE NAR=REP=3
 u-ru-akë-x-a paru bëru-i
 come-up-REM.PST-S-NON.PROX big.river:ABS follow-s/A>S:SE
 Pucallpa=mi ka=is=a u-ru-akë-x-a
 Pucallpa=IMPR.LOC NAR=REP=3 come-up-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX*

'It is said that, after separating from each other and after living for a while in the place that they arrived with one of the rafts, they came up following the river close to Pucallpa.' (EE-north-2006.034)

[*ēnanantankëx*]_{SRC} *ka=is=a* [*tsótankëx* *tsótankëx*]_{SRC} *kaisa* *uruakëxa*

12.3.1.4 -nux 'S/A>S, posterior event'

The form *-nux* 'S/A>S, posterior event' is used to indicate that the S/A argument of the dependent clause is co-referential with the S argument of the matrix one, and that the dependent event is posterior to the matrix one. This form usually receives a purposive interpretation, as in (741).

- (741) *Tsi mëkamanux kaisa chérökënén rara tsóakëxa tsi kwëbí utënbuax*
tsi mëkama-nux ka=is=a chérökën=n rara
fire:ABS steal-S/A>S:POE NAR=REP=3 small.parrot=GEN ancestor:ABS
tsót-akë-x-a tsi kwëbí utënbu-ax
live-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX fire near.by be.pensative-S/A>S
 'It is said that, in order to steal the fire, the parrot sat down close to it, sadly'
 (JE-parakeet-2007.004)

[*mëkamanux*]_{SRC} *kaisa* *tsóakëxa*

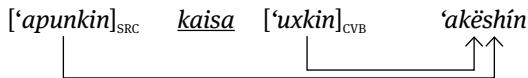
12.3.1.5 -kin 'S/A>A, simultaneous event'

The form *-kin* 'S/A>A, simultaneous event' is used to indicate that the S/A argument of the dependent clause is co-referential with the A argument of the matrix one, and that the two events are simultaneous. This form is used twice in the following example on

the verbs ‘*a-pun* ‘do-early the same day’ and ‘*ux* ‘sleep’. The two forms are modifying the main verb ‘*a* ‘do’. Note that the form ‘*apunkin*’ is a switch-reference clause, according to the distinction proposed in this chapter because it does not modify the dependent intransitive verb ‘*ux* ‘sleep’.

- (742) *Apunkin kaisa bëtsi ñantan uxkin akëshín.*

‘*a-pun-kin* *ka=is=a* *bëtsi* *ñantan* ‘*ux-kin*
 do-PST.same.day-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 other afternoon sleep-S/A>A:SE
 ‘*a-akë-x-in*
 do-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘It is said that, doing it early, sleeping for another afternoon, he did it’
 (NA-foreigner-2007.047)



12.3.1.6 -xun ‘S/A>A, previous/simultaneous event’

Like ‘-ax’ ‘S/A>S, previous/simultaneous event’, the marker ‘-xun’ has already been presented in §10.3 as part of the participant agreement system. As a switch-reference marker, this form is used to indicate that the S/A argument of the dependent clause is the A argument of the matrix clause. This form is used for both previous and simultaneous dependent events, but also for cause-effect conditionals. Here it is simply glossed as ‘S/A>A’.

- (743) *Pixun kana xëain.*

pi-xun *ka=na* *xëa-i-n*
 eat-S/A>A NAR=1SG drink-IPFV-1/2
 ‘After eating, I drink.’ / ‘If I eat, I drink’



12.3.1.7 -tankëxun ‘S/A>A, previous event’

The form ‘-tankëxun’ ‘S/A>A, previous event’ indicates that the S/A argument of the dependent clause is co-referential with the A argument of the matrix clause, and that the dependent event is anterior to the matrix event. In (744), the suffix ‘-tankëxun’ ‘S/A>A, previous event’ occurs on the verb ‘bëba’ ‘arrive’, which is modifying the main predicate ‘*a-tëkën* ‘do-again’.

- (744) *Bëbatankëxun ka anuxun hasta Tingo Maríanu ‘atékëankëxa amiribishi.*
*bëba-**tankëxun** ka anuxun hasta Tingo Marí=nu*
 arrive-S/A>A:PE NAR:3 then:TRAN up.to Tingo.María=LOC
‘a-tëkën-akë-x-a amiribishi
 do-again-REM,PST-3-NON.PROX again
 ‘After arriving, then, they built it again up to Tingo María.’ (EE-road-2006.007)

[*bëbatankëxun*]_{SRC} ka ‘atékëankëxa


12.3.1.8 -*nuxun* ‘S/A>A, posterior event’

The form -*nuxun* ‘S/A>A, posterior event’ indicates that the S/A argument of the dependent clause is co-referential with the A argument of the matrix clause, and that the dependent event is posterior to the matrix event. The form -*nuxun* ‘S/A>A, posterior event’, like -*nux* ‘S/A>S, posterior event’, usually receives a purposive interpretation, as is the case in (745).

- (745) *Naë ‘anuxun kananuna mepain barin.*

naë ‘a-**nuxun** ka=nanuna me=pain bari-i-n
 garden:ABS do-S/A>A:POE NAR=1PL land:ABS=first look.for-IPFV-1/2
 ‘In order to make a garden, first we look for a piece of land.’
 (SE-agriculture-2007.002)

[*anuxun*]_{SRC} kananuna barin


12.3.1.9 -*tanan* ‘S/A>S/A, simultaneous event’

The form -*tanan* ‘S/A>S/A, simultaneous event’ is not used very frequently in discourse and is different from the other same-subject markers since it does not distinguish between S and A in the matrix clause. This form indicates that the subject argument (as opposed to the object argument) is the same in both the dependent and the matrix clause and that both events are simultaneous. In that sense, -*tanan* ‘S/A>S/A, simultaneous event’ conflates the function of two other switch-reference markers: -*kin* ‘S/A>A, simultaneous event’ and -*i* ‘S/A>S, simultaneous event’; however, a more careful study of the interaction between these different forms is still to be done. Two elicited examples of -*tanan* ‘S/A>S/A, simultaneous event’ are presented in (746) and (747) (in the first one, the matrix verb is transitive and in the second it is intransitive).

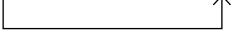
- (746)
- Pitanan kana xëan.*

pi-tanan *ka=na* *xëa-a-n*
 eat-S/A>S/A:SE NAR=1SG drink-pfv-1/2
 ‘Eating, I drank.’

[**pitanan**]_{SR} *kana* *xëan*


- (747)
- Pitanan kana ‘aban.*

pi-tanan *ka=na* *‘abat-a-n*
 eat-S/A>S/A:SE NAR=1SG run-PFV-1/2
 ‘Eating, I ran.’

[**pitanan**]_{SR} *kana* *‘aban*


Note that this form and *-anan* ‘same subjects; different object, simultaneous events’ seems to be formally related. In fact, *-tan* might have come from the combination of *-tan* plus *-anan*, where the first proposed formative is also attested in other same subject markers such as *-tankëxun* ‘S/A>A, previous event’ and *-tankëx* ‘S/A>A, previous event’.

12.3.1.10 *-anan* ‘same subjects, one different object, simultaneous event’

The form *-anan* ‘same subjects, one different object, simultaneous event’ is used when the two clauses of a chain express simultaneous events and have different objects but the same subject. If two ditransitive predicates are combined by means of *-anan*, this restriction applies only over one of the objects. Thus, the two clauses need to have only one different object but can share the other one. In addition, if one predicate is ditransitive and the other is transitive, the only transitive object can also be one of the ditransitive arguments, since, by definition, one object of the ditransitive predicate will not be shared. Something similar happens if an intransitive predicate and a transitive one are combined by means of this form. In (748)–(751), I illustrate different clause-combinations by means of this suffix.

- (748) Two transitive verbs

Atsa pianan kana ‘atapa ‘aruān.
‘atsa *pi-anan* *ka=na* *‘atapa* *‘aru-a-n*
 manioc:ABS eat-S/A>S/A:D.OBJ:SE NAR=1SG chicken:ABS cook-PFV-1/2
 ‘I cooked chicken while eating manioc.’

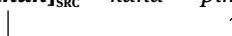
*'atsa pianan kana 'atsa 'aruan
 'atsa pi-anan ka-na 'atsa 'aru-a-n
 manioc:ABS eat-S/A>S/A:D.OBJ:SE NAR=1SG manioc:ABS cook-PFV-1/2
 ('I cooked manioc while eating it')

[**pianan**]_{SRC} kana 'aruan


- (749) Two ditransitive verbs

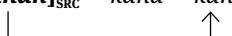
'Atsa uni 'inan'an kana 'atsa xanu pimian.
 'atsa uni 'inan-anan ka-na 'atsa
 manioc:ABS man:ABS give-S/A>S/A:D.OBJ:SE NAR=1SG manioc:ABS
 xanu pi-mi-a-n
 woman:ABS eat-CAUS-PFV-1/2
 'I gave manioc to the man while feeding it to the women.'

*'atsa uni 'inannan kana 'atsa uni pimian
 'atsa uni 'inan-anan ka-na 'atsa
 manioc:ABS man:ABS give-S/A>S/A:D.OBJ:SE NAR=1SG manioc:ABS
 uni pi-mi-a-n
 man:ABS eat-CAUS-PFV-1/2
 ('I gave manioc to the man while feeding it to him')

[**'inan'an**]_{SRC} kana 'pimian


- (750) One ditransitive and one transitive verb

'Atsa uni 'inan'an kana uni kan
 'atsa uni 'inan-anan ka-na uni
 manioc:ABS man:ABS give-S/A>S/A:D.OBJ:SE NAR=1SG man:ABS
 ka-a-n
 say.TRAN-PFV-1/2
 'I gave manioc to the man while talking to him.'

[**'inan'an**]_{SRC} kana kan


- (751) One transitive and one intransitive verb

'Atsa pianan kana kwan.
 'atsa pi-anan ka-na kwan-a-n
 manioc:ABS eat-S/A>S/A:D.OBJ:SE NAR=1SG go-PFV-1/2
 'I went while eating manioc.'

[**pianan**]_{SRC} kana kwan


One text example of *-anan* is presented in (752).

- (752) *Ain xon kari bata a xëamianan [...] kaisa kakëxa uni*
ain xon kari bata a xëa-mi-anan [...] ka=is=a
 3SG mythical.drink 3SG:P drink-CAUS-S/A>S/A:D.OBJ:SE NAR=REP=3
ka-akë-x-a uni
 say-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX person:ABS
 ‘It is said that, making the man drink the mythical drink, (the king vulture) said to the man...’ (JE-king.vulture-2007.063)

[*xëamianan*]_{SRC} *kaisa* *kakëxa*


The marker *-anan* can be used in this example since the object argument of the ditransitive predicate *xon kari bata* ‘mythical drink’ is not part of the argument structure of the following transitive verb (even though the secondary object of the causative predicate is co-referential with the object of the transitive main predicate: *uni* ‘man’).

12.3.2 Subject/object > object

12.3.2.1 *-ia* ‘S/A/P>P, simultaneous event’

The form *-ia* ‘S/A/P>P, simultaneous event’ indicates that one core argument of the dependent clause is co-referential with the P argument of the matrix one (see §6.7.1 for the distinction between core and oblique arguments), and that the two events are simultaneous. This suffix is illustrated in (753), where it can be seen that the clause made up by the reduplicated verb *kwan-ru* ‘go-up’ is modifying the main verb *ka* ‘say’.

- (753) *Kwaru kwaruia kaisa kakëshín...*
kwan-ru kwan-ru-ia ka=is=a ka-akë-x-ín
 go-up go-up-S/A/P>P:SE NAR=REP=3 say-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘It is said that, when (he) was going up, (the man) said to him...’
 (JE-king.vulture-2007.020) (S>P)

[*kwaru kwaruia*]_{SRC} *kaisa* *kakëshín*


Even though it is not common in discourse, according to my Kakataibo teachers, and as indicated in its gloss, the suffix *-ia* can also be used for ‘P>P, simultaneous event’ switch-reference tracking. See the elicited example in (754).

- (754) 'En pia xutia ka Roberto-nëñ baxa.

'ë=n pia xut-ia ka Roberto-nëñ
 1SG=A arrow:ABS throw-S/A/P>P:SE NAR:3 roberto=ERG
 bi-a-x-a
 grab-PFV-3-NON.PROX

'When I threw the arrow, Roberto grabbed it' (P>P)

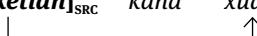
[xutia]_{SRC} ka baxa


12.3.2.2 -këtian 'S/A/P>P, previous event'

The form -këtian 'S/A/P>P, previous event' indicates that one core argument of the dependent clause is co-referential with the P argument of the matrix one, and that the dependent event is preceding the matrix one. The marker -këtian 'S/A/P>P, previous event' is exemplified by the following elicited paradigm:

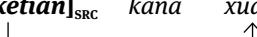
- (755) Pedro mëkëtian kana Juan Limanu xuan.

Pedro më-këtian ka=na Juan Lima=nu xu-a-n
 pedro:ABS beat.up-S/A/P>P:PE NAR=1SG Juan:ABS Lima=LOC send-PFV-1/2
 'After he, beat up Pedro, I sent Juan, to Lima.' (A>P)

[mëkëtian]_{SRC} kana xuan


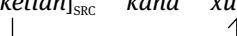
- (756) Pedronëñ mëkëtian kana Juan Limanu xuan.

Pedro-nëñ më-këtian ka=na Juan Lima=nu xu-a-n
 pedro:ABS beat.up-S/A/P>P:PE NAR=1SG Juan:ABS Lima=LOC send-PFV-1/2
 'After Pedro beat him, up, I sent Juan, to Lima.' (P>P)

[mëkëtian]_{SRC} kana xuan


- (757) Isinkëtian kana Juan Limanu xuan.

'isin-këtian ka=na Juan Lima=nu xu-a-n
 be.sick-S/A/P>P:PE NAR=1SG Juan:ABS Lima=LOC send-PFV-1/2
 'After he, was sick, I sent Juan, to Lima' (S>P)

['isinkëtian]_{SRC} kana xuan


This form shares with nominalizations an attributive function (see §14.5) in which the co-referential argument cannot be mentioned in the dependent element. This restriction, which is not found with any other form in the switch-reference paradigm, is a definitional feature of participant nominalizations (see §14.2.5) and could be evidence supporting the idea of the switch-reference constructions with *-këtian* came from nominalizations. One text example of *-këtian* is presented in (758)

- (758) *Kaikëtian kaikëtian kaisa anua baka rërëkakë kwëtú rërëkakë buankëxa a.*
kai-këtian kai-këtian ka=is=a anu-a baka
 reproduce-S/A/P>P:PE reproduce-S/A/P>P:PE NAR=REP=3 there-PA.P river
rërëka-kë kwëtú rërëka-kë buan-akë-x-a a
 spill-NOMLZ:ABS mud spill-NOMLZ:ABS bring-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX that:P
 ‘It is said that, after they reproduced themselves, (she) brought (the worms) that spilt over the mud and river’ (NA-foreigner-2007.059)

[*kaikëtian kaikëtian*]_{SRC} *kaisa buankëxa*



12.3.3 Object > subject

Two switch-reference markers encode ‘object > subject’ in Kakataibo: *-këx* ‘P > S, previous event’ and *-këxun* ‘P > A, previous event’. Both can be combined with the enclitic *=bi* ‘same’ in order to express simultaneous events. Notice that the presence of this enclitic in combination with these forms may trigger a ‘though’ interpretation instead of the simultaneous meaning, as shown in (759).

- (759) *Kakëxunbi kaisa ‘ama ‘ikën.*
ka-këxun=bi ka=is=a ‘a-a=ma ‘ikën
 say-P>A:PE=same NAR=REP=3 do-NOMLZ=NEG be:3
 ‘It is said that, even though they talked (to him), (he) did not do it’
 (JE-parakeet-2007.012)

[*kakëxunbi*]_{SRC} *kaisa ‘ikën*

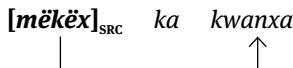


12.3.3.1 *-këx* ‘P > S, previous event’ and *-këx=bi* ‘P > S, simultaneous event’

The forms *-këx* ‘P > S, previous event’ and *-këx=bi* ‘P > S, simultaneous event’ indicate that the P argument of the dependent clause is co-referential with the S argument of the matrix one. The former is used for dependent previous events and the latter for simultaneous ones (but also to express the meaning ‘though’; see example (759)). The form *-këx* ‘P > S, previous event’ is exemplified in elicited sentence presented in (760).

- (760) *Juanën Pedro mëkëx ka Limanu kwanxa.*

Juan-nëñ Pedro *më-këx* ka Lima=nu kwan-a-x-a
 Juan=ERG pedro:ABS beat.up-**P>S:PE** NAR:3 Lima=LOC go-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'After Juan beat up Pedro, Pedro went to Lima.'

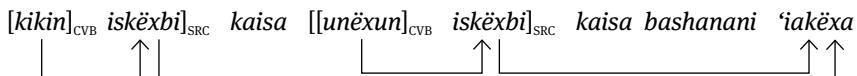


The form *-këx=bi* ‘P > S, simultaneous event’ is illustrated in (761), where this suffix and the verb *is* ‘see’ appear twice. In both cases, *is-këx=bi* is modifying the main intransitive periphrastic verbal form *bashanani* ‘*iakëxa* ‘were washing each other’. Note that each switch-reference clause carries a converb and is followed by a second-position enclitic. Since the two heads of the two switch-reference clauses include the same predicate, it would not be obligatory to repeat the second-position enclitic (see §12.2.3), and this repetition seems to be motivated by the additional presence of converbs.

- (761) "A ūu kara 'ēn xabionkē basia tain isnun" kikin iskëxbi kaisa unëxun iskëxbi kaisa 'unpaxan bashanani 'iakëxa ain mëratï ain 'akë unibë.

<i>a ñu</i>	<i>ka=ra</i>	<i>'ë=n</i>	<i>xabionkë basi-i-a</i>	<i>tain</i>
what:ABS	NAR=INT.3	1SG=GEN	wife:ABS	be.slow-IPFV-NON.PROX EXH
<i>is-nun</i>	<i>ki-kin</i>	<i>is-këx=bi</i>	<i>ka=is=a</i>	
see-DIFF.PURP	say:INTR-S/A>A:SE	see-P>S:PE=same	NAR=REP=3	
<i>unë-xun</i>	<i>is-këx=bi</i>	<i>ka=is=a</i>	<i>'unpax=n</i>	
hide-S/A>A:SE	see-P>S:PE=same	NAR=REP=3	water=INS	
<i>bashan-anan-i</i>	<i>'i-akë-x-a</i>		<i>ain</i>	<i>mërati</i>
take.a.bath-RECP-S/A>S:SE	be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX	3SG:GEN	partner	
<i>ain</i>	<i>'a-kë</i>	<i>uni-bë</i>		
3SG:GEN	de	nomlz	person	COM:S

'It is said that, at the exact moment when her husband was looking at her, saying, "What is making my wife be late?, I will see" and hiding himself, she was playing in the water with her lover.' (SE-cheater.woman-2007.008)



12.3.3.2 -këxun 'P>A, previous event' and -këxun=bi 'P>A, simultaneous event'

The forms *-këxun* ‘P>A, previous event’ and *-këxun=bi* ‘P>A, simultaneous event’ are used to indicate that the P argument of the dependent clause is co-referential with the A argument of the matrix one. The former is used for dependent previous events and the latter for simultaneous ones (but also to express the meaning ‘though’). Examples of *-këxun* ‘P>A, previous event’ and *-këxun=bi* ‘P>A, simultaneous event’ follow:

- (762) *Juanën Pedro mëkëxun ka policia kwëanxa.*

Juan=nën Pedro më-këxun ka policia kwën-a-x-a
 Juan=ERG Pedro:ABS beat.up-P>A:PE NAR:3 police:ABS call-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'After Juan beat up Pedro, he called the police.' (P>A)

[*mëkëxun*]_{SRC} *ka* *kwëanxa*


- (763) *Juanën Pedro mëkëxunbi ka policia kwëanxa.*

Juan-nën Pedro më-këxun=bi ka policia kwën-a-x-a
 Juan=ERG Pedro:ABS beat.up-P>A=same NAR:3 police:ABS call-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'At the same time that Juan beat up Pedro, he called the police.' (P>A)

[*mëkëxunbi*]_{SRC} *ka* *kwëanxa*


12.3.4 Different subjects(/objects)

12.3.4.1 -*këbë(tan)* 'different subjects/objects, simultaneous event'

The form *-këbë(tan)* 'different subjects/objects, simultaneous event' has originated in the nominalizer *-kë* plus the comitative marker *=bë(tan)*. As mentioned in the introduction, constructions with *-këbëtan* could alternatively be analyzed as nominalizations in the comitative case, but I analyze *-këbë(tan)* as having developed into a switch-reference marker with the fixed meaning 'different subjects/objects, simultaneous event'. That is, it is used for clauses that do not share any core argument and that express simultaneous events. As it is the case for the comitative marker, the form *-këbë(tan)* 'different subjects/objects, simultaneous event' shows an allomorphic alternation: the form *-këbë* is only used with intransitive matrix predicates, while the form *-këbëtan* is used with transitive predicates (see §6.7.1.4 for the tripartite pattern followed by the comitative markers in Kakataibo).

Examples of this form modifying both transitive and intransitive predicates follow in (764) and (765). In the first one, the form *sinan-këbëtan=bi* 'think-different subjects/objects, simultaneous event, transitive=same' modifies the transitive predicate *sinan* 'think'. In the second example, the form *buan-këbë=bi* 'bring-different subjects/objects, simultaneous event, intransitive=same' modifies the intransitive verb *kwan* 'go'. Note that *buan-këbë=bi* appears as a switch-reference clause and, therefore, it does not modify the dependent transitive predicate *ka-tika-bian-i* 'back-follow-going, transitive-S/A>S, simultaneous event', which functions as a converb.

- (764) *Sinankëbëtanbi kaisa bëtsi unin sinankëxa.*

sinan-këbëtan=bi *ka=is=a* *bëtsi* *uni=n*
 think-**D.S/A/P:SE:TRAN=same** NAR=REP=3 other person=ERG
sinan-akë-x-a

think-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

'It is said that, at the same moment when they thought (something), other men thought (something else) as well.' (JE-worms-2007.009)

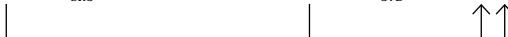
[*sinankëbetanbi*]_{SRC} *kaisa* *sinankëxa*


- (765) *Ain xanu buankëbëbi kaisa a katikabiani uni ax kwankëshín.*

ain *xanu* *buan-këbë=bi* *ka=is=a* *a*
 3SG:GEN woman:ABS bring-**DS/A/P:SE:INTR=same** NAR=REP=3 that:P
ka-tika-bian-i *uni* *a=x* *kwan-akë-x-íñ*

back-follow-going:TRAN-S/A>S:SE person that=S go-REM.PST-3-PROX

'It is said that, when he brought his wife, the other man went behind, following them.' (JE-pomegranates-2007.003)

[*buankëbëbi*]_{SRC} *ka=is=a* [*katikabiani*]_{CVB} *kwankëshín*


12.3.4.2 -mainun 'different subjects/objects, simultaneous event (durative)'

The forms *-këbë(tan)* and *-mainun* are both used for simultaneous events that do not share either subjects or objects. The difference is that while *-këbë(tan)* can be translated as 'when' (with the corresponding verb being presented as a punctual event), *-mainun* can be translated as 'while' (with the corresponding verb being presented as a durative event). One example of this form, which is also found in the coordinator '*imainun* 'and' (see §6.9.1), is given in (766).

- (766) 'Atsa tamëniómainun xaikama tamëniómainun ka énu tsó'.

'atsa *ta-mënió-mainun* *xai=kama*
 manioc:ABS foot-clean-**D.S/A/P:SE:DUR** sugar.cane=PL:ABS
ta-mënió-mainun *ka* *énu* *tsót*
 foot-clean-**DS/A/P:SE:DUR** NAR here sit.down:IMP

'Sit here, while I weed at the base of the manioc plant and weed at the base of the sugar canes.' (JE-blind.man-2007.016)

[*tamëniómainun*]_{SRC} [*tamëniómainun*]_{SRC} *ka* *tsó'*


12.3.4.3 *-an* ‘different subjects/objects, previous event’

The suffix *-an* ‘different subjects/objects, previous event’ is used when the switch-reference clause refers to a previous event and the two clauses in the chain do not share their subjects and objects. In the following example, it appears on the verb *tsót* ‘sit down’, which is the first constituent of the sentence, modifying the main verb *buan* ‘bring’. Note that there is another predicate in the construction, *chuminbut-këbë=bi* ‘become thin-different subjects/objects, simultaneous event, intransitive=same’, that occupies a clause-internal position and functions as a converb:

- (767) *Tsótanbi kaisa chuminbukëbëbi ‘ishminën buankëshín*
tsót-an=bi ka=is=a chuminbut-këbë=bi
 sit.down-**PE.DS/A/P=same** NAR=REP=3 become.thin-when:ds/A/P:INTR=same
‘ishmin-nën buan-akë-x-ín
 king.vulture-ERG bring-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘It is said that, **after he sat down**, getting very thin, the king vulture brought
 (the things he promised).’ (JE-king.vulture-2007.049)

[*tsótanbi*]_{SRC} *kaisa* [*chuminbukëbëbi*]_{CVB} *buankëshín*

12.3.4.4 *-nun* ‘different subjects, posterior event’

The suffix *-nun* ‘different subjects, posterior event’ is used to indicate that two clauses in a chain do not share the subject (S/A) and that the dependent clause expresses a posterior event. However, differently from the other suffixes presented in this section, *-nun* can be used to express an argument tracking pattern according to which (1) the object of one of the clauses is the subject of the other; or (2) the two clauses share their object. Therefore, *-nun* codes ‘different subjects’, and not different subjects/objects’. The semantic difference found between this suffix and the other ones in this section may be related to the fact that there is no other strategy to express these argument tracking patterns for posterior dependent events. Thus, while we find specialized forms for object to object, subject to object and object to subject argument-tracking in the case of simultaneous and previous events, this is not true in the case of posterior events. In this context, *-nun* has a wider semantic range than the corresponding forms for other temporal relations in the paradigm. Three examples illustrating the different types of argument tracking that can be expressed by *-nun* are presented in (768)–(770) (notice that, as other forms marking posterior events, *-nun* usually receives a purposive interpretation).

- (768) *Bëtsi nëtën mi kanun kamina kwanti 'ain.*

bëtsi nëtë=n mi ka-nun ka=mina kwan-ti 'ain
 other day=TEMP 2SG say-DS/A:POE NAR=2 go-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'You will go in order for (him) to talk to you another day.'
 (NA-pomegranates-2007.012) (P > S)

[*kanun*]_{SRC} *kamina kwanti 'ain*


- (769) *Bëtsi nëtën mi kanun kana mi buanti 'ain.*

bëtsi nëtë=n mi ka-nun ka=na mi buan-ti 'ain
 other day=TEMP 2SG:P say-DS/A:POE NAR=1SG 2SG:ABS go-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I will take you in order for (him) to talk to you another day.' (Elicited from NA-pomegranates-2007.012) (P > P)

[*kanun*]_{SRC} *kamina buanti 'ain*


- (770) *Bëtsi nëtën ax kwëenun kana mi buanti 'ain.*

bëtsi nëtë=n a=x kwëen-nun ka=na mi buan-ti 'ain
 other day=TEMP 3PL=S happy-DS/A.POЕ NAR=1SG 2SG:ABS
 go-NOMLZ be:1/2

'I will take you in order for him to be happy another day.' (no shared core arguments) (Elicited from NA-pomegranates-2007.012)

[*kwëenun*]_{SRC} *kamina buanti 'ain*


12.4 Marking indirect participation in switch-reference predicates

One interesting feature associated with switch-reference clauses is that they provide a strategy for indicating the indirect participation of the subject of the main clause in the dependent event. In other words, if we have a switch-reference clause and a main clause with different subjects/objects, but the subject of the latter clause is indirectly compromised or emotionally affected by the event presented in the former, Kakataibo has a specialized construction to express that semantic relation. In this case, the different subject/object marker is replaced by the marker *-ia* 'S/A/P>P, simultaneous event' and it is followed by the 'factive' marker *-o* (also used to obtain transitive predicates from adjectives and nouns), which in turn carries a 'same subject' marker. In this construction, *-o* is clearly not prosodically attached to the preceding switch-reference predicate and functions as an independent word. Let us compare the examples

in (771) and (772). In the example in (771), the switch-reference clause presents the two events as being in a temporal relationship (the woman went *when the man fell down*). By contrast, in (772), an additional indirect relationship between the subject of the main clause and the event presented in the switch-reference clause is indicated. Even though the introduction of the form *-o* ‘factive’ plus a same subject marker suggests that, grammatically, the two clauses share their subjects, semantically this is not true. The construction only attributes an indirect participation in the dependent event to the subject of the main clause. In general, the subject of the main clause tends to be interpreted as a perceiver and/or as someone emotionally concerned with the event.

- (771) *Uni pakëkëbë kaisa xanu kwankëshín.*

uni pakët-këbë ka=is=a xanu
 man:ABS fall.down-DS/A/P:SE:INTR NAR=REP=3 woman:ABS
kwan-akë-x-ín
 go-REM.PST-3-PROX

‘It is said that, when the man fell down, the woman went’

- (772) *Uni pakëtia oi kaisa xanu kwankëshín.*

uni pakët-ia o-i ka=is=a xanu
 man:ABS fall.down-S/A/P>P:SE FACT-S/A>S:SE NAR=REP=3 woman:ABS
kwan-akë-x-ín
 go-REM.PST-3-PROX

‘It is said that, when the man fell down, the woman went (but she saw him or she was in some way interested in or compromised with the event, because he was her husband, her enemy or something like this).’

In the example in (773), this construction is illustrated with the verb *bëba* ‘arrive’. According to my teachers, we find a perceiver interpretation (the father and the mother of the man saw him arriving after a long time). At the same time, however, they have been looking for him during his absence, and the parents are thus also emotionally affected by their son’s arrival. Thus meanings (1) and (2) are both present in this example.

- (773) *Bëbaia oi kaisa ain titä ain papa kiakëshín.*

bëba-ia o-i ka=is=a ain titä
 arrive-S/A/P>P:SE FACT-S/A>S:SE NAR=REP=3 3SG:GEN mother
ain papa ki-akë-x-ín
 his father:ABS say:INTR-REM.PST-3-PROX

‘It is said that, when (they saw him) arriving, his mother and his father said (very emotionally).’ (JE-king.vulture-2007.083)

Something similar occurs in the following example. This construction appears with the complex verbal form *ñu unani nitsia* ‘walk knowing things’ and the interpretation is, according to my teachers, that the Kakataibo ancestors started to treat the young people as men once they (proudly) realized that those young people were able to live by themselves. Again, both perception and emotional involvement seem to be attested in this example.

- (774) *Ñu unani nitsia oi ka nukën chaitinën ënë 'akëxa.*
- | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| <i>ñu</i> | <i>'unan-i</i> | <i>nits-ia</i> | <i>o-i</i> | <i>ka</i> |
| thing:ABS | know-s/A>S:SE | walk-S/A/P>P:SE | fact-s/A>S:SE | NAR:3 |
| <i>nukën</i> | <i>chaiti=n</i> | <i>ënë</i> | <i>'a-akë-x-a</i> | |
| IPL.GEN | ancestor=ERG | this:P | do-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX | |
- ‘When (they proudly realized that we) were able to walk knowing things, our ancestors used to do this.’ (NA-ancestors-2007.083)

12.5 Modality and aspect expressed by switch-reference

Switch-reference markers are used in a set of complex constructions expressing different types of modality and aspectual meanings. The constructions presented in this section are well-established and seem to be grammaticalized and not dependent on pragmatic inferences. That is, we are not dealing with forms that receive their different modality interpretations through the context, but rather with specialized constructions which express such meanings grammatically. Therefore, the constructions presented here should be understood as being different from the purposive interpretation that posterior event markers may receive (see §12.3) as well as from the conditional interpretation of the forms *-xun* ‘S/A>A’ and *-ax* ‘S/A>S’ in certain contexts (see §12.3.1). In addition, the constructions presented here are also different from the periphrastic verbal forms presented in §9.5, since they constitute multi-verb constructions containing switch-reference markers, while periphrastic verbal forms constitute single (periphrastic) predicates. Many of the forms that will be presented here follow the principle of transitivity harmony (see Valenzuela 2009). In order to present an integrated description of transitivity harmony in Kakataibo, I discuss all the constructions that follow this principle together in §12.5.1. The constructions that do not observe this principle are presented in §12.5.2.

12.5.1 Constructions with transitivity harmony

Transitivity harmony (or transitivity concord, see Loos 1999), is defined as: “a morphosyntactic process whereby a semantically modifying verb or verbal morpheme adjusts its valence to match the transitivity value of a semantically main verb with

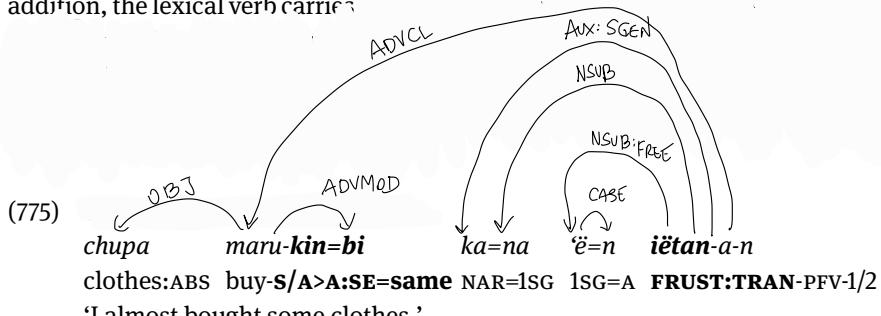
which it combines” (Valenzuela 2009: 1; see also Valenzuela 2011b). Like other Pano languages, Kakataibo exhibits a number of multi-verb-constructions that can be understood as operating under the principle of transitivity harmony. Such constructions are discussed in the following sections. Some verbal directional suffixes (particularly *-kwain* ‘passing by, intransitive’ and *-buin* ‘passing by, intransitive’) may be argued to have come from multi-verb constructions showing transitivity harmony. Adjectives used as predicate modifiers also follow this principle (see §7.3.3), and this is also true for the prohibitive construction (see §11.2.1.3.3).

In all the constructions that will be presented in this section, we find a similar pattern: they include a lexical verb plus an auxiliary or modal verb. The transitivity class of the auxiliary or modal verb depends on the transitivity of the lexical verb (they need to match with each other). The lexical verb carries a same-subject switch-reference marker which makes a distinction between transitive and intransitive auxiliaries.

12.5.1.1 Frustrative

The category of frustrative expresses the non-accomplishment of an event for reasons that are beyond the control of the agent. In Kakataibo, there are two multi-verb constructions that express frustrative-like meanings, and there is also a form *ñanká* ‘in vain’, which can be understood as a frustrative adverb. Additionally, there is a frustrative verbal marker *-kéan* (see §9.2.1.7). The two multi-verb frustrative constructions use switch-reference markers, but only the one to be presented here follows the transitivity harmony principle (see §12.5.2.2 for the other).

The frustrative construction presented here consists of a lexical verb marked for switch-reference plus an auxiliary. The frustrative auxiliary shows a different form depending on the valence of the lexical verb: *ië* with intransitives and *iëtan* with transitives. Interestingly, the transitive version includes the additional form *-tan*, which also appears with the transitive all *rr* of the c *rr* ve *rr* m *rr* *rr* addition, the lexical verb carries



- (776) *Paënibi kana 'ëx iëan.*

paën-i=bi *ka=n'a* *'ë=x* *ië-a-n*
get.drunk-S/A>S:SE=same *NAR=1SG* *1SG=S* **FRUST:INTR-PFV-1/2**
I almost got drunk.

Note that the frustrative construction based on the frustrative auxiliary can only appear in the perfective aspect or the past tense, as in the examples above.

12.5.1.2 Inchoative

The inchoative construction consists of a lexical verb that combines with the predicate *pëu* ‘begin’. If the dependent verb is intransitive, the predicate *pëu* ‘begin’ must carry the reflexive marker in order to become intransitive and match the transitivity value of the lexical verb. If the dependent verb is transitive, the reflexive marker cannot be included. The dependent verb, in turn, must carry the appropriate switch-reference marker.

- (777) *'Uxi kana pëukutin.*

'ux-i ka=na pëu-ukut-i-n
sleep-S/A>S:SE NAR=1SG begin-REF-IPFV-1/2
 'I begin to sleep.'

- (778) *Pikin kana pëuin.*

pi-kin ka=na pëu-i-n
eat-S/A>A:SE NAR=1SG begin-IPFV-1/2
 'I begin to eat.'

12.5.1.3 Completive

The completive construction includes a lexical verb combined with the predicate *sënëñ* ‘finish’ (which also seems to have given rise to the postposition *sënëñ* ‘at the end of’). If the dependent verb is transitive, the predicate *sënëñ* ‘finish’ can be transitivized by means of the *factive* marker *-o ~ -a*. According to my Kakataibo teachers, it is also possible to use the intransitive version of *sënëñ* with a transitive lexical verb, resulting in a slight semantic difference: the transitive version of *sënëñ* is only used when other events have intervened between the finishing of the event and the current speech act. The transitivity harmony principle is seen, however, in the fact that intransitive lexical verbs do not admit the transitive version of *sënëñ* under any circumstance. See the following examples:

- (779) *'Uxi kana sënëän.*

'ux-i ka=na sënë-a-n
sleep-S/A>S:SE NAR=1SG finish-PFV-1/2
 'I finished sleeping.'

**'uxi kana sënëon*
'ux-i ka=na sënë-o-a-n
sleep-S/A>S:SE NAR=1SG finish-FACT-PFV-1/2
 ('I finished sleeping')

- (780) *Pi kana sënëan.*

pi-i ka-na sënë-a-n
 eat-S/A>A:SE NAR=1SG finish-PFV-1/2
 ‘I just finished eating.’

- Pikin kana sënëon.*

pi-kin ka-na sënë-o-a-n
 eat-S/A>A:SE NAR=1SG finish-FACT-PFV-1/2
 ‘I finished eating a long time ago.’

12.5.1.4 ‘Should not have’ constructions

Another construction showing transitivity harmony is a construction expressing the meaning ‘should not have’. This construction consists of a periphrastic form (containing a lexical verb and an auxiliary), which appears as a switch-reference predicate in relation to the matrix predicate. If this matrix predicate is transitive, the auxiliary is transitive ('a). If the matrix predicate is intransitive, the auxiliary is intransitive ('i). The lexical verb within the periphrastic construction repeats the matrix predicate and carries the switch-reference markers -ax ‘S/A>S’ or -xun ‘S/A>A’, depending on the transitivity of the auxiliary. Both switch-reference markers are followed by =mari (=ma ‘negator’ plus =ri ‘counterfactual’). The auxiliary is followed by the marker -ti ‘nominalizer’ and the adverbial enclitic =bi ‘same, self’. Let us see some examples of the construction discussed here:

- (781) *A piti pixunmari ‘atibi kana pian.*

a piti pi-xun-ma-ri ‘a-ti=bi ka-na pi-a-n
 that food eat-S/A>A-NEG-COUN do-NOMLZ=same NAR=1SG eat-PFV-1/2
 ‘I should not have eaten that food, but I did.’

- (782) *‘Uxaxmari ‘itibi kana ‘uxan.*

‘ux-ax-ma-ri ‘i-ti=bi ka-na ‘ux-a-n
 sleep-S/A>S-NEG-COUN be-NOMLZ=same NAR=1SG sleep-PFV-1/2
 ‘I should not have slept, but I did.’

12.5.2 Constructions without transitivity harmony

There are other five constructions that, similarly to the ones presented in the previous section, express modality, aspect and related meanings, but do not follow the transitivity harmony principle. Some of them do not include any of the switch-reference markers presented in this chapter, but I include them in this section due to their function and their properties: they are clause chaining constructions.

12.5.2.1 Presumptive constructions

Switch-reference may be used to express presumptions about the reasons why a particular event has happened. In order to express this presumptive meaning, it is necessary to add the enclitic *-ri* ‘counterfactual’ (which gets a presumptive interpretation) after a ‘same subject’ switch-reference marker (see §12.3.1 for the set of available markers). As can be seen in the following examples, the construction remains the same regardless of the transitivity of the dependent verb, which is intransitive in (783) and transitive in (784).

- (783) *Tëëtankëxri ka Wilton ‘atsankë ‘iaya.*

tëë-*tankëx-ri* *ka* *Wilton* *‘atsan-kë* *‘i-a-x-a*
work-S/A>S:PE-COUN NAR:3 Wilton:ABS get.tired-NOMLZ **be-PFV-3-NON.PROX**
 ‘Wilton was tired; probably because he finished working (lit. After working, Wilton was tired).’

- (784) *Ñu ‘airi ka Wilton ‘atsankë ‘iaya*

ñu *‘a-i-ri* *ka* *Wilton* *‘atsan-kë*
 thing:ABS **do-S/A>S:SE-COUN** NAR:3 Wilton:ABS get.tired-NOMLZ
‘i-a-x-a
 be-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Wilton was tired, probably because he was doing things (lit. After doing things, Wilton was tired).’

12.5.2.2 *-katsi ki-* constructions

In Kakataibo discourse it is very common to find clauses where a predicate is modified by the form *-kats* (historically related to the synchronic ‘desiderative/abilitive’ marker *-kas*) plus the switch-reference marker *-i* ‘simultaneous event, S/A>S’, and the verb *ki* ‘say’. In addition, the verb *ki* ‘say’ carries either the form *-ax* ‘S/A>S’ or *-xun* ‘S/A>A’, according to the transitivity of the main clause. This construction may have (at least) three different readings depending on the context: ‘weak desiderative/uncertain purpose’; ‘fake action’; and ‘frustrative’. All of these will be illustrated with text examples in this section.

i. Weak desire/uncertain purpose

The *-katsi ki* construction is used to indicate that the subject of a sentence would like to accomplish, or is interested in accomplishing, a specific event. When a desire is expressed with this construction, it is understood either to be weaker than a desire expressed through the desiderative suffix *-kas* (see §9.1.4.1) or less possible (and thus interpreted as uncertain purpose). One example of this reading is presented in (785).

- (785) *Mibëtan isi kwankatsi kixun ‘ë kaxa.*

mi=bëtan is-i kwan-kats-i ki-xun
 you-COM:A see-s/A>S:SE go-DES-S/A>S:SE say:INTR-S/A>A
 ‘ë ka-a-x-a

1SG:P say-PFV-3-NON.PROX

‘(He) talked to me, willing to go to see (the armadillos) with you (if you agree, if you would like to come).’ (SE-paucar-2007.013)

ii. *Fake action*

The *-katsi ki* construction is also used to express that the subject is not really carrying out the event, but only faking. That is, *-katsi ki* may be interpreted as indicating that the predicate expresses a fake action, as illustrated in (786). The armadillo that the woman “finds” was actually given to her by her lover; and she is thus lying to her husband, who is blind, when she says that a jaguar has left the meat there and that she will cut off the part that is still useful (the meat had already been butchered by the lover).

- (786) “*Ain maxkámi aishi ka pipunia*” *kixun kaisa chankákatsi kixun ‘akëshín këmëkin.*

ain maxkat=mi a=iishi ka
 3SG:GEN head=IMPR.LOC that:P-only NAR:3
pi-pun-i-a ki-xun ka=is=a
 eat-PST.same.day-IPFV-NON.PROX say:INTR-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3
chankat-kats-i ki-xun ‘a-akë-x-ín
 cut.in.pieces-DES-S/A>S:SE say:INTR-S/A>A:SE do-REM.PST-3-PROX
këmë-kin
 lie-S/A>A:SE

‘It is said that, saying, “The jaguar ate it earlier this day only around its head”, she pretended to cut the meat into pieces, lying.’ (JE-blind.man-2007.039)

iii. *Frustrative*

The *-katsi ki* construction receives a frustrative interpretation when it appears in a dependent clause that modifies another one that negates it. This can be seen in the following example, where the *-katsi ki* construction is modifying the predicate *tatani* ‘tie somebody else’s feet’ and is negated by the context: several predicates indicate that the person did not do the job carefully.

- (787) *Upíokin mëékimá kamina upíokin rëxun rakankima kamina ‘atima ñu masakin tatanikatsi kixun ‘an.*

upit-okin mëé-kin=ma ka=mina upit-o-kin
 good-FACT-S/A>A:SE beat-S/A>A:SE=NEG NAR=2 good-FACT-S/A>A:SE

rët-xun rakan-kin=ma ka=mina ‘a-ti=ma ñu
 kill-S/A>A:SE lay.down-S/A>A:SE=NEG NAR=2 do-NOMLZ=NEG thing.ABS
 masa-kin ta-tani-**kats-i** ki-xun
 do.something.badly-S/A>A:SE foot-tie-**DES-S/A>S:SE** say:INTR-S/A>A:SE
 a-a-n
 do-PFV-1/2
 “Without beating him well, without laying him down after killing him well,
 doing the things badly, you failed in tying his feet.” (NA-deer-2007.040)

12.5.2.3 Counterfactual constructions

The counterfactual construction in Kakataibo is formed by a lexical verb modified by the nominalizer *-ti* followed by the adverbial enclitic *=bi* ‘same, self’. The predicate that carries these forms appears in a dependent clause modifying the auxiliary *i* ‘be’ in the past tense. Two examples follow. Note that the first one also includes the form *-ri* on the subject of the first sentence and on the dependent verb in order to make the counterfactual meaning clearer or stronger:

- (788) ‘Exri kana Limanu kwan. ‘E ñukatibiri ka ‘iixa.
 ‘ë=x=**ri** ka=na Lima=nu kwan-a-n
 1sg-S=COUN NAR=1SG Lima=LOC go-PFV-1/2
 ‘ë ñuka-**ti=bi=ri** ka ‘i-a-x-a
 1SG:P ask-NOMLZ=same=COUN NAR:3 be-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘I went to Lima. He should have asked me about it (but he did not).’

- (789) ‘En piti ‘axunun utibi ka Juan ‘iixa.
 ‘en piti ‘a-xun-nun u-**ti=bi** ka
 1SG=A food do-BEN-DS/A/P:POE come-NOMLZ=same NAR:3
 Juan ‘i-a-x-a
 Juan be-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘In order for me to cook for him, Juan should have come (but he did not).’

12.5.2.4 ‘Instead of’ constructions

The sequence *-ti* ‘nominalizer’ *=bi* ‘same, self’ also receives the reading ‘instead of’ when it appears modifying a dependent predicate that repeats the verbs of the main clause. This is illustrated in (790) and (791).

- (790) Tsata pitibi kana ‘atsaishi pian.
 tsata pi-**ti=bi** ka=na ‘atsa=ishi pi-a-n
 fish.specie:ABS eat-NOMLZ=same NAR=1SG manioc=only eat-PFV-1/2
 ‘Instead of eating fish, I ate only manioc.’

- (791) *Limanu kwantibi kana Pucallpanu kwan.*
Lima=nu kwan-ti=bi ka=na Pucallpa=nu kwan-a-n
Lima=LOC go-NOMLZ=same NAR=1SG Pucallpa=LOC go-PFV-1/2
 ‘Instead of going to Lima, I only went to Pucallpa.’

In these constructions, the enclitic *-ri* ‘counterfactual’ can also be used. It is usually interpreted as indicating that the speaker is lamenting about what has happened. Therefore, we can have:

- (792) *Tsatari pitibi kana ‘atsaishi pian.*
tsata=ri pi-ti=bi ka=na ‘atsa=ishi pi-a-n
fish.specie:ABS=COUN eat-NOMLZ=same NAR=1SG manioc=only eat-PFV-1/2
 ‘Unfortunately, instead of eating fish, I ate only manioc.’
- (793) *Limanuri kwantibi kana Pucallpanu kwan.*
Lima=nu=ri kwan-ti=bi ka=na Pucallpa=nu kwan-a-n
Lima=LOC=COUN go-NOMLZ=same NAR=1SG Pucallpa=LOC go-PFV-1/2
 ‘Unfortunately, instead of going to Lima, I only went to Pucallpa.’

12.5.2.5 *-akëma* constructions

A final type of construction to be included here is the one with the marker *-akëma*. Clauses headed by a predicate with this form receive a comparative meaning, obligatorily have different subjects and express a habitual previous event. Predicates carrying this form behave similarly to a different subject switch-reference construction. However, I have not included it in this chapter (see Table 86) because their exact grammatical nature is still unclear to me. In the only two instances of this form in my database, it appears with the verb *ki* ‘say, intransitive’, predicated about Kakataibo ancestors (something like “as our ancestors used to say”). More research is needed in order to see if there are other possible contexts for this form or if *kiakëma* is a lexicalized form. One example of this construction follows:

- (794) *Asábi ‘ikë kananuna nun ‘anibu kiakëma maënkimaiishi ‘apatia...*
asábi ‘i-kë ka=nanuna nu=n ‘anibu ki-akëma
good be-NOMLZ NAR=1PL 1PL=GEN ancestor:ABS say:INTR-used.to
maën-kin=ma=ishi ‘apat-ia...
clear-S/A>A:SE=NEG=only plant-S/A/P>P:SE
 ‘When it is ready, planting without clearing the land, as our ancestors used to say, we...’ (SE-agriculture-2007.013)

13 Reported speech and elaborative clauses

13.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce reported speech (§13.2) and elaborative clauses (§13.3), which constitute the two remaining types of dependent clauses in Kakataibo (switch-reference constructions were described in Chapter 12). Being dependent elements, these clauses cannot be used on their own, without another (main) clause; and they are not marked for register and mood, by means of second-position enclitics (see §11.2). However, evaluative clauses and one type of reported speech clause exhibit completely finite verbal forms. This chapter also includes information about a type of reported speech construction for citing direct speech, which functionally does not represent a dependent clause as such, since it is based on constructions that function as independent clauses in other contexts (e.g. when they were uttered by the original speaker).

A detailed study of reported speech only exists for one Pano language: Matses (see Munro et al. 2012). As far as I know, constructions corresponding to Kakataibo elaborative clauses have not been described as a special type of dependent clause for any other Pano language (but see Van Gijn 2013 for a similar type of construction in Yurakaré, an isolate language spoken in Bolivia).

13.2 Reported speech

“Every language has some way of reporting what someone has said” (Aikhenvald 2008: 384). In the case of Kakataibo, this function can be accomplished by means of three different constructions. The first repeats as exactly as possible what the original speaker (i.e. the speaker of the original speech act) has said. The others require some syntactic reconfiguration, but exhibit different degrees of *perspective persistence*, which is understood as the constraint of “maintaining the personal, temporal and spatial point-of-view of the source of some information” (Munro et al. 2012). Thus, in Kakataibo, we find:

- (1) **direct speech:** a type of reported speech that repeats as exactly as possible the original speech; it is used very often in traditional storytelling;
- (2) **modified direct speech:** a type of reported speech with rigid perspective persistence (no change in personal, locational/directional, and temporal perspective; see the discussion below), but with some important syntactic changes compared to the original utterance;
- (3) **indirect speech:** a type of reported speech where most components of the perspective of the original utterance are altered to reflect the reporter’s perspective.

While direct speech clauses are independent clauses in the sense that they can be used by themselves as sentences, modified direct and indirect speech clauses lack register/mood enclitics, carry an obligatory reportative marker and cannot function as independent clauses.

As we will see in the following examples, there are three verbs that are frequently used as quotatives in order to introduce speech reports: *ka* ‘say, transitive’, *ki* ‘say, intransitive’ and *sinan* ‘think’. In reported speech clauses, *ka* is usually used when the speaker who is reporting another person’s speech wants to indicate that the original speaker told him or somebody else the information that he is now presenting. In turn, the intransitive verb *ki* does not imply that the original speaker told the information specifically to someone else. Finally, *sinan* is used for reporting someone’s thoughts (i.e. one’s own thoughts or the imagined thoughts of someone else) in terms of what the thinker says (or would have said) to him/herself. In the following sections, I discuss the three types of reported speech in Kakataibo: §13.2.1 is on direct speech, §13.2.2 describes modified direct speech, and §13.2.3 presents indirect speech clauses.

13.2.1 Direct speech

In traditional tales, it is very common for the storyteller to introduce what the different characters of the tale say by means of reproducing their words as accurately as possible, and even attributing intonation contours and related features to them. This is part of a conventionalized practice of storytelling, according to which a good narrator is someone who remembers the characters’ speech. Mythical characters, such as demons or talking animals, have their own characteristic words, and this is also true for Kakataibo ancestors in historical or mythical narratives.

My database includes instances of the same tale told by different narrators, and the speech attributed to the different characters tends to be very similar, even in those cases where the storyteller changes the events considerably (perhaps, because he or she just does not remember the tale well enough). On those occasions when direct speech happened to be different, my teachers used to have arguments about which version was correct. Even children are able to identify whether specific words are fragments of the speech of a character taken from a traditional narrative, even if they are not able to understand them (e.g. because they include old forms that are no longer part of the everyday language). In many cases, those old forms were considered “untranslatable” by my teachers. In addition, direct speech includes constructions that are attributed to special types of language, which are associated with mythical creatures. This is true regarding the example in (795), where *tsikumano*, a demonic character who lives under the ground, uses the form *pi-mi-bun* ‘eat-causative-imperative’. This form includes the morpheme *-bun*, which is not an imperative suffix in Kakataibo; and it is argued to be part of the language of this demon. Note also that the verb ‘*aru* ‘cook’ cannot function as a nominal modifier without a nominalizer *-kë*

(thus, the instances of ‘*aru* in (795) would be unacceptable in Kakataibo). Furthermore, the names of animal species cannot refer to their meat and obligatorily require the presence of the noun *nami* ‘meat’ (therefore, ‘o ‘*aru* ‘cooked tapir’ is not a possible construction, and one should rather say ‘o *nami* ‘*arukë* ‘cooked tapir meat’). Based on those features, my teachers told me that *tsikiumano* was not able to speak properly.

- (795) “*Ën kuku ó ‘aru pimibun ën kuku ño ‘aru pimibun*” *kaisa kakëxa*.

‘ë=n	<i>kuku</i>	‘ó	‘ <i>aru</i>	<i>pi-mi-bun</i>
1SG=ERG	father.in.law:ABS	tapir	cook:ABS	eat-CAUS-IMP
‘ë=n	<i>kuku</i>	ño	‘ <i>aru</i>	<i>pi-mi-bun</i>
1SG=ERG	father.in.law:ABS	peccary	cook:ABS	eat-CAUS-IMP
<i>kaisa</i>		<i>ka-akë-x-a</i>		
NAR.REP.3 say-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX				
“Make my father-in-law eat cooked peccary; make my father-in-law eat cooked tapir”, it is said that (the tsikiumano) said a long time ago.’				

(NA-tsikiumano-2007.065)

While presenting what *tsikiumano* said, the storyteller is very likely to modify his or her voice in order to match his or her representation of the way in which this demonic creature used to speak. Thus, even though direct speech cannot be an exact reproduction of the original speech act, in the case of Kakataibo traditional storytelling, there is a conscious and deliberate effort to imitate what the original speaker said or is thought to have said. For instance, in (796), a man who was left on a very tall tree by his enemy uses figurative language to talk to a king vulture that showed up with the intention of eating him. What the man says represents a very marked way of speaking and it was very difficult for my teachers to translate to me what it means. For some of them, what he said was just untranslatable; but they knew that he said something like ‘don’t eat me!’ and advised me to write this phrase down in my notebook. However, when I asked if it was possible to change the Kakataibo words in the narrative in order to make them more similar to the translation that they provided, they say that this was not possible and that we needed to leave things as they were. It took me a while before I was able to propose a more literal translation of this fragment of speech.

- (796) “*Ëmi min xëta rabanxunma ka ‘a’ xabai*” *kaisa kakëxa*.

‘ë=mi	<i>mi=n</i>	<i>xëta</i>	<i>raban-xun=ma</i>	<i>ka</i>
1sg=IMPR.LOC	2SG=GEN	beak:ABS	take.care.of-S/A>A:SE=NEG	NAR
‘a’	<i>xabai</i>	<i>ka=is=a</i>	<i>ka-akë-x-a</i>	
do:IMP	friend	NAR=REP=3	say-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX	
“Don’t take care of your beak with me, my friend”, it is said that (the man) said a long time ago.’ (JE-king.vulture-2007.055)				

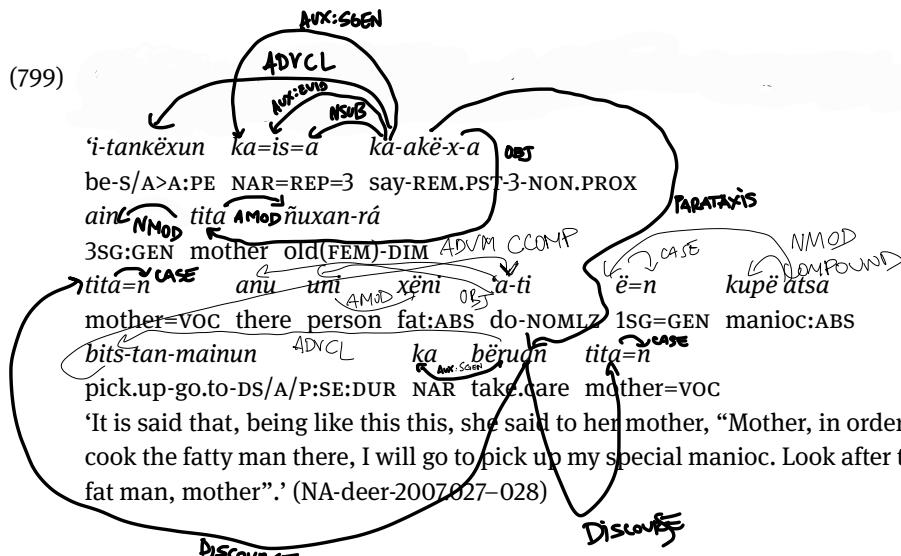
Direct speech report clauses are also used to report noises and interjections made by the original speaker. The fragment in (797) shows such an example, which reproduces the noise that the character used to produce while he was fishing with excrement:

- (797) *Pui=n ‘axankin kaisa ñuma kakëxa ësaokin “baranbanpanami baranbanpanami baranbanpanami sinupanapananin sinupanapananin xuans xuans xuans.”*
- pui=n ‘axan-kin ka=is=a ñuma
excrement=INS fish.using.poison-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 fish.species
ka-akë-x-a ësa-o-kin
say-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX like.this-FACT-S/A>A:SE
baranbanpanami baranbanpanami baranbanpanami sinupanapananin
baranbanpanami baranbanpanami baranbanpanami sinupanapananin
sinupanapananin xuans xuans xuans
sinupanapananin xuans xuans xuans
‘Fishing with excrement, it is said that he used to say like this a long time ago,
“Baranbanpanami baranbanpanami baranbanpanami sinupanapananin sinupanapananin xuans xuans xuans”.’* (SE-fisherman-2007.017–018)

Long fragments of speech can also be introduced by direct reported speech. In the example in (798), the quote includes two independent clauses: the verb-less copula clauses *asábi ka* ‘it is good’ and the clause *bërí kana ain papa ain aintsi manoi kwanin* ‘now, I am going to inform her father and her relatives’. In this particular case, the reported speech is introduced by the quotative *sinan* ‘think’ since the man is talking to himself. He is planning to tell a woman’s relatives that her husband has killed her.

- (798) *Kakëxun kaisa sinankëxa “asábi ka, bërí kana ain papa ain aintsi manoi kwanin”.*
- ka-këxun ka=is=a sinan-akë-x-a
say-P>A:PE NAR=REP=3 think-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
[asábika] [bërí ka=na ain papa
good NAR:3 now NAR=1SG 3SG:GEN father
ain aintsi mano-i kwan-i-n]
her relative:ABS inform-s/A>S:SE go-IPFV-1/2
‘It is said that, when the other man said (what happened) to him, he thought,
“It is good. Now, I am going to inform her father and her relatives”.’*
(SE-cheater.woman-2007.026–028)

Direct reported speech clauses may also include vocatives, as it is shown in (799), where we find the vocative form *tita=n* ‘mother=vocative’ (see also the example in (796), where *xabai* ‘friend’ appears as an unmarked vocative).



13.2.2 Modified direct speech

Kakataibo modified direct speech undergoes some grammatical changes that re-configure their syntactic structure compared to the original/reported utterance. Therefore, modified direct speech clauses are formally different from what was said by the original speaker. The reconfiguration of Kakataibo modified direct speech clauses relates to three basic features: (1) the markers for register/mood in the second-position enclitics are dropped in the reported speech clause; (2) a reportative marker, not attested in the original utterance (since the information is only hearsay from the perspective of the reporter), is added to the reported speech clause (replacing the original second-position enclitics); and (3) the verb appears with a tense/aspect marker but without a subject cross-reference specification (and is therefore not a completely finite form). Thus, differently from direct speech, modified direct speech does not accurately reproduce the original utterance. However, like direct speech, it exhibits strong perspective persistence, and the point of view of the original speaker is kept not only in relation to the temporal setting, but also in relation to person and spatial relationships.⁷⁵ Let us see some elicited examples in (800) and (801).

(800) Original utterance

Emilio: 'Ex kana Limanu kwanin.

ë=x ka=na Lima=nu kwan-i-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG Lima=DIR go-IPFV-1/2
 'I am going to Lima.'

⁷⁵ This suggests that they are a type of direct reported speech, rather than a type of indirect speech. However, a more restrictive definition of direct reported speech would not include this type of construction, due to the syntactic alternations it undergoes. Similar cases have been classified as *semi-direct reported speech*, by Aikhenvald (2008).

- (801) Modified direct reported speech clause

Roberto: *Emilio ka ‘ëx isna Limanu kwani.*

*Emilio ka [‘ë=x is=na Lima=nu kwan-i]
 Emilio:ABS NAR:3 1SG=S REP=1SG Lima=DIR go-IMPF
 kiaxa
 ki-a-x-a
 say:INTR-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Emilio said, “I am going to Lima”.*

Something similar happens with the form of spatial indexicals, as shown in the examples in (802) and (803).

- (802) Original utterance

Emilio: *‘Ëx kana ënu ‘uxakën.*

*‘ë=x ka=na ënu ‘ux-akë-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG here sleep-REM.PST-1/2
 ‘I slept here a long time ago.’*

- (803) Modified direct reported speech clause

Roberto: *Emilio ka ‘ëx isna ënu ‘uxakë.*

*Emilio ka [‘ë=x is=na ënu ‘ux-akë]
 Emilio:ABS NAR:3 1SG=S REP=1SG here sleep-REM.PST
 kiaxa
 ki-a-x-a
 say:INTR-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Emilio said: “I slept here a long time ago”.*

As I have mentioned above, direct speech is the most common speech report strategy in traditional tales. However, we also find some cases of modified direct speech clauses in them, as shown in the following example.

- (804) “***Inuinsa ‘axa ‘inun ‘akë ismina bitsi***” kixun...

*‘inu=n=is=a ‘a-a-x-a
 jaguar=ERG=REP=3 kill-PFV-3-NON.PROX*

*‘inu=n ‘a-kë is=mina bits-i ki-xun
 jaguar=ERG kill-NOMLZ REP=2 pick.up-s/A>S:SE say:INTR-S/A>A:SE
 ‘Saying, “A jaguar did it, you (can) pick up what the jaguar killed”...’
 (JE-blind.man-2007.020)*

13.2.3 Indirect speech

Like modified direct speech, indirect speech in Kakataibo also lacks markers for register/mood in the second-position enclitics, and instead exhibits the reportative marker *is*. However, indirect speech clauses contain a completely finite verbal form that includes a subject cross-reference marker. This represents one interesting formal difference between modified direct speech and indirect speech. But the main difference between the two is that indirect speech keeps the original speaker's perspective to a lesser degree. Basically, it changes the personal and spatial perspective of the original speech act to the point-of-view of the reporting speech act; interestingly, it does not seem to change the temporal point-of-view.

Note that both types of reported speech clauses are used in discourse, and it is difficult to determine their triggering factors. Let us see some elicited examples of indirect speech clauses, based on the same original sentences presented in (800) and (802).

(805) Original utterance

- Emilio: *'Ex kana Limanu kwanin.*
 $\ddot{e}=x \quad ka=na \quad Lima=nu \quad kwan-i-n$
 1SG=S NAR=1SG Lima=DIR go-IPFV-1/2
 'I am going to Lima.'

(806) Indirect reported speech clause

- Roberto: *Emilio ka Limanu isa kwania kiaxa.*
 Emilio ka [Lima=nu is=a kwan-i-a]
 Emilio:ABS NAR:3 Lima=DIR REP=3 go-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ki-a-x-a
 say:INTR-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'Emilio said that he is going to Lima.'

(807) Original utterance

- Emilio: *'Ex kana önu 'uxakën.*
 $\ddot{e}=x \quad ka=na \quad önu \quad 'ux-akë-n$
 1SG=S NAR=1SG here sleep-REM.PST-1/2
 'I slept here a long time ago.'

(808) Indirect reported speech clause

- Roberto: *Emilio ka anu isa 'uxakëxa.*
 Emilio ka [anu is=a 'ux-akë-x-a]
 Emilio:ABS NAR:3 there REP=3 sleep-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 kiaxa
 ki-a-x-a
 say:INTR-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'Emilio said that he slept there a long time ago.'

One example of an indirect reported speech construction taken from a narrative is presented in (809).

- (809) *Këmëkin chuku isa 'aia kixun...*
këmë-kin chuku isa 'a-i-a ki-xun
 lie-S/A>A:SE grass REP.3 do-IPFV-NON.PROX say:INTR-S/A>A:SE
 ‘Lying, saying that she is clearing the grass...’

13.3 Elaborative clauses

Elaborative clauses are dependent clauses which appear after the main verb. Like reported speech clauses, they do not carry register/mood markers. In addition, they contain a finite verb form (as was the case with indirect speech clauses). As we will see here (and I will comment on this in more detail in §16.2), they occur in a position in the sentence that is reserved for different types of elements that introduce new information or re-elaborate on what has been said before in the same sentence.

As their label indicates, their function is to elaborate on what has been presented in the main clause, usually by adding some additional details or new information. The following example is a very simple instance of such an elaborative clause. The elaborative clause adds details about the event introduced by the main predicate ‘(he) killed (her) with a bamboo spear’, adding information on the location of the injury, in this case, the woman’s heart:

- (810) *Pakan ka 'axa, ain nuitunu 'axa.*
paka=n ka 'a-a-x-a
 bamboo.spear=INS NAR:3 kill-PFV-3-NON.PROX
ain nuitu=nu 'a-a-x-a
 3.GEN heart=LOC kill-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘He killed (her) with a bamboo spear, (he) speared (her) in her heart (lit. (he) killed (her) in her heart.’ (SE-cheater.woman-2007.038)

In many cases, the elaborative clause contains a verb form that has a similar meaning to the one found in the main predicate. This can be seen in (811), where *këka* ‘shout, calling somebody’ and *kwën* ‘call’ are both associated with the semantic field of ‘calling’.

- (811) *Naëbaikin kaisa rakanatankëxun upíokin rakananxun këkakëxa kwëankëxa.*
- naë-bait-kin ka-is=a rakanan-tankëxun
 dig-DUR-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 level.ground.out-s/A>A:PE
upit-o-kin *rakanan-xun*
 good-FACT-S/A>A:SE level.ground.out-s/A>A
këka-akë-x-a *kwën-akë-x-a*
 shout.calling-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX call-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Digging for a while, after leveling the ground very well, he shouted to call (his nephew), he called him.’ (SE-paucar-2007.023)

Even though elaborative clauses are dependent elements in the sense that they cannot be used by themselves and do not carry second-position enclitics (see Chapter 11), they do not seem to be highly embedded in the matrix clause, as suggested by the presence of a finite verb and the absence of a marker of dependency. This is also suggested by the facts that elaborative clauses are post-verbal and are preceded by a pause, and never appear within the main clause. In fact, the combination of a main and an elaborative clause might be analyzed as some sort of coordination construction.

Elaborative clauses can be modified by other clauses, as exemplified in the fragment in (812). The predicate of the elaborative clause *buan* ‘bring’ is being modified by two other predicates: ‘*i-kë=bi* ‘be-nominalizer=same’ and *bëunan-xun* ‘know by seeing-S/A>A’. In (812), we can also see that, rather than introducing minor details, the elaborative clause is introducing a considerable amount of new information.

- (812) “*Mi mena ‘akinun buanti ‘ain” kakëxun kaisa buankëxa ain piaka ‘ikëbi ain xanu këñun bëunanxun buankëxa.*
- mi me-ina ‘a-kin-nun buan-ti ‘ain
 you armadillo kill-APPL-DS:POE bring-NOMLZ be:1/2
ka-këxun *ka-is=a* *buan-akë-x-a*
 say-P>A:PE NAR=REP=3 bring-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
ain *piaka* *i-kë=bi* *ain* *xanu=këñun*
 3.GEN nephew:ABS be-NOMLZ=same 3.GEN woman=COM.P
bë-‘unan-xun *buan-akë-x-a*
 eyes-KNOW-S/A>A bring-REM.PST-S-NON.PROX
 “You will bring (your nephew) to kill armadillos with him”, she said to him
 and then he brought his nephew, the same one that he saw with his wife.’
 (SE-paucar-2007.010)

Elaborative clauses are pervasive in discourse and can easily be obtained through elicitation. They are common and do not represent performance mistakes, as I thought when I encountered them for the first time in texts. They are a type of weakly embedded dependent clause, and this nature makes them extremely interesting, not

only for the understanding of syntactic dependency in Kakataibo, but also from a cross-linguistic point of view.

One final point that is important to mention is that some of the examples discussed in §12.2.3, where cases of sentences with two switch-reference clauses were presented, could also be analyzed as elaborative clauses based not on independent ones but on switch-reference clauses. Thus, if we have a look at the example in (813), we can clearly see that the discourse function of the clause '*atsa pitankëx* 'after eating manioc' in relation to the previous switch-reference clause *a pitankëx* 'after eating that' is similar to the function of the elaborative clauses presented in this section.

- (813) *A pitankëx 'atsa pitankëx kana xëai 'aban.*

a pi-tankëx atsa pi-tankëx ka-na
 that:ABS eat-S/A>A:PE manioc:ABS eat-S/A>A:PE NAR=1SG
xëa-i 'abat-a-n

drink-S/A>S:SE run-PFV-1/2

'After eating that, after eating manioc, I ran while drinking.'

14 Grammatical nominalizations

14.1 Introduction

The process of nominalization can apply to single verbal lexemes or whole clauses. Following Shibatani (2009), I use the terms “lexical nominalization” and “grammatical nominalization” to refer, respectively, to these two situations. In the case of lexical nominalizations, a verbal root is derived into a new lexical item, a noun (as discussed and exemplified in §6.4). In the case of grammatical nominalizations, a clause is derived into a denotative expression, whose internal structure is grammatically more complex than that of a lexeme (but see §6.5.2 for some interesting cases of grammatical nominalizations used as lexemes in Kakataibo ethnobiological nomenclature). Grammatical nominalizations in Kakataibo are clause-like syntactic elements (they exhibit the same argument structure as independent clauses and verbs may keep some tense and aspect markers), which accomplish the functions of complementation and relativitization. These syntactic facts are relevant to the question regarding what the arguments are for actually calling these constructions “nominalizations” and not “dependent (nominalized) clauses”. This issue is an important one for the typology of South American languages, since, as discussed in the papers in Van Gijn et al. (2011) and in Van Gijn (2014), nominalization is one of the main strategies for obtaining so-called relative and complement clauses among these languages. Following Shibatani (2009), I argue that, although they exhibit a number of clause-like structural properties (i.e., their internal syntax), grammatical nominalizations in Kakataibo are clearly nominal constituents in terms of their functions (or their external syntax). Therefore, in this book they are not analyzed as a type of subordinate clause (as they are in Van Gijn et al. 2011b), but rather as a type of complex denotative expression, which under some certain conditions may accomplish relativizing and complementing functions. More precisely, grammatical nominalizations can appear in appositional constructions, in which they fulfill a relativizing function. It is also possible to find grammatical nominalizations as complements of so-called complement-taking verbs (Dixon 2006) like *ñui* ‘tell’, *is* ‘see’, *sinan* ‘think’ or *kwéen* ‘want’. However, it should be kept in mind that grammatical nominalizations exhibit functions that go beyond relativization or complementation. In fact, grammatical nominalizations are pervasive in Kakataibo discourse, but are only rarely used in prototypical relativizing or complementation functions.

This chapter is about the form and the main functions of grammatical nominalizations. According to Shibatani (2009), they are denotative expressions (i.e. expressions that denote either a participant of an event or the event itself as an entity; and therefore do not predicate). In Kakataibo, they can be used as heads of NPs in different syntactic positions and can be marked for case (but with some combinatorial restrictions to be described in this chapter) and number. NPs headed by them can be focused, highlighted or topicalized, just like NPs headed by nouns. However, differently from nouns, they cannot be modified by typical noun modifiers like adjectives or genitive phrases.

In §14.2, I offer a general characterization of grammatical nominalizations in Kakataibo. Then, §14.3 and §14.4 present discussions of the relativizing and complementation functions of grammatical nominalizations. In addition, an adverbial-like function of nominalization, which I call “attributive”, is presented in §14.5. Finally, in §14.6, I discuss the distinction between grammatical and lexical nominalizations.

14.2 A characterization of grammatical nominalizations

14.2.1 Introduction

An example of a grammatical nominalization in Kakataibo is presented in (814).

- (814) *Usa 'ain kananuna nux [an Diosan bana ñuikë]_{NOMLZ} uni 'ixun.*
 usa 'ain ka=nanuna nu=x a=n Dios=n bana
 like.that be:D.S/A/P NAR=1PL 1PL=S 3SG=A God=GEN word:ABS
 ñui-kë uni 'i-xun
 tell-NOMLZ person be-S/A>A:SE
 'Then, us, being people **who tell God's words...**' (AE-my.plans-2006.026)⁷⁶

The nominalization *[an Diosan bana ñuikë]* in (814) is very complex: in addition to the nominalized predicate, we have a subject argument expressed by the pronoun *a=n* ‘3sg-A’ and an object argument, *Dios-an bana* ‘God’s words’.⁷⁷ This nominalization is a participant nominalization that denotes the A argument of the nominalized predicate: *[an Diosan bana ñuikë]* means ‘the one(s) who tell(s) God’s words’. Kakataibo also exhibits event nominalizations, which denote a state of affairs, and the distinction between these two types will be discussed in §14.2.5. The nominalizers used in grammatical nominalizations are presented in §14.2.2; §14.2.3 presents the formal properties of grammatical nominalizations (i.e., their internal syntax); and §14.2.4 explores their functional properties (i.e., their external syntax).

14.2.2 Nominalizers in grammatical nominalizations

Grammatical nominalizations can be obtained in Kakataibo by means of five verbal suffixes that carry different tense/aspect values: *-ti* ‘future nominalizer’, *-kë* ‘past/present nominalizer’, *-a* ‘remote past nominalizer’, *-tibu* ‘present habitual nominal-

⁷⁶ Throughout this chapter, I use bold case whenever necessary to indicate the part of the free translation that corresponds to the nominalization.

⁷⁷ Notice that in this example the nominalization appears in a relativization function. For similar examples, see §14.3.

izer' and *-ai* 'present non-habitual nominalizer'. The first two are also systematically used in lexical nominalizations, where they function as 'instrumental nominalizer' and 'patient nominalizer', respectively. The markers *-ai* and *-a* are also found as lexical nominalizers in very few examples, but they do not seem to be productive lexical nominalizers in Kakataibo. According to my current knowledge of the language, the remaining marker, *-tibu*, is not used for lexical nominalization, but it is likely related to the nominalizer *-ti* mentioned above.

14.2.2.1 *-ti* 'future nominalizer'

The marker *-ti* 'future nominalizer' in a grammatical nominalization is presented in the example in (815) (see §6.4 for examples of this form in lexical nominalizations).

- (815) *Bërí kana [‘ën bëchikë ‘iti]_{NOMLZ} kaisatanin.*
bërí ka=na ‘ë=n son ‘i-ti ka-isa-tan-i-n
 today NAR=1SG 1SG=GEN son:ABS be-NOMLZ say-IRR-go.to-IPFV-1/2
 'Today I want to tell (**what**) our sons will be.'

This marker can also receive a purposive interpretation, as shown in the example in (816).

- (816) *Bërí kana [‘ën bëchikë piti]_{NOMLZ} tëëin.*
bërí ka=na ‘ë=n son pi-ti tëë-i-n
 today NAR=1SG 1SG=GEN son:ABS eat-NOMLZ work-IPFV-1/2
 'Today I work **in order for my children to eat**.'

14.2.2.2 *-kë* 'past/present nominalizer'

The nominalizer *-kë* is found in the examples in (817) and (818). In both cases, it forms in a grammatical nominalization: in the first example, it receives a past interpretation, and in the second one it receives a present interpretation (see §6.4 for some examples of this form in lexical nominalizations).

- (817) *Ashi ka [‘ën ŋuikaskë]_{NOMLZ} ‘iashín.*
a=ishi ka ‘ë=n ŋui-kas-kë ‘i-a-x-ín
 that=only NAR:3 1SG=A tell-DES-NOMLZ be-PFV-3-PROX
 'Only that was **what I wanted to tell**.' (MO-fisher-2007.030)

- (818) *[‘An ŋuikë]_{NOMLZ} ax ka ‘ën xukëñ ‘ikëñ*
‘a=n ŋui-kë a=x ka ‘ë=n xukëñ ‘ikëñ
 3sg=A tell-NOMLZ 3SG=S NAR:3 1SG=GEN brother:ABS be:3
 '**The one who is telling (something)** is my brother.'
 (Elicited from MO-fisher-2007.030)

14.2.2.3 *-a* ‘remote past nominalizer’

The marker *-a* ‘remote past nominalizer’ is used mostly for grammatical nominalizations, where it always expresses remote past meanings, as shown in (819).

- (819) *Bëri kana [nukën rara 'ia]_{NOMLZ} kaisatanin.*

bëri ka-na nukën rara 'i-a ka-isa-tan-i-n
 today NAR=1SG 1PL.GEN ancestor:ABS be-NOMLZ say-IRR-go.to-IPFV-1/2
 ‘Today I want to tell (**what**) our ancestors were a long time ago.’
 (EE-ancestors(2)-2007.001)

14.2.2.4 *-tibu* ‘present habitual nominalizer’

The nominalizer *-tibu* seems to be the result of combining the nominalizer *-ti* (see §14.2.2.1) and the adverbial enclitic *=bu* ‘collective’ (see §11.3.2.1). The marker *-tibu* is used for present tense nominalizations with habitual aspect, which were always translated by my Kakataibo teachers with of the Spanish adverb *siempre* ‘always’. As far as I know, this form is only used for grammatical nominalizations. One example of a grammatical nominalization including this form is offered in (820).

- (820) *[An ënuxun pitibu]_{NOMLZ} ax ka Limanu kwania.*

a=n ënu-xun pi-tibu a=x ka Lima=nu
 3SG=A here-PA.A eat-NOMLZ 3SG=S NAR:3 Lima=LOC
kwan-i-a
 go-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘The one who always eats here is going to Lima.’

14.2.2.5 *-ai* ‘present non-habitual nominalizer’

Like *-tibu* ‘present habitual nominalizer’, *-ai* ‘present non-habitual nominalizer’ still requires more study. Semantically, it expresses present nominalizations with a non-habitual aspectual meaning, which was systematically translated by my Kakataibo teachers as ‘occasionally’. One example of this form in a grammatical nominalization is offered in (821).

- (821) *[An ënuxun piai]_{NOMLZ} ax ka Limanu kwania.*

a=n ënu=xun pi-ai a=x ka Lima=nu kwan-i-a
 3SG=A here=PA.A eat-NOMLZ 3SG=S NAR:3 Lima=LOC go-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘The one who eats here occasionally is goes to Lima.’

Differently from *-tibu* ‘present habitual nominalizer’, *-ai* ‘present non-habitual nominalizer’ is found as a lexical nominalizer, at least, in a couple of (related) cases. As a lexical nominalizer, this marker is found in the form *kakatai* (included in the name *Kakataibo*; see a proposed etymology in §1.2.1).

14.2.3 Internal syntax: the form of grammatical nominalizations

Grammatical nominalizations are nominalizations of whole clauses and their original clausal nature is still transparent in their internal syntax. Grammatical nominalizations (i) show a clause-like argument structure, which can include A, S or P arguments, as well as different obliques. In addition, (ii) they can be marked for tense, aspect and evidentiality; and (iii) they can include a dependent predicate in the form of a converb (see §12.2). All these features make them similar to clauses, as can be seen in the examples in (822) and (823), where a grammatical nominalization and an independent clause are compared.

(822) Grammatical nominalization

- Ainsa 'akinxun Diosan bana ñuiëxankë...*
 $[a=n=\text{is}=a(\mathbf{A}) \ 'akin-xun \ Dios=n \ bana(\mathbf{P}) \ ñui\cdot\ddot{e}xan-kë]_{\text{NOMLZ}}$
 3SG=A=REP=3 help-S/A>A God=GEN word:ABS tell-PST.days.ago-NOMLZ
 '(The one) who it is said that told God's words (to other people), helping (them), a few days ago...'

(823) Independent clause

- An kaisa 'akinxun Diosan bana ñuiëxanxa.*
 $[a=n(\mathbf{A}) \ ka=is=a \ 'akin-xun \ Dios=n \ bana(\mathbf{P})]_{\text{CLAUSE}}$
 3SG=A NAR=REP=3 help-S/A>A God=GEN word:ABS
 $\ddot{ñui}\cdot\ddot{e}xan-x-a$
 tell-PST.days.ago-3-NON.PROX
 'It is said that (s)he told God's words (to other people), helping (them), a few days ago.'

As can be seen in the examples in (822) and (823), the formal differences between grammatical nominalizations and independent clauses is that the former (iv) do not include second-position enclitic marking register/mood and (v) do not present a fully-inflected verb. In addition, in the case of nominalizations, (vi) the verbal form obligatorily appears at the end of the whole construction (see §16.2 for post-verbal constituents of independent clauses). Notice that switch-reference clauses (a type of dependent clause) do not exhibit a register marker or a fully-inflected verb either, and are also verb-final. This makes grammatical nominalizations and switch-reference clauses very similar in terms of their form. Compare (822) with (824).

(824) Switch-reference clause

[Ainsa 'akinxun Diosan bana ñuiëxantankëx]_{src}

a=n=isa(A) 'akin-xun Dios=n bana(P)

3SG=A=REP.3 help-s/A>A God=GEN word:ABS

ñui-ëxan-tankëx

tell-PST.days.ago-s/A>S:PE

'It is said that, having told God's words (to other people), helping (them), a few days ago, (S)he...'

The only formal difference between (822) and (824) has to do with verbal morphology: in the former, the verb carries a nominalizer and in the latter, a switch-reference marker.⁷⁸ However, what makes grammatical nominalizations different from both independent and dependent clauses is that grammatical nominalizations are denotative expressions (they denote either a participant of an event or the event itself as an entity; see §14.2.5) and do not predicate. In turn, both switch-reference clauses and independent clauses are predicative constructions that predicate about one participant of the event. It is their denotative function that makes grammatical nominalizations different from dependent clauses, which are predicative but not assertive; and from independent clauses, which can also be sentences and, therefore, are predicative and assertive (see §11.4 for more on the distinction between dependent and independent clauses). Their denotative function makes grammatical nominalizations more similar to nouns than to clauses in terms of their external syntax (they can head NPs and in that position they appear as core or oblique arguments of different predicates). However, their complex internal structure is more reminiscent of clauses than of nouns, as we have seen in this section (see also §14.6.1.2 for a brief discussion of the modification restrictions found in grammatical nominalizations). In the following section, I discuss the function of grammatical nominalizations in more detail. Table 87 summarizes their most salient formal features.

Table 87. The internal syntax of grammatical nominalizations

Internal syntax of grammatical nominalizations

- i. They are verb-final.
 - ii. Their verb exhibits a clausal argument structure.
 - iii. They can be syntactically very complex (including a dependent predicate).
 - iv. They may carry tense, aspect, modality and evidentiality markers.
 - vi. Their verb carries a nominalizer.
-

⁷⁸ But notice that switch-reference markers have sometimes developed from nominalisers and that this fact makes it impossible to establish a clear-cut distinction between the two paradigms; see §12.1 for a brief discussion of this issue.

14.2.4 External syntax: the function of grammatical nominalizations

Despite their clausal internal structure, grammatical nominalizations are functionally denotative expressions and are closer to nouns than to clauses in terms of their function. Grammatical nominalizations (i) can head NPs and in that position they appear as core or oblique arguments of virtually any predicate. Like other NPs, (ii) NPs headed by grammatical nominalizations can be marked for number and case. In addition, the different discourse mechanisms that apply to NPs (see §16.2 and §16.3) also apply to NPs headed by grammatical nominalizations. Thus, (iii) they can be topicalized (appearing as the first constituent of the sentence; see for instance example (828)); highlighted (being followed by a resumptive pronoun; see example (835)); and focused (appearing in a post-verbal position; see example (825)). Grammatical nominalizations (iv) can also appear in appositional constructions, where they accomplish a relativizing function, as will be discussed in §14.3.

The text example in (825) includes a pluralized grammatical nominalization. It can be seen there that the plural marker appears directly on the NP headed by the nominalization; thus we have *[ain chaiti ‘ia]=kama* ‘the ones who were their ancestors’:

- (825) *Kamabi non ka sinania ain chaiti ‘iakama.*

kamabi no=n ka sinan-i-a
 all foreinger=ERG NAR:3 think-IPFV-NON.PROX
[[ain chaiti ‘i-a]_{NOMLZ}=kama
 3SG:GEN ancestor:ABS be-NOMLZ=**PL:ABS**

‘All the foreigners think about the (ones) who were their ancestors a long time ago.’ (NA-incas-2007.051)

The grammatical nominalization in the example above functions as the object of the verb *sinan-* ‘think’. Grammatical nominalizations can also appear as subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs and as different types of obliques. Case markers can only attach directly to grammatical nominalizations if they carry the plural marker (as in the examples in (826)–(828)). In the case of non-pluralized nominalizations, the case markers are obligatorily attached to a subsequent (resumptive) pronominal form *a* ‘3sg’, which appears with a high pitch and after a pause (as in examples (829)–(831)). This behavior represents a difference between nouns and grammatical nominalizations.

- (826) *Nukën chaiti ‘iakama ka Limanu kwankëxa.*

[[nukën chaiti ‘i-a]_{NOMLZ}=kama ka Limanu=nu
 1PL:GEN ancestor:ABS be-NOMLZ=**PL:ABS** NAR:3 Lima=LOC
kwan-akë-x-a
 GO-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘The ones who were our ancestors went to Lima a long time ago.’

- (827) *Nukën chaiti 'iakaman ka Lima isakëxa.*
 [[nukën chaiti 'i-a]_{NOMLZ}]_{NP}=**kama=n** ka Lima
 1PL:GEN ancestor:ABS be-NOMLZ=PL=**ERG** NAR:3 Lima:ABS
is-akë-x-a
 see-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 'The ones who were our ancestors saw (i.e. visited) Lima.'
- (828) *Nukën chaiti 'iakamabë ka Bolívar kwankëxa.*
 [[nukën chaiti 'i-a]_{NOMLZ}]_{NP}=**kama=bë** ka Bolívar
 1PL:GEN ancestor:ABS be-NOMLZ=**PL=COM** NAR:3 Bolivar:ABS
kwan-akë-x-a
 go-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 'Bolivar went with the ones who were our ancestors.'
- (829) *Nukën chaiti 'ia ax ka Limanu kwankëxa.*
 [[nukën chaiti 'i-a]_{NOMLZ}]_{NP} **a=x** ka Lima=**nu**
 1PL:GEN ancestor:ABS be-NOMLZ **3SG=S** NAR:3 Lima=LOC
kwan-akë-x-a
 go-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 'The one who was our ancestor, he went to Lima a long time ago.'
- (830) *Nukën chaiti 'ia an ka Lima isakëxa*
 [[nukën chaiti 'i-a]_{NOMLZ}]_{NP} **a=n** ka Lima
 1PL:GEN ancestor:ABS be-NOMLZ=PL **3SG=ERG** NAR:3 Lima:ABS
is-akë-x-a
 see-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 'The one who was our ancestor, he saw (i.e. visited) Lima.'
- (831) *Nukën chaiti 'ia abë ka Bolívar kwankëxa.*
 [[nukën chaiti 'i-a]_{NOMLZ}]_{NP} **a=bë** ka Bolívar
 1PL:GEN ancestor:ABS be-NOMLZ **3SG=COM** NAR:3 Bolivar:ABS
kwan-akë-x-a
 go-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 'Bolivar went with the one who was our ancestor, with him.'

The resumptive pronouns illustrated in (829)–(831) are used for the discursive function of highlighting (see §16.3). When such a pronoun appears after an NP, it is used to indicate that the participant referred to by the NP is or will be relevant for a subsequent portion of the discourse. However, as argued below, such function is not attested in cases like the ones presented in (829)–(831), in which the pronoun appears with a non-plural grammatical nominalization. The resumptive pronoun is **obligatory** with non-plural grammatical nominalizations like the ones featured in the examples in (829)–(831). This fact suggests that its function in that context is different from high-

lighting, which is an optional pragmatic mechanism. The resumptive pronoun in (829)–(831) seems to make the referent of the grammatical nominalizations discursively more transparent: those grammatical nominalizations refer to one of the participants of the nominalized event. This participant is, in turn, a participant in the event expressed by the main predicate and, therefore, needs to be case-marked accordingly. In the case of participant nominalizations, this pronoun is obligatory even for the unmarked absolute case. However, in the case of event-nominalizations, which are mostly used in the absolute case as complements of verbs like *is-* ‘see’, *unan* ‘know’ or *kwëen* ‘want’ (see §14.4), this resumptive pronoun is not required. Therefore, in these specific contexts, this pronominal form that appears immediately following the nominalized construction distinguishes between participant and event nominalizations (see §14.2.5 for more on this distinction). This can be seen in the following examples, where the presence or absence of this pronoun triggers different interpretations: the nominalization in (832), which is followed by a resumptive pronoun, is interpreted as a participant nominalization; while the nominalization in (833), which is not followed by the pronominal form, receives an event interpretation.

- (832) *Nukën chaiti 'ia a kana isakën.*

[nukën chaiti 'i-a]_{NOMLZ_NP} a ka-na is-akë-n
1PL:GEN ancestor:ABS be-NOMLZ 3SG:P NAR=1SG see-REM.PST-1/2

‘I saw a long time ago **the one who was our ancestor.**’

- (833) *Nukën chaiti 'ia kana isakën.*

[nukën chaiti 'i-a]_{NOMLZ_NP} ka-na is-akë-n
1PL.GEN ancestor:ABS be-NOMLZ NAR=1SG see-REM.PST-1/2

‘I saw a long time ago **how our ancestors were.**’

The event nominalization in (833) does not require the resumptive pronoun in order to be interpreted as the absolute argument of the verb *is* ‘see’. The data strongly suggest that, in general, the restriction against case markers to appear directly on nominalizations is less strong in the case of event nominalizations. In fact, there is one switch-reference marker *-këbë(tan)* ‘different subject/object, simultaneous event’ that clearly includes both the nominalizer *-kë* and the case marker *=bë(tan)* ‘comitative’ (see §12.3.4.1). This marker is difficult to analyze in terms of the distinction between switch-reference clauses and grammatical nominalizations, and constructions with *-këbë(tan)* ‘different subject/object, simultaneous event’ may alternatively be seen as event nominalizations in the comitative case. Even if we analyze *-këbëtan* as a lexicalized switch-reference marker in the synchronic language, the existence of such a switch-reference marker indicates that the combination *-kë=bë(tan)* (i.e. event nominalization plus case marker) was totally possible (consider also the case of event nominalizations functioning as the complement of the verb *sinan-* ‘think’, which take the comparative case marker *=sa*; see §14.4).

Under certain conditions, a participant nominalization can appear, at least in the absolute, without a resumptive pronoun. The markers *-tibu* ‘present habitual nominalizer’ and *-ai* ‘present non-habitual nominalizer’ cannot be used as event nominalizers and they do not require the resumptive pronoun in the absolute case (and for some speakers not in the comitative either). See (834).

- (834) *Asabi uni ‘iai kana isakēn.*

[[*asabi* *uni* ‘*i-ai*]_{NOMLZ}]_{NP} *ka-na* *is-akē-n*
good person:ABS be-NOMLZ:ABS NAR=1SG see-REM.PST-1/2
‘I saw the one who is occasionally a good person.’

The resumptive pronoun discussed here does seem to exhibit a discursive function when appearing with pluralized grammatical nominalizations, as shown in the following example. Pluralized grammatical nominalizations do not obligatorily require the resumptive pronoun and, in the example below, the pronoun seems to be accomplishing the discursive function of highlighting, exactly as it is the case with NPs (see again §16.3). The referent of the nominalized form [*axa unrukēkama*] ‘all the ones who are hidden’ is followed by the pronominal form because it will continue to be the topic of the following portion of the narrative, since these hidden people will later show up and kill their common enemy.

- (835) *Bikin ka-is=a anuxun [[axa unrukēkama]_{NOMLZ}]_{NP} a kakēxa.*

bits-kin *ka-is=a* *anuxun* *a-x-a*
pick.up-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 then:TRAN that-S-NON.REST
unpu-kē=kama **a** *ka-akē-x-a*
hide-NOMLZ=PL **3SG:P** say-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
‘Picking up (something), he said to **all the people who were hidden, to them**’
(SE-cheater.woman-2007.065)

Table 88 summarizes the functional features of grammatical nominalizations. In the following section, I discuss in more detail the distinction between event and participant nominalizations.

Table 88. External syntax of grammatical nominalizations

External syntax of grammatical nominalizations

- i. They can be heads of NPs and appear as core or oblique arguments of different predicates, including complement-taking predicates.
 - ii. NPs headed by grammatical nominalizations can be marked for number and case, but there are some restrictions for case markers operating directly on singular grammatical nominalizations denoting participants.
 - iii. They can be topicalized, highlighted and focused.
 - iv. They can appear in appositional constructions, where they accomplish a relativizing function.
-

14.2.5 Event and participant nominalizations

As we have seen in the previous section, grammatical nominalizations in Kakataibo can be of two semantic types: event-nominalizations and participant-nominalizations.⁷⁹ The former denote “a state of affairs characterized by an event denoted by the clause” (Shibatani 2009: 191), as in *my buying of that book*. The latter denote “an entity characterized in terms of the denoted event in which it has crucial relevance” (Shibatani 2009: 191), as in *the book which I bought*.

These two different types of nominalizations can be distinguished according to their behavior in relation to case markers: participant nominalizations cannot receive case markers directly and require a resumptive pronoun (but this pronoun is not required in the unmarked absolutive case for those nominalizations that cannot be interpreted as event nominalizations; see example (834)). In turn, event nominalizations do not require this presumptive pronoun, but can optionally be followed by it.

- (836) *Juan hotelnu tēëkë (a-x) ka asabi ‘ikën.*
 $[[Juan \quad hotel=nu \quad tēë-kë]_{NOMLZ}]_{NP}$ (a-x) ka asabi ‘ikën
 Juan:ABS hotel=LOC work-NOMLZ 3SG=S NAR:3 good be:3
 ‘The fact that Juan works in the hotel is good.’

Another criterion for distinguishing between participant and event nominalizations is the obligatory omission of one participant in their internal structure, which corresponds to the internal gaps of relative clauses in other languages (Keenan 1985b). While event nominalizations may or may not have a gap in their internal structure, participant nominalizations require such a gap. This gap corresponds to the participant that the nominalization denotes. Let us look at the examples in (837) and (838), which illustrate this distinction:

- (837) *Nukën raran ‘a a kana isakën.*
 $[nukën \quad rara=n \quad \emptyset, \quad 'a-a]_{NOMLZ_j}$ a ka=na is-akë-n
 1PL.GEN ancestor=ERG do-NOMLZ 3SG:P NAR=1SG see-REM.PST-1/2
 ‘I saw (the things) that our ancestors did a long time ago.’
- (838) *Nukën raran ñu ‘a kana isakën.*
 $[nukën \quad rara=n \quad \text{ñu} \quad 'a-a]_{NOMLZ}$ ka=na is-akë-n
 1PL.GEN ancestor=ERG **thing:ABS** do-NOMLZ:ABS NAR=1SG see-REM.PST-1/2
 ‘I saw that/how our ancestors did things a long time ago.’

⁷⁹ More recently, Shibatani has been using the term argument nominalization to refer to what I call, following his 2009 paper, participant nominalization.

Participant nominalizations can apply to most internal arguments, including different types of oblique participants. If the nominalization denotes an oblique participant, it obligatorily needs to be expressed as an internal pronominal form. If the participant denoted by the nominalization is a core argument (S, A or P) of the nominalized event, this internal pronominal form is not obligatory, but can occur optionally (for disambiguation or emphasis purposes). Examples of different types of participant nominalizations are offered in (839)–(846) (note that all the examples presented below include nominalizations in a relativizing function; see §14.3).

- (839) S-nominalization expressed with a gap

Chanku raxukukë...

chanku_j [ø_j raxu-akat-kë]_{NOMLZj}

injury peel-REFL-NOMLZ

‘Injuries that peel themselves.’ (SE-flood-2007.015)

- (840) S-nominalization expressed with a pronoun

Ku ax raxukukë...

ku_j [a=x_j raxu-akat-kë]_{NOMLZj}

pimple **that=s** peel-REFL-NOMLZ

‘Pimples that peel themselves.’ (SE-flood-2007.015)

- (841) A-nominalization expressed with a gap

Atsa pikë uni

[ø_j 'atsa pi-kë]_{NOMLZj} uni_j

manioc:ABS eat-NOMLZ person

‘The man who ate/eats manioc.’

- (842) A-nominalization expressed with a pronoun

Ainsa ain xanu 'akë uni

[a-n-isa_j ain xanu 'a-kë]_{NOMLZj} uni_j

3SG-A-REP.3 3SG:GEN woman:ABS do-NOMLZ person

‘The man who it is said that used to have sex with (other man’s) wife.’

(JE-king.vulture-2007.019)

- (843) P-nominalization expressed with a gap

Ain bënëñ 'akë buë

[ain bënë=n ø_j 'a-kë]_{NOMLZj} buë_j

3SG:GEN husband=ERG do-NOMLZ fish.species

‘The fish that her husband fished.’ (NA-pomegranates-2007.019)

- (844) P-nominalization expressed with a pronoun

Ain bënën ‘akë buë
[ain xanu=n a, ‘aru-kë]NOMLZj piti_j
 3SG:GEN wife=ERG 3SG:P cook-NOMLZ food
 ‘The food that her wife cooked.’

- (845) Locative-nominalization (it can only be expressed with a pronoun)

Naë anu ‘ati me
[naë a=nu, ‘a-ti]NOMLZj me_j
 garden:ABS 3=LOC make-NOMLZ land
 ‘Land to make a garden there (lit. in that).’ (NA-my.plans-2007.012)

- (846) Instrumental-nominalization (it can only be expressed with a pronoun)

Bëtsi tointi anun ‘akananti
bëtsi tointi, [anun, ‘a-kan-anan-ti]NOMLZ
 other gun 3:INS kill-PL-RECP-NOMLZ
 ‘Another gun to fight with (lit. another gun to fight with that).’
 (SE-arrows-2007.023)

Even genitive arguments can be denoted by a participant nominalization and the only oblique argument that cannot undergo participant nominalization is the comparative object, as shown in the example in (847).

- (847) *Juan asa ‘ikë unika ‘ën xukën ‘ikën

Juan a-sa, ‘i-kë]NOMLZj umi_j ka ‘ë=n xukën ‘ikën
 Juan that-COMP be-NOMLZ man=S NAR:3 1SG=GEN brother be:3
 (‘the man that Juan looks like is my brother’)

Other criteria that can be used for distinguishing between these two types of nominalizations are the fact that only NPs headed by participant nominalizations can receive the plural marker =*kama* (as in the text example in (825)), and the fact that nominalizations derived by -*tibu* ‘present habitual nominalizer’ and -*ai* ‘present non-habitual nominalizer’ are exclusively interpreted as participant nominalizations (see the elicited example in (834)). Finally, only participant nominalizations show the relativizing function that will be described in §14.3. Event nominalizations, in turn, have a complementizing function. Table 89 summarizes the different criteria discussed in this section for distinguishing participant and event nominalizations in Kakataibo.

Table 89. Grammatical differences between participant and event nominalizations

Participant nominalizations	Event nominalizations
(Almost) obligatory resumptive pronoun	Non obligatory resumptive pronoun
Obligatory gap	Non obligatory gap
Can be pluralized	Cannot be pluralized
Derived by <i>-tibu</i> and <i>-ai</i>	Not derived by <i>-tibu</i> and <i>-ai</i>
Relativizing function	Complementizing function

14.3 The relativization function of grammatical nominalizations

14.3.1 Prototypical relativization

Participant nominalizations can appear either after or before an NP in a construction which is functionally equivalent to relative clauses in other languages. However, they can be heads of NPs by themselves and do not need an external nominal head to appear in discourse. In fact, grammatical nominalizations are more frequently used without following/preceding an NP that could be analyzed as an external nominal head.

In Kakataibo, grammatical nominalizations may appear with (but do not grammatically depend on) an NP in appositional constructions, which are to be analyzed as $[NOMLZ]_{NP} [N]_{NP}$.⁸⁰ The appositional analysis is supported by the fact that modifying nouns in $[N N]_{NP}$ constructions are always pre-head (see §6.6.4). If grammatical nominalizations were NP-internal modifiers, they would in principle be expected to appear exclusively before the head – but they can be either pre- or post-nominal. Thus, we would end up claiming that grammatical nominalizations are the only nominal constituents that may appear as post-head modifiers within the NP. An appositional analysis will account more easily for the distributional freedom just described. Additionally, this appositional analysis finds support in prosodic facts, particularly in the prosodic independence between the grammatical nominalization and the NP, which can be separated by a pause and even by other elements, such as a highlighting pronoun. This is shown in (848).

80 According to Shibatani (2010), grammatical nominalizations “differ from the well-recognized type of appositives in lacking NP status – hence in their referential status”. Grammatical nominalizations in this function restrict the denotation of the nominal element they are combined with; but are not referential by themselves. This is different from prototypical appositional constructions, where both members are referential NPs. In this context, it may be important to mention that preliminary research indicates that it is not possible to use two nominalizations in these appositional constructions and this fact seems to give support to Shibatani’s analysis.

- (848) *Xanu ax ain bënë iskëma.*

[*xanu*_{J_{NP}} **a=x** [*ain*, *bënë* *is-kë=ma*_{J_{NOMLZ}}]_{J_{NOMLZ}}
 woman 3SG=S 3SG:GEN husband:ABS see-NOMLZ=NEG
 ‘The woman, she, whose husband did not see (was blind).’
 (JE-blind.man-2007.049)

In the appositional construction proposed here, an NP happens to denote the same entity as the participant nominalization (which by definition denotes one of its participants). The result is a construction with a relativizing function according to which the grammatical nominalization constrains the interpretation of the NP it co-occurs with. For instance, in the example above the woman denoted by the NP is meant to be the same woman denoted by the grammatical nominalization: ‘the one whose husband did not see’. This is also what we find in (849) (note that these constructions have been analyzed as relative clauses in the literature on Kakataibo; see, particularly, Wistrand-Robinson 1968):

- (849) *Ax kaisa uni ainsa unin xanu ‘akë [...] ‘iakëshín.*

a=x *ka=is=a* [*uni*_{J_{NP}}] [*a-n=isa*, *uni=n*
 3SG=S NAR=REP=3 person that=A=REP.3 person=GEN
xanu ‘*a-kë*_{J_{NOMLZ}} [...] ‘*i-akë-x-íñ*
 woman:ABS do-NOMLZ be-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘It is said that he was a man, someone who was said to have sex with the wife
 of (another) man.’ (JE-pomegranates-2007.002)

Summarizing, in order to serve a relativizing function, the grammatical nominalization must be a participant nominalization (i.e., never an event nominalization), whose denotation constrains the semantic interpretation of an overtly expressed NP, with which the nominalization creates an appositional construction. This NP can appear either after or before the nominalized construction.

It is interesting to note that, if a grammatical nominalization appears in this relativizing function and denotes its S-argument, there is an additional distinction available that is comparable to the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relativization: If the S-argument of the nominalization appears as a pronominal form, it can be followed by a marker *-a*, in which case a non-restrictive reading is obtained. See the example in (850) (and compare it to the example in (835)):

- (850) *Cuestión de [runu], [ëñë bina], [axa ‘akanankë]_{NOMLZj}*

cuestión de runu ñëñë bina a-x-a ‘*a-kan-anan-kë*
 issue.of snake this wasp that-s-**NON.REST** kill-PL-RECP-NOMLZ
 ‘The things related to snakes and wasps, **all of which are dangerous**’ (non-restricted interpretation). (*‘the things related to (the) snakes and wasps that are dangerous’). (JE-my.life-2007.014)

14.4 The complementation function of grammatical nominalizations

As we have seen in §14.2.4, grammatical nominalizations usually function as core arguments of clauses. They appear as subjects, objects or adjuncts of different verbs. In a good number of those cases, it is possible to argue that we find grammatical nominalizations accomplishing a complementation function, defined as: “the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate” (Noonan 1985: 42).

Since nominalizations in this specific position serve a complementation function, they are reminiscent of complement clauses, but following the approach assumed in this chapter, I will refer to them as grammatical nominalizations in a complementation function. After discussing the use of grammatical nominalizations in prototypical complementation constructions (see §14.4.1), this section presents other constructions that serve a similar function (see §14.4.2). Nominalizations in complementation function are event nominalizations.

14.4.1 Nominalization and complementation

It is cross-linguistically common that not all the verbs of a given language can take (all types of) complement clauses. Usually, only a subset of them triggers complementation, and complement clauses are thus prototypically associated with certain types of verbs (see Dixon 2006 for a summary of these classes). In Kakataibo, prototypical complement-taking verbs may appear with grammatical event nominalizations. This is illustrated for verbs of perception (example (851)), desire (example (852)) and speaking (example (853)).

- (851) *Maríanën name 'arukë a kana isan.*

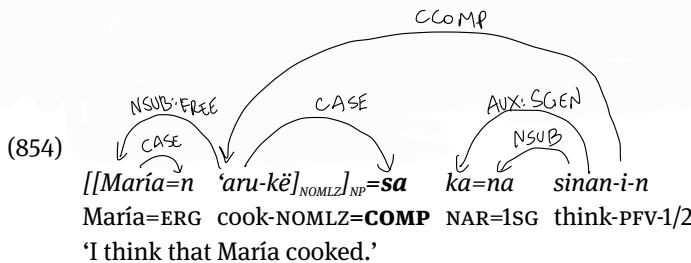
$[[\text{María}=\text{n} \ nami \ 'arū-\text{kē}]_{\text{NOMLZ}}]_{\text{NP}}$	a	$ka=\text{na}$	$is-a-n$
María=ERG meat:ABS cook- NOMLZ	3SG:P	NAR=1SG	see-PFV-1/2
‘I saw that María cooked meat.’			

- (852) *Maríanën 'aruti kana kweenin.*

$[[\text{María}=\text{n} \ 'anu-\text{ti}]_{\text{NOMLZ}}]_{\text{NP}}$	$ka=\text{na}$	$kwéen-i-n$
María=ERG cook- NOMLZ	NAR=1SG	want-IPFV-1/2
‘I want María to cook.’		

- (853) *Maríanën nun piti 'arukë a kana ūnui*

$[[\text{María}=\text{n} \ nu=\text{n} \ piti \ 'arū-\text{kē}]_{\text{NOMLZ}}]_{\text{NP}}$	a	$ka=\text{na}$	$ūnui-i-n$
María=ERG 1PL=GEN food:ABS cook- NOMLZ	3SG:P	NAR=1SG	tell-IPFV-1/2
‘I (will) tell that María cooked our food.’			



These examples show that, as it was the case for relativization, prototypical complementation is just one of the functions of grammatical nominalizations, which, as I have argued, can head NPs and appear as oblique or core arguments of different predicates, including those that are prototypically complement-taking verbs.

14.4.2 Other complementation constructions

In Kakataibo, complementation is not achieved exclusively by recruiting grammatical nominalizations. There are at least two other ways to express this function. I will comment on these complementation constructions in the following subsections.

14.4.2.1 Switch-reference clauses

Switch-reference clauses can be used for complementation purposes. This happens in two different contexts. First, the complement of the verbs *ñui* 'tell' and *sinan* 'think' can be expressed by a switch-reference clause headed by the verb 'say', which is marked with the switch-reference suffix *-xun* 'S/A>A'. See the example in (855).

- (855) *Unitabakë bëtasananankëxa kixun kana ñuiti 'ain.*
 [uni-taba-kë bëtas-anan-akë-x-a
 create-for.the.first.time-NOMLZ obstruct-RECP-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ki-xun] ka-na ñui-ti 'ain
 say:INTR-S/A>A NAR=1SG tell-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'Saying the first men used to bury each other, I will tell (it).'
 (SE-paucar-2007.002)

In addition to that, the switch-reference form *-ia* 'S/A>P, simultaneous event' can be used in clauses which appear as complements of prototypical complement-taking verbs, as shown in (856). In this case, we can argue that the subject of the complement clause construction is the object of the matrix verb. That is, we have something like "I saw him eating the meat" instead of "I saw that he ate the meat" (see §12.3.2.1 for more on this marker).

- (856) *Uni itsin 'aia 'unanxunbi...*
[uni itsi=n 'a-i-a] 'unan-xun=bi
 person other=ERG do-S/A>P:SE know-S/A>A:SE-although
 ‘Although knowing that other man used to have sex (with her)... / although
 knowing other man to have sex (with her)...’ (SE-cheater.woman-2007.006)

14.4.2.2 Interrogative clauses

Interrogative clauses can also appear as complements of prototypical complement-taking verbs. This is exemplified in (857), where the interrogative clause [*uin kara carretera 'akëxa*] ‘who made the highway a long time ago?’ is functioning as the complement of the verb *ñui* ‘tell’.

- (857) *'Eñ n kana ñuitisatanin uin kara carretera 'akëxa*
'e=n ka=na ñui-t-isa-tan-i-n [ui=n ka=ra
 1SG=GEN NAR=1SG tell-HAR-IRR-GO.TO-IPFV-1/2 **who=A** NAR=INT.3
carretera 'a-akë-x-a]
 highway:ABS do-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘I want to tell who made the highway.’ (EE-road-2006.001)

The clause [*uin kara carretera akëxa*] ‘who made the road a long time ago?’ can be used as a main clause without any difference. That is, this clause carries register and mood markers and a fully inflected verb. Based on this evidence, the example in (857) could be considered the only true instance of a finite complement **clause** in Kakataibo (see Dixon 2006 for other cases of interrogative clauses used as complement clauses).

14.5 The attributive function of nominalizations

It is unusual but possible to find constructions where a grammatical nominalization is used in a depictive function that is labelled here as “attributive”. The reason for this labelling is that, in this context, the nominalization attributes an event to one of the arguments of the clause (see Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005). If the matrix clause is intransitive, the nominalized construction predicates over the S-argument (as in example (858)). If the clause is transitive, the nominalized element predicates over the P argument (and never over the A argument) (as in example (859)). This is presented as a case of ergative alignment in §15.2.3.5.

- (858) *Xu ‘ikë kana ‘ëx Limanu kwankën.*

[*xu* **‘i-kë]** *ka=na* ‘ë=x *Lima=nu* *kwan-akë-n*
small **be-NOMLZ** NAR=1SG 1SG=S Lima=LOC go-REM.PST-1/2
‘I went to Lima when I (S) was a baby.’

- (859) *Xu ‘i-kë kana ‘ë=n María ‘unankën.*

[*xu* **‘i-kë]** *ka=na* ‘ë=n *María* ‘*unan-akë-n*
small **be-NOMLZ** NAR=1SG 1SG=A María:ABS know-REM.PST-1/2
‘I met María when she (P) was a baby.’ / (*‘I met María when I (A) was a baby’)

Nominalizations with this attributive function can appear in different positions in the clause and, regardless of their position, always follow the ergative (S/P) pattern just exemplified. See the examples in (860)–(863).

- (860) *Xu ‘ikë kana ‘ën María ‘unankën.*

[*xu* **‘i-kë]** *ka=na* ‘ë=n *María* ‘*unan-akë-n*
small **be-NOMLZ** NAR=1SG 1SG=A María:ABS know-REM.PST-1/2
‘I met María when she (P) was a baby.’ / (*‘I met María when I (A) was a baby’)

- (861) *‘En kana xu ‘ikë María ‘unankën.*

‘ë=n *ka=na* [*xu* **‘i-kë]** *María* ‘*unan-akë-n*
1SG=A NAR=1SG **small** **be-NOMLZ** María:ABS know-REM.PST-1/2
‘I met María when she (P) was a baby.’ / (*‘I met María when I (A) was a baby’)

- (862) *María kana ‘ën xu ‘ikë ‘unankën.*

María *ka=na* ‘ë=n [*xu* **‘i-kë]** ‘*unan-akë-n*
María:ABS NAR=1SG 1SG=A **small** **be-NOMLZ** know-REM.PST-1/2
‘I met María when she (P) was a baby.’ / (*‘I met María when I (A) was a baby’)

- (863) *María kana ‘ën ‘unankën xu ‘ikë.*

María *ka=na* ‘ë=n ‘*unan-akë-n* [*xu* **‘i-kë]**
María:ABS NAR=1SG 1SG=A know-REM.PST-1/2 **small** **be-NOMLZ**
‘I met María when she (P) was a baby.’ / (*‘I met María when I (A) was a baby’)

14.6 Lexical vs. grammatical nominalizations

14.6.1 Distinguishing between lexical and grammatical nominalizations

As summarized in Table 90, there are at least three differences between lexical and grammatical nominalizations (lexical nominalizations were discussed in §6.4).

Table 90. Differences between lexical and grammatical nominalizations

Criteria	Lexical nominalizations	Grammatical nominalizations
Structural complexity	are structurally lexical	can be structurally clausal
Modification/possession	can be modified/possessed	cannot be modified/possessed
Semantics/morphological differences in the nominalizers	- <i>ti</i> ‘instrument nominalizer’ - <i>kë</i> ‘patient nominalizer’ - <i>katsá</i> ‘subject nominalizer, desiderative’ <i>tapun</i> ‘subject nominalizer, habitual’ <i>baë</i> ‘subject nominalizer, iterative’ (Only in very few cases: - <i>ai</i> ‘subject nominalizer’ and - <i>a</i> ‘remote nominalizer’)	- <i>ti</i> ‘future/purpositive nominalizer’ - <i>kë</i> ‘past/present nominalizer’ - <i>a</i> ‘remote nominalizer’ - <i>tibu</i> ‘present habitual nominalizer’ - <i>ai</i> ‘present non-habitual nominalizer’

These three differences will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

14.6.1.1 Structural complexity

Lexical nominalizations are derived nouns, as illustrated in (864) and (865) (see also §6.4).

(864) Derived nouns with -*kë*

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|---|----------------|------------------|
| ‘i | ‘to be’ | > | ‘ikë | ‘house’ |
| <i>bëchi</i> | ‘to father’ | > | <i>bëchikë</i> | ‘son of a man’ |
| <i>mapun</i> | ‘to cover’ | > | <i>mapunkë</i> | ‘house’ |
| <i>tua</i> | ‘to give birth’ | > | <i>tuakë</i> | ‘son of a woman’ |

(865) Derived nouns with -*ti*

- | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|---|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>maën</i> | ‘to sweep’ | > | <i>maënti</i> | ‘broom’ |
| <i>kwënu</i> | ‘to sharpen’ | > | <i>kwënuti</i> | ‘sharpener’ |
| <i>maput</i> | ‘to cover oneself’ | > | <i>maputi</i> | ‘quilt’ |
| <i>mishki</i> | ‘to fish with a hook’ | > | <i>mishkiti</i> | ‘fishing hook’ |

Examples including the derived nouns *mishkiti* ‘fishing hook’ and *mapunkë* ‘house’ are offered in (866) and (867).

- (866) *Mishkitinën ka Maríanën 'axa.*

mishkiti=n *ka* *María=n* 'a-a-x-a
fishing.hook=INS NAR:3 *María=ERG* do-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘María did it with a fishhook.’

- (867) *Mapunkënu ka María 'ikën.*

mapunkë=nu *ka* *María* 'ikën
house=LOC NAR:3 *María:ABS* be:3
 ‘María is in the house.’

The same verbs *mishki* ‘fish with a hook’ and *mapun* ‘cover’ can be used in grammatical nominalizations. In that case, the nominalized verb retains its argument structure and, in the examples that follow, we also find, respectively, a second-position enclitic within the nominalization and an aspectual marker on the nominalized verb. Such a level of complexity is not shown by lexical nominalizations, which are simply derived nouns. See the examples in (868) and (869).

- (868) *Uni ax isa mishkiti ka uaxa.*

uni [*a=x=is=a* *mishki-ti*] *ka* *u-a-x-a*
 man 3SG=S=REP=3 fish.with.hook-NOMLZ:ABS NAR:3 come-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘The man who it is said that he will fish with a hook has come.’

- (869) *Juanën min 'atapa mapunbaikë kana isan.*

[Juan=n *mi=n* '*atapa* *mapun-bai-kë*] *ka=na*
 Juan=ERG 2SG=GEN hen:ABS cover-DUR:SAME.DAY-NOMLZ NAR=1SG
is-a-n
 see-PFV-1/2
 ‘I saw that Juan was covering your hens for a long time early.’

14.6.1.2 Modification/possession

Grammatical nominalizations can neither be modified by, for instance, an adjective or a demonstrative nor possessed by genitive pronouns or NPs. Lexical nominalizations, by contrast, are derived nouns and, therefore, can be modified by adjectives or genitive phrases without restrictions. This is exemplified in the examples in (870a–c) and (871a–c).

- (870) a. *anun no ‘ati ñu*

[[anun no ‘a-ti]_{GRAM.NOMLZ} ñu]_{NP}

that:INS enemy:ABS do-NOMLZ thing

‘the things to kill enemies with’

- b. **ain anun no ‘ati ñu*

[ain [anun no ‘a-ti]_{GRAM.NOMLZ} ñu]_{NP}

3SG:GEN that:INS enemy:ABS do-NOMLZ thing

(‘his/her things to kill enemies with’)

- c. **upí anun no ‘ati ñu*

[upí [anun no ‘a-ti]_{GRAM.NOMLZ} ñu]_{NP}

beautiful that:INS enemy:ABS do-NOMLZ thing

(‘the beautiful things to kill enemies with’)

- (871) a. *tointi*

[[toint-ti]_{LEX.NOMLZ}]_{NP}

grab-NOMLZ

‘the gun’

- b. *ain tointi*

[ain [toint-ti]_{LEX.NOMLZ}]_{NP}

3SG:GEN grab-NOMLZ

‘his/her gun’

- c. *upí tointi*

[upí [toint-ti]_{LEX.NOMLZ}]_{NP}

beautiful grab-NOMLZ

‘the beautiful gun’

14.6.1.3 Grammatical and lexical nominalizers

Grammatical and lexical nominalizations use partially the same morphological material. The forms *-kë* and *-ti* (and also *-ai* and *-a*, but only in very few cases) are used in both types of constructions, but these forms have different semantics depending on the type of construction in which they appear. In lexical nominalizations, the suffix *-ti* is used mostly for instruments (with a few probably lexicalized exceptions; see §6.4.1); while in grammatical nominalization, the semantic content of this suffix conveys a future interpretation. In turn, the suffix *-kë* is a patient lexical nominalizer (again with a few exceptions; see §6.4.2), but is a non-future nominalizer in grammatical nominalizations. Therefore, as grammatical nominalizers, the markers just mentioned are only sensitive to tense/aspectual distinctions and can be used to derive any kind of participant and not only patients or instruments. This is exemplified by the sentences in (872) and (873), where *-kë* is used in two grammatical nominalizations that denote, respectively, an instrument participant and an agent participant. As a lexical nominalizer, *-kë* mainly derives patient-like entities.

- (872) *Min anun 'arukë ax ka 'ënan 'ikën.*

[mi=n anun 'aru-kë] GRAM.NOMLZ a=x ka 'ë-nan 'ikën
 2SG=A 3SG:INS cook-NOMLZ 3SG=S NAR:3 1SG-POSS be:3
'What you cooked with is mine.' (instrument-nominalization)

- (873) *An pike ax ka 'ën xukën 'ikën*

[a=n pi-kë] GRAM.NOMLZ a=x ka 'ë=n xukën 'ikën
 3SG=A eat-NOMLZ 3SG=S NAR:3 1SG=GEN brother be:3
'The one who eats/ate is my brother.' (A-nominalization)

Other important facts are to be mentioned in relation to this issue. As shown in Table 90, the nominalizer *-tibu* 'present habitual nominalizer' is exclusively used for grammatical nominalizations (see §14.2.2). In turn, the nominalizers *-katsá* 'subject nominalizer, desiderative' (see §6.4.3), *tapun* 'subject nominalizer, habitual' (see §6.4.4) and *bäe* 'subject nominalizer, iterative' (see §6.4.5) are, as far as I understand, only used for lexical nominalizations. This distribution represents a morphological difference between the two types of nominalizations.

14.6.1.4 Intermediate cases

I have demonstrated that lexical nominalizations and grammatical nominalizations can be distinguished in Kakataibo, even though they use partially the same morphology. I have listed in Table 90, and exemplified in the preceding sections, three criteria that reveal differences between the two.

However, it should also be said that not all examples are easily identifiable as either lexical or grammatical nominalizations. This is particularly true in relation to the nominalizations derived by *-kë* from the extended intransitive use of the emotion predicates presented in §8.2.1.2.2. In their extended intransitive use, these emotion predicates exhibit an object-like argument marked by the indirect locative *=mi*. The nominalizations obtained from some of these forms obligatorily keep the object marked with *=mi*, producing a complex structure that is reminiscent of grammatical nominalizations. However, the problem is that these nominalizations can be possessed and this is a property of lexical nominalizations. One example follows. There we find the nominalization *[a=mi nish-kë]* '3sg=IMPR.LOC hate-NOMLZ', which shows a complex structure and semantically modifies *uni* 'man', in a similar way to what we have seen in §14.3. Formally, it is very similar to a grammatical nominalization. But, as can be seen in (874), the form *[ami nishkë] [uni]* can be possessed – and this is only attested with lexical nominalizations. In fact, this complex expression is systematically translated simply as 'enemy' by Kakataibo speakers.

- (874) *Usaoxun kaisa kakëxa ain ami nishkë uni a*
usa-o-xun ka-is=a ka-ake-x-a
 like.that-fact-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 say-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
[ain [[ami nishkë]_{NOMLZ} uni]]_{NP} a
 3SG:GEN 3SG=IMPR.LOC hate-NOMLZ man 3SG:P
 'Then, it is said that he said to his enemy...' (EE-king.vulture-2007.012)

Examples like (874) are difficult to analyze in terms of the distinction proposed here. It seems that forms like *[ami nishkë uni]* have lexicalized into forms which are equivalent to nouns and, therefore, can be modified by a genitive modifier as it is the case of lexical nominalizations (or, more generally, any noun). The existence of these examples may be suggesting that the distinction between grammatical and lexical nominalizations in Kakataibo needs to be understood in terms of a continuum. This idea finds support in the use of grammatical nominalizations to coin names of plants and animals in Kakataibo. As shown in §6.5.2, some names of plants and animals in Kakataibo come from grammatical nominalizations, but exhibit a highly lexical nature that brings their function closer to the function of simple nouns rather than to the function of grammatical nominalizations.

Most of the examples of grammatical nominalizations with lexical properties come from the ethnobiological inventory of names of plants and animals. However, in addition to the example just discussed (*ami nishkë uni* 'enemy'), there is another similar case in my corpus: *an 'akë uni* 'lover', in which *[a=n 'a-kë]* '3sg-A do-NOMLZ' is structurally a grammatical nominalization; but the whole form can nevertheless be possessed and is used in that way in naturalistic speech. Thus, we find forms like **ain an 'akë uni** 'her lover' naturally appearing in discourse.

An additional problematic case is shown in the following example. There, we find the nominalizer *-a* 'remote past', almost exclusively used for grammatical nominalizations, in a construction that may be seen as lexical. The nominalization '*i-a* 'be-nominalizer, remote past' appears with the NP *ñu* 'thing' but, very unusually, is also possessed by the genitive pronoun *ain* '3, genitive'. Therefore, the example in (875) represents another interesting case of a grammatical nominalization that has lexicalized.

- (875) *Anu ka 'ikën achushi xanuribi ain historia ain 'ia ñu a ñuiti.*
anu ka 'ikën achushi xanu-ribi
 there NAR:3 be:3 one woman-also
ain historia [ain [[i-a]_{NOMLZ} ñu]]_{NP} a ñui-ti
 3SG:GEN story:ABS 3SG:GEN be-NOMLZ thing that:P tell-NOMLZ
 'There is also the story of one woman, **the things that she was**, for telling.'
 (NA-boy-2007.001)

15 Transitivity and grammatical relations

15.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an integrated analysis of the various features of Kakataibo grammar related to transitivity and grammatical relations that were introduced in previous chapters of this grammar, including lexical transitivity (§8.1.1); case marking of pronouns (§5.1.1); and subject cross-reference on verbs (§9.2.5) and on second-position enclitics (§11.2). In particular, I aim to address how transitivity and grammatical relations are manifested at the level of the clause and in association with specific grammatical mechanisms. I start this chapter with the discussion in §15.2 about ways in which various grammatical relations play a role in Kakataibo syntax, paying special attention to different types of associations among the grammatical functions of S, A and P attested in different grammatical mechanisms (including different means for combining clauses). Following what is usually called the constructional approach to grammatical relations, I establish a distinction between coding and behavioral properties, and both are assessed in §15.2 (see Bickel 2011 for a recent survey of the study of grammatical relations from a typological point of view). §15.3 explores the grammatical relation of object in Kakataibo, offering a definition of the category in the language. This section also offers a study of ditransitive constructions (see also Zariquiey 2012) and an analysis of what I call quasi-objects: a type of non-subject unmarked argument which surfaces in intransitive contexts and exhibits some object-like properties (see Zariquiey 2017). Finally, §15.4 completes the characterization of transitivity in Kakataibo, paying particular attention to the syntax and semantics of the different valence-changing suffixes presented in §9.1.1.

15.2 Grammatical relations in Kakataibo

15.2.1 Introduction

As is the case for other languages, in the study of grammatical relations in Kakataibo it is necessary to establish a distinction between two different levels of analysis: grammatical functions and grammatical relations (see Andrews 1985). Three basic grammatical functions are to be identified for the study of intransitive and transitive constructions in Kakataibo: A, S and P (§15.3.2 contains a discussion of ditransitive and bivalent monotransitive predicates in the language). These three basic grammatical functions are defined in the following way in this grammar: A stands for ‘agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb’, S corresponds to ‘single argument of canonical intransitive verb’ and P is ‘patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb’. The different associations of these basic grammatical functions produces the diverse set of alignments of grammatical relations found in Kakataibo syntax (see

Zariquiey 2011c). As will be shown in the following subsections, in this language we find accusative, ergative, tripartite, neutral and horizontal alignment types, which create a highly complex system of grammatical relations, see Figure 79.

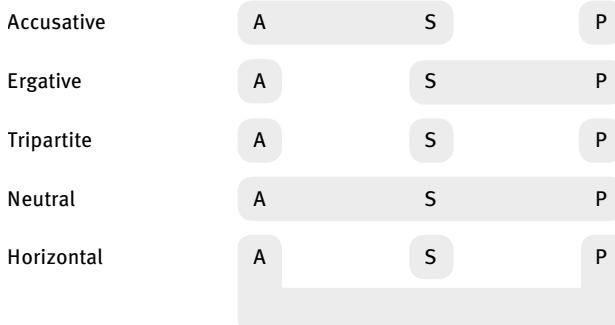


Figure 79. Types of grammatical relations found in Kakataibo syntax

15.2.2 Coding properties

15.2.2.1 Case marking

Case marking in Kakataibo is manifested differently in nouns and different types of pronouns. In what follows, I illustrate the different case marking alignments found in the language.

The association of the functions S and P, as found in the case marking of Kakataibo nouns, constitutes the grammatical relation of absolutive, as opposed to the grammatical relation of ergative (marking A differently). This is illustrated in the examples in (876).

	ergative		absolutive	
(876)	<i>Emilio=nën</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>'ó</i>	<i>'a-a-x-a</i>
	Emilio=ERG	NAR:3	tapir:ABS	kill-PFV-3-NON.PROX
	'Emilio killed the tapir.'			
	<i>Emilio</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>'ux-a-x-a</i>	
	Emilio:ABS	NAR:3	sleep-PFV-3-NON.PROX	
	'Emilio slept.'			

There is also a tripartite case marking alignment in Kakataibo (non-emphatic) pronouns. This tripartite alignment is also found in some noun phrases expressing anaphoric topics (see §16.5, where the grammatical properties of Kakataibo discourse

are discussed), as well as in other areas of the grammar, like switch-reference (see §15.2.3.4) and participant agreement (see §15.2.3.2). The tripartite alignment as manifested in pronominal case marking is illustrated in (830).

	A		P	
(877)	<i>a=n</i> 3SG=A	<i>ka</i> NAR:3	<i>'e</i> 1SG:P	<i>mëë-a-x-a</i> hit-PFV-3-NON.PROX
	'He hit me.'			

<i>a=x</i> 3SG=S	<i>ka</i> NAR:3	<i>'ux-a-x-a</i> sleep-PFV-3-NON.PROX
'He slept.'		

In addition, there is a set of emphatic/reflexive pronouns created by the combination of some of the personal pronouns plus the adverbial enclitic *=bi* 'same, self'. In general, these pronominal elements remain unmarked in different grammatical functions and, therefore, may be argued to follow a neutral alignment (see the examples in (878)). However, for the first person emphatic pronoun, we also find the case marker *-x* 'S' and this produces a horizontal alignment type. See (879) for a simplified illustration of the pattern. Notice that the emphatic first person pronoun can also appear in the neutral alignment illustrated in (878), but the horizontal alignment in (879) seems to be the preferred one for this person (see also §5.1.1.1 and §15.4.3.1 for more on these pronominal forms).

(878)	<i>abi</i> 3SG:EMP	<i>ka</i> NAR:3	<i>'e</i> 1SG:P	<i>mëë-a-x-a</i> hit-PFV-3-NON.PROX
'He himself hit me.'				
	<i>abi</i> 3sg:emp	<i>ka</i> NAR:3	<i>'ux-a-x-a</i> sleep-PFV-3-NON.PROX	
'He himself slept.'				
	<i>abi</i> 3SG:EMP	<i>ka=na</i> NAR=1SG	<i>'e=n</i> 1SG=A	<i>mëë-a-x-a</i> hit-PFV-3-NON.PROX
'I hit exactly him.'				
	 S, A, P			

S
(879)
‘ëbi=x ka ‘ux-a-x-a 1SG:EMP=S NAR:3 sleep-PFV-3-NON.PROX ‘I myself slept.’
‘ëbi ka a mëë-a-x-a 3SG:EMP NAR:3 1SG:P hit-PFV-3-NON.PROX ‘I myself hit him.’
‘ëbi ka=na a=n mëë-a-x-a 3SG.EMP NAR=1SG 3=A hit-PFV-3-NON.PROX ‘He hit exactly me.’
A, P

Thus, in the Kakataibo data presented so far, we find the following case marking alignments: (i) ergative-absolutive (case marking of NPs); (ii) tripartite (case marking of pronouns – and noun phrases expressing anaphoric topics; see §16.5); (iii) neutral (on non-first person emphatic/reflexive pronouns) and (iv) horizontal (on first person emphatic/reflexive pronouns).

Case marking systems that combine ergativity with something else have been described in terms of split ergativity, which has been believed to be based on the referential hierarchy (see Silverstein 1976). The diversity of alignments found in Kakataibo case marking, however, goes beyond prototypical illustrations of the referential hierarchy, which usually restrict themselves to systems that combine ergativity and another alignment (such as accusativity).

15.2.2.2 Subject cross-reference in verbs and second-position enclitics

As previously discussed in this grammar, Kakataibo exhibits subject cross-reference in verbs and second-position enclitics (§9.2.5 for subject cross-reference on the verb and §11.2 for subject cross-reference on second-position enclitics). Subject cross-reference in Kakataibo completes the inventory of alignments found in the language, exhibiting a nominative-accusative pattern. The association of S and A, as found in the subject cross-reference system in both the verbal morphology and the second-position enclitics creates the grammatical relation of nominative, which can also be called subject. This association is opposed to the grammatical relation of accusative, also called object, which includes exclusively the grammatical function of P and is not overtly marked either on the verb or on the second-position enclitics. See the examples in (880).

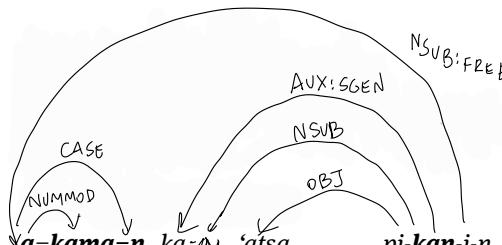
	nominative		nominative
(880)	<i>Emilio=nēn</i> Emilio=ERG 'Emilio beat me up.'	<i>ka</i> NAR:3	<i>'e</i> 1SG:P
	<i>Emilio</i> Emilio:ABS 'Emilio slept.'	<i>ka</i> NAR:3	<i>mē-a-x-a</i> beat-PFV-3-NON.PROX
			<i>'ux-a-x-a</i> sleep-PFV-3-NON.PROX

15.2.3 Behavioral properties

§15.2.2 has illustrated all the alignments of grammatical relations found in the Kakataibo language, by paying attention to the coding properties related to case and subject cross-reference (word order is pragmatically oriented in Kakataibo; see §16.2). In this section, I explore how these different alignment types are manifested beyond the domain of the coding of grammatical relations.

15.2.3.1 Plurality

The plural marker on verbs, *-kan* (see §9.2.3), always indicates the number of the S or the A argument, but never of the P argument. Therefore, it follows an S/A pattern, which can be labelled nominative, as opposed to accusative. This is shown in (881)–(883) (the same distribution has been described for Shipibo-Konibo, by Valenzuela 2010b).

(881)	
(882)	<i>a=kama=n ka=Ø 'atsa pi-kan-i-n</i> 3SG=PL=A NAR:3 manioc:ABS eat-PL-IPFV-NON.PROX 'They are eating manioc.'
(883)	* <i>an ka 'atsakama pikania</i> <i>a=n ka 'atsa=kama pi-kan-i-a</i> 3SG=A NAR:3 manioc=PL:P eat-PL-IPFV-NON.PROX (he is are eating many pieces of manioc.)

Conversely, suppletive plural verbs follow an ergative pattern, according to which plurality is always associated with the S of intransitive verbs and the P of transitive ones. This can be seen in the following verb pairs: *nits-* 'walk (singular S)' and *ri-* 'walk

row (singular P)’ and *put* ‘throw (plural P)’. Equivalent examples (see Fleck 2003: 338–340).

- (884)
Juan:ABS NAR:3 *jungle=LOC=PA.S* sleep-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Juan slept in the jungle.’

- (885) *Juanën ka ninua ño méraxa.*
Juan=n *ka* *ni=nu=a* *ño* *méra-a-x-a*
Juan=ERG NAR:3 jungle=LOC=PA.P peccary:ABS find-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Juan found a peccary in the jungle (where it was before).’
- (886) *Juanën ka ninuxun ño méraxa.*
Juan=nén *ka* *ni=nu=xun* *ño* *méra-a-x-a*
Juan=ERG NAR:3 jungle=LOC=PA.A peccary:ABS find-PFV-3-NO.PROX
 ‘Juan found a peccary in the jungle (where he was before).’

15.2.3.3 Verbal prefixation

Kakataibo, like other Pano languages, has a closed set of prefixes that primarily refer to body parts and have a locative function (see §4.6 for a general characterization of these forms). When they appear on an intransitive verb, the body part is directly associated with the S-argument; while, when they occur with a transitive verb, the body part is directly associated with the P argument. This constitutes a case of ergative alignment, as we find an association between S and P (as opposed to A). See the examples in (887) and (888).

- (887) *‘En kana Pedro mëtaxkan.*
‘ë=n *ka=na* *Pedro* *më-taxka-a-n*
 1SG=A NAR=1SG **pedro:ABS** hand-hit.TRAN-PFV-1/2
 ‘I hit Pedro on **his hand**.’
- (888) *‘Ex kana mëtaxkian.*
‘ë=x *ka=na* *më-taxki-a-n*
 1SG-S NAR=1SG **hand-hit:INTR-PFV-1/2**
 ‘I hit myself on **my hand**.’

15.2.3.4 Switch-reference

In most cases, Kakataibo clauses are combined by means of the switch-reference system of the language. The switch-reference markers operate on the basis of different grammatical relations. In the matrix clause, the three core arguments (S, A and O) are distinguished by a tripartite alignment system; with one of the few exceptions being the form *-tanan* ‘S/A>S/A’, which follows an accusative alignment in both the dependent and the matrix clause (see §12.3.1.9). In turn, in the dependent clause, the system establishes an alignment between A and S as opposed to P, thus creating a nominative-accusative pattern. However, the switch-reference markers that indicate that one of the arguments of the dependent clause is coreferential to the P of the matrix clause exhibit a neutral alignment and can refer equally to the A, S or P of the dependent clause (see §12.3.2). Table 91 shows a simplified version of the switch-reference system, including only a small selection of forms for illustration purposes (for the complete paradigm, see §12.3).

Table 91. Switch-reference and alignments of S, A and P

Dependent clause	Matrix clause	Exemplifying form	Temporal meaning
S/A	S	<i>-i</i>	Simultaneous event
P	S	<i>-këx</i>	Previous event
S/A	A	<i>-kin</i>	Simultaneous event
P	A	<i>-këxun</i>	Previous event
S/A/P	P	<i>-ia</i>	Simultaneous event
S/A/P	P	<i>-këtian</i>	Previous event
S/A	S/A	<i>-tanan</i>	Simultaneous event

15.2.3.5 Nominalizations in an attributive function

Nominalizations in the attributive function (see §14.2.4) may be considered as following an ergative alignment in the sense that if the matrix clause is intransitive, the nominalized construction predicates about the S (as in example (889)) and, if the clause is transitive, the nominalized construction predicates about the P (and never the A) (as in example (890)).

- (889) *Xu 'ikë kana 'ëx Limanu kwankën.*

[**xu** **'i-kë]** **ka=na** **'ë=x** **Lima=n** **kwan-akë-n**
small **be-NOMLZ** **NAR=1SG** **1SG=S** **Lima=LOC** **go-REM.PST-1/2**
'I went to Lima when I (S) was a baby.'

- (890) *Xu ‘ikë kana ‘ën María ‘unankën.*

[*xu* ‘*i-kë*] *ka=na* ‘*ë=n* *María* ‘*unan-akë-n*
small **be-NOMLZ** **NAR=1SG** **1SG=A** **María:ABS** **know-REM.PST-1/2**
'I met María when **she** (P) was a baby.'

15.2.4 Summary

Kakataibo combines tripartite, ergative, accusative and neutral alignments in different parts of its grammar. Calling Kakataibo an *ergative* or a *split ergative language* misses the point that large parts of its grammar follow a non-ergative alignment. Kakataibo is accusative, ergative, tripartite, neutral and even horizontal, according to the specific grammatical mechanism that we look at (and switch-reference revolves around more than one alignment). The patterns presented in this section go beyond what is usually expected for split ergative languages, as often represented in the referential hierarchy. A summary of the different mechanisms discussed in this section is presented in Table 92.

Table 92. Grammatical relations in Kakataibo

morphosyntactic mechanism	ergative	accusative	tripartite	neutral	horizontal
Case marking on non-anaphoric nouns	✓				
Case marking on anaphoric nouns		✓			
Case marking on non-emphatic pronouns			✓		
Case marking on non-first-person emphatic pronouns				✓	
Case marking on first person emphatic pronouns				(✓)	✓
Subject cross-reference on the verb	✓				
Subject cross-reference on the second-position enclitics		✓			
Plural marker		✓			
Lexically plural verbs	✓				
Participant agreement in adjuncts			✓		
Verbal prefixation	✓				
Switch-reference markers: the matrix clause	✓		✓		
Switch-reference markers: the dependent clause	✓			✓	
Grammatical nominalizations in attributive function	✓				

15.3 Objecthood in Kakataibo

15.3.1 Defining objecthood in Kakataibo

According to Plank (1984: vii), in the study of grammatical relations, “objects have traditionally taken a back seat to subjects”. Subjecthood has always attracted the attention of typologists and has been the focus of a considerable part of the typological literature on grammatical relations. Since Keenan’s (1976) seminal study on subjecthood, this category has been understood as composed of properties of different sorts (semantic and pragmatic, behavioral, and coding properties). While some agreement on the relevant properties of subjects was soon reached, Plank (1984: 5–6, and 14–15) considers that the nature of (direct) objects stills needs to be better understood (Plank 1984: 5–6; 14–15).

Although this situation has changed considerably in recent years, the category of object has traditionally been assumed as a given in the typological literature (see Collinge 1984 for a discussion) or, in many cases, has been taken as an operational concept defined only in opposition to other categories. This is true, for instance, regarding Moravcsik’s (1978: 252) definition of objects as all non-agentive and non-dative noun phrases, or Collinge’s (1984: 11) proposal that noun phrases “which syntactically are neither the specialized subject nor the dispensable and purely circumstantial” can be assumed as belonging to an “intermediate array which may reasonably be titled ‘objects’”.

In this section, I briefly list and illustrate a set of properties of prototypical objects in Kakataibo. These properties, listed in Table 93, may be understood as definitional of objecthood in this language.

Table 93. Definitional properties of objecthood (adapted from Zariquiey 2012: 886)

Property	Section	Subjects	P arguments	Adjuncts
i. Unmarked case in transitive context	§6.7.1.3	NO	YES	NO
ii. Controller of object-based switch-reference markers	§12.3.2; §12.3.3	NO	YES	NO
iii. Controller of object-based participant agreement	§10.3.1	NO	YES	NO
iv. Controller of the marker <i>-pat</i> used as plural marker	§9.1.2.2.2.1	NO	YES	NO
v. Target of reciprocal marker <i>-akat</i>	§15.4.3.1	NO	YES	NO
vi. Target of reflexive marker <i>-anan</i>	§15.4.3.2	NO	YES	NO

As is clear from Table 93, each of the proposed properties distinguish between P arguments, on the one hand, and subjects or adjuncts on the other. P arguments in Kaka-

taibo are unmarked arguments that appear in transitive contexts, they can be the controller of the different switch-reference markers that take the object of the matrix or the dependent clause as the coreferential participant, and they can also be the controller of the participant agreement marker that semantically orients locative adjuncts towards the object of the clause. The same happens with all the other markers listed in Table 93, which share the property of targeting the P argument of transitive constructions. Therefore, all these properties may be claimed to be sound criteria for defining objecthood in Kakataibo (P arguments are prototypical objects in the language).

The following examples provide a brief illustration of the properties in Table 93 (for more detailed discussion and illustration, see the sections listed in Table 93). Let us consider the example in (891), where an illustration of the properties concerning case marking, participant agreement, switch-reference and the iterative use of the suffix *-pat* is presented.

- (891) *Nashia ka unin bakanua chaxu 'apaxa*
nashi-ia *ka* *uni=n(A)* *baka=nu=a*
bath-SBJ>OBJ:SE NAR:3 man=ERG river=LOC=**PA.P**
chaxu(P) *'a-pat-a-x-a*
deer:ABS kill-**PL.OBJ-PFV-3-NON.PROX**
'The man killed several deer, while they were in the river, bathing.'

As can be seen, in the example in (891), the P argument of the predicate 'kill' surfaces in the unmarked absolute case. Furthermore, the marker *-a* 'participant agreement: P' on the locative adjunct *baka=nu* 'in the river' orients it towards the P and not the A (the man might or might not be in/at the river). In addition, the switch-reference marker *-ia* 'S/A/P>P, simultaneous event' indicates that the deer and not the man was bathing and, finally, the marker *-pat* indicates that there were several deer but not several men. As all these are object properties in Kakataibo, *chaxu* 'deer' is a highly prototypical object in the example in (891).

In turn, the following examples show instances of the reciprocal (892) and the reflexive (893) markers. In the example in (892), the reciprocal marker acts upon the P argument of the transitive predicate *ka* 'say (something) to somebody' and the result is an intransitive predicate. A similar situation is found in (893), where the reflexive marker detransitivizes the transitive predicate *man* 'touch', by means of demoting the P, which is then understood as coreferential with the S.

- (892) *Ain xukënkamabë ain aintsikamabë kanankëxa.*
ain *xukën=kama=bë* *ain* *aintsi=kama=bë*
3SG:GEN brother=PL=COM:S 3SG:GEN relative=PL=COM:S
ka-anan-akë-x-a
say-**RECP-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX**
'They and their brothers and relatives talked to each other.'

- (893) *Éééééé ki kaisa bëmamëakëxín.*
éééééé ki-i ka-is=a
 ouch say:INTR-S/A>S:SE NAR=REP=3
bë-man-mët-akë-x-ín
 eyes-touch-REF-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘It is said that the man touched his eyes saying “ouch!” (lit. “éééééé!”).’

The question that I attempt to answer in the following subsections is if other object-like arguments attested in the language exhibit the same properties. In §15.3.2, I explore the coding and behavioral properties of the two non-subject arguments of ditransitive constructions (T ‘theme’ and R ‘recipient’), which, as will be seen, exhibit a high degree of syntactic similarity with P arguments of monotransitive constructions. Then, in §15.3.3, I explore the behavior of two types of object-like arguments which appears in intransitive contexts and are called “quasi-objects” and “oblique objects” in Zariquiey (2017). We will see that, differently from what we find regarding the T and R arguments of ditransitive constructions, quasi-objects and oblique objects exhibit a considerable degree of difference when compared with P arguments.

15.3.2 Ditransitive constructions

A ditransitive construction can be defined as one “consisting of a (ditransitive) verb, an agent argument (A), a recipient-like argument (R), and a theme argument (T)” (Malchukov et al. 2010: 1; see also Haspelmath 2005a and b, and 2007). Prototypically, ditransitive verbs relate to the semantic domain of (physical, but also mental) transfer and the best exemplar of a ditransitive verb is the verb ‘to give’ (see also Kittilä 2006 and Newman 1996). According to Malchukov et al. (2010), this semantically-oriented definition is the one to be used in cross-linguistic comparison (and is what Haspelmath 2010 calls a “comparative concept”), since ditransitive constructions in individual languages exhibit very heterogeneous formal properties, which make them non-comparable in this respect. This definition may potentially include benefactive constructions and derived ditransitives (i.e. the result of adding a valency-increasing device to a monotransitive predicate), but does not cover other types of three-participant events (for instance ‘to put’; see Margetts and Austin 2007 for a detailed list of semantic classes of three-participant events and a cross-linguistic characterization of them).

Building on the seminal work by Dryer (1986), Haspelmath (2005a and b) proposes a typology of ditransitive constructions, which includes three basic types of ditransitive alignments, based on whether it is the T or the R that is treated like the patient-like argument of monotransitive constructions (P). This single parameter produces three major alignment patterns: two non-neutral ones ($R=P\neq T$, called primitive/secundative and $T=P\neq R$, called directive/indirective), and a neutral one, where P,

T, and R align together ($P=R=T$). The fourth possible alignment pattern, the tripartite, in which P, R, and T are distinguished from each other ($P\neq R\neq T$), is significantly disfavored cross-linguistically; while the horizontal alignment type ($P\neq R=T$) seems to be nonexistent (see Malchukov et al. 2010: 6–7).

In Kakataibo, the T and the R are encoded in the same way as the P, thus producing a neutral alignment. All three appear in the unmarked absolutive case; and are not indexed either in the verb or in the set of second-position enclitics obligatorily found in finite clauses (both the verb and the enclitics exhibit subject cross-reference; see Zariquiey 2011c).

Ditransitive constructions in which the T and the R are not morphologically distinguished have been referred to as “double-object constructions”. According to Haspelmath (2005b: 5), in many double-object languages, “the recipient and the theme can be distinguished by word order”. However, since there is no truly fixed constituent order in Kakataibo (see §16.2), the relative position of the R and the T cannot be used as a criterion for distinguishing between them. Furthermore, the same neutral alignment is found in association with different behavioral properties, making the two objects of ditransitive constructions extremely similar to each other and to the single object of monotransitive constructions. This type of double-object construction with two extremely similar non-subject arguments has also been described for other Pano languages (Valenzuela 2003b: 527–532, for Shipibo-Konibo; Fleck 2003: 864–874, for Matses; and, less categorically, Zariquiey 2011a: 659–669 and 2012 for Kakataibo, since in this language we find a non-neutral alignment regarding reflexive constructions). Similar issues have been discussed for Bantu languages by Gary and Keenan (1977; criticized in Perlmutter and Postal 1983 and Dryer 1983, among others). In this context, Bresnan and Moshi (1990/1993) have introduced a typology based on how the two objects of ditransitive constructions behave in different languages, and have proposed the labels “symmetric” and “asymmetric” languages in order to characterize the different possibilities.

I have been able to identify four basic ditransitive verbs in Kakataibo: *inan* ‘give’, *ñon* ‘not to share something with someone’, *ribin* ‘owe something to someone’ and *mëtika* ‘give the same amount to various people’ (see §8.2.2.2). However, valence-increasing suffixes, such as the different applicatives and the causative *-mi*, can create ditransitive stems when they modify a verb which is already transitive (see §15.4.1, particularly example (946)).

In this section, I briefly discuss the different properties listed in Table 93 regarding the T and the R arguments of ditransitive constructions, in order to determine how they behave in comparison with the P argument of monotransitive constructions. The results will show a high degree of correspondence, with the single exception of the reflexive construction, as mentioned above.

One important fact is that the objects of both basic and derived ditransitive clauses are identical with regard to all the processes discussed here. Thus, all claims

concerning the basic ditransitive construction are also applicable to the many derived ditransitive predicates found in the language.

15.3.2.1 Unmarked case

The two objects of a ditransitive constructions (T and R) show the same case marking as the P of monotransitive ones: both appear in the unmarked absolute case. This produces a neutral alignment. See the example in (894).

- (894) ‘En kana María ‘atsa ‘inanin.
 ‘é=n ka=na [María](R) [‘atsa](T) ‘inan-i-n
 1SG=A NAR=1SG María:ABS manioc:ABS give-IPFV-1/2
 ‘I give manioc to María.’

15.3.2.2 Object participant agreement marker

As we saw in §10.3.1, participant agreement markers semantically orient one adjunct (mostly locative ones) towards one argument of the clause, following a tripartite pattern in which the intransitive subject, the transitive subject, and the transitive object are morphologically distinguished: *-ax* indicates semantic orientation towards the S-argument; *-xun*, towards the A-argument; and *-a*, towards the P-argument.

The marker of participant agreement *-a*, can equally refer to P, T, and R, producing, again, a neutral alignment. Examples of this form in a monotransitive and a ditransitive construction follow ((895) and (896), respectively). Notice that there are two possible interpretations for the ditransitive example in (896).

- (895) Juanën ka ninua ‘atsa biaxa.
 Juan=nén ka ni=nu=a(P) ‘atsa bits-a-x-a
 Juan=ERG NAR:3 jungle=LOC=PA.P manioc pick.up-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Juan picked up the manioc that was in the jungle.’

- (896) Juanën ka ninua ‘atsa uni ‘inanxa.
 Juan=nén ka ni=nu=a(T/R) ‘atsa uni ‘inan-a-x-a
 Juan=ERG NAR:3 jungle=LOC=PA:T/R manioc man give-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Juan gave the manioc to the people who were in the jungle.’ / ‘Juan gave the manioc that was in the jungle to the people.’

15.3.2.3 Object-based switch-reference markers

Object-based switch-reference markers treat the R and T of ditransitive clauses in the same way as the P of monotransitive ones, and all of them can equally act as the coreferentiality-controlling argument. Therefore, they also exhibit a neutral alignment.

Some examples of the markers *-këx* ‘OBJ>S, previous event’ and *-këxun* ‘OBJ>A, previous event’ are presented in (897) and (898).

- (897) *'Inankëxun kaisa ain chira bake an kakëshín...*
'inan-këxun ka=is=a ain chira bakë a=n ka-akë-x-ín
give-P>A:PE NAR=REP=3 3SG:GEN sister 3SG=A say-REM.PST-3-PROX
*'It is said that, after he gave **her sister** (to the man), **she** said...' (JE-deer.man-2007.005) (T>S)*
- (898) *'Abiankin kaisa ain inamia isa 'inankëxun buankëshín.*
'a-bian-kin ka=is=a ain ina=mi=a=is=a
do-going:TRAN-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 3SG:GEN tail=IMPR.LOC=PA.P=REP=3
'inan-këxun buan-akë-x-ín
give-P>A:PE bring-REM.PST-3-PROX
*'Going after doing, it is said that after (the man) gave the part of the tail (of the animal) to **her, she** brought it.' (JE-blind.man-2007.040) (R>A)*

15.3.2.4 *-pat* ‘plural objects’

As we have seen in §9.1.2.2.1, the directional verbal suffix *-pat* ‘downward, transitive’ can be used to indicate that the object is plural (this suffix is similar to the morpheme *-pake* in Shipibo-Konibo, which is described as having a distributive function similar to the one described here; Valenzuela 2010b). Used with a ditransitive predicate, this suffix can be used to express that any of its objects is plural. Therefore, again, we find a neutral alignment. This is shown in (899) and (900).

- (899) *'En kana 'atsa María 'inanpatin.*
'ë=n ka=na 'atsa María 'inan-pat-i-n
*1SG=A NAR=1SG **manioc:ABS** María:ABS give-PL.OBJ-IPFV-1/2*
*'I will give **many manioc tubers** to María (one per day, for instance).'*
- (900) *'En kana nami uni 'inanpatin.*
'ë=n ka=na nami uni 'inan-pat-i-n
*1SG=A NAR=1SG meat:ABS **people:ABS** give-PL.OBJ-IPFV-1/2*
*'I will give meat to **many people**'*

15.3.2.5 Reciprocals

Reciprocal constructions are presented in detail in §15.4.3.2. In the following examples, it can be seen that both the R and the T of a ditransitive construction can be reciprocalized, as is true regarding the P argument of a monotransitive construction. This produces a neutral alignment.

- (901) 'Ex kana Maríabë bata 'inan-anan-a-n
 'ë=x ka=na María=bë bata 'inan-anan-a-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG María=COM:S candy give-RECP-PFV-1/2
 'María and I gave candy to each other.'
- (902) 'Ex kana Maríabë 'inan-anan-a-n
 'ë=x ka=na María=bë 'inan-anan-a-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG María=COM:S give-RECP-PFV-1/2
 'María and I gave each other to somebody else (e.g. to the police or the chief of the village.)'

15.3.2.6 Reflexives

Reflexive constructions are presented in §15.4.3.1, where I will pay attention to their distribution with transitive predicates containing one object. The reflexive construction is also available for both objects of a ditransitive construction, but they show a slightly different behavior: only the reflexive verbal suffix is needed in order to obtain a T-reflexive (as in example (903)), while R-reflexives obligatorily require an additional reflexive/emphatic pronoun and thus exhibit a different (more analytical) construction. The obligatoriness of this pronoun constitutes the only case of a difference among T, P, and R found in the data presented so far, and represents one case of an indirective alignment (P=T≠R). This can be seen in the examples in (903) and (904).

- (903) 'Ex kana 'inamëtin.
 'ë=x ka=na 'inan-mët-i-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG give-REF-IPFV-1/2
 'I will give myself (to someone else)'
 ('*I will give (something) to myself')
- (904) 'Ebix kana bata 'inamëtin.
 'ëbi=x ka=na bata 'inan-mët-i-n
 1SG.REF=S NAR=1SG candy give-REF-IPFV-1/2
 'I will give candy to myself.'

Interestingly, the R may be overtly expressed in the T-reflexivized version of 'inan 'give' of (903), but in that case it appears as a locative adjunct. A comparable derivation is not possible for the T of (904).

- (905) 'Ex kana policianu 'inamëtin.
 'ë=x ka=na policia=nu 'inan-mët-i-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG police=LOC give-REF-IPFV-1/2
 'I will give myself to the police.'

- (906) *‘*Ex kana batanu ‘inan-mëtin.*
 ‘ë=x ka=na bata=**nu** ‘inan-mët-i-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG candy=LOC give-REF-IPFV-1/2
 (I will give candy to myself’)

15.3.2.7 Summary

In this section, I have shown extensive similarities between the two objects of ditransitive clauses (T and R) and the objects of monotransitive ones (P) the two objects of ditransitive constructions were treated identically to each other and to the object of monotransitive constructions by almost all the properties discussed (and therefore we find an extensive presence of neutral alignments), with the only exception being the reflexive construction. Notice that, in relation to the reflexive construction, T behaves in the same way as P: they do not require the reflexive/emphatic pronoun in order to be the target of a reflexive construction. This can be interpreted as a case of indirect alignment. This is summarized in Table 94. Note that, constituent order is irrelevant for the distinction of the extremely similar T and R arguments of Kakataibo ditransitive constructions.

Table 94. Ditransitive alignment types in Kakataibo

Property	P	T	R	Alignment type
i. Unmarked case in transitive context	YES	YES	YES	neutral
ii. Controller of object-based switch-reference markers	YES	YES	YES	neutral
iii. Controller of object-based participant agreement	YES	YES	YES	neutral
iv. Controller of the marker <i>-pat</i> used as plural marker	YES	YES	YES	neutral
v. Target of reciprocal marker <i>-akat</i>	YES	YES	YES	neutral
vi. Target of reflexive marker <i>-anan</i> with a reflexive pronoun	YES	YES	YES	neutral
vii. Target of reflexive marker <i>-anan</i> without a reflexive pronoun	YES	YES	NO	indirective

The data presented in this section have shown that, as described in previous studies of other Pano languages, the neutral ditransitive alignment (P=T=R) is widely found in Kakataibo. However, we have seen that there is at least one case of indirective alignment in this language. I have followed a constructional approach here, which has enormously benefited from the lines established by Malchukov et al. (2010). This analysis does not make any strong claims about the global category of object and

treats each coding or behavioral property independently, describing the alignment found in it (see Zariquey 2012 for more detailed discussion of the implications of the Kakataibo case for the understanding of ditransitive constructions in Pano).

15.3.3 Quasi-objects and oblique objects

15.3.3.1 Quasi-objects

This section deals with the properties of a small set of non-subject arguments in Kakataibo, which are reminiscent of transitive objects due to their marking, but appear with unarguably intransitive predicates. These argument have been labelled quasi-objects in Zariquey (2017).

Intransitive verbs appear mostly in clauses that have just one core argument, the subject, which is cross-referenced on the verb and on the obligatory set of second-position enclitics, and takes S morphology (i.e. it carries the ‘S’-marker =x if it is a pronoun or a noun phrase presenting an anaphoric topic, and remains unmarked in any other circumstance; see §15.2). Nevertheless, it is also possible to find examples in which an intransitive verb appears in a clause that, in addition to a subject, features another unmarked constituent. The analysis of such unmarked constituents is difficult, since they look like transitive objects in the sense that they are unmarked and they may carry patient-like or theme-like semantics, as is also usually the case regarding transitive objects.

Although they do not appear in clearly transitive contexts, at first glance they appear more similar to objects than to adjuncts (which carry an oblique case marker), but upon closer study many differences are revealed. The constructions illustrated and discussed in the following sections are: intransitive performance predicates (see §15.3.3.1.1), reflexive and reciprocal ditransitive constructions (see §15.3.3.1.2), body-part prefixed intransitive verbs (see §15.3.3.1.3) and the different constructions in which the predicate *pishin* ‘lack of’ is used (see §15.3.3.1.4).

15.3.3.1.1 Intransitive performance predicates

Some intransitive performance predicates in Kakataibo may appear with an unmarked non-subject argument that resembles transitive objects (see §8.2). These arguments are often cognate objects (e.g., *sing a song*, *drink a drink*). However, these predicates can also appear with highly defined and referential non-subject arguments, which are reminiscent of prototypical objects. Let us look at the intransitive verb stem *kanta* ‘sing’ in the examples in (907) and (908). In (907), it appears in an intransitive construction with only one argument and in (907), we find the object-like phrase *ënë cumbia upí* ‘this beautiful cumbia’, which is definite and referential. This second use of the predicate *kanta* ‘sing’ is still intransitive in Kakataibo, as revealed by the form of the switch-reference construction headed by *pi* ‘eat’ and in the marker on the first

person subject, which encoded as an S argument (see again §8.2). Therefore, if the phrase *ënë cumbia upí* ‘this beautiful cumbia’ were an object, it would constitute a quasi-object.

- (907) *Piax kana 'ëx kantan.*

pi-ax ka=na 'ë=x kanta-a-n
eat-S/A>S NAR=1SG 1SG=S sing-PFV-1/2
 ‘Having eaten, I sang.’

- (908) *Piax kana 'ëx ënë cumbia upí kantan*

pi-ax ka=na 'ë=x ënë cumbia upí kanta-a-n
eat-S/A>S NAR=1SG 1SG=S this cumbia beautiful sing-PFV-1/2
 ‘Having eaten, I sang this beautiful cumbia.’

One important analytical point here is that the presence of the phrase *ënë cumbia upí* ‘this beautiful cumbia’ in (908) does not change the transitivity of the construction. This can be clearly seen if we compare (908) with (909), in which we find a causative marker that introduces an additional argument and requires a different form of the switch-reference marker on *pi* ‘eat’ and A-marking on the first person subject.

- (909) *Pixun kana 'ën María kantamian*

pi-xun ka=na 'ë=n María kanta-mi-a-n
eat-S/A>A NAR=1SG 1SG=A María:ABS sing-CAUS-PFV-1/2
 ‘Having eaten, I made Mary sing.’

Although phrases like *ënë cumbia upí* ‘this beautiful cumbia’ in (908) are morphologically and, to some extent, semantically equivalent to the P arguments of transitive constructions like the one in (909), their syntactic properties are different since neither object-based switch-reference markers nor participant agreement markers can be used in examples like (908) (and this is also true regarding the use of *-pat* as a plural marker; see Table 93). As an illustration of these restrictions, in (910), we find that the object switch-reference marker *-këtian* ‘SUBJ/OBJ>OBJ’ cannot be used for coreferentiality with the object-like argument of the intransitive predicate *kanta* ‘sing’. We need to use the marker *-an* ‘different subjects and objects’ for that purpose as in (911).

- (910) **Juan ënë cumbia upí kanta-këtian kana 'ën këñuan.*

Juan ënë cumbia upí kanta-këtian ka=na 'ë=n këñu-a-n
 Juan this cumbia beautiful sing-S/A/P>P NAR=1SG 1SG=A finish-PFV-1/2
 (‘when Juan sang this beautiful cumbia, I finished it’)

- (911) *Juan ënë cumbia upí kantan kana 'ën këñuan.*

Juan ënë cumbia upí kanta-an ka-na 'ë=n këñu-a-n
 Juan this cumbia beautiful sing-D.A/S/P NAR=1SG 1SG=A finish-PFV-1/2
 'When Juan sang this beautiful cumbia, I finished it.'

Unfortunately, there are no semantically plausible examples to test the behavior of this kind of unmarked intransitive argument in relation to the reflexive and the reciprocal constructions, which also constitute definitional properties of objects (see Table 93). Therefore, we cannot know if they can be reflexivized and/or reciprocated.

15.3.3.1.2 Reflexive and reciprocal ditransitive predicates

As mentioned in §15.3.2.5 and §15.3.2.6, when a ditransitive predicate is reciprocated or reflexivized, the result is a morphosyntactically intransitive predicate, but, in some cases, when the R is reflexivized or reciprocated, it is still possible to encode the T argument as an unmarked constituent. This constituent, again, is morphologically and semantically similar to a transitive object (it is an unmarked constituent with theme-like semantics). However, just like in the cases discussed in §15.3.3.1.1, we find a morphosyntactically intransitive environment with an intransitive subject and the intransitive versions of all the markers that are sensitive to transitivity. This is illustrated in the following examples: in (912) we find a reciprocal ditransitive, and in (913) we encounter a reflexive ditransitive. In both cases, the T argument is kept as an unmarked argument. The interesting fact about the unmarked arguments in bold in (912) and (913) is that they are syntactically equivalent to the non-subject unmarked arguments of performance predicates in §15.3.3.1.1; that is, as illustrated in (914) and (915), object switch-reference cannot be used in association with them. Therefore, the use of *-këx* 'P>S, previous event' produces an ungrammatical sentence since *bata* 'candy' is not an object for switch-reference, as shown in (914). Instead a 'different subjects/objects' marker must be used, as illustrated in (915). The same behavior would be found regarding participant agreement markers and the use of *-pat* as a plural marker.

- (912) *'Ex kana Maríabë bata 'inan-anan.*

'ë=x ka-na María=bë bata 'inan-anan-a-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG María-COM:S **candy** give-RECP-PFV-1/2
 'María and I gave candy to each other.'

- (913) *'Ebix kana bata 'inamëtin.*

'ëbi=x ka-na bata 'inan-mët-i-n
 1SG.EMP=S NAR=1SG **candy** give-REF-IPFV-1/2
 'I will give candy to myself.'

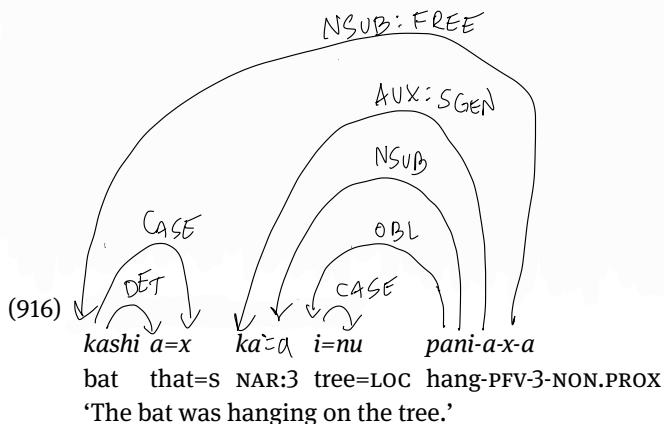
- (914) *'ëbix bata 'inamëkëx ka ramiasha.
 'ëbi=x bata 'inan-mët-këx ka rami-a-x-a
 1SG.ENF=S candy give-REF-P>S:PE NAR:3 get.rotten-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ('after I gave the candies to myself, they got rotten')

- (915) 'ëbi=x bata 'inamëan ka ramiasha.
 'ëbi=x bata 'inan-mët-an ka rami-a-x-a
 1SG.REF=S candy give-REF-D.S/A/P:PE NAR:3 get.rotten-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'After I gave the candies to myself, they got rotten.'

Again, as in the case of the non-subject unmarked arguments of performance predicates in telic constructions, it was not possible to find a semantically plausible context to test the behavior of the unmarked argument in (914) and (915) in reflexive and reciprocal constructions (since these examples have already been reciprocalized and reflexivized).

15.3.3.1.3 Prefixation of intransitive predicates

Kakataibo, and probably all other Pano languages



- (917) *Kashi ax ka i rapaniasha*
kashi a=x ka i ra-pani-a-x-a
 bat that=S NAR:3 tree trunk-hang-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'The bat was hanging on the trunk of the tree.'

Similarly to what we have seen in §15.3.3.1.1 and §15.3.3.1.2, the use of object switch-reference and object participant agreement markers in combination with the unmarked arguments triggered by prefixation makes the construction ungrammatical. This is illustrated in (918) and (919), which, as previously illustrated, shows that

the object switch-reference marker *-këx* ‘O>S, previous event’ cannot be used for coreferentiality with the unmarked argument triggered by prefixation. Instead, as in previous examples, we need a ‘different subjects/objects’ marker. A similar situation will be found regarding the object participant agreement marker and the use of the suffix *-pat* as a plural marker.

- (918) **David Roberto tēpanikëx ka pakëaxa.*

David Roberto tē-pani-këx ka pakë-a-x-a
 David Roberto neck-hang-OBJ>S NAR:3 fall.down-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 (‘When David was hanging on Roberto’s neck, Roberto fell down’)

- (919) *David Roberto tēpanian ka pakëaxa.*

David Roberto tē-pani-an ka pakë-a-x-a
 David Roberto neck-hang-D.A/S/P NAR:3 fall.down-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘When David was hanging on Roberto’s neck, someone else fell down.’

One interesting fact about the unmarked arguments introduced in intransitive contexts by prefixation is that it is possible to find semantically plausible contexts for them to be reflexivized and reciprocalized, as illustrated in the reciprocal construction in (920). This brings these arguments closer to transitive objects.

- (920) *David ka Robertobë tēpaniananxa.*

David ka Roberto=bë tē-pani-anan-a-x-a
 David NAR:3 **Roberto=COM** neck-hang-RECP-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘David and Roberto were hanging **on each other’s necks**.’

15.3.3.1.4 The predicate *pishin* ‘lack of’

Differently from the cases that we have seen in §15.3.3.1.1 – §15.3.3.1.3, in which some intransitive verbs can appear with an additional argument under some circumstances, the intransitive verb *pishin* ‘lack of’ is systematically used as a bivalent predicate (see §8.2.1.2.1). Semantically, this predicate refers to a situation with two arguments: one argument lacking something (the EXPERIENCER) and another being lacked (the THEME). These two semantic roles can be expressed in two distinct constructions, as shown in the examples in (921) and (922). In (921), we can conclude that the subject argument of the clause is the NP *arroz* ‘rice’, since the second-position enclitics and the cross-referencing on the verb show third person subject forms. Thus, we have an absolute subject plus an unmarked argument (the first person pronoun ‘ë ‘1sg’). The construction in (922) shows a reversal of roles: this time, the grammatical subject of the clause is the first person pronoun, according to the cross-reference marking on the second-position enclitics and the verb. This is confirmed by the fact that it appears with the S-marker =x. Note that, again, we find an unmarked argument, *arroz* ‘rice’.

In both examples, however, the clauses are intransitive, as revealed by the form of the subjects (absolutive in the case of the noun ‘rice’ and S-marked in the case of the pronoun ‘I’).

- (921) ‘*Ē ka arroz pishinia.*
 ‘*ē* *ka* *arroz* *pishin-i-a*
 1SG:P NAR:3 **rice:ABS** lack-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘I lack rice (lit. to me, rice is lacking).’
- (922) ‘*Ēx kana arroz pishinin.*
 ‘*ē=x* *ka=na* *arroz* *pishin-i-n*
 1SG=S NAR=1SG **rice:ABS** lack-IPFV-1/2
 ‘I lack rice.’

Similarly to what we have seen in §15.3.3.1.1 – §15.3.3.1.3, the use of object switch-reference and object participant agreement markers with the non-subject unmarked argument of *pishin* ‘lack’ is unacceptable. This is illustrated in the examples in (923) and (924), which show that it is not possible to use an object-based switch-reference marker for coreferentiality with the unmarked non-subject argument of *pishin* ‘lack’. A similar situation will be found regarding the object participant agreement marker and the use of the suffix *-pat* as a plural marker.

- (923) **arroz kupíra ‘ia kana ‘ēx pishinin*
 arroz kupíra ‘*i-ia* *ka=na* ‘*ē-x* *pishin-i-n*
 rice very.expensive be.SUBJ/OBJ>OBJ NAR.1 1SG.S lack-IPFV-NON.PROX
 (‘when rice is very expensive, I lack it.’)
- (924) *Arroz kupíra ‘ain kana ‘ēx pishinin.*
 arroz kupíra ‘*ain* *ka=na* ‘*ē-x* *pishin-i-n*
 rice very.expensive be.D.A/S/P NAR.1 1SG.S lack-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘When rice is very expensive, I lack it.’

It was not possible to find an example of a reflexivized version of this construction. However, speakers accepted an example of a reciprocal version of the predicate *pishin* ‘lack’, with an animate lacked theme, as illustrated in (925). This brings these arguments closer to transitive objects.

- (925) *Nux kananuna pishiananin.*
 nu=x *ka=nanuna* *pishin-anan-i-n*
 we=S NAR=1PL lack-RECP-IPFV-1/2
 ‘We miss each other (lit. we lack each other).’

15.3.3.2 Oblique objects

A small set of emotion predicates exhibits a particular grammatical behavior that allows them to be used as extended intransitive predicates, taking a second argument marked by the case enclitic *=mi* ‘indirect locative’ (see §8.2.1.2.2 for a complete list). When used as bivalent intransitives, they encode an EXPERIENCER (a person undergoing the emotion) and a STIMULUS (something or someone producing the emotion). In this sense, they are semantically similar, for instance, to the transitive verb *kwëen* ‘love, like’, which is a grammatically transitive predicate with exactly the same type of semantic configuration. However, the predicates to be illustrated in this section are clearly intransitive. In (926), we find the verb *nish* ‘get angry at, hate, envy’ appearing with the pronoun *a* ‘3sg’ as its complement. This pronoun is modified by the indirect locative marker *=mi*.

- (926) Ami nishkin kaisa achushi unin[...] maxaxnu ain bëru nankë[...] kaisa kwaxun maxax achushinën chakakëshín.

a=mi *nish-kin* *ka=is=a* *achushi uni=n*
3SG=IMPR.LOC **envy-S/A>A:SE** **NAR=REP=3** one person=ERG
maxax=nu ain *bëru nan-kë[...]* *ka=is=a*
stone=LOC 3SG:GEN eye:ABS put-NOMLZ NAR=REP=3
kwan-xun maxax achushi=n chaka-akë-x-ín
go-S/A>A:SE stone one=INS beat-REM.PST-3-PROX
‘However, it is said that, envying him (lit.feeling envy toward him), one man,
going to the place the man had put his eye on a stone, beat the eye with
(another) stone.’ (MO-fisher-2007.022)

The use of object switch-reference and participant agreement markers in association with the second argument marked with *=mi* of these emotion-predicates is ungrammatical. Therefore, these arguments are different from transitive objects not only due to their different marking, but also in relation to their behavioral properties. However, the second argument marked with *=mi* of these emotion-predicates can be reciprocated and reflexivized. In the text example in (927), the reciprocal version of the verb *nish* ‘to hate’ is presented. Note that the non-subject argument of the emotion predicate, *nu* ‘1pl’, appears with the comitative marker *=bë*, as it is the case for prototypical transitive objects in reciprocal constructions.

- (927) *Anun bërí ka no 'ikë nubë nishanania nokamax.*

anun bërí ka no 'i-kë nu=bë
thus today NAR:3 foreinger BE-NOMLZ **1PL=COM:S**
nish-anan-i-a no=kama=x
hate-**RECP-IPFV-NON.PROX** foreinger=PL=S
‘Thus, today (there are) foreigners who hate each other with us.’
(NA-incas-2007.011)

15.3.3.3 Summary

The data presented throughout this section have illustrated the morphological and behavioral properties of different types of non-subject arguments found in certain intransitive contexts. Most of the non-subject arguments illustrated in this paper are unmarked arguments, and this makes them saliently different from adjuncts in morphological terms. The unmarked non-subject arguments discussed in this paper include the object-like arguments found in some uses of intransitive performance predicates, the overtly expressed T arguments found in some uses of R-reflexivized and R-reciprocalized ditransitives, the object-like arguments of some prefixed intransitives and the object-like argument of the predicate *pishin* ‘lack’. The only case of a case marked object discussed here is found in the complement of some intransitive emotion predicates, which carries the indirect locative marker *=mi*.

The interesting pattern elucidated in this section is that all the predicates discussed here are intransitive in terms of the transitivity-sensitive morphology of the language and, most importantly, most object-controlled operations in the language do not treat their object-like arguments as true objects. However, we find a different situation regarding reciprocals and reflexives, which make a clear distinction between objects and adjuncts, but, semantics permitting, can target the object-like arguments of the intransitive predicates discussed in this paper (including those marked by *=mi* ‘indirect locative').

Table 95 summarizes all the findings presented so far. At the leftmost and rightmost edges of Table 95 we find two well-defined categories which behave differently: each of the properties listed in Table 95 makes a clear distinction between transitive objects and adjuncts. This is true in morphological and behavioral terms as is clearly shown in Table 95. However, between objects of transitive predicates and adjuncts, we find a “gray area” composed by the non-subject arguments discussed in this section, which makes the distinction between objects and adjuncts less clear-cut. The different types of non-subject arguments illustrated in this section are similar either to objects or to adjuncts, depending on the property we examine. Case marking, for instance, makes a clear distinction between objects and quasi-objects, on the one hand, and oblique objects and adjuncts, on the other. In turn, object-based switch-reference and participant agreement markers, as well as the use of *-pat* as a plural marker, distinguish between objects of transitive predicates and everything else, selecting only the former as true objects. Finally, the opposite seems to be happening with reflexives and reciprocals, which, if we exclude the cases in which they are not applicable for semantic reasons, make a clear distinction between adjuncts and everything else. These findings are consistent with the constructional approach to grammatical relations presented in this chapter (Comrie 1978, 1979b; Moravcsik 1978; Fillmore 1988, 1989; Bickel 2011) and with the postulates of construction grammar (as developed by Goldberg 1995, 2006, and Croft 2001, among many others). In summary, the point is that our definition of the grammatical relation of object in Kakataibo will vary according to the property we examine: while morphology treats objects of trans-

sitive predicates and quasi-objects in the same way (both are equally unmarked). Reciprocals and reflexives unite objects of transitive predicates, quasi-objects and oblique objects. In turn, switch-reference, participant agreement and the use of *-pat* as a plural marker make a distinction between objects of transitive predicates and everything else (in Zariquey 2017, I explore some possible motivations for the situation just described).

Table 95. Objects, quasi-objects and oblique objects

Property	Objects	Quasi-objects				Oblique objects	Adjuncts
		Performance predicates	Reflexivized/reciprocalized ditransitives	Prefixed intransitive	<i>Pishin</i> 'to lack'		
i. Unmarked case in transitive context	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
ii. Controller of object-based switch-reference markers	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
iii. Controller of object-based participant agreement	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
iv. Controller of the marker <i>-pat</i> used as plural marker	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
v. Target of reciprocal marker <i>-akat</i>	YES	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	YES	NO
vi. Target of reflexive marker <i>-anan</i>	YES	N/A	N/A	YES	N/A	YES	NO

15.4 Transitivity and valence-changing devices

Valence-changing morphemes were presented in §9.1.1, where their position and morphological nature were commented on and exemplified. In this section, I pay closer attention to the syntactic processes associated with the use of these forms and to the different semantic contents that these forms express in the clause. In the following subsections, I discuss applicatives (§15.4.1), causatives (§15.4.2) and reflexives and

reciprocals (§15.4.3), highlighting some of their more salient syntactic features and semantic distinctions.

15.4.1 Applicatives

Applicative constructions have overt verbal morphology which allows the promotion of a peripheral argument to the status of a core object of the predicate (see Peterson 2007). Important cross-linguistic variation is found as to which and how many adjuncts can be promoted to applicative objects in a specific language. Dedicated studies of applicative constructions in Pano languages have been published for Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2010a) and Kakataibo (Zariquiey 2014b). As the applicative markers in Kakataibo are cognate with Shipibo-Konibo applicatives, throughout this section I will make some comparisons with the findings in Valenzuela's study to give the reader a wider perspective.

In Kakataibo, there are two morphological elements that completely satisfy the definition given above and which therefore may be unconditionally called applicatives: *-kin* 'associative' and *-xun* 'benefactive' (presented in §9.1.1.2 and §9.1.1.3). In addition, there is one form, *-anan* 'malefactive', which, due to its special properties, has not been previously discussed and which seems to be the semantic counterpart of the 'benefactive' *-xun*, but it does not increase the valence of the verb. Therefore, it is not a prototypical applicative marker.⁸¹ The three suffixes to be presented in this section surface with a long vowel when they appear in an odd position within a verbal form with four or more syllables. In addition to vowel lengthening, the malefactive *-anan* drops its first vowel in odd positions and surfaces as *-naan*.

15.4.1.1 *-xun* 'benefactive applicative'

The suffix *-xun* (~ *-xuun*) indicates that the event is conducted to the benefit of the applicative object; the same form in Shipibo-Konibo is used for both benefactive and malefactive meanings according to the context, and the semantics and transitivity class of the verb. In Kakataibo, *-xun* loses its benefactive meaning only if it is combined with the malefactive *-anan* (*-anan-xun*; see §15.4.1.4). In any other context it is a benefactive marker. In terms of its syntax, *-xun* increases the valence of the verb by introducing an object (to an intransitive verb) and a second object (to a transitive verb); but, as is true for any other object in the language, this benefactive object does not need to be overtly expressed. This can be seen in (928).

⁸¹ Note that the cognate form in Shipibo-Konibo, *-(V)naan* ~ *(V)n*, does increase the valency of the verb and is therefore a prototypical applicative marker in this respect (see Valenzuela 2010b).

- (928) 'En kana María bëtsukukaxunti 'ain.

'ë=n ka=na María bëtsukuka-xun-ti 'ain
 1SG=A NAR=1SG María:ABS kiss-BEN-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I will kiss somebody else for María's benefit.'
 'I will kiss María for somebody else's benefit.'

There is not a benefactive case marker in Kakataibo and, like in Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2010), the verbal suffix presented here is the most common way to express benefaction in Kakataibo. However, in certain contexts, it is possible to use =nan 'proprietary' and =kupí 'cause' to indicate similar meanings. In the examples in (929) and (930), I present two sentences that were given to me as synonymous. The first one includes the 'proprietary' marker -nan and literally means 'I will bring the candies, María's ones' (note that Costa and Dorigo 2005 analized the cognate marker -na as a benefactive case marker for Matses and Marubo).

- (929) 'En kana bata Maríanan biti 'ain.

'ë=n ka=na bata María=nan bits-ti 'ain
 1sg=A NAR=1SG candy:ABS María=PROP pick.up-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I will pick up candy for María (lit. 'I will bring the candies, María's ones').'

- (930) 'En kana bata María bixunti 'ain.

'ë=n ka=na bata María bits-xun-ti 'ain
 1SG=A NAR=1SG candy:ABS María:ABS pick.up-BEN-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I will pick up candy for María.'

In the examples in (931) and (932), we find again two sentences that were given to me as synonymous. In this case, we do not find the proprietary marker =nan; but the enclitic =kupí 'cause' (in fact, the form =nan is unacceptable. In this context, and the distribution of these two markers in these constructions still requires more research). A literal translation of the first example below is 'I will look after the baby because of María'.

- (931) 'En kana Maríakupí tuá bëruanti 'ain.

'ë=n ka=na María=kupí*(=nan) tuá bëruan-ti 'ain
 1SG=A NAR=1SG María=REAS boy:ABS look.after-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I will look after the baby for María.' (lit. 'I will look after the baby because of María').

- (932) 'En kana María tuá bëruanxunti 'ain.

'ë=n ka=na María tuá bëruan-xun-ti 'ain
 1SG=A NAR=1SG María:ABS boy:ABS look.after-BEN-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I will look after the baby for María.'

The suffix *-xun* ‘benefactive’ can be used with any type of verb, including intransitive, transitive and even ditransitive forms, as exemplified in the examples in (933)–(935).

- (933) ‘*Ēn kana María ransaxunti ‘ain.*
 ‘*ë=n ka=na María ransa-xun-ti ‘ain*
 1SG=A NAR=1SG María:ABS dance-BEN-NOMLZ be:1/2
 ‘I will dance for María.’
- (934) ‘*Ēn kana bata María bixunti ‘ain.*
 ‘*ë=n ka=na bata María bits-xun-ti ‘ain*
 1SG=A NAR=1SG candy:ABS María:ABS pick.up-BEN-NOMLZ be:1/2
 ‘I will pick up candy for María’
- (935) ‘*Ēn kana bata María Juan ‘inanxunti ‘ain.*
 ‘*ë=n ka=na bata María Juan ‘inan-xun-ti ‘ain*
 1SG=A NAR=1SG candy:ABS María:ABS Juan:ABS give-BEN-NOMLZ be:1/2
 ‘I will give candy to María for Juan’s benefit.’
 ‘I will give candy to Juan for María’s benefit.’

All these examples come from elicitation sessions. In natural discourse there is a strong tendency for *-xun* to appear only with transitive verbs (the same has been documented for Shipibo-Konibo by Valenzuela 2010b). Even though (933) and (935) are grammatical clauses, comparable examples are not attested in my text database. As Valenzuela (2010b) argues, the correlation between the use of *-xun* and transitive verbs supports Shibatani’s (1996) proposal that the benefactive applicative construction in many languages is based on what Shibatani calls a *give-schema* that requires three participants.

15.4.1.2 *-kin* ‘associative applicative’

The associative applicative *-kin* (~ *-kiin*) is also a valence-increasing device; that is, it adds a new argument (i.e. an applicative object) to an intransitive, transitive or ditransitive predicate, as shown by the elicited examples in (936)–(938).

- (936) ‘*Ēn kana María ranskinti ‘ain.*
 ‘*ë=n ka=na María ransa-kin-ti ‘ain*
 1SG=A NAR=1SG María:ABS dance-ASSO-NOMLZ be:1/2
 ‘I will dance with María.’
- (937) ‘*Ēn kana bata María bikinti ‘ain.*
 ‘*ë=n ka=na bata María bits-kin-ti ‘ain*
 1SG=A NAR=1SG candy:ABS María:ABS pick.up-ASSO-NOMLZ be:1/2
 ‘I will pick up candy with María.’

- (938) 'En kana bata María Juan 'inankinti 'ain.

'ë=n ka=na bata María Juan 'inan-**kin**-ti 'ain
 1SG=A NAR=1SG candy:ABS María:ABS Juan:ABS give-ASSO-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I will give candy to María with Juan.'
 'I will give candy to Juan with María.'

In the case of *-kin*, the introduced applicative object refers to a participant with whose association the event is carried out. The semantics of the associative applicative is similar to the semantics of the markers *=bë* ‘comitative (S)’ and *=bëtan* ‘comitative (A)’, but they are not completely equivalent. In fact, one of the most interesting semantic observations in relation to the ‘associative applicative’ *-kin* and the markers *=bë* ‘comitative (S)’ and *=bëtan* ‘comitative (A)’ is that they seem to express different types of associations. The associative applicative *-kin* is used to express that one of the participants is the main participant: either the subject (and the participant expressed in the applicative object is only “helping” or is assuming a secondary role, as in example (941)); or the applicative object (and the subject only has a secondary role, as in example (939)). Conversely, the markers *=bë* ‘comitative (S)’ and *=bëtan* ‘comitative (A)’ prototypically express that the event is carried out by both the subject of the predicate and the comitative object to more or less the same degree. This can be seen if we compare (939) with (940), and (941) with (942). Notice that this semantic difference is more transparent in the latter case.

- (939) Ñuixuanan kana atun ñu mëëtiribi 'akinin.

ñui-xun-anan ka=na atu=n ñu mëë-ti=ribi
 tell-BEN-D.OBJ:SE NAR=1SG 3PL=GEN thing work-NOMLZ=also
 'a-**kin**-i-n
 do-ASSO-IPFV-1/2
 'While telling (God's words), I will help them in their work as well.'
 (AE-my.plans-2006.010)

- (940) 'En kana María**bëtan** ain naë 'ati 'ain.

'ë=n ka=na María=**bëtan** ain naë 'a-ti 'ain
 1SG=A NAR=1SG María=COM:A 3SG:GEN garden:ABS do-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I will make María's garden with her (we will do it together, working equally).'

- (941) *Usa 'ain kana 'ën ñu mëëti 'ananbi kana nukëñ papa Diosan bana 'ën aintsi-kama 'akinti 'ain.*
- usa 'ain ka=na 'ë=n ñu mëëti 'a-anan=bi ka=na
 like.that be:D.S/A/P NAR=1SG 1SG=GEN work do-D.OBJ:SE=same NAR=1SG
 nu papa Dios=n bana 'ë=n aintsi=kama 'a-**kin**-ti 'ain
 our father God=GEN word 1SG=GEN relative=PL do-**ASSO**-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'Being like that, doing my work at the same time, I will preach God's word to my relatives (lit. I will do God's word with my relatives).'
 (AE-my.plans-2006.023)

- (942) *'Ën kana Maríabëtan Diosan bana 'ati 'ain.*
- 'ë=n ka=na María=**bëtan** Dios-an bana 'a-ti 'ain
 1SG=A NAR=1SG María=**COM:A** God=GEN word:ABS do-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I will preach God's word with María (we both are pastors).'

Thus, it seems to be the case that *-kin* ‘associative applicative’ and *=bëtan* ‘comitative’ are not completely equivalent in terms of their semantics. The latter always presents the event as being developed equally by the two participants (the subject and the comitative adjunct); while the former always implies that one of the participants (either the subject or the applicative object) is responsible for the event and has a more prominent role (a similar asymmetry has been documented for Shipibo-Konibo, by Valenzuela 2010b). The subject can be interpreted as a helper (and therefore the event is assumed to be the responsibility of the applicative object) or the subject can be interpreted as triggering the event. In this latter case, the semantics of the construction is equivalent to what Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002) call “associative causation”.

15.4.1.3 *-anan* ‘malefactive’

Differently from the other two suffixes discussed in this section, the form *-anan* (~*-naan*) ‘malefactive’ appeared only twice in my whole text database. However, I have heard this form in conversations and I have been able to elicit several sentences in order to better understand its syntactic and semantic nature. Note that, despite their identical phonological form, *-anan* ‘malefactive’ and *-anan* ‘reciprocal’ (see §15.4.3.2) are not to be synchronically analyzed as the same suffix. They do not only have different semantics, but also different morphophonemics: only *-anan* ‘malefactive’ shows the alternative form *-naan*.

Semantically, the suffix described here is clearly a ‘malefactive’ and indicates that the event is carried out to the detriment of one participant. However, the argument that refers to this participant is not introduced as an applicative object and this unusual syntactic behavior makes this suffix different from *-xun* ‘benefactive applicative’ and *-kin* ‘associative applicative’. In other words, *-anan* ‘malefactive’ does not increase the valence of the verb and, in this sense, it is not a prototypical applicative

marker. The participant to whose detriment the event is carried out is already the object of the predicate (as in (943)) or its possessor (as in (944)), as shown in the following examples. Note that a reading in which the malefaction is associated with the subject was systematically rejected by my Kakataibo teachers, but the possibility of attributing the malefactive meaning to other types of participants, such as comitative adjuncts, needs to be carefully studied.

- (943) *Juanën ka María nipanaanxa.*

*Juan=n ka María nipa~~t~~-**an**a-n-a-x-a
 Juan=ERG NAR:3 María:ABS throw.down-**MAL**-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'Juan threw María down to her detriment.'*

- (944) *Juanën ka Maríanën tuá unënaanxa*

*Juan=n ka María=n tuá unën-**an**a-n-a-x-a
 Juan=ERG NAR:3 María=GEN son:ABS hide-**MAL**-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 'Juan hid María's son to her detriment.'*

Due to its particular morphosyntactic properties, the form *-anan* ‘malefactive’ can only appear on transitive predicates (see also Valenzuela 2010b for a similar situation in Shipibo-Konibo). If we would like to combine *-anan* ‘malefactive’ with an intransitive verb, this form needs to be obligatorily followed by the ‘benefactive’ marker *-xun* (see §15.4.1.4).

One text example of *-anan* ‘malefactive’ is presented in (945). Note that the suffix surfaces with the allomorph *-anan* even though it has been attached to the verb stem *nipakët-mi* ‘fall down-CAUS’, which has four syllables. The explanation for this is diachronic: it seems that *pakët* was an independent verb in a previous stage of the language and it is still treated like this by the morphophonemic rule associated with the suffix presented here.

- (945) *Uisa otisu nipakémiananin usaoxunma ka 'a'.*

*uisa otisu nipakët-mi-**an**a-n-i-n
 why(old) fall.down-CAUS-MALEF-IPFV-1/2
 usa-o-xun=ma ka 'a'
 like.that-FACT-S/A>A:SE=NEG NAR do:IMP
 'Why are you making me fall down? Don't do that!' (EE-king.vulture-2007.020)*

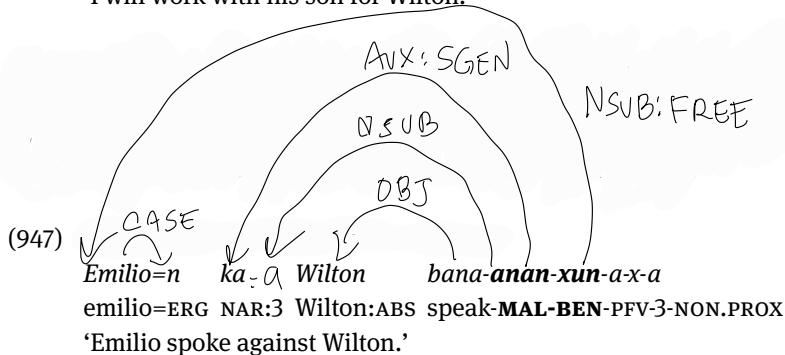
15.4.1.4 More than one applicative on the same verb

As in Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2010a), Kakataibo can exhibit more than one applicative marker on the same verbal form. In this case, there are some combinatory restrictions, which are detailed in this section. The maximum number of applicatives per verb stem is two, and the ‘malefactive’ *-anan* cannot be combined with the asso-

ciative *-kin*. In addition, when any of those two applicatives is combined with the ‘benefactive’ *-xun*, the available data suggest that there is a fixed order: *-xun* ‘benefactive applicative’ always appears after the other applicative. One example of the combination *-kin* ‘associative’ and *-xun* ‘benefactive’ is presented in (946). Note that the meaning of the predicate is transparent from the combination of the verb base and the two applicatives: ‘working with X for Y’s benefit’.

- (946) ‘*Ēn kana Wilton ain bëchikë tēkinxunti ‘ain.*

‘*ë=n ka=na Wilton ain bëchikë tē-**kin-xun-ti** ‘ain*
 1SG=A NAR=1SG Wilton:ABS 3SG:GEN son:ABS work-ASSOC-BEN-NOMLZ be:1/2
 ‘I will work with his son for Wilton.’



15.4.2 Causatives

The suffix *-mi* is the general causative marker in Kakataibo (see also §9.1.1.1). This form can be attached to intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs without any syntactic restriction, as shown in the following examples (but note that examples with a ditransitive verb, as in (950), were only found in elicitation):

- (948) ‘*Ēn kana María ransamiti ‘ain.*

‘*ë=n ka=na María ransa-**mi-ti** ‘ain*
 1SG=A NAR=1SG María:ABS dance-CAUS-NOMLZ be:1/2
 ‘I will make María dance.’

- (949) ‘*Ēn kana bata María bimiti ‘ain.*

‘*ë=n ka=na bata María bits-**mi-ti** ‘ain*
 1SG=A NAR=1SG candy:ABS María:ABS pick.up-CAUS-NOMLZ be:1/2
 ‘I will make María pick up (i.e. buy) candy.’

- (950) 'En kana bata María Juan 'inanmiti 'ain.

'ë=n ka=na bata María Juan 'inan-mi-ti 'ain
 1SG=A NAR=1SG candy:ABS María:ABS Juan:ABS give-CAUS-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I will make Juan give candy to María.'
 'I will make María give candy to Juan.'

The suffix *-mi* is the general causative marker, and for most verbs (for example, for all the transitive verbs) it is the only available causative form. As expected, for these verbs *-mi* "has a wide semantic range" (Dixon 2000: 61). For example, the causee can either have or not have control over the event; be more or less volitional; or be more or less affected. In addition, the causer can act either directly or indirectly over the causee; show more or less intention; or be more or less involved (see Dixon 2000: 61–74 for a discussion of the main semantic parameters with regard to causatives; see Fleck 2002 and Valenzuela 2002a and 2003b: Chapter 16, for detailed descriptions of the semantics and morphosyntax of causation in Matses and Shipibo-Konibo, respectively).

As a brief exemplification, let us look at the examples in (951) and in (952). There, we find a difference with respect to the causee and the causer. In (951), *pi-mi* 'eat-causative' has the NP 'en 'aintsi 'my relative' as its object, and the idea is that the speaker will invite or give food to her relatives, who will, of course, feed themselves (the associative applicative *-kin* can also be used under those circumstances). However, in (952), the object of *pi-mi* 'eat-causative' is 'en tua 'my child', and the idea is that the speaker will feed her little baby, who may not be able to eat by himself yet (the associative applicative cannot be used in this case).

- (951) 'En kana 'en 'aintsi pimiti 'ain.

'ë=n ka=na 'ë=n 'aintsi pi-mi-ti 'ain
 1SG=A NAR=1SG 1SG=GEN relative:ABS eat-CAUS-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I will feed my relative (I will provide food to them).'

- (952) 'En kana 'en tua pimiti 'ain.

'ë=n ka=na 'ë=n tua pi-mi-ti 'ain
 1SG=A NAR=1SG 1SG=GEN child:ABS eat-CAUS-NOMLZ be:1/2
 'I will feed my baby (I will put the food into his mouth).'

The causation in (951) is less direct than the causation in (952), but both situations are equally expressed with *-mi*. In addition, if it were the case that the causer produces the event accidentally, without volition, we would still find *-mi*, as shown with the intransitive verb *nipakët* 'fall down' in (953).

- (953) ‘En kana ‘en tua nipakëmian.
 ‘ë=n ka=na ‘ë=n tua **nipakët-mi-a-n**
 1SG=A NAR=1SG 1SG=GEN child:ABS fall.down-**CAUS-PFV-1/2**
 ‘I made my baby fall down, by accident.’

Looking at the above examples, it is clear that *-mi* ‘causative’ has a wide semantic range, and can be used to express different types of causation. This is true for all cases that do not allow for another competing causative-like form (i.e. for all transitive verbs and for a good number of intransitive ones).

However, if there exist at least two competing causative-like forms for the same predicate, we find that the different semantic types of causation are systematically distributed across these different causative constructions. This is the case for some intransitive verbs (including intransitive predicates formed from adjectives and, in some cases, also from nouns) and for verbs belonging to the *-t* ‘intransitive’/-*n* ‘transitive’ (see §8.2.3) and *-ki* ‘intransitive’/-*ka* ‘transitive’ pairs (§8.2.4). For these verbs, the causative variant with *-mi* always expresses indirect causation, with a less involved causer and with a causee having more control over the caused event (the same has been described for Shipibo-Konibo by Valenzuela 2002b).

Thus, compare the example in (953) with the following one in (954). In both examples we have the root *ni* ‘throw’. In (953), this form was modified by the directional *-pakët* ‘down, transitive > intransitive’. Then, the resulting intransitive stem *nipakët-* was modified by the causative morpheme *-mi*, to form the transitive stem *ni-pakët-mi* ‘make (somebody) fall down’ and the resulting causer was interpreted as lacking control over the caused event.

In the following example, however, the transitive root *ni* ‘throw’ is modified by the directional *-pat* ‘down, transitive’ and the resulting stem, *nipat-* ‘throw down’, is also transitive (just like *ni-pakët-mi* ‘make (somebody) fall down’ in (953)). The difference, however, is that in the case of *nipat-* ‘throw down’ (i.e. the causative-like form without *-mi*), the agent is interpreted as volitional, involved and directly responsible for the event.

- (954) ‘En kana ‘en tua nipañ.
 ‘ë=n ka=na ‘ë=n tua **nipat-a-n**
 1SG=A NAR=1SG 1SG=GEN child:ABS **throw.down-PFV-1/2**
 ‘I threw my baby down (on purpose).’

In the following subsections, I will briefly explore some cases like the ones found in (953) and (954), where there is more than one strategy available to produce a transitive (causative-like) stem. All the cases to be discussed here point to the same generalization: even though the more lexicalized forms may differ formally from each other, there is a general distinction in Kakataibo between more lexical/lexicalized (less productive) causatives vs. the more productive morphological causative *-mi*. We will see

that, systematically, the morphological causative *-mi* receives an indirect causation reading, when contrasting with any other kind of causative construction.

15.4.2.1 Suppletive lexical causatives

There are a few cases of verbs for which there are suppletive intransitive and transitive verb pairs. This is true, for example, for the verb pairs *bama* ‘die’ and *rëtë* ‘kill’, *kwan* ‘go’ and *buan* ‘take’, *u* ‘come’ and *bë* ‘bring’, and *kwain* ‘move itself’ and *buin* ‘transport’.⁸²

Assuming a causative interpretation for the transitive versions of pairs like the ones presented above, we can compare their meanings to the interpretations of the combination of the corresponding intransitive forms with the causative marker *-mi*. In all cases, an indirect causation reading is preferred for the forms including the intransitive stem plus causative *-mi*. These forms are used when the speaker wants to make it clear that the causer is less involved and that the causee has more control over the event (and is therefore expected to be animate; see more on the distinction between direct and indirect causation in §15.4.2.6). This is presented in Table 96.

Table 96. Transitive stems versus intransitive stems with the causative

Intransitive form	Transitive form	
	Transitive root	Intransitive root plus causative
<i>bama</i> ‘die’	<i>rë</i> ‘kill’	<i>bama-mi</i> ‘let somebody die’
<i>kwan</i> ‘go’	<i>buan</i> ‘take’	<i>kwan-mi</i> ‘let somebody go’
<i>u</i> ‘come’	<i>bë</i> ‘bring’	<i>u-mi</i> ‘let somebody come’
<i>kwain</i> ‘move over’	<i>buin</i> ‘move’	<i>kwain-mi</i> ‘let somebody move over’

As highlighted by Shibatani (1973), there is a strong tendency for lexical causatives to express direct causation and for (productive) morphological causatives to express indirect causation in those cases where both forms are available, as is the case in Kakataibo. In what follows, I present cases in which the two causative strategies are morphological. We will see that, as previously claimed, it is always systematically the case that the suffixation with the causative *-mi* produces an indirect interpretation. It will be argued that this can be explained by means of establishing different degrees of lexicalization: all the morphemes that compete with the causative *-mi* exhibit a highly restricted dis-

⁸² Note that cognate forms in Shipibo-Konibo make a distinction between plural and singular subjects in the intransitive version of the predicate. For instance, as described by Valenzuela (2003b: 595–560), in this language, *bë*- means ‘come (non-singular), bring’ and is opposed to *ju* ‘come (singular)’; and *bu-* means ‘go (non-singular), take’ and is opposed to *ka-* ‘go (singular)’. This is not found in Kakataibo, where the verbs roots appear as intransitive vs. transitive pairs.

tribution and are much less productive than the causative *-mi*. Based on this, they can be argued to be more lexicalized than the fully productive causative marker *-mi*.

15.4.2.2 *-mi* ‘causative’ in verb pairs with *-t* and *-n*

A group of verb pairs is distinguished on the basis of *-n* ‘transitive’ and *-t* ‘intransitive’ (see §8.2.3). It is possible to add the causative marker *-mi* to the intransitive form, which carries *-t* ‘intransitive’, in order to obtain another transitive stem. The difference between the transitive version with *-n*, on the one hand, and the transitive version with *-t* ‘intransitive’ plus the causative morpheme *-mi*, on the other, is that the latter form receives an indirect causation-reading. This is exemplified in Table 97.

Table 97. *-mi* ‘causative’ vs. *-n* ‘transitive’

Intransitive form with <i>-t</i>	Transitive form	
	Transitive with <i>-n</i>	Intransitive stem plus causative <i>-mi</i>
<i>tsó-t</i> ‘sit down, live’	<i>tsó-n</i> ‘seat’	<i>tsó-t-mi</i> ‘invite somebody to sit down’
<i>érē-t</i> ‘burn’	<i>érē-n</i> ‘light’	<i>érē-t-mi</i> ‘let something get burned’
<i>niri-t</i> ‘crawl’	<i>niri-n</i> ‘drag’	<i>niri-t-mi</i> ‘let a baby crawl’

15.4.2.3 *-n* as a ‘direct causative in other cases’

In addition, it is also important to note that there are a few intransitive verbs that do not carry a root-final *-t*, but which nevertheless can use both *-n* and *-mi* in order to obtain transitive stems with causative meanings. In these cases, both forms can be seen as morphological causatives. However, even though it is clearly segmentable in the examples below, *-n* is not as productive as the causative *-mi*. In fact, *-n* is restricted to a few intransitive verbs and is highly idiosyncratic in its distribution (in the sense that the verbs that can carry it do not seem to represent a well-defined class). In this sense, even in the cases presented here, *-mi* remains the more productive and the more general morphological causative attested in the language. Consequently, again, the form *-n* is used for direct causation, while *-mi* is used for indirect causation. See Table 98.

Table 98. *-n* and *-mi* on intransitive verb roots

Intransitive form	Transitive form with <i>-n</i>	Transitive form with <i>-mi</i>
<i>bëna</i> ‘lie down’	<i>bëna-n</i> ‘extinguish’	<i>bëna-mi</i> ‘let the fire die down’
<i>bësu</i> ‘wake up’	<i>bësu-n</i> ‘wake somebody’	<i>bësu-mi</i> ‘wake somebody accidentally’
<i>buku</i> ‘be, live together’	<i>buku-n</i> ‘put things together’	<i>buku-mi</i> ‘ask people to get together’

15.4.2.4 *-ki*-verbs versus *-ka*-verbs

As mentioned in §8.2.4, there is a set of verbs that, similarly to the ones presented in §15.4.2.2, form pairs based on transitivity, but in this case they carry *-ki* ‘intransitive’ and *-ka* ‘transitive’. For these verbs it is also possible to obtain another transitive stem by adding the causative morpheme *-mi* to the intransitive stem with *-ki*. These forms are again interpreted as triggering less involved causers, as can be seen in Table 99.

Table 99. *-ka* ‘transitive’ versus *-ki* intransitive plus *-mi* ‘causative’

Intransitive form with <i>-ki</i>	Transitive form	
	Transitive with <i>-ka</i>	Intransitive stem plus causative <i>-mi</i>
<i>bërë-ki-</i> ‘be rubbed with pitch’	<i>bërë-ka-</i> ‘rub with pitch’	<i>bërë-ki-mi-</i> ‘let something be rubbed with pitch’
<i>buá-ki-</i> ‘become full’	<i>buá-ka-</i> ‘fill’	<i>buá-ki-mi-</i> ‘wait until something becomes full’
<i>ës-ki-</i> ‘get dry’	<i>ës-ka-</i> ‘dry’	<i>ës-ki-mi-</i> ‘wait until something gets dry’

15.4.2.5 Adjectival and nominal predicates

Adjectives and nouns can function as intransitive predicates with an inchoative meaning (translatable as ‘become X’, where X is the nominal or adjectival concept), without any overt derivation. When used as predicates, they show almost the same combinatory possibilities as attested in words that are primarily verbs. But they show one difference that is relevant to the discussion here: they can carry the ‘factitive’ suffix *-o ~ -a*, which receives a causative interpretation and which is not available for forms that are primarily verbs. In some cases, the causative *-mi* is also available for adjectives and nouns (but less often for nouns than for adjectives), and, then, we find two causative-like constructions associated with the same lexical form. In such cases, *-o ~ -a* is used for ‘direct causation’ and *-mi* for ‘indirect causation’.

In order to be able to use *-mi* to derive a causative nominal or adjectival predicate, the causee needs to have the potential to undergo the change of state without the direct participation of an external causer. This potential is primarily found in animate participants (but also depends on the type of state expressed); some inanimate referents are also conceptualized as being able to undergo changes of state without the direct participation of an external agent (see a detailed discussion of this in §5.2.1 and §5.2.2). Table 100 presents two examples.

Table 100. *The markers -mi and -o in one noun and one adjective*

non-predicative form	intransitive predicate	direct causative predicate	indirect causative predicate
<i>kini</i> 'hole' (noun)	<i>kini</i> 'get a hole'	<i>kinio</i> 'make a hole in something'	<i>kinimi</i> 'be careless and let something get holes'
<i>chaxké</i> 'long' (adjective)	<i>chaxké</i> 'become long'	<i>chaxkéo</i> 'make something long (by adding an extension, for instance)'	<i>chaxkémi</i> 'let something become long (i.e. to let a tree grow)'

15.4.2.6 Indirect versus direct causation in Kakataibo

The examples above demonstrate that whenever there is more than one causative-like construction for a specific predicate, the one with *-mi* is always interpreted as expressing indirect causation (i.e. the causee is directly involved and responsible for the caused event). The control of the causer over the event, by contrast, is reduced and, in some cases, this argument only indirectly induces the event to happen. In turn, in those cases in which it is the only causative mechanism available, the marker *-mi* exhibits a wide semantic range.

Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002: 89) argue that: “[...] it is a good first approximation to define direct causation as a situation involving an agentive causer and a patientive causee and indirect causation as one involving two agentive participants, one an agentive causer and the other an agentive causee.” This seems to apply to Kakataibo: my teachers always explained and translated for me the difference between the forms labelled here as “indirect causative” and “direct causative” by paying particular attention to the agency of the causee. This becomes even clearer if we look at causative nominal/adjectival predicates: causatives with *-mi* are only acceptable in those cases where the causee is understood as capable of undergoing the change of state by itself. Otherwise, the ‘factitive’ *-o* is the only causative strategy accessible.

According to Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002), the differences in the agency of the causee may trigger different conceptualizations which are the basis for the distinction discussed here: “when the causee is an agent with its own volition, a degree of autonomy is accorded to the caused event” (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002: 89). Thus, following Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002), while direct causative events are conceptualized as single events, indirect causative events are conceptualized as complex events that include two relatively autonomous parts: a causing sub-event and a caused sub-event. When the causee is patientive, the caused event depends on the causer and “this dependence entails a spatiotemporal overlap of the causer’s activity and the caused event, to the extent that the two relevant events are not clearly distinguishable” (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002: 89). The lack of a spatiotemporal overlap seems to be clearly important at least in some of the cases discussed in this section, for instance, in the distinction between the form *bësu-n* ‘wake somebody’ and *bësu=mi*

‘wake somebody indirectly’: while the former verb refers to a situation where the caused event is wholly dependent on the causer; the latter is used to describe a situation in which the causer does not act directly on the causee and may not even be in the same room.

Therefore, the distinction between indirect and direct causation in Kakataibo has to do primarily with the agency of the causee, which triggers, in the case of indirect causation, a conceptualization of the causative event as based on two sub-events. This is also possible due to the lack of spatiotemporal overlapping between these two events that is usually associated with indirect causation. Note that the agency of the causee relates to the caused event only: the causer is by definition the ultimate cause of the entire event (see Zariquiey 2012a for a more detailed discussion of the causation functional domain in Kakataibo; Valenzuela 2002a and 2003b: Chapter 16, for a study of causation in Shipibo-Konibo; and Fleck 2002, for causation in Matses).

15.4.3 Reflexives and reciprocals

The reflexive marker *-akat* (and its allomorphs) and the reciprocal marker *-anan* were presented in §9.1.1.2.2 and §9.1.1.2.1, respectively. Both forms are valence-decreasing suffixes; that is, they take a transitive verb and convert it into an intransitive one. In this section, I offer further insights into their more salient semantic and syntactic properties.

15.4.3.1 Reflexive constructions

With the exception of one particular construction presented below, the reflexive marker *-akat* (and its allomorphs) is used when the A and the P arguments of the predicate are coreferential (see examples of this form and its complex morphophonemic patterns in §9.1.1.2.2). The reflexive suffix can only be combined with transitive verbs, which are derived into intransitive ones by means of this suffix, and with a few bivalent intransitive ones discussed in §15.3.3. In this section, I will pay special attention to the use of emphatic/reflexive pronouns as a device for obtaining reflexive constructions in order to complement the information about the reflexive marker presented in §9.1.1.2.2. These pronouns are of particular interest for intransitive predicates, for which they are the only reflexive strategy available.

Emphatic/reflexive pronouns are obtained by means of combining the pronominal forms *ë* ‘1sg’, *mi* ‘2sg’, *a* ‘3sg’ and *nu* ‘1pl’ with the adverbial enclitic *=bi* ‘same, self’. However, the forms *ëbi* ‘1sg, emphatic/reflexive’, *mibi* ‘2sg, emphatic/reflexive’, *abi* ‘3sg, emphatic/reflexive’ and *nubi* ‘1pl, emphatic/reflexive’ can be analyzed as lexicalized elements, not synchronically segmentable. As we have seen in §15.2.2.1, emphatic/reflexive pronouns follow a neutral case alignment with the functions of S, A and P equally unmarked. However, in the S function, first person emphatic/reflexive pronominal forms usually receive the case marker *-x* ‘S’, thus producing a horizontal

alignment (see §15.2.2.1). In accordance with their alleged lexicalized nature, Valenzuela (2003b: 188–191) reports for Shipibo-Konibo that these emphatic pronouns can be modified (again) by the enclitic *=bi* producing forms like *ebi-x=bi* ‘1sg.EMP-S=self’, but so far I have not found equivalent examples in Kakataibo. In the example in (955), we find the emphatic pronoun with an intransitive predicate (*bana* ‘speak’).

- (955) ‘*Ëbix kana banain.*
ëbi=x *ka=na* *bana-i-n*
1SG.EMP=S NAR=1SG speak-IPFV-1/2
‘I speak to myself.’

In the example in (956), we find the adverbial enclitic *=bi* after the case marker *=x* (i.e. in its expected position). As can be seen from the glosses, in this case, a reflexive reading is not possible and this fact shows that the structures in (955) and (956) are different: only the former features a true emphatic/reflexive pronoun.

- (956) ‘*Ëxbi kana banain.*
ë=x=bi *ka=na* *bana-i-n*
1SG=S=same NAR=1SG speak-IPFV-1/2
‘I myself speak (to somebody else)’
**‘I speak to myself.’

In the examples in (957)–(960), I present a small set of sentences in order to show the different emphatic/reflexive pronouns in use. Note that in combination with a verb like *kwan* ‘go’, these pronominal forms express high levels of volition and responsibility of the subject.

- (957) ‘*Ëbix kana kwanin.*
ëbi=x *ka=na* *kwan-i-n*
1SG.EMP=S NAR=1SG go-IPFV-1/2
‘I am going because I want to.’
- (958) *Mibi kamina kwanin.*
mibi *ka=mina* *kwan-i-n*
2SG.EMP NAR=2 go-IPFV-1/2
‘You are going because you want to.’

- (959) *Abi ka kwania.*
abi *ka* *kwan-i-a*
3SG.EMP NAR:3 go-IPFV-NON.PROX
‘(S)he is going because (s)he wants to.’

- (960) *Nubix kananuna kwanin.*

nubi=x ka=nanuna kwan-i-n
1PL.EMP=S NAR=1PL go-IPFV-1/2
 'We are going because we want to.'

As shown in the following examples, emphatic/reflexive pronouns can also be used in combination with the reflexive marker on a transitive verb. Differently from what we have seen above, in this type of reflexive construction, the use of the emphatic/reflexive pronoun is not obligatory:

- (961) *'Ex kana isakatin.*

'ë=x ka=na is-akat-i-n
1SG=S NAR=1SG see-REF-IPFV-1/2
 'I look at myself.'

- (962) *'Ebix kana isakatin.*

'ëbi=x ka=na is-akat-i-n
1SG.EMP=S NAR=1SG see-REF-IPFV-1/2
 'I look at myself.'

In the case of reflexive constructions derived from transitive verbs, the emphatic/reflexive pronoun can also occur as a reflexive object (see example in (963)). This is also possible for a few intransitive verbs, like *bana* 'speak' (see example in (964)). It is not possible in either case to have an emphatic/reflexive pronoun twice in the clause:

- (963) *'Ex kana 'ëbi isakatin.*

'ë=x ka=na 'ëbi is-akat-i-n
1SG=S NAR=1SG 1SG.REF see-REF-IPFV-1/2
 'I look at myself.'
**'ëbix kana 'ëbi isakatin*
'ëbi=x ka=na 'ëbi is-akat-i-n
1SG.EMP=S NAR=1SG 1SG.REF see-REF-IPFV-1/2
 ('I look at myself.')

- (964) *'Ex kana 'ëbi banain.*

'ë=x ka=na 'ëbi bana-i-n
1SG=S NAR=1SG 1SG.REF speak-IPFV-1/2
 'I speak to myself.'
**'ëbix kana 'ëbi bana-i-n*
'ëbi=x ka=na 'ëbi bana-i-n
1SG.EMP=S NAR=1SG 1SG.REF speak-IPFV-1/2
 ('I speak to myself.')

Ditransitive predicates can also be derived into reflexive predicates. This type of predicate uses two different reflexive strategies depending on the argument that is coreferential with the subject. If the T is coreferential with the subject, only the reflexive marker is required. If the R is coreferential with the subject, in addition to the reflexive marker, an emphatic/reflexive pronoun is required and an NP referring to the patient can also appear (see §15.3.2.6). The remaining object can be expressed as an unmarked NP that exhibits important differences in comparison with objects of transitive verbs (see §15.3.3.1.2).

With a few transitive verbs, the reflexive marker is used to form a passive-like construction, where the S argument is linked to the patient of the event, and the agent is not overtly mentioned. This construction is primarily attested with the verb *më* ‘beat up’, but for some speakers, it was also possible with verbs like *bits* ‘pick up’ and *mëra* ‘find’ (this passive interpretation is more widely found in Shipibo-Konibo reflexive constructions; see Valenzuela 2003b: 775–800). My teachers systematically rejected a passive-like interpretation for other transitive verbs marked with the reflexive. Interestingly, for many speakers the passive-like use of the reflexive implies that there is some sort of kinship relationship between the two participants (and might be appropriately described as an indirect reflexive). For instance, the following example was usually interpreted with the father of the S argument being the non-overtly expressed agent.

- (965) *Mix kamina mëakan.*

mi=x ka=mina më-akat-a-n
 1SG=S NAR=2 beat.up-REF-PFV-1/2
 ‘You were beaten up (by your father).’

It would be problematic to analyze this construction as a passive, because its distribution is too limited. However, it could be reanalyzed as a passive, since the reflexive marker is a very common source for passives cross-linguistically (Keenan 1985). Note that in this kind of construction, the agent phrase cannot be overtly expressed and is always inferred.

15.4.3.2 Reciprocal constructions

The reciprocal marker *-anan* is used to indicate that two different arguments are doing something to each other and, thus, the reciprocal conveys that there are at least two different participants in the event, which simultaneously or in turns have agent and patient roles. In principle, the reciprocal marker *-anan* can only modify transitive verbs, which are derived into intransitive ones by means of this suffix (but see below for some cases of this suffix with extended intransitive predicates). If overtly expressed in the reciprocal construction, the object of the original transitive predicate is expressed as a comitative adjunct.

There are different types of reciprocal events, which can be classified based on a set of parameters (see Evans et al. 2004). Those parameters are the basis for the *Reciprocals Videos*, developed by Evans et al. (2004). I have used the short set of those videos in order to identify which semantic distinctions in reciprocal constructions are established by Kakataibo morphosyntax.

There is only one distinction in the domain of reciprocity that has grammatical consequences in Kakataibo: if the reciprocal event is carried out at the same time vs. in turns. If the former is the case, the reciprocal marker is preceded by the plural marker *-kan* (and we find the sequence *-kan-anan* [kakan]). In turn, if we have a reciprocal event developed in turns, this preceding plural marker is not required. In fact, reciprocal forms without this plural marker can be interpreted as either simultaneous or in turns. In order to illustrate this basic distinction, let us see the examples in (966a–b).

(966) Reciprocals video 33 (Evans et al. 2004): ‘looking at’

- a. A uni rabé ka bëiskanania.

a uni rabé ka bë-is-kan-anan-i-a
 that man:ABS two:ABS NAR:3 face-see-**PL-RECP-IPFV-NON.PROX**
 ‘Those two men are looking at each other **simultaneously**.’

- b. A uni rabé ka bëisananaria.

a uni rabé ka bë-is-anan-i-a
 that man two:ABS NAR:3 face-see-**RECP-IPFV-NON.PROX**
 ‘Those two men are looking at each other (**in turns or simultaneously**).’

In accordance with this, some reciprocal events seem to be conceptualized as inherently simultaneous and obligatorily require the plural marker. This is true for example for the next example, where the reciprocal version of the verb ‘ikut ‘hug’ is given. It can be seen that it requires the plural marker. Compare the examples in (967a–b).

(967)

- a. 
xanu rabé ka:a ikut-kan-anan-i-a
 woman two:ABS NAR:3 hug-**PL-RECP-IPFV-NON.PROX**
 ‘The two women are hugging each other.’

- b. **Xanu rabé ka ikuanania*

xanu rabé ka ikut-anan-i-a
 woman two:ABS NAR:3 hug-**RECP-IPFV-NON.PROX**
 (‘the two women are hugging each other’)

This is also true for ‘fight’. As shown in the text example in (968), the predicate ‘akanan- ‘fight’ is produced by the combination of the verb ‘a ‘do’, the ‘plural’ marker *-kan*, and the ‘reciprocal’ marker *-anan*. The form ‘a-anan- ‘do-reciprocal’ is not

ungrammatical but cannot mean ‘fight’. It has a more general meaning of ‘do something to each other’.

- (968) *Usa 'ain ka nukën chaitikama 'akanankë ixun...*
usa 'ain ka nukën chaiti=kama
 like.that being:D.S/A/P NAR:3 1PL.GEN ancestor=PL:ABS
'a-kan-anan-kë i-xun
kill-PL-RECP-NOMLZ be-s/A>A:SE
 ‘Being like this, our ancestors having fought...’ (NA-incas-2007.012)

The position of the plural marker in this type of reciprocal construction is highly unusual (since the plural marker normally appears after all the derivative markers). This fact may be indicating that the forms discussed here are, at least to some degree, lexicalized elements.

The plural marker can also appear after the reciprocal marker (which would be its more prototypical position; see §9.2.3), as on the predicates *'ia bari-xun-anan-kan* ‘delouse each other (more than two people)’ and *'ikut-kan-anan-kan* ‘hug each other (more than two people)’. Note that in the second case the plural marker is repeated twice in the same predicate. Also note that in both cases the suffix *-(r)abat* ‘distributive’ can be used. This suffix explicitly indicates that each person is acting individually. See the examples in (969) and (970).

- (969) Reciprocals video 56 (Evans et al. 2004): ‘delousing’
- a. *Xanukamax ka 'ia barixuanankania.*
xanu=kama=x ka 'ia bari-xun-anan-kan-i-a
 woman=PL=S NAR:3 louse:ABS look.for-BEN-RECP-PL-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘The women and the men are delousing each other.’
 - b. *Xanukamax ka 'ia barixuananabatia.*
xanu=kama=x ka 'ia bari-xun-anan-abat-i-a
 woman=PL=S NAR:3 louse:ABS look.for-BEN-RECP-DIST-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘The women and the men are delousing each other.’
- (970) Reciprocals video 29 (Evans et al. 2004): ‘hugging’
- a. *Xanu 'imainun bëbukamax ka 'ikukanankania.*
xanu 'imainun bëbu=kama=x ka 'ikut-kan-anan-kan-i-a
 woman and man=PL=S NAR:3 hug-PL-RECP-PL-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘The women and the men are hugging each other (there are more than two people).’
 - b. *Xanu 'imainun bëbukamax ka 'ikukananbatia.*
xanu 'imainun bëbu=kama=x ka 'ikut-kan-anan-abat-i-a
 woman and man=PL=S NAR:3 hug-PL-RECP-DIST-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ‘The women and the men are hugging each other one on a time (there are more than two people).’

As we have seen in §15.3.2.5, ditransitive predicates can also be derived into reciprocal predicates and either the R or T can give rise to a reciprocal object. The remaining object can be expressed as an unmarked NP that, as in the case of reflexive ditransitive predicates, exhibit important differences in comparison with objects from objects (see §15.3.3.1.2).

16 Sentences in narratives and conversations

16.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a discussion of some salient discourse principles found in Kakataibo, paying attention to those cases where some morphosyntactic features of a sentence or an argument are sensitive to their function in discourse. I begin this chapter with an introduction to constituent order in Kakataibo. I argue that, even though Kakataibo has traditionally been described as a verb-final language, the position of the different constituents in the sentence is strongly determined by the type of information that they express (see §16.2) and, in fact, it is not at all uncommon in discourse to find post-verbal arguments. In addition, there is a highlighting mechanism to indicate NPs that are important for a subsequent part of the discourse. This mechanism, which includes a resumptive third person pronoun carrying the highest pitch in the utterance, will be presented in §16.3. The use of this resumptive pronoun usually also implies a topic shift. A brief discussion of definiteness is offered in §16.4, exemplifying how the demonstrative *a* ‘proximal to the addressee’ and the numeral *achushi* ‘one’ are used, in the pre-head position, to indicate the definiteness of NPs. In §16.5, I discuss one very interesting interaction between case marking and discourse, where NPs headed by a noun that introduce an anaphoric topic follow the tripartite case alignment system, which is otherwise only attested for pronominal elements. §16.6 presents the use of tail-head linkage in narratives. Finally, §16.7 provides Kakataibo exclamatory markers and §16.8 discusses the use of register and addressee’s perspective markers in verbal interactions.

16.2 The discourse basis of constituent order

Based on isolated sentences out of context and with all their arguments overtly expressed, one could say that AOV and SV are the least marked constituent orders of Kakataibo sentences. A/S arguments are followed by the obligatory second-position enclitics, and P, T and R arguments (in transitive and ditransitive constructions, respectively), as well as any kind of adjunct, appear between these enclitics and the verb. Thus, the following template could be used to describe constituent order in Kakataibo in isolated sentences.

(971) A/S – second-position enclitics – object/adjuncts – verb⁸³

⁸³ This template is for independent clauses. Dependent clauses, by contrast, do not carry second-position enclitics, and can consist of only a verb. In addition, verbless copula clauses do not require an overtly expressed verb, but must have second position clitics (see §11.4).

This is exemplified with the elicited sentences presented in (972) and (973).

- (972) ‘En kana María ‘atsa ‘inanin.
 ‘ë=n ka=na **María** ‘atsa ‘inan-i-n
 1SG=A NAR=1SG **María:ABS manioc:ABS** give-ipfv-1/2
 A ENCL R T V
 ‘I give manioc to María.’
- (973) ‘Ex kana Limanu Juanbë kwanin.
 ‘ë-x ka=na **Lima=nu Juan-bë** kwan-i-n
 1SG=S NAR=1SG **Lima=LOC Juan-COM:S** go-IPFV-1/2
 S ENCL OBL OBL V
 ‘I will go to Lima with Juan.’

The positions of the different types of adjuncts and complements are not fixed in relation to each other, and many different orders are attested and common in Kakataibo, even in elicited and context-free clauses. In what follows, I comment on some facts that clearly show that there is no fixed order in Kakataibo and that the position of the different constituents in this language is deeply rooted in discursive principles. The results that will be presented in the remaining of this section come from a statistical analysis conducted over 585 sentences taken from Kakataibo natural narratives. Many of these sentences exhibit complex syntactic configurations and include more than one predicate (two of them include seven switch-reference predicates and only one fully-inflected verb). In this study, the main principle for establishing a working definition of sentence in Kakataibo has been the presence of one second-position enclitic encoding register (see §11.4). However, as we have seen in §12.2.3, switch-reference clauses might carry their own second-position enclitic under very specific circumstances. Cases in which we find a switch-reference clause and a register second-position enclitic without a fully-inflected predicate were excluded from the counts presented below. The reason for this is that dependent clauses, like switch-reference clauses, are obligatorily verb-final (as discussed in §11.4) and, therefore, are not sensitive to the discursive factors that will be discussed in this section.⁸⁴

It is also important to note that the only obligatory constituent of an independent clause is the constituent created by the second-position enclitics (in fact, second-

⁸⁴ Counts were conducted by Harald Hammarström. For each clause (identified by the “\id”-counter in my Toolbox Kakataibo database), Hammarström recorded the position, if there is one, of the verb (a “v” in the part-of-speech annotation (“\ps”)), establishing a distinction between dependent and independent verbs, and the position of the ergative or absolute marked nominals (“-erg” or “-abs” in the gloss annotation (“\ge”)). The analysis provided in this section is the result of a further interpretation of the numeric data by the author. The total number of sentences processed were 1054, from which only 585 were taken into consideration for the analysis presented in this section.

position enclitics represent the best criterion for distinguishing between independent and dependent clauses; see Chapter 11); but they cannot create clauses by themselves and must be combined with an additional constituent. Any argument can be omitted in the appropriate context, and even verbs can be omitted in verbless copula clauses (see §11.4.2). In fact, it is very common in discourse to find transitive clauses with neither of their arguments overtly expressed. As shown in Table 102 and Figure 81 below, 338 (57.7%) sentences from the 585 ones investigated for this section do not explicitly encode any of their arguments. This, of course, posits crucial problems for determining constituent order in Kakataibo on a solid discursive basis: in more than 50% of the cases, Kakataibo sentences are composed of only verbal forms and second-position enclitics.

There are other factors that further complicate the analysis of constituent order. The first observation is that the first constituent of a sentence is seldom the A or the S argument, as proposed in the template offered in (971). In fact, in connected discourse, we are very likely to find complex sentences where a dependent switch-reference clause appears as the first constituent. This clause usually repeats the predicate of the previous sentence, forming pervasive tail-head linkage structures (see §16.6).⁸⁵ Furthermore, if we find an argument or an adjunct (and not a switch-reference construction) as the first constituent of a sentence, it is not necessarily the subject: instead, it is very likely that this argument or adjunct refers to a referent that has been previously introduced into the narrative (especially in the immediately preceding sentence) and it is not uncommon to find resumptive pronouns in the P function at the beginning of sentences in Kakataibo discourse. In Table 101 and Figure 80, we can clearly see that in 79.8% of the cases, the constituent preceding the second position enclitic is a dependent clause. Only in 11.5% of the cases, it is the subject which occupies that position.

Table 101. Constituent order in Kakataibo (I)

Order	Number of tokens	%
DEP.CLAUSE + ENCLIT	467	79.8
S/A + ENCLIT	67	11.5
NON-S/A + ENCLIT	51	8.7
Total	585	100

85 In fact, sequences of dependent clauses in Kakataibo discourse can be extremely complex. In the corpus investigated for this section, it is not unusual to find sequences of five, six and even seven dependent clause combined with a single fully inflected predicate as part of extremely rich clause chains.

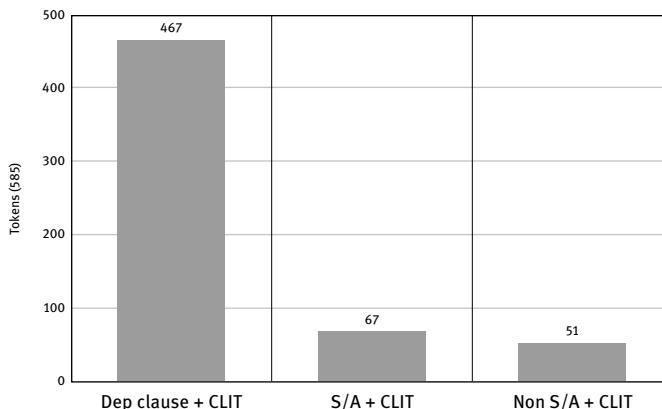


Figure 80. Constituent order in Kakataibo (I)

Thus, if we look beyond elicited sentences, and take narratives into account, the first constituent is not defined in syntactic terms and does not correspond to a grammatical category like subject. What first constituents of Kakataibo sentences have in common is that they, regardless of their syntactic nature, tend to express given/old/presupposed information: either arguments/adjuncts that refer to a previously mentioned participant, or a dependent clause repeating the matrix predicate of the preceding sentence in tail-head linkage structures. This is the key factor that determines which constituent will appear before the second-position enclitics in connected discourse and therefore the template proposed in (971) does not reflect what we find in natural discourse. Following Givón (2001, II: 254), one may say that the first position of the sentence, before the second-position enclitics, is occupied by (anaphoric) topics. According to Givón: “By ‘anaphoric’ one means the accessibility of the referent in mental representation (‘map’, ‘model’) of the preceding discourse.” In the case of Kakataibo, the notion of anaphoric topic may include the event presented in the preceding clause, which can be reintroduced as an anaphoric topic by means of a tail-head linkage structure (which are exemplified in §16.6 and will not be presented here). In the following example, the referent of the first argument of the second sentence was mentioned in the previous sentence: *achushi xanu* ‘one woman’. Note that this argument is the P argument of the second sentence, but nevertheless appears as its first constituent:

- (974) *Anu ka 'ikēn achushi xanuribi ain historia ain 'ia ñu a ñuiti. Achushi xanu kaisa unin 'axun 'inankëxa como uitibira tsatsa.*
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------|-----------------|
| <i>anu</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>'ikēn</i> | <i>achushi</i> | <i>xanu=ribi</i> | <i>ain</i> | <i>historia</i> |
| there | NAR:3 | be:3 | one | woman=also | 3SG:GEN | story:ABS |
| <i>ain</i> | <i>'i-a</i> | <i>ñu</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ñui-ti</i> | | |
| 3SG:GEN | be-NOMLZ | thing | that:P | tell-NOMLZ | | |

achushi xanu *ka=is=a uni=n 'a-xun*
one woman:ABS NAR=REP=3 person=ERG do-S/A>A:SE
'inan-akë-x-a *como uiti=bi=ira* *tsatsa*
 give-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX like how.much/many=same-INT fish.species:ABS
 'There is also a story of **one woman**, of the thing that she was, to tell. **To one woman**, a man used to give a lot of fish, fishing them.' (NA-boy-2007.001–002)

Examples like the one presented above show that Kakataibo constituent order does not always follow the basic AOV or SV orders. Rather, the constituent order reflects pragmatic and discourse principles. A better generalization would thus be to say that the first constituent of sentences in discourse refers to anaphoric topics or, more generally, to given information. Another important observation is that verbs are not necessarily sentence-final, and that there are different types of post-verbal arguments in discourse (including dependent clauses, which are not taken into consideration for the counts presented below). Table 102 and Figure 81 present the number of sentences with a post-verbal constituent (No V-final) and sentences without a post-verbal constituent (V-final). Information on the number of sentences without overtly expressed arguments is also included. As can be seen, 72 sentences in the corpus are not V-final.

Table 102. Constituent order in Kakataibo (II)

Order	Number of tokens	%
V (no overt arguments)	338	57.7
V-final	175	29.9
Not V-final	72	12.4
Total	585	100

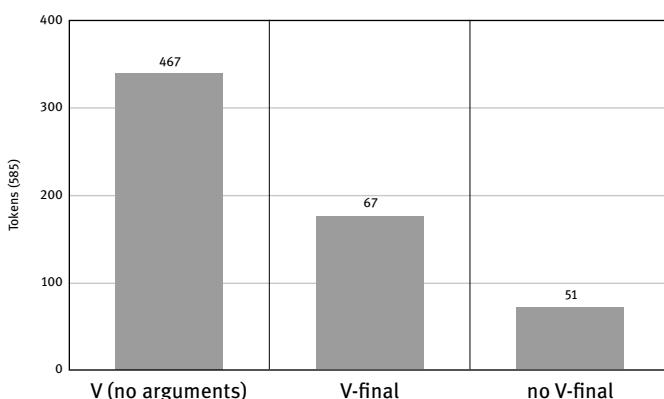


Figure 81. Constituent order in Kakataibo (II)

In the example in (975), the P argument *achushi gringo* appears after the verb *is* ‘see’ (see also the previous example, where *como uitibira tsatsa* ‘like a lot of fish’ is a post-verbal argument).

- (975) *Bëbaia kaisa isakëxa achushi gringo.*

bëba-ia ka=is=a is-akë-x-a
 arrive-S/A>P:SE NAR=REP=3 see-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
achushi gringo
 one white.person:ABS

‘It is said that they (just) saw him when he arrived, one gringo.’

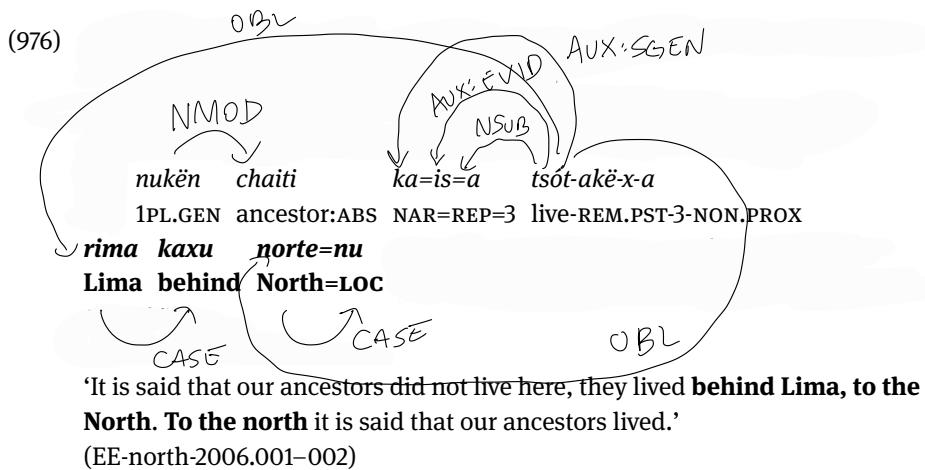
(NA-foreigner-2007.005)

Post-verbal constituents are quite common in Kakataibo connected speech. They usually refer to new, surprising or emphatic information, or they elaborate on information mentioned in the clause before the verb. This type of information is often called “asserted information” in the literature, and is characterized as less predictable, non-presupposed or non-identifiable information (but see Givón 2001: 221–224 for important arguments as to why those different categories are not interchangeable). Such constituents are usually called “focus”, and therefore it may be argued that post-verbal elements in Kakataibo discourse are focused elements (but see Valle 2017b for a different analysis). The term “focus” has been defined in different ways by different authors. It is usually characterized as the pragmatic function related to the most salient information (Dik et al. 1981), as a strategy to attract the addressee’s attention (Chafe 1976), as the information that the speaker assumes as unknown to the addressee (Jackendof 1972) and as the information that is unpredictable from the context of communication (Lambrecht 1994: 213). Therefore, for Lambrecht in the notion of focus it is implied that the assertion does not coincide with the presupposition.

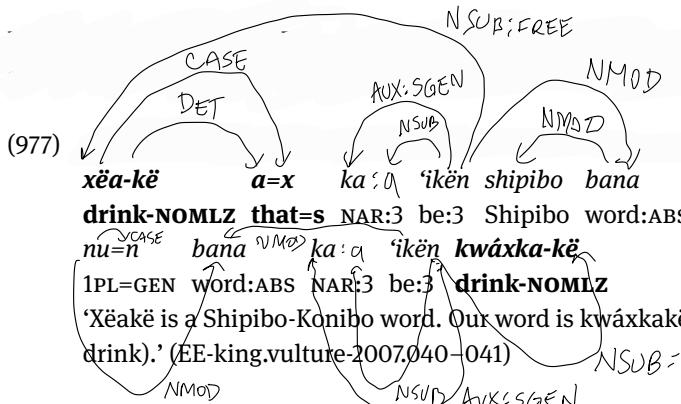
The information that is presupposed or given and the information that is new, unexpected or surprising are defined in discourse-internal terms. That is, the Kakataibo narrative creates a world that is considered unknown to the addressee (even if the addressee already knows the narrative), and thus old information is information that has been previously introduced and is identifiable within the narrative, while new information is information that has not yet been introduced.

As Lambrecht (1994: 45) explains: “It is a fundamental property of information in natural language that whatever is assumed by a speaker to be NEW to a addressee is information which is ADDED to an already existing stock of knowledge in the addressee’s mind.” In the context of the Kakataibo narratives studied here, the knowledge in the addressee’s mind refers only to information that has been introduced in the course of the narrative itself. I have witnessed many situations where a narrator tells a known tale to the addressees, and nevertheless follows the principles just explained. For example, one of my teachers was once telling the story about how the Kakataibo used to live to the North, and not where they live today. This information was already

known by the audience, because it is usually repeated by different people in the village. Nevertheless, the narrator treated that information as new information when he introduced it for the first time into the context of the narrative. This is illustrated in (976). There can be seen that the constituents *Rima kaxu* ‘behind Lima’ and *nortenu* ‘to the North’ are treated as asserted information and appear after the verb. However, as soon as they are introduced into discourse, they become given, and the next sentence thus has *nortenu* as its first constituent. The example nicely shows how the interaction between old and new information is manipulated by the speaker. Thus, it seems that in the context of Kakataibo storytelling, the universe of discourse is primarily defined by what Lambrecht (1994: 37) calls the text-internal world, “which comprises LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS (words, phrases, sentences) and their meaning”.



Narratives very often include what Labov (1972) called “evaluative elements” (see §16.8.2 for details on how Labov’s narrative structure helps us understand event cohesion in Kakataibo). Evaluative elements do not introduce information about the narrative itself, but offer a personal statement, comment or explanation by the speaker. Thus, the decision about what counts as old or new information follows different principles: in the case of evaluative clauses, the addressee’s mind is not restricted to what has been presented in the narrative, but to what the speaker assumes that the addressee knows about the world (Lambrecht 1994: 213). Notice, however, that, as shown in the following example, the position of old and new information is the same as the one previously illustrated. The speaker said before that one of the characters of the narrative drank something and he used the word *xëa-kë* ‘drink-nominalizer’ to refer to this drink. However, he suddenly realized that this word, which is the common word to refer to drinks in the synchronic language, is in fact a Shipibo-Konibo loan. Thus, he added the next sentence. In the first sentence, the word *xëa-kë* ‘drink-nominalizer’ represents old information and, therefore, appears as the first constituent.



A ca hay
2
o nci ne

The post-verbal focus position is available for very complex constituents. For instance, in §13.3, I have presented elaborative clauses, which constitute a special type of dependent clause that carries a finite verb and occupies a post-verbal position relative to its matrix clause.

Based on all the facts presented in this section, I consider the template in (978) to reflect more appropriately the order of constituents in Kakataibo connected discourse. In summary, what we have is that, in Kakataibo, as proposed by Lambrecht (1994), we need to identify two fundamental categories of information structure: presuppositions (the common ground between speakers and addressees) and assertions (the new information introduced by the speaker).

- (978) presupposition (old information/anaphoric topics) — **second-position enclitics** — arguments/adjuncts — **verb** — assertions (new/emphatic/elaborative information/focus).

Such a template explains satisfactorily the data attested in narratives and connected speech. We can clearly see that there are two important landmarks in Kakataibo sentences, which are in bold: the **second-position enclitics** (everything before them is presupposed information) and the **verb** (everything after them is asserted information). Given the importance of pragmatic and discourse factors, it seems that postulating a “grammatical” constituent order is not necessarily very useful for Kakataibo. One additional argument that supports this claim has to do with the second-position enclitics. As I have mentioned before (see §11.2), second-position enclitics can sometimes appear as the first element of the clause. One possible analysis would be that such a clause has a non-overtly expressed subject argument, but in what follows I argue for a different analysis. It is the notion of topic which plays a role in this mechanism. Let us see first the examples in (979) and (980). In the first one, the non-overtly expressed argument is the subject and the sentence is grammatical. In the second one, the subject appears in a clause internal position and thus the second position enclitic cannot appear as the first constituent.

- (979)
- NAR:3 tapir:ABS kill-PST.yesterday-3-NON.PROX
 '(S)he killed the tapir yesterday.'

- (980) **ka Emilionën ó 'onxa*
ka Emilio-nën ó 'a-on-x-a
 NAR:3 Emilio=ERG tapir:ABS kill-PST.yesterday-3-NON.PROX
 ('Emilio killed the tapir yesterday')

However, after a careful study of my database, I found at least four cases where the grammatical subject is found after the second-position enclitics, which themselves appear in the first position of the sentence. One such example of a yes/no question taken from a narrative is presented in (981).

- (981) *Kara ain bashi 'ikën?*
kara ain bashi 'ikën
 NAR=INT.3 3SG:GEN mountain:ABS be:3
 'Does it have mountains? (lit. are its mountains there?).'
 (SE-agriculture-2007.004–005)

In (981) the speaker was talking about how to find a good piece of land to make a garden and he was explaining that it must not have a hill or a mountain: it needs to be flat. Therefore, the anaphoric topic is this piece of land, and this topic has been dropped. Normally, it would have appeared before the second-position enclitics – and note that the possessive pronoun *ain* '3SG:GEN' in the subject overtly refers to it. Based on examples like this one, it is possible to argue that the elicited example in (980) is ungrammatical not because *Emilio* is the subject, but because *Emilio* is the topic – and thus cannot appear after the enclitic.

The evidence presented here shows that pragmatic factors are relevant for understanding Kakataibo constituent order. I have attempted to offer statistical support to the claims offered here, following the lines established by Payne (1985) for Yagua constituent order. If we accept the arguments presented in this section and agree on the fact that the template in (978) is a better representation of word-order in Kakataibo than the template in (971), we can conclude that Kakataibo is a language with a pragmatically-oriented constituent order (see, for instance, Mithun 1987). However, it remains true that most dependent clauses and grammatical nominalizations are obligatorily verb-final (see Chapters 12–14).

16.3 Highlighting arguments

NP constituents can be “highlighted” by means of a subsequent third person pronoun *a* (formally identical to the demonstrative *a* ‘proximal to the addressee’). This pronoun surfaces with the highest pitch in the utterance (which in other contexts would fall on the second-position enclitics; see §3.4.2.1), and is preceded by a pause. These prosodic characteristics strongly suggest that we are not dealing with a post-head demonstrative occurring within an NP, as is also suggested by the fact that the form *a* does not have a deictic function in this construction (post-head demonstratives have this deictic function).

In a highlighting construction, we have two nominal elements, an NP and a pronoun, following each other, with the latter element re-introducing the former. Thus, the pronoun is accomplishing a resumptive function, similar to the one found in English constructions like *Maria's oldest son, he is a good person*. In the case of Kakataibo, the first nominal element appears unmarked, and the case specifications occur on the pronominal element. Note that NPs with different grammatical functions can undergo highlighting. Thus, highlighting is found not only in subjects or objects, but also in obliques (e.g. “*Maria's oldest son, with him I want to go*”), or even with possessors (e.g. “*Maria's oldest son, his pet I found*”; see the examples below).

This mechanism ensures that the highlighted constituent becomes prosodically salient (because of the high pitch of the pronoun) and discursively prominent (i.e., its primary function is to indicate that a participant is important for the following portion of discourse). Thus, the mechanism is similar to what Givón (2001, II: 254) calls “cataphoric topicality” or “thematic importance”. According to him, “by ‘cataphoric’ one means the referent’s *importance* in the subsequent discourse.” The function of highlighted arguments can be interpreted as topic shift. Two examples of this mechanism follow. In the first one, the NP *uni* ‘man’ is the A-argument of the sentence, as shown in the case marking of the pronominal element. In the second example, the highlighted constituent is again *uni* ‘man’, but this time functioning as an S-argument. In both cases, the participants associated with the highlighted NP are of high thematic importance for the remaining discourse. In the first case, the narrator will continue to tell us about this man: he used to take off one of his eyes while fishing and other people were jealous of how good a fisherman he was. In the end, they destroyed his eye, and the mythical man left the town forever (see Appendix 1 for the complete version of this narrative). In the second example, the highlighted argument refers to a man who will kill his wife (because she had a lover); later on, the family of the woman will take revenge and will kill him.

- (982) *Xëxá achushinua xëpúxun kaisa uni áñ banakin banakin kaisa tsatsakama ‘ibian-këshín.*

xëxat achushi=nu=a xëput-xun ka=is=a [uni] [á]=n
 small.river one=LOC=PA.P close-S/A>A NAR=REP=3 person 3SG=A
bana-kin *bana-kin* *ka=is=a* *tsatsa=kama*
 speak-s/A>A:SE speak-s/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 fish.species=PL:ABS
‘ibin-akë-x-ín
 scare-REM.PST-3-PROX

‘It is said that, damming (lit. closing) one small river, the man, **he** scared the fish, talking and talking.’ (MO-fisher-2007.019)

- (983) *Ain xanu buankëbëbi kaisa a katikabiani uni áx kwankëshín.*

ain xanu buan-këbë=bi ka=is=a a
 3SG:GEN woman:ABS bring-D.S/A/P:SE:INTR=same NAR=REP=3 that:P
ka-tika-bian-i [uni] [á]=x *kwan-akë-x-ín*
 back-follow-going:TRAN-S/A>S:SE person 3sg=s go-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘It is said that, when his wife brought (water), the man, **he** went following her.’
 (JE-pomegranates-2007.003)

This mechanism is also available for other types of participants, including obliques. This is shown in the following example, where we find a highlighted instrumental:

- (984) *Ain banin papíkë anun ka ‘akëxa.*

[ain banin papí-kë] [anun] ka ‘a-akë-x-a
 3SG:GEN palm.species carve-NOMLZ 3sg:ins NAR:3 do-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Their carved palm, **with it** they used to fight.’ (NA-incas-2007.030)

Notice that grammatical nominalizations like the one in (984) are usually highlighted by means of this construction. However, in this case, it is not entirely clear if this device is indicating thematic importance; or if it is part of the grammatical nominalization (see the discussion in §14.2.4).

The interaction between this mechanism and the pragmatically-oriented constituent order needs further study. At this point, I can only say that it is possible to highlight both types of constituents: those presenting old information in the first position of the sentence, and those introducing new information in the post-verbal position, as shown in (985) and (986).

- (985) *Usaox kaisa chaxu aban iankëxa Nishibun ax.*

usa-o-ax ka=is=a chaxu abat-an
 like.that-FACT-S/A>S NAR=REP=3 deer:ABS escape-D.S/A/P:PE

in-akë-x-a [Nishibun] [a]=x
cry-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX proper.name 3SG=S

‘Then, it is said that, after the deer escaped, Nishibun, she cried.’
 (NA-deer-2007.047)

- (986) *Bolivar ax ka ‘ikën el primer hombre hero.*

[Bolivar] [a]=x ka ‘ikën el primer hombre hero

Bolivar 3SG=S NAR:3 be:3 the first man hero
 ‘Bolivar, he is the first hero.’ (NA-ancestors-2007.057)

It is important to mention that it is possible to highlight two different constituents of the same sentence; but the specific function of this construction in each case is still to be studied:

- (987) *Rakankëbë isa aia kaisa uni an kakëxa ain ‘akë uni a.*

rakan-këbë=is=a u-ia ka=is=a [uni] [a]=n
 lean-DS/A/P:SE:INTR=REP=3 come-S/A>P:SE NAR=REP=3 person 3SG-A

ka-akë-x-a [ain ‘a-kë uni] [a]
say-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX 3SG:GEN do-NOMLZ person 3SG.P

‘It it said that the man, he, said to the lover (of his wife), to him, who came when he laid the corpse of his wife (on the ground).’

(SE-cheater.woman-2007.022)

16.4 Definiteness and discourse

In §6.6, I discussed the NP structure in Kakataibo, where I showed that some demonstratives (particularly, *a* ‘proximal to the addressee, but also *ēnē* ‘proximal to the speaker’) and the numeral *achushi* ‘one’ accomplish different functions when they appear as pre-head or post-head modifiers. As post-head modifiers they are proper demonstratives and numerals, respectively. As pre-head modifiers they can act as definite and indefinite markers. Due to its definite meaning, the demonstrative *a* serves an anaphoric function in connected speech, that is, it is used to refer to participants that were recently mentioned. By contrast, the numeral *achushi* is usually used to introduce participants for the first time. This is shown in the following example. Note that *achushi xanu* ‘one woman’ represents new information in the first sentence and thus appears in a post-verbal position. In the second sentence, this participant becomes given information, and *a xanu* ‘that woman’ thus appears in the first position, before the second-position enclitics.

- (988) *Ēsai kaisa ‘iakëxa achushi xanu. A xanun kaisa ain bënë nanën akëxa.*
 ēsa-i ka-isa ‘i-akë-x-a achushi xanu
 like.this-s/A>S:SE NAR:3-REP be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX one woman
 a xanu=n ka=is=a ain bënë
that woman NAR:3.REP 3SG:GEN husband:ABS
 nanë=n a-akë-x-a
 genipad=INS do-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 '(It is said that) there was **one** woman like this a long time ago. **That** woman
 painted her husband with genipap.' (JE-deer.man-2007:001-002)

16.5 Tripartite alignment on NPs in connected discourse

In §15.2 I have discussed grammatical relations in Kakataibo. I have shown that case marking in this language establishes a distinction between pronouns, which follow a tripartite alignment, and nouns, which exhibit an ergative alignment. However, as also mentioned in §15.2, nouns, under some specific discourse configurations, may also exhibit the tripartite alignment prototypically found in pronouns. In this section, I explore and explain those cases. Before presenting the data, an important distinction should be made. When I say that, in connected speech, the tripartite alignment on NPs relates to some discourse configurations, I do not assume that the markers are pragmatic markers, but that, under some certain discourse conditions, NPs in connected speech may follow a tripartite case alignment and, therefore, allow for more case distinctions. That is, the forms =n 'A', =x 'S' and unmarked 'P' indicate grammatical case, not pragmatic role. In discourse, these three forms are attested in pronouns and in NPs referring to anaphoric topics. Thus, the best way to understand the Kakataibo data to be presented in this section is to assume that case marking is sensitive to "the dimension of the information structuring of propositions in discourse" (Lambrecht 1995), but not that the markers themselves are pragmatic markers. The tripartite pattern is not obligatory with nouns (see the next subsection). Therefore, the discourse pattern introduced in this section needs to be understood as a tendency: it is very likely for an NP referring to an anaphoric topic to follow the tripartite alignment system, but it is not inevitable. The tripartite alignment is only obligatory with pronouns.

The examples below illustrate NPs following the tripartite paradigm and were taken from narratives. Note that in the first two cases the NP is *uni* 'man', and is overtly introduced in the previous clause. In the third example, the NP following the tripartite alignment is *xanu* 'woman', but this referent is not overtly mentioned in the previous sentence (it is only inferred that *xanu* 'woman' is the subject of the switch-reference clause headed by *bë* 'bring'). Since the only formal difference between the two alignments surfaces in the S function (formally unmarked in the ergative alignment and marked by =x in the tripartite one), the distinction between the tripartite and the ergative alignments is only manifested in this function.

- (989) *Kwaruiabi kaisa an 'akë uni an kakëshín:* “*mi kwanun ka kaxoripain mi kunun kaxori bitsi uai*” *kaisa kakëshín.* *A unix kaisa 'iakëxa kaxori tétani.*

kwan-nu-ia=bi ka=is=a a=n ‘a-kë uni a-n
go-up-s/A>P:SE=same NAR=REP=3 3SG=A do-NOMLZ person 3SG-A
ka-akë-x-ín mi kwan-nun ka kaxori=pain mi
say-REM.PST-3-PROX 2SG go-DS:POE NAR pomegranate:ABS=first 2SG
ku-nun kaxori bits-i u-ai kaisa
eat.fruit-PURP pomegranate:ABS pick.up-PURP come-there:IMP NAR.REP.3
ka-akë-x-ín a uni=x ka=is=a ‘i-akë-x-a
say-REM.PST-3-PROX that person=s NAR=REP=3 be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
kaxori tétan-i
pomegranate:ABS tie-S/A>S:SE

‘It is said that, when she was going up, **her lover said**, “Come here to pick up some pomegranates in order for you to eat and then you can go”. **That man** was holding some pomegranates.’ (JE-pomegranates-2007.005–007)

- (990) “*Bëru ëxë pens bëru ëxë pens* *kishi kaisa a uni nëtëakëxa.* *Usai kaisa ‘iakëxa, uni an ñuma bike unix⁸⁶ ‘iakëxa.*

bëru ëxë pens bëru ëxë pens ki-i=ishi ka=is=a
bëru ëxë pens bëru ëxë pens say:INTR-S/A>S:SE=only NAR=REP=3
a uni nëtët-akë-x-a
that person:ABS disappear-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
usai ka=is=a ‘i-akë-x-a uni
then:INTR NAR=REP=3 be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX person
a=n ñuma bits-kë uni=x ‘i-akë-x-a
3=A fish.species pick.up-NOMLZ person=s be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘It is said that, saying “Bëru ëxë pens bëru ëxë pens” **the man** disappeared. It was like that, **that man** was a man who used to fish ñuma fish.’
 (SE-fisher-2007.028–029)

- (991) *Uruia ‘unpax xapan bëia iskëxbi kaisa xanux ‘ikësabi ana rëbun ana rëbun xuan-kiakëxa.*

u-ru-ia ‘unpax xapa=n bë-ia
come-up-s/A>P:SE water:ABS gourd=INS bring-s/A>P:SE
is-këx=bi ka=is=a xanu=x ‘ikësabi
see-P>S:PE=same NAR=REP=3 woman=s be-NOMLZ-COMP=same

⁸⁶ Notice that in this example, the anaphoric argument marked by =x does not appear at the beginning of the sentence. This is also the case in the next example. The interaction between the different mechanisms to indicate the discourse status of different constituents requires more study.

ana r̥ebun ana r̥ebun xuanki-akë-x-a
tongue tip.of tongue tip.of blow-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
'It is said that, when her husband saw her coming up, bringing water in a gourd,
that woman was like that, and the husband blew through the tip of his tongue
(sign of being upset).' (SE-cheater.woman-2007.016)

In context-free elicited sentences, NPs are usually accepted in either of the two alignments, but some interesting patterns in connected speech support the analysis proposed here. Definite NPs carrying the demonstrative *a* ‘proximal to the addressee’ to express definiteness allow for both alignments. Interestingly, however, there seems to be a slight difference in meaning associated with the two patterns. Definite NPs marked by =*x* ‘S’ are interpreted as presenting highly identifiable referents that have just been mentioned or that are available from the context of the speech act. This behavior fits perfectly with the characterization given in this section. Interestingly, according to my teachers, if the head of the relevant definite NP is a generic noun with a human referent (like *uni* ‘man’ or *xanu* ‘woman’), the best way to translate those NPs into Spanish is by means of a personal pronoun (like English *he* or *she*). This preferred translation indicates that the speakers see a relationship between the case alignment followed by an NP and its function: if the NP is used like a pronoun (i.e. it refers anaphorically to a participant), it follows the pronominal case alignment, and is translated as a pronoun, if possible. Some examples follow:

In addition, as we have seen in §16.4, the numeral *achushi* ‘one’ can be used as an indefinite marker. In accordance with this, one expects the definite status attributed to NPs modified by $=x$ ‘S’ to clash with the indefinite value of the numeral. Interestingly this is exactly what we find. If it occurs within an NP marked by $=x$, the only possible interpretation for *achushi* is as a numeral and not as an indefinite marker. This is shown in the following examples.

- (994) *Achushi unix kaisa 'iakëxa kaxori têtani.*

achushi uni=x ka=is=a 'i-akë-x-a kaxori
one man=S NAR=REP=3 be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX pomegranate:ABS
têtan-i
tie-S/A>S:SE

'It is said that **that one man (you know about him)** was holding pomegranates a long time ago.'

- (995) *Achushi uni kaisa 'iakëxa kaxori têtani.*

achushi uni ka=is=a 'i-akë-x-a
one man:ABS NAR=REP=3 be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
kaxori têtan-i
pomegranate:ABS tie-S/A>S:SE

'It is said that **a/one man (indefinite or numeral)** was holding pomegranates.'

One interesting point regarding the use of the marker =x 'S' on NPs is that sometimes it is used on non-subject topical arguments. This happens only very scarcely in my database and does not constitute a strong pattern in the language. However, examples like the one presented in (996) suggests that the marker =x 'S' may be undergoing a semantic change and be becoming a pragmatic marker for topics. This, of course, requires more research. In the following example, the marker =x 'S' (glossed as 'topic') appears on the P argument of the transitive predicate *rëtë* 'kill'.

- (996) *Aishbi ka kakataibonën rëtëakëxa 'ën papan xukënx este... Tëtëkamo.*

aishbi ka kakataibo-nën rëtë-akë-x-a
but NAR:3 Kakataibo-ERG kill-REM.PAS-3-NON.PROX
'ië-n papa-n xukënx este... Tëtëkamo
1SG.GEN father-GEN brother=TOP hmmm Tëtëkamo
'But the Kakataibo people killed my father's brother, hmmm... Tëtëkamo'
(EE-three.men-2013)

16.6 Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage "is a way to connect clause chains in which the last clause of a chain is partially or completely repeated in the first clause of the next chain" (De Vries 2005: 363). This strategy is pervasive in Kakataibo discourse and it draws on the complex system of switch-reference that the language exhibits. According to the typology proposed by de Vries (2005) for Papuan languages, tail-head linkage in Kakataibo can be considered to be of the *chained type*, since it makes use of a referential coherence mechanism based on the switch-reference markers, which also express event sequencing values (i.e., they indicate if the two events expressed by the clauses in the

chain are simultaneous or sequential). Tail-head linkage, “by repeating the last verb of a chain or sentence as the first verb of the next, enables the continued operation of such crucial verbal coherence mechanisms across syntactic boundaries of chains or sentences” (De Vries 2005: 370). Thus, in a language like Kakataibo, in which nominal expression of arguments is very often omitted in discourse (see §16.2), tail-head linkage structures accomplish an important function associated with what De Vries (2005) calls “referential (dis)continuity”. However, tail-head linkage structures in Kakataibo seem to accomplish other functions as well. They also seem to be used for thematic continuation (what De Vries 2005 calls “thematic (dis)continuity”).

In terms of their language-internal properties, Kakataibo dependent verbs in tail-head linkage structures carry switch-reference markers and always occupy the first position of the clause, immediately before the second-position enclitics (which is the position for elements carrying old/anaphoric information, see §16.2). In this position they can modify the following main predicate (and therefore can be considered switch-reference clauses) or another immediately adjacent dependent predicate (in which case they can be analyzed as converbs) (following the classification of switch-reference constructions proposed in §12.2).

In the following example, we find three sentences (two of them presenting a direct speech report; see §13.2.1). We can clearly see that the dependent verbs (underlined) repeat the previous main verb (in bold). In the two tail-head linkage structures presented, the switch-reference verbs always appear as the first constituent of the sentence and they modify the corresponding main verb. This is particularly clear for *buan-xun* ‘bring-S/A>A, simultaneous event’, which agrees in transitivity with the transitive main verb *ka-akë-x-a* ‘say-remote past-3-non-proximal to the addressee’ and not with the intransitive converb *atsin-kian-kin* ‘enter-going:intransitive-S/A>A, simultaneous event’.

- (997) *Kaisa ‘iakëxa nun ‘anibu achushi uni ain xanu ‘aia ‘unanxun kakëxa uni itsi a “uisa kara ñais bari kwanti”.*

<i>kaisa</i>	<i>‘i-akë-x-a</i>	<i>nu=n</i>	<i>‘anibu</i>	<i>achushi</i>
NAR.REP.3	be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX	1PL=GEN	ancestor	one
<i>uni</i>	<i>ain</i>	<i>xanu</i>	<i>‘a-ia</i>	
person:ABS	3SG:GEN	woman:ABS	do-s/A>P:SE	
<i>‘unan-xun</i>	<i>ka-akë-x-a</i>	<i>uni</i>	<i>itsi</i>	<i>a</i>
know-s/A>A:SE	say-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX	person	other	that:P
<i>uisa</i>	<i>ka=ra</i>	<i>ñais</i>	<i>bari-i</i>	<i>kwan-ti</i>
how	NAR=INT.3	armadillo:ABS	look.for-s/A>S:SE	go-NOMLZ
'It is said that there was one man, our ancestor, who, knowing that that other man had sex with his wife, said to him, "How will we look for armadillos?".'				
(WO-armadillo-2007.001)				

Kaxun kaisa buankëxa ninu.

ka-xun *ka=is=a* ***bu-an-akë-x-a*** *ni=nu*
 say-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 bring-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX jungle=DIR
 ‘Saying (so), he brought the other man to the jungle.’ (WO-armadillo-2007.002)

Buanxun kaisa ma ninu atsinkiankin kakëxa “ën änëmia barimainun ka min amokwa bari!”.

buan-xun *ka=is=a* *ma* *ni=nu* *atsin-kian-kin*
 bring-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 already jungle=LOC enter-going:INTR-S/A>A:SE
ka-akë-x-a “*ë=n* *ënë=mi=a*
say-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX 1SG=A this=IMPR.LOC=PA.P
bari-mainun *ka* *mi=n* *amokwa* *bari’*
 look.for-DS/A/P:SE:DUR NAR 2SG=A at.the.other.side:PA.P look.for:IMP
 ‘Bringing him, when he had already entered the jungle, he said, “While I look for them around here, you look for them on the other side!”.’
 (WO-armadillo-2007.003)

In the following example, I present sentence 004 from the same narrative. There, it can be seen that the last main predicate (*ka-ake-x-a* ‘say-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX’ from example (997) above) is reintroduced by the following dependent verb, thus creating again a tail-head linkage structure. The interesting fact in the relation to this example is that the tail predicate is this time not modifying the main transitive verb (*mëra-akë-x-a* ‘find-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX’) but the intransitive dependent verb *kwankin* (‘go-S/A>A:SE’), which is the head of a complex switch-reference clause (see §12.2): *ka-tankëx* ‘say-S/A>S :PE’ functions as a converb in relation to *kwankin*.

(998) *Katankëx kwankin kaisa béráma anu ‘ikë a ‘aishbi chikikë mérakëxa uni xanu ‘ibu an.*

ka-tankëx *kwan-kin* ***ka=is=a*** *béráma* *anu*
 say-S/A>S:PE go-S/A>A:SE **NAR=REP=3** before there
‘i-kë *a* ‘*aishbi* *chikit-kë* *mëra-akë-x-a*
 be-NOMLZ that:P but:S/A>A go.out-NOMLZ find-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
uni *xanu* ‘*ibu* *a=n*
 person woman owner that=A

‘It is said that, after talking, going, the man who was the husband of the woman found traces of (an armadillo) having recently exited (its burrow).

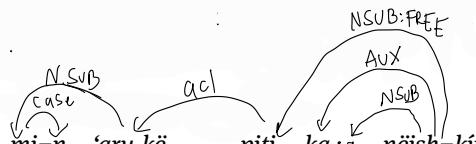
(WO-armadillo-2007.004–005)

This type of example, in which the tail of the tail-head linkage structure is modifying another dependent element, is not unusual. I consider that such constructions have a specific discourse function: by presenting a predicate as a dependent element after the

tail of the tail-head linkage structure, the speaker backgrounds the event expressed by that predicate and makes it less salient. In the example above, for instance, the foregrounded event is that, after talking to the lover of his wife, the man found an old armadillo burrow. The fact that he had to go to the jungle in order to do so is presented as a dependent element and therefore backgrounded or assumed as less important. The use of tail-head linkage structures for backgrounding and foregrounding events in Kakataibo is a fascinating topic of research that requires more attention.

16.7 Exclamatory markers

Verbal interactions in Kakataibo often exhibit the utterance-final enclitics *=kín* and *=kán*. These two enclitics carry a lexically assigned high pitch and surface as highly nasalized. Their function is mainly expressive and these markers are used to *“track the attention of the addressee towards the proposition or a certain part of the utter-*

- (999) a.  *mi=n 'aru-kë piti ka :ä næish=kín*
 2SG=A cook-NOMLZ food NAR:3 delicious=EXCL1
 ‘The food you cooked is delicious (as expected).’
- b. *Min 'arukë piti ka næishkán.*
mi=n 'aru-kë piti ka næish=kán
 2SG=A cook-NOMLZ food NAR:3 delicious=EXCL2
 ‘The food you cooked is surprisingly delicious.’

16.8 Register and addressee’s perspective in verbal interactions

This section explores in more detail the categories of register (presented in §11.2.1) and addressee’s perspective (presented in §9.2.7), paying particular attention to the functions they accomplish in different types of verbal interactions (see also Zariquiey 2015). Regarding register, I argue that this category is mainly involved in the establishment of two different types of verbal interaction. In one, the speaker plans to keep the turn for a relatively long period of time and therefore uses the second-position enclitic *ka* ‘narrative’ (a storytelling situation will be the prototypical case of this kind of situation). In the other, the speaker expects the addressee to take the turn and the second-

position enclitic *ni* 'conversational' is used (a dynamic verbal interaction in which the two speech act participants constantly exchange the turns while talking would be the prototypical instantiation of this type of speech act). Therefore, it is argued here that the category of register (§11.2.1) has direct implication in turn-taking in Kakataibo. Addressee's perspective, in turn, is a category that situates the information that the speaker presents from the perspective of the addressee, in terms of a distinction between information that is proximal to addressee and information that is not. This section also presents interesting interactions between the forms related to both categories. As we will see below, register markers also carry some expectation about what the relation between the addressee and the information the speaker presents.

From the perspective of conversation analysis, the contrasts that will be discussed and illustrated can be understood by means of the notions of epistemic status and epistemic stance (Heritage 2012a,b), which have to do with the knowing status of speech act participants and its encoding in grammar. The notion of epistemic status has to do with the relative states of knowledge of speech act participants, which "can range from circumstances in which speaker A may have absolute knowledge of some item, while speaker B has none, to those in which both speakers may have exactly equal information, as well as every point in between" (Heritage 2012a: 3). Heritage uses the labels [K+] and [K-] to refer to knowing and not knowing participants.

Epistemic stance, in turn, has to do with the expression of these various relationships between speech act participants and information at different points of a verbal interaction. Epistemic stance usually has consequences for the design of turns at talk and something like this will be found in Kakataibo. "While taking an 'unknowing' epistemic stance [as in 'are you married?'] invites elaboration and projects the possibility of sequence expansion, the more 'knowing' formats represented by ['you are married, aren't you?'] and ['you are married'] tend to invite confirmation and sequence closure" (Heritage 2012a: 7).

What the relevant Kakataibo forms do, as will be seen, is to encode the expectations of the speaker about the perspective of the addressee in relation to the information presented in an utterance. These morphemes primarily encode the speaker's expectations regarding whether or not the event is perceptually accessible from the perspective of the addressee. However, other contextual factors may also play a role in the semantic configuration of this category. The semantic and pragmatic features involved in determining if an event is 'proximal to the addressee' are summarized in (1000).

(1000) Proximal to the addressee:

- (i) events that are potentially perceivable by the addressee;
- (ii) actual events that are assumed by the speaker to be known by the addressee;
- (iii) already mentioned events that are assumed by the speaker to be to some extent familiar to the addressee; or/and

- (iv) events that are assumed by the speaker to involve the addressee on an emotional level and, therefore, be relevant from his or her perspective.

It is important to highlight that addressee's perspective is different from evidentiality. It does not have to do with the speaker's information status or with the sources through which the speaker obtained the information, but with the information status of the addressee (i.e. his or her capability to access to the information). Despite this difference between addressee's perspective and evidentiality, evidentiality itself has also been argued to be deictic. De Haan (2005) has convincingly proposed that evidentiality is a deictic category and not a modal one. Explaining his argument, De Haan (2005: 379) states:

It is argued here that they [evidentials; RZB] are used to denote the relative distance between the speaker and the action. A speaker will use an indirect evidential to state the action takes/took place outside the speaker's deictic sphere, whereas the use of a direct evidential shows that the action takes or took place within that deictic sphere.

De Haan tries to demonstrate that a deictic understanding of evidentiality not only explains the fact that sometimes evidentials come from deictic markers, but also offers an appropriate account for the usual evidentiality distinctions attested in the world's languages. His conclusion is that evidentiality could be analyzed as an example of proposition deixis; that is, a relationship between the speaker and the propositional content of the utterance, and not specifically between the speaker and one of the arguments or participants in that utterance. Interestingly, spatial deictic systems may be speaker-oriented or addressee-oriented. According to Anderson and Keenan (1985: 277):

All languages identify locations by reference to that of the Sp[ea ker]. It is also possible to determine locations by reference to that of the Ad[dressee], and many (but not all) languages utilize this possibility as well.

The point is that, if we follow De Haan's argument and define evidentiality as a deictic category, this deixis is speaker-oriented. Thus, if we look at the category of addressee's perspective and compare it with evidentiality systems such as the ones discussed by De Haan (2005), we may find that we also have a form of proposition deixis, but, in this case, it is addressee-oriented. Looking at the Kakataibo data and particularly at the category of addressee's perspective from this point of view might enrich our understanding of the category of proposition deixis, as defined by De Haan, and our way of understanding evidentiality and other related categories.

In what follows, I illustrate the behavior of the markers encoding register (see §11.2.1) and addressee's perspective (see §9.2.7). The forms to be presented here seem to exhibit a similar semantic content, in the sense that to some extent they seem to point towards the same distinction between events that are proximal and non-proxi-

mal to the addressee. However, what is interesting regarding these forms is that they are used for two clearly different pragmatic functions: register second-position enclitics are mainly used for turn-management (see §16.8.1) and addressee's perspective verbal markers are used for information structure and event cohesion (see §16.8.2).

16.8.1 Register and turn-management

As discussed in §11.2.1, second-position enclitics from slot II encode a cross-linguistically infrequent grammatical category labelled as **register** in this grammar (see also Shell 1975, who analyses the same enclitics as “modal markers”). This category is based on the opposition between two markers: *ka* ‘narrative’ and *ri* ‘conversational’. The former is used in utterances within narratives and/or monologues and the latter is used in utterances within dialogic speech acts that assume the pre-existence of substantial contextual or background information shared by the speaker and the addressee.

While in narratives or storytelling speech acts in Kakataibo, we exclusively find the narrative enclitic (see any of the narrative examples featured in this grammar), conversations are extremely dynamic and we find interesting interactions between *ka* ‘narrative’ and *ri* ‘conversational’ within them. The fragment of a conversation offered in (1001) illustrates how this distinction works in natural speech. In this interaction, two women talk about a tapir calf that was found in the jungle by their cousin, who adopted it as a pet. Most people in the village were emotionally involved with this domesticated tapir calf and used to look after it; but, suddenly, the tapir calf was killed by a group of outsiders. In this conversation, FE and ME discuss the situation for a long time, and most of the conversation concerns information that everyone in the village is supposed to know. As can be seen in line (02), this shared information, in association with which both speech act participants are equally knowledgeable (K+) is presented using *ri* ‘conversational’ (lines 01–06).⁸⁷ However, at some point in the conversation (line 09), speaker FE shifts to *ka* ‘narrative’ and this clitic is then used until the end of her participation. This shift has to do with the fact that FE tells ME how she was told about the tapir’s demise, information that ME was not aware of. Therefore, by changing to *ka* ‘narrative’, FE claims herself to be in a more advantageous position regarding accessibility to the information, which becomes non-proximal from the perspective of the addressee. In Heritage’s terms, FE shifts to *ka* ‘narrative’ because she assumed the information as new from ME’s perspective and therefore ME becomes a non-knowledgeable (K-) participant.

⁸⁷ Notice that the form *usama ka* ‘it is wrong (lit. it is not like that)’ in lines 2, 7 and 12 exhibits the clitic *ka* ‘narrative’. This is because it is an idiomatic and fixed construction, but also because it presents a personal evaluation.

(1001) FE.ME-tapir-2007 (fragment)

- 01 **FE:** *ajá 'énribi rina ñantamashi 'ia kwaëxan*
ajá 'ë=n=ribi ri=na ñanta-ma-shi 'i-ia
 AFFIR 1SG=A=also CON=1 morning=NEG=only be-A/S>P
kwat-ëxa-n
 hear-PST.days.ago-1/2/3
 'yes... I also heard so before it dawned.'
- 02 **ME:** *ajá a las siete de la noche sapiria 'iëxan*
ajá a las siete de la noche sapi=ri=a 'i-ëxan-n
 AFFIR at.seven.p.m. DUB=CON=3 be-PST.days.ago-1/2/3
 'yes... was it at seven p.m.?'
- 03 **FE:** *a esa hora ria 'iëxan*
a esa hora ri=a 'i-ëxa=n
 at.that.time CON=3 be-PST.days.ago-1/2/3
 'it was at that time.'
- 04 **ME:** *ajá 'ikë*
ajá 'i-kë
 AFFIR be-NOMLZ
 'yes... what it was.'
- 05 *y anu ria ain 'ibun bëxan*
y anu ri=a ain 'ibu=n bë-ëxan-n
 and then CON=3 3SG:GEN owner=ERG bring-PST.days.ago-1/2/3
 'and then its owner brought it.'
- 06 *usama ka*
u=sa=ma ka
 that=COMP=NEG NAR:3
 'this should not happen (lit. it is not like that).'
- 07 **FE:** *ajá... pëkaran*
ajá... pëkara-an
 AFFIR dawn-D.A/S/P:PE
 'yes, when it dawned.'
- 08 *y atian*
y atian
 and then
 'and then...'
- 09 *'ën kana*
'ë=n ka=na
 3=A NAR=1SG
 'I...'

- 10 'ën 'unan-kë=ma=bi *ka*
 'ë=n 'uman-kë=ma=bi ***ka***
 1SG=A know-NOMLZ=NEG=same **NAR:3**
- 11 'ë Pablón kaëxanxín
 'ë Pablo=n ka-ëxan-x-íñ
 1SG:P pablo=ERG say-PST.days.ago-3-PROX
 'When I did not know it yet, Pablo told me.'
- 12 **ME:** *ajá*
 AFFIR
 'yes'
- 13 **FE:** *sapi ka 'ikén*
 sapi ka 'ikén
 DUB **NAR:3** be:3
 'it is like this'
- 14 'ikébëtan ka abëtan kaëxanxa
 'i-kébëtan **ka** a=bëtan ka-ëxan-x-a
 be-D.A/S/P **NAR:3** 3=COM say-PST.days.ago-NON.PROX
 'when it was like this, they told (me) with him'
- 15 *atian ka kiëxanxa a*
 atian ka *ki-ëxan-x-a* *a*
 then **NAR:3** say-PST.days.ago-NON.PROX that
 'then they said that'
- 16 *bëri ka 'ó basin basin 'irës ashi ka 'ó*
 bëri ka 'ó *basin basin* 'i=rës a=shi **ka** 'ó
 now **NAR:3** tapir delay delay be=just that=only **NAR:3** tapir
 'now the tapir is being late (but) it was just there (dead)'
- 17 **ME:** *ajá*
 AFFIR
 'yes'

The enclitics *ri* 'proximal to the addressee' and *ka* 'narrative' can be seen as epistemic stance markers in the sense that they constitute strategies by means of which the speaker can express his or her expectations about the information status of the addressee (and this is particularly obvious regarding *ri* 'conversational'). However, what is also interesting about the fragment in (1001) is that, as it is cross-linguistically the case, epistemic stance markers in Kakataibo have important consequences for the design of turns at talk and this is an important function of the register clitics *ka* 'narrative' and *ri* 'conversational' (perhaps the most important). The involvement of epistemic status and epistemic stance in the creation of boundaries between talk turns

(Heritage 2012b) is prototypically related to speech act distinctions of the usual sort (declarative vs. interrogative, for instance). However, the situation is relatively different in Kakataibo. In this language, we have special dedicated morphology, whose main function seems to be the managing of turns. In (1001), it is clear that the Kakataibo enclitics *ri* ‘conversational’ and *ka* ‘narrative’ are also involved in turn-management in conversation: utterances with *ri* ‘conversational’ are more likely to trigger a highly dynamic interaction between speech act participants, in which the turns are constantly transferred (see lines 01–06 in (1001)). In turn, utterances with *ka* ‘narrative’ do not produce this effect and in lines 07–17, the talk-turn mainly stays with FE (ME only participates in lines 12 and 17, uttering the affirmative particle *ajá*).

16.8.2 Addressee's perspective and information structure

The encoding of addressee's perspective within the verbal morphology of the language is mainly associated with the forms in the inflectional slot IV (which includes the suffixes *-a* ‘unmarked’ and *-ín* ‘proximal to the addressee’; see §9.2.7). As also indicated in §9.2.7, in Kakataibo, the encoding of addressee's perspective in the verbal inflectional slot IV is only accessible for third person subjects. Therefore, if the subject of the clause belongs to the first or the second person, the verb will end in the subject cross-reference marker *-n* ‘first/second person’ from the inflectional slot III, as illustrated by the elicited declarative paradigm in (1002).

- (1002) a. *'En kana pian.*
'ë=n ka=na pi-a-n
 1SG=A NAR=1 eat-PFV-1/2
 ‘I ate.’
- b. *Min kamina pian.*
mi=n ka=mina pi-a-n
 2=A NAR=2 eat-PFV-1/2
 ‘You ate.’
- c. *An ka piaxa.*
a=n ka pi-a-x-a
 3=A NAR:3 EAT-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘(S)he ate (the event may or may not be proximal to the addressee).’
- d. *An ka piaxín.*
a=n ka pi-a-x-ín
 3=A NAR:3 eat-PFV-3-PROX
 ‘(S)he ate (the event is proximal to the addressee).’

In sentences that have *ri* as the second-position enclitic, the person and perspective contrast are lost, as shown by examples (1003).

- (1003) a. *'Ēn rina pian.*

'ē=n ri=na pi-a-n
1=A CON.1 eat-PFV-**1/2/3**
'I ate.'

- b. *Min rimina pian.*

mi=n ri=mina pi-a-n
2-A CON=2 eat-PFV-**1/2/3**
'You ate.'

- c. *An ria pian.*

a=n ria pi-a-n (-ín, *-a)*
3=A CON.3 eat-PFV-**1/2/3**
'(S)he ate (the event may or may not be proximal to the addressee).'

The two narrative fragments below illustrate the distribution of the forms *-a* ‘non proximal to the addressee’ and *-ín* ‘proximal to the addressee’ in natural texts. In (1004), we find a portion of a narrative about three Kakataibo men who united the Kakataibo people from different clans in settlements created by them around 1920–1930. The fragment starts with a sequence of ‘non-proximal’ verbal forms (ended in *-a*). This is what we would expect since the addressee (in this case, the author) did not know the information being presented and the events happened decades ago and therefore cannot be perceived from the location of the speech act. However, suddenly, a proximal verbal form with *-ín* ‘proximal to the addressee’ is introduced (line 06). This occurs when the speaker initiates a reference to Nicolás Aguilar, a Kakataibo person, in the narrative. In this context, the proximal marker is triggered by the fact that Nicolás Aguilar and the author were close friends and had a personal relationship. In addition, Nicolás Aguilar was in Yamino, the place where the narrative was told, at the moment of the recording and his house was in fact near the speaker’s house, where the recording was made. The marker *-ín* is repeated in the last sentence because of all the contextual information just given, but also because the speaker had already introduced the topic ‘Nicolás Aguilar’ in the narrative.

- (1004) EE-three.men-2013 (fragment)

01 *A kimisha uni iakëxa tres hermanos*

a kimisha uni i-akë-x-a tres hermanos
that three man:ABS be-REM.PST-3-**NON.PROX** three brothers
'those three men were three brothers'

- 02 *ën papa-n xukëñ*
 ë=n papa=n xukëñ
 1SG=GEN father=GEN brother
 'my father's brothers'
- 03 *aishbi ka kakataibonëñ rëtëakëxa*
 aishbi ka kakataibo-nëñ rëtë-akë-x-a
 but NAR:3 kakataibo-ERG kill-REM.PST-3-**NON.PROX**
- 04 *ën papan xukënx este... Tëtëkamo*
 ë=n papa=n xukëñ=x este... Tëtëkamo
 1SG=GEN father=GEN brother=TOP hmmm Tëtëkamo
 'but the Kakataibo people killed my father's brother hmmm... Tëtëkamo'
- 05 *ax ka ain bëchikë Aguilar*
 a-x ka ain bëchikë Aguilar
 that-s NAR:3 3.GEN son aguilar
- 06 *este Nicolás Aguilar ax iakëxín*
 este Nicolás Aguilar a-x i-akë-x-íñ
 this Nicolás Aguilar 3-s be-REM.PST-3-**PROX**
 'that (man)... his son was this Nicolás Aguilar'
- 07 *ënú irubëaxín Yaminonu*
 ënú irubë-a-x-íñ Yaminonu
 here stay-PFV-3-**PROX** Yaminon-LOC
 'he stayed here, in Yamino'

Example (1005) is from a narrative about how the Kakataibo people worked for non-indigenous bosses (called *patrones* in regional Spanish) in the timber and rubber industries, also around 1920–1930. The fragment comes from a sequence of proximal verbal forms with *-íñ*. The repeated use of the marker *-íñ* 'proximal to the addressee' is used to indicate that the presented events constitute a single cohesive narrative unit, which, as soon as it is introduced in discourse, becomes proximal to the addressee. This is a very common practice in Kakataibo narratives, in which the distinction between verb forms ending in *-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee' and verb forms ending in *-íñ* 'proximal to the addressee' is often used as an information structure device (see the discussion below). The first part of the fragment lists the various forest products that the Kakataibo people worked with and constitutes some sort of narrative unit, whose cohesion is expressed by means of the marker *-íñ* 'proximal to the addressee', as just explained. This unit is broken by a crucial piece of information: that these products used to be taken to Tingo María to be sold. This "new" information is treated by the speaker as non-proximal to the addressee (in this case, the author), and therefore is introduced by an 'non-proximal' verbal form (line 05). Interestingly, it creates a new cohesive narrative unit and, therefore, is followed again by a proximal verbal form towards the end of the fragment.

-
- 01 *patron=bëtan ka: balata 'a-akë-x-in*
boss=COM NAR:3 rubber.latex do-REM.PST-3-PROX
'(They) worked with non-indigenous bosses (gathering) rubber latex.'
- 02 *cauchoribi usaribioakëxín*
caucho-ribi usa-ribi-o-akë-x-in
castilla.rubber-also like.that-also-FACT-REM.PST-3-PROX
- 03 *'imainun shiringa*
'imainun shiringa
and shiringa.rubber.tree
'They also worked like that (with) rubber and shiringa'
- 04 *shiringa ax ka lamina abiribi*
shiringa a=x ka lamina a-bi-ribi
shiringa.rubber that=S NAR:3 sheet that-EMP-also
'shiringa is also (made into) sheets'
- 05 *a ka buankëxa Tingo Maríanu*
a ka buan-akë-x-a *Tingo María-nu*
that NAR:3 take-REM.PAS-3-NON.PROX Tingo.María-LOC
'that they used to take it to Tingo Maria'
- 06 *marukin non buankëxín*
maru-kin no-n buan-akë-x-in
sell-S/A>A:SE non.indigenous-ERG take-REM.PAS-3-NON.PROX
'the non indigenous people used to take it to sell'

With the two fragments just presented, I have attempted to illustrate how the markers in the verbal inflectional slot IV interact with each other in the narrative register (recall that they do not appear in the conversational register). As can be seen, the various features proposed in (1000) seem to play a role in how the forms *-in* 'proximal to the addressee' and *-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee' are used. This can also be seen in (1001), where the change from *ri* to *ka* in line (13) also includes the introduction of the verbal suffix *-in* 'proximal to the addressee'. This is expected since although the presented information was new, the topic had largely been introduced in the conversation.

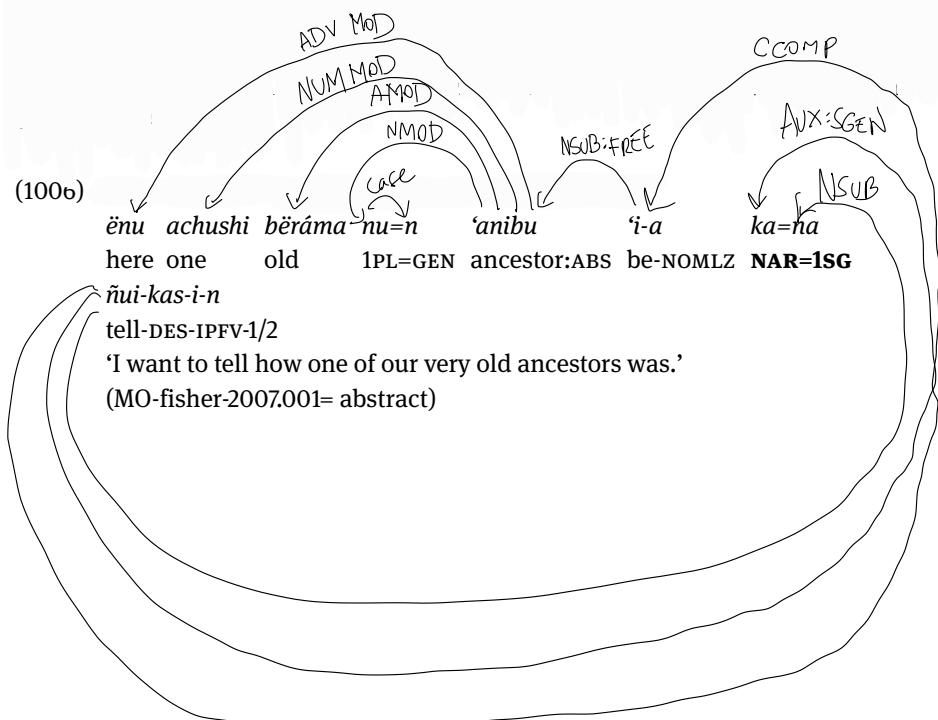
Thus, it is argued here that the morphological distinction between *-a* 'non-proximal to the addressee' and *-in* 'proximal to the addressee' can be understood in verbal interactions in which one participant keeps the turn for a portion of time as an information structure device (but the use of this distinction does not seem to play a relevant role for turn-management). This device is used as follows: the first sentence in the cohesive unit (which can be called a "paragraph") contains a verbal form that

ends in *-a* ‘non-proximal to the addressee’, and which is followed by sentences that contain verbal forms ending in *-in* ‘proximal to the addressee’. Whenever the thematic cohesion is broken and a new paragraph is introduced, the next sentence again contains a verb ending in *-a* ‘non-proximal to the addressee’ which will be followed again by sentences carrying a verbal form ending in *-in* ‘proximal to the addressee’. Notice that this mechanism also includes elaborative clauses, since they also include a fully inflected verb (see §13.3).

Drawing on Labov's (1972) model of natural narratives, we find that this device is more likely to be used in some sections of the narrative than in others. Labov established six different sections to which different clauses in a narrative can be attributed. According to him, narratives start with an “abstract”, which presents the topic of the narrative, and then continue with an “orientation”, where we receive information about the characters, the place and so on. After that, we find the “complicating action”, which is the core of the narrative, and then a “resolution”, which tells us what finally happened. In addition, Labov identifies “codas”, which close the narrative, and “evaluations”, which do not introduce information about the events in a narrative, but judgments made by the speaker and the like. So far, I can say that in Kakataibo narratives, the use of *-in* as a cohesion marker is only found in clauses associated with the orientation, the complicating action and the resolution (and in the transition between them).

Finally, Kakataibo narratives in a nest of clauses in a larger structure have the following structure:

* Labov's abstract section



- (1007) *Ashi ka 'en ñuikaskë 'iixa. Anu kaisa ma a uni istëkënkama 'ikën amiribishi.*
- a=ishi ka **ë=n** ñui-kas-kë 'i-a-x-a*
 that=only NAR:3 **1SG=A** tell-DES-NOMLZ be-PFV-3-NON.PROX
anu ka=is=a ma a uni is-tëkën-kan-a=ma
 there NAR=REP=3 already that person:ABS see-again-PL-NOMLZ=NEG
'ikën amiribishi
 be:3 again
 'Only that was what I wanted to tell. They didn't see that man anymore there.'
 (MO-fisher-2007.025–026=coda)

The orientation of the narrative is usually composed of one or more sentences, which do not constitute a single paragraph. This is probably because, in the orientation, each sentence introduces a bit of new information.

In sentences 002–003 of the first narrative included in Appendix 1, we are given the orientation: we are told that a long time ago, there was a man who the Kakataibo ancestors used to talk about and who used to fish with poison. Those sentences accomplish an orientation function in that they present who is involved in the story and when it happened. Both appear with the marker *-a* ‘non-proximal to the addressee’.

- (1008) *Ax ka 'iakëxa achushi nun xutakaman ñuixuan "béráma 'ia usaisa uni 'iakëxa" kixun. Ax kaisa 'iakëxa achushi uni an'axankë.*
- a=x ka 'i-akë-x-a achushi*
 that=s NAR:3 be-REM.PST-3-**NON.PROX** one
nu=n xuta=kama-n ñui-xun-a
 1PL=GEN grandfather=PL=ERG tell-BEN-NOMLZ
béráma 'i-a usa-is=a uni
 long.time.ago be-NOMLZ like.that=REP=3 person:ABS
'i-akë-x-a ki-xun
 be-REM.PST-3-**NON.PROX** say:INTR-S/A>A:SE
a=x ka=is=a 'i-akë-x-a
3SG=S NAR=REP=3 be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX****
achushi uni a=n 'axan-kë
 one person **3SG=A** fish.using.poison-NOMLZ
 'That is one that our grandparents tell (us) about, saying, "A long time ago it is said that the man was like that". It is said that he was a man who used to fish using poison.' (MO-fisher-2007.002–003=orientation)

The mechanism being described here becomes relevant when we reach the complicating action. The complicating action is the core of the narrative and may be highly complex. In that case, one would expect to find several cohesive units that can be called “paragraphs” and this is exactly what happens in Kakataibo. The complicating action is made up by two or more paragraphs, in which the first sentence carries

a verbal form ending in *-a* ‘non proximal to the addressee’ and is followed by other sentences with verbal forms ending in *-in* ‘proximal to the addressee’, until a new paragraph starts. The following two sentences represent the first paragraph in the complicating action of the first narrative in Appendix 1.

It is not yet clear which factors trigger the introduction of a new paragraph in the complicating action. It may be the case that factors such as the presentation of new information (including a new character) or a change in topic play a role in this mechanism, but a more detailed study of the data is required to understand the patterns better. The data gathered so far clearly reveal at least one factor that creates a new paragraph: the introduction of an evaluative sentence.

Evaluative sentences usually introduce predicates that refer to non-past events (such as “that does not happen these days”) or, even, predicates in the first person (such as “I think that he was a good man”). Thus, they represent significant disruptions of the event-flow presented in the narrative and, very likely because of this, they always introduce a new section that cannot be started with a sentence that includes a verbal form with *-in* ‘proximal to the addressee’. The following sentences, taken from the first narrative in Appendix 1, illustrate what has just been described. Sentence (1010) introduces an evaluative element in the sense that the speaker qualifies and expresses his admiration about the large number of different types of fish that the fisherman used to bring. After that, a new paragraph in the complicating action is introduced (1011). This complicating action includes one sentence with a verb ending in *-a* ‘non proximal to the addressee’, followed by other sentences with verbal forms ending in *-in* ‘proximal to the addressee’:

- (1010) 'Axani kwanxun kaisa bëakëxa 'itsaira tsatsa tsatsa ñapa usabu.
 'axan-i kwan-xun ka=is=a bë-akë-x-a
 fish.using.poison-PURP go-S/A>A NAR=REP=3 bring-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 'itsa=ira tsatsa tsatsa ñapa usa-bu
 many-INT fish.species fish.species fish.species like.that=PL:ABS
 'It is said that, going to fish, he brought many fishes of different kinds.'
 (MO-fisher-2007.006=evaluation)
- (1011) Atian "uisa kupí kara usaokin 'aia" kixun kaisa unikaman sinankëxa. Usai 'itsa
 basi tiempo kaisa a unin usaokin ñu 'akëshín. Atian achushi nëtëen sinankankëshín
 "uisa kupí kara a unin 'aisamera usaokin bëia" kixun.
 atian uisa kupí ka=ra usa-o-kin 'a-i-a
 then why NAR=INT.3 like.that=FACT-S/A>A:SE do-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ki-xun ka=is=a uni=kama=n sinan-akë-x-a
 say:INTR-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 person=PL=ERG think-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 usa-i 'itsa basi-i tiempo ka=is=a
 like.that=FACT-S/A>A:SE a.lot.of be.slow-S/A>S:SE time NAR=REP=3
 a uni=n usa-o-kin ñu 'a-akë-x-ín
 that person=ERG like.that=FACT-S/A>A:SE thing:ABS do-REM.PST-3-PROX
 atian achushi nëtëe=n sinan-kan-akë-x-ín uisa kupí kara
 then one day=TEMP think-PL-REM.PST-3-PROX why NAR=INT.3
 a uni=n 'aisamera usa-o-kin bë-i-a
 that person=ERG a.lot.of like.that=FACT-S/A>A:SE bring-IPFV-NON.PROX
 ki-xun
 say:INTR-S/A>A:SE
 'Then, it is said that the people thought, "Why does this man fish like this?".
 That man did the things very slowly. Then, one day the people thought, "Why
 does that man bring a lot (of fish)??" (MO-fisher-2007.007-009=complicating
 action)

The distinction between the complicating action and the resolution is not always transparent in Kakataibo narratives. Sentences that would be considered resolutions according to the definition offered by Labov can be part of a paragraph that started as part of the complication action. This can be seen in the following sentences, from the same narrative. In the sentences presented in (1012), we are told what happened in the end, which is exactly what Labov's resolution does. However, a new paragraph is not created and the verbs in the resolution appear with the marker *-in* 'proximal to the addressee'.

- (1012) Ami nishkin kaisa achushi unin maxax maxaxnu ain bëru nankë anu bëru
 nankë kaisa kwanxun maxax achushinën chakakëshín. Atian anu kaisa
 usaokin ‘akëbë kaisa a uni nuankëshín ain bëru a tuxakëx.
a=mi nish-kin ka=is=a achushi uni=n
 3SG=IMPR.LOC envy-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 one person=ERG
maxax maxax=nu ain bëru nan-kë
 stone stone=LOC 3SG:GEN eye:ABS put-NOMLZ
anu bëru nan-kë ka=is=a
 there eye:ABS put-NOMLZ NAR=REP=3
kwan-xun maxax achushi=n chaka-akë-x-ín
 go-S/A>A:SE stone one=INS beat-REM.PST-3-PROX
atian anu ka=is=a usa-o-kin
 then there NAR=REP=3 like.that-FACT-S/A>A:SE
'a-këbë ka=is=a
 do-D.S/A/P:SE:INTR NAR=REP=3
a uni nuan-akë-x-ín ain bëru
 that person:ABS fly-REM.PST-3-PROX 3SG:GEN eye
a tuxa-këx
 that:P blow.up-P>S:PE
 ‘It is said that envying him, one man, going to the place where the man had
 put his eye on a stone, beat the eye with (another) stone.’ ‘Then, when the
 man squashed his eye, the other man (the fisherman) flew away.’
 (MO-fisher-2007.022-23=resolution)

Thus, examples like the one just presented suggest that the distribution of these markers in discourse may be explained in terms of general principles for the structuring of narratives, as proposed by Labov (1972). However more research is still needed in order to determine how widespread these principles are in Kakataibo natural texts.

16.8.3 Final note

The patterns described in this section are fascinating and constitute a fitting way of closing this grammatical description. However, more research is needed in order to determine if the analyses proposed here are also attested in a larger sample of conversations and narratives. One interesting point is that we can observe striking differences in the use of this alternation between *-a* ‘non-proximal to the addressee’ and *-ín* ‘proximal to the addressee’ that were triggered by my fieldwork methodology. I obtained most of my recordings at the beginning of my first fieldwork season, when I was not yet able to speak the language fluently. Speakers did not seem to see me as a real addressee, and they therefore did not use this alternation at all. Instead, they seem to have assumed that they were talking to the recording machine. At that time, I only

found this alternation when the speakers told the story to somebody else. However, as soon as I was able to interview the speakers in their language (even though I was not able to understand all of what they were saying to me), they suddenly started to use the mechanism described here when speaking to me, too. This constitutes convincing evidence that the forms described in this section are addressee-oriented.

While transcribing narratives, I always asked my teachers why the speaker was changing the form of the verb. Even though they were not able to give concrete explanations, there was an agreement that it had something to do with a topic change. This explanation fits in with the analysis proposed here. In addition, during the double checking of the examples included in this grammar, my teachers did not like those cases in which sentences with a verb ending in *-in* 'proximal to the addressee' were taken out of their context and put in isolation to explain other grammatical features. They did not say that those examples were wrong; but they said that, if you want to say them, you need to say something else before. Their comments, again, corroborate the preliminary analysis proposed here. A similar situation is found in written Kakataibo, in which the form *-in* is simply avoided. Kakataibo translators of the Bible do not like to include proximal forms with *-in* in their translations. This conscious choice may have to do with the fact that written documents do not necessarily have concrete addressees and to some extent are similar to the recording machine of our first recording sessions.

Appendix 1: Selection of Kakataibo texts

Three complete narratives are included in this appendix. They illustrate some of the mechanisms presented in Chapter 16, which describes how narratives are organized. In order to enhance that illustration, I have included some of the texts that are the source of many of the examples in that chapter: MO-fisher-2007; JE-parakeet-2007 and NA-foreigner-2007.

As explained in §1.4.2, narratives have been divided into sentences. Sentences are defined syntactically, and may include one single independent clause or a combination of one or more dependent clauses with one main clause (see Chapter 11 on the distinction between independent and dependent clauses).

The fisherman [MO-fisher-2007]

The following narrative, told by Marcelo Odicio [MO], presents the story of a mythical fisherman who used to take out one of his eyes and put it on a stone while he was fishing. He was very successful and he used to bring lots of fish to the village. The other men were jealous of him, and one day they decided to follow the mythical fisherman to discover his secret. They saw what this mythical man used to do with his eye, and one man decided to destroy it with a stone. After that, the mythical man left the village forever. The narrative was told to Wilton Odicio and me. See Appendix 4 for the duration and other details about this recording.

- 001 *ënu achushi béráma nun ‘anibu ‘ia kana ñuikasin*
 ënu achushi béráma nu=n ‘anibu ‘i-a ka=na ñui-kas-i-n
 here one old 1PL=GEN ancestor:ABS be-NOMLZ NAR=1SG tell-DES-IPFV-1/2
 ‘I want to tell how one of our very old ancestors was.’
- 002 *ax ka ‘iakëxa achushi nun xutakaman*
 a=x ka ‘i-akë-x-a achushi nu=n xuta=kama-n
 that=S NAR:3 be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX one 1PL=GEN grandfather=PL=ERG
 ñuixuan “béráma ‘ia usaisa uni
 ñui-xun-a béráma ‘i-a usa-isa uni
 tell-BEN-NOMLZ long.time.ago be-NOMLZ like.that-REP.3 person:ABS
 ‘iakëxa” kixun
 ‘i-akë-x-a ki-xun
 be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX say:INTR-S/A>A:SE
 ‘That is one that our grandparents tell (us) about, saying, “A long time ago it is said that the man was like that”.'

- 003 *ax kaisa ‘iakëxa achushi uni an*
a=x ka=is=a i-akë-x-a achushi uni a-n
 3SG=S NAR=REP=3 be-REM.PST-S-NON.PROX one person 3SG=ERG
‘axan-kë
‘axan-kë
 fish-using.poison-NOMLZ
 ‘It is said that he was a man who used to fish using poison.’
- 004 *atian ‘ainbi kaisa a ui-saokin kara*
atian ‘ainbi ka=is=a a ui-sa-o-kin ka=ra
 then but(DS/A/O) NAR=REP=3 that.O int.word-COMP-FACT-S/A>A:SE NAR=INT.3
‘axan-i-a kixun a uni
‘axan-i-a ki-xun a uni
 fish-using.poison-IPFV-NON.PROX say:INTR-S/A>A that person:ABS
‘unanyamakë ‘iakëxa uinbi uinikë uninbi
‘unanyama-kë i-akë-x-a uinbi uinikë uni-n=bi
 know-NEG-NOMLZ be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX nobody(A) no.one person=ERG=same
 ‘Saying, “How does this man fish?”, the (other) men did not know, nobody, not one man knew.’
- 005 *atian casi kamabi nëtëen kaisa a uni kwankëshín*
atian casi kamabi nëtëe=n ka=is=a a uni kwan-akë-x-íñ
 then almost all day=TEMP NAR=REP=3 that person:ABS go-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘Then, almost every day that man went (to fish).’
- 006 *‘axani kwanxun kaisa bëakëxa*
‘axan-i kwan-xun ka=is=a bë-akë-x-a
 fish-using.poison-PURP go-S/A>A NAR=REP=3 bring-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
‘itsaira tsatsa tsatsa ñapa usabu
‘itsa=ira tsatsa tsatsa ñapa usa-bu
 many-INT fish.species fish.species fish.species like.that=PL:ABS
 ‘Going to fish, he brought many fishes of different kinds.’
- 007 *atian “uisa kupí kara usaokin*
atian uisa kupí ka=ra usa-o-kin
 then how reas NAR=INT.3 like.that=FACT-S/A>A:SE
‘aia” kixun kaisa unikaman
‘a-i-a ki-xun ka=is=a uni=kama-n
 do-IPFV-NON.PROX say:INTR-S/A>A:SE nar=REP=3 person=PL=ERG
sinankëxa
sinan-akë-x-a
 think-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Then, the people thought, “Why does this man fish like this?”’

- 008 *usa-i ‘itsa basi tiempo kaisa a*
usa-i ‘itsa basi-i tiempo ka=is=a a
 like.that-FACT-S/A>A:SE a.lot.of be.slow-S/A>S:SE time NAR=REP=3 that
unin usaokin ñu ‘akëshín
uni=n usa-o-kin ñu ‘a-akë-x-ín
 person=ERG like.that-fact-S/A>A:SE thing:ABS do-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘That man did things very slowly.’
- 009 *atian achushi nëtëñ sinankankëshín “uisa kupí kara*
atian achushi nëtë=n sinan-kan-akë-x-ín uisa kupí kara
 then one day=TEMP think-PL-REM.PST-3-PROX how REAS NAR=INT.3
a unin ‘aisamera usaokin bëia’
a uni=n ‘aisamera usa-o-kin bë-i-a
 that person=ERG a.lot.of like.that-FACT-S/A>A:SE bring-IPFV-NON.PROX
kixun
ki-xun
 say:INTR-S/A>A:SE
 ‘Then, one day the people thought, “Why does that man bring a lot (of fish)?.”
- 010 *atian atun kwanxun kwanxunbi kaisa*
atian atu=n kwan-xun kwan-xun=bi ka=is=a
 then 3PL=GEN go-S/A>A go-S/A>A-although NAR=REP=3
atun tsatsa biyama ‘ikën
atu=n tsatsa bi-yama-a ‘ikën
 3pl=ERG fish.species:ABS pick.up-NEG-NOMLZ be:3
 ‘Although they went and went fishing, they didn’t catch any fish’
- 011 *a kupí kaisa a unikaman sinankëxa*
a kupí ka=is=a a uni=kama=n sinan-akë-x-a
 that REAS NAR=REP=3 that person=PL=ERG think-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
“uisa kupí kara a uninshi ñu ‘aia”
ui-sa kupí ka=ra a uni-n=ishi ñu ‘a-i-a
 why NAR=INT.3 that person=ERG=ONLY thing:ABS do-IPFV-NON.PROX
kixun
ki-xun
 say:INTR-S/A>A:SE
 ‘Because of that, those men were thinking, “Why does only this man do the things?”.’
- 012 *usai kanantankëxun kaisa achushi*
usa-i ka-anan-tankëxun ka=is=a achushi
 like.that-S/A>S:SE say-RECP-S/A>A:PE NAR=REP=3 one
nëtëñ sutanti sinankëshín a unikaman
nëtë=n sutan-ti sinan-akë-x-ín a uni=kama-n
 day=TEMP spy-NOMLZ think-REM.PST-3-PROX that person=PL=ERG
 ‘After talking like this, those men decided to spy (on the man) one day.’

- 013 *sinantankëxun kaisa kakëxa ain bëtsi*
sinan-tankëxun ka=is=a ka-akë-x-a ain bëtsi
 think-S/A>A:PE NAR=REP=3 say-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX 3.GEN other:ABS
“uisa kupí kara usaokin ‘aia
uisa kupí ka=ra usa-o-kin ‘a-i-a
 why NAR=INT.3 like.that-FACT-S/A>A:SE do-IPFV-NON.PROX
kixun kananuna bëri mëratí ‘ain’
ki-xun ka=nanuna bëri mëra-ti ‘ain
 say:INTR-S/A>A NAR=IPL now find-NOMLZ be:1/2
kixun
ki-xun
 say:INTR-S/A>A:SE
 ‘After thinking, they said to their others, “We will discover how does this man do things like this”.’
- 014 *atian usa-i ‘ikë basi nëtë*
atian usa-i ‘i-kë basi-i nëtë
 then like.that-s/A>S:SE be-NOMLZ be.slow-s/A>S:SE day:ABS
‘inúan kaisa atuxribi kiakëshín
‘inut-an ka=is=a atu-x=ribi ki-akë-x-ín
 pass-DS/A/P:PE NAR=REP=3 3PL-S=also say:INTR-REM.PST-S-PROX
“kananuna bëri mejor bariti ‘ain kixun
kananuna bëri mejor bari-ti ‘ain ki-xun
 NAR=IPL now better look.for-NOMLZ be:1/2 say:INTR-S/A>A:SE
uisaokin karanuna mëratí ‘ain a uni’
uisa-o-kin ka=ra=nuna mëra-ti ‘ain a uni
 how-FACT-S/A>A:SE NAR=INT=IPL find-NOMLZ be:1/2 that person:ABS
 ‘Then, being like this, after one day passed slowly, they said, “It is better if we look for that man in order to find him”.’
- 015 *usai kanantankëxun kaisa*
usa-i ka-anan-tankëxun ka=is=a
 like.that-s/A>S:SE say-RECP-S/A>A:PE NAR=REP=3
kwankëshín “uni kwankë a
kwan-akë-x-ín uni kwan-kë a
 go-REM.PST-3-PROX person:ABS go.IPFV.1/2-NOMLZ that
kaxubi ka kwan”
kaxu=bi ka kwan
 behind=same NAR go:IMP
 ‘After talking to each other like this, they said, “Go just behind the man, who has already gone!”.’

- 016 *kwanxun kaisa isakëshín achushi xëxánu*
kwan-xun ka=is=a is-akë-x-in achushi xëxat=nu
go-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 see-REM.PST-3-PROX one small.river=LOC
nukúxun ain amo ‘ikë bëru
nukut-xun ain amo ‘i-kë bëru
arrive-S/A>A:SE 3.GEN at.the.other.side be-NOMLZ eye:ABS
tsëkaxun maxaxnu nania isakëshín
tsëka-xun maxax=nu nan-ia is-akë-x-in
take.off-S/A>A:SE stone=LOC put-S/A>O:SE see-REM.PST-3-PROX
‘Going, they saw (him) arriving at one small river, taking out one of his eyes and putting it on a stone.’
- 017 *istankëxun kaisa “uinbisa isima”*
is-tankëxun ka=is=a uinbi-isa is-i=ma
see-S/A>A:PE NAR=REP=3 nobody(A)-REP.3 see-IPFV=NEG
kixun atian unëxun raíri an isakëshín
ki-xun atian unë-xun raíri a-n is-akë-x-íñ
say:INTR-S/A>A:SE then hide-S/A>A:SE different that-A see-REM.PST-3-PROX
‘After seeing all that, the others saw that the man, saying, “Nobody is watching”, hid his eye.’
- 018 *istankëxun kanankin kaisa kakëshín*
is-tankëxun ka-anan-kin ka=is=a ka-akë-x-in
see-S/A>A:PE say-RECP-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 say-REM.PST-3-PROX
“*usaokin ka ‘aia isti ka is*
“*usa-o-kin ka ‘a-i-a is-ti ka is*
like.that-FACT-S/A>A:SE NAR:3 do-IPFV-NON.PROX see-NOMLZ NAR see:IMP
uixbi banaxuma ka kwashikan
uixbi bana-xun=ma ka kwat-ishi-kan
nobody(S) speak-S/A>A:SE=NEG NAR hear-only=PL:IMP
ka isëshikan” kixun kaisa kakëshín
ka is-ishi-kan” ki-xun ka=is=a ka-akë-x-íñ
NAR see-only=PL.NAR say:INTR-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 say-REM.PST-3-PROX
‘After seeing, talking to each other, they said, “He does (it) like this. Come to see! Nobody will speak, we will just listen! Let’s only watch”.
- 019 *atian usa ‘ain kaisa xëpúxun xëxá*
atian usa ‘ain ka=is=a xëput-xun xëxá
then like.that being(DS/A/P) NAR=REP=3 close-S/A>A:SE creek
xëxá achushinua xëpúxun kaisa uni an
xëxá achushi=nu=a xëput-xun ka=is=a uni a-n
creek one=LOC=PA:P close-S/A>A NAR=REP=3 person 3SG-A

banakin banakin kaisa tsatsakama 'ibiankëshín
bana-kin bana-kin ka=is=a tsatsa=kama 'ibin-akë-x-íñ
 speak-S/A>A:SE speak-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 fish.species=PL:ABS scare-REM.PST-3-PROX
 'Damming one small river, (the man) making noises scared the fishes.'

- 020 *atian usaokin 'akin kaisa 'itsa*
atian usa-o-kin 'a-kin ka=is=a 'itsa
 then like.that-FACT-S/A>A:SE DO-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 many
tsatsa bëkian kán
tsatsa bë-kian kán
 fish.species:ABS bring-HAB:REM.PST:3 EXCL
 'Then, doing like this, the man used to bring many fishes.'
- 021 *atian anu kaisa "mejor usaokin 'aia nun*
atian anu ka=is=a mejor usa-o-kin 'a-ia nu-n
 then there NAR=REP=3 better like.that-FACT-S/A>A:SE do-S/A>P:SE 1PL-A
kananuna usaokin ñu 'aima 'aishbi ka
kananuna usa-o-kin ñu 'a-i=ma 'aishbi ka
 NAR=1PL like.that-FACT-S/A>A:SE thing:ABS do-IPFV=NEG but:S/A>A NAR:3
ainshi usaokin ñu 'aia"
a=n=ishi usa-o-kin ñu 'a-i-a
 3SG=A=only like.that-FACT-S/A>A:SE thing:ABS do-IPFV-NON.PROX
kixun kakëxa
ki-xun ka-akë-x-a
 say:INTR-S/A>A:SE say:TRAN-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 'Thus, the men said, "It is better if he does the things in that way. We cannot do the things in that way, only he can do the things like that".'
- 022 *ami nishkin kaisa achushi unin maxax maxaxnu*
am=mi nish-kin ka=is=a achushi uni=n maxax maxax=nu
 3SG=IMPR.LOC envy-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 one person=ERG stone stone=LOC
ain bëru nankë anu bëru nankë kaisa
ain bëru nan-kë anu bëru nan-kë ka=is=a
 3.GEN eye:ABS put-NOMLZ there eye:ABS put-NOMLZ NAR=REP=3
kwanxun maxax achushinëñ chakakëshín
kwan-xun maxax achushi=n chaka-akë-x-íñ
 go-S/A>A:SE stone one=INS beat-REM.PST-3-PROX
 'But, envying him, one man, going to the place where the man had put his eye on a stone, hit the eye with (another) stone.'

- 023 *atian anu kaisa usaokin ‘akëbë*
atian anu ka=is=a usa-o-kin ‘a-këbë
 then there NAR=REP=3 like.that-FACT-S/A>A:SE do-DS/A/P:SE:INTR
kaisa a uni nuankëshín ain bëru a tuxakëx
ka=is=a a uni nuan-akë-x-in ain bëru a tuxa-këx
 NAR=REP=3 that person:ABS fly-REM.PST-3-PROX 3.GEN eye that.P blow.up-P>S:PE
 ‘Then, when the man squashed the other man’s eye [i.e. pounded it with the stone], the other man (the fisherman) flew away.’
- 024 *atian usaokin anu kaisa a uni*
atian usa-o-kin anu ka=is=a a uni
 then like.that-FACT-S/A>A:SE there NAR=REP=3 that person:ABS
bamakëshín usa nuankëshín amiribishi utékëníma ka
bama-akë-x-in usa nuan-akë-x-in amiribishi u-tékë-n-i=ma ka
 die-REM.PST-3-PROX like.that fly-REM.PST-3-PROX again come-again-IPFV=NEG NAR:3
 ‘Then, this man died or flew away, and he never came back again.’
- 025 *ashi ka ‘ën ñuikaskë ‘iavax*
a=ishi ka ‘ë=n ñui-kas-kë ‘i-a-x-a
 that=only NAR:3 1SG=A tell-DES-NOMLZ be-PFV-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Only that was what I wanted to tell.’
- 026 *anu kaisa ma a uni istékënkama ‘ikën amiribishi*
anu ka=is=a ma a uni is-tékë-n-kan-a=ma ‘ikën amiribishi
 there NAR=REP=3 already that person:ABS see-again-PL-NOMLZ=NEG be:3 again
 ‘They didn’t see that man any longer there.’

The ancestor of the parakeet [JE-parakeet-2007]

This narrative by Julio Estrella [JE] tells about how the ancestor of the parakeets (some sort of mythical parakeet) stole fire from a bad man, who did not want to share it with the Kakataibo (but this detail is not provided in this version of the narrative). In other versions of this narrative, that bad man was an Inca and the women who were stoking the fire were his wives (a similar version is found among the Shipibo-Konibo people). This information is not explicitly mentioned in this version of the narrative, which was told to Nicolás Aguilar and me. See Appendix 4 for the duration and other details about this recording.

- 001 *ësai kaisa chérékënén rara ‘iakëxa*
ësa-i ka=is=a chérékén=n rara ‘i-akë-x-a
 like.this-s/A>S:SE NAR=REP=3 parakeet=GEN ancestor:ABS be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘It is said that the ancestor of the parakeets was in this way.’
- 002 *chérékënén rara kaisa ‘iakëxa tsi kwëbí*
chérékén=n rara ka=is=a ‘i-akë-x-a tsi kwëbí
 parakeet=GEN ancestor:ABS NAR=REP=3 be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX fire near.by
 ‘The ancestor of the parakeets was close to the fire.’
- 003 *pëkarakëbëtan kaisa xanuxun tsi tikakë kwëbí*
pëkara-këbëtan ka=is=a xanu-xun tsi tika-kë kwëbí
 dawn-DS/A/P:SE:TRAN NAR=REP=3 woman-S/A>A fire:ABS stoke-NOMLZ near.by
kaisa chérékënén rara tsóakëxa matsi
kaisa chérékén=n rara tsót-akë-x-a matsi
 NAR.REP.3 parakeet=GEN ancestor:ABS sit.down-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX cold:ABS
kémëi matsinsa ‘aia kiax tsi kwëbí
kémë-i matsin=sa ‘i-ia ki-ax tsi kwëbí
 lie-S/A>S:SE cold=COMP be-S/A>P:SE say:INTR-S/A>S:PE fire near.by
 ‘When it dawned, the parakeet sat down close to the fire that a group of women were stoking, saying that he was cold, lying.’
- 004 *tsi mëkamanux kaisa chérékënén rara*
tsi mëkama-nux ka=is=a chérékë=n rara
 fire:ABS steal-PUR.SS:INTR NAR=REP=3 parakeet=GEN ancestor:ABS
tsóakëshín tsi kwëbí utënbuax
tsót-akë-x-in tsi kwëbí utënbu-ax
 sit.down-REM.PST-3-PROX fire near.by be.pensive-s/A>S
 ‘In order to steal the fire, the ancestor of parakeet sat down close to it, pensive.’
- 005 *ësai kaisa kiakëxa “xënx xënx xënx”*
ësa-i ka=is=a ki-akë-x-a xënx xënx xënx
 like.this-s/A>S:SE NAR=REP=3 say:INTR-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX xënx xënx xënx
 ‘Then, the ancestor of parakeet said “xënx xënx xënx” (parakeet vocalization).’

- 006 *ki ki kaisa tsóakëshín*
ki ki-i ka=is=a tsót-akë-x-ín
 say:INTR say:INTR-S/A>S:SE NAR=REP=3 sit.down-REM.PST-3-PROX
chérékënén rara
chérékë-n=n rara
 parakeet=GEN ancestor:ABS
 ‘Saying that several times, the ancestor of parakeet sat down.’
- 007 *tsókë kaisa unin isakëxa*
tsót-kë ka=is=a uni=n is-akë-x-a
 sit.down-NOMLZ NAR=REP=3 person=ERG see-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘When (the ancestor of parakeet) was sitting down, the man saw it.’
- 008 “*chérékënrá ka matsia*” *kixun*
chérékën-rá ka matsi-i-a ki-xun
 parakeet-DIM NAR:3 be.cold-IPFV-NON.PROX say:INTR-S/A>A:SE
“matsirá ka tsi kwébí
matsi-rá ka tsi kwébí
 cold-DIM NAR:3 fire near.by
tsótaxa” kixun kaisa isakëshín
tsót-a-x-a ki-xun ka=is=a is-akë-x-ín
 seat-STA-3-NON.PROX say:INTR-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 see-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘Saying “the parakeet is getting cold. It is too cold and it is sitting down close to the fire”, (the man) saw (the ancestor of parakeet).’
- 009 *istankëxbi kaisa uni manuakëshín*
is-tankëx=bi ka=is=a uni manu-akë-x-ín
 see-S/A>S:PE=same NAR=REP=3 person:ABS forget-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘Even though he saw (the ancestor of the parakeet), the man forgot about it.’
- 010 *istankëx manuxun kaisa*
is-tankëx manu-xun ka=is=a
 see-S/A>S:PE forget-S/A>A NAR=REP=3
istékëankëshín
is-tökë-n-akë-x-ín
 see-again-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘After he saw (the ancestor of the parakeet), the man saw it again, forgetting about it.’
- 011 *a uni kwainakëkëbëtansi*
a uni kwain-akë-këbëtan=ishi
 that person:ABS go-curve-DS/A/O:SE:TRAN=only
kaisa tsi biakëshín chérékënén raran
kaisa tsi bits-akë-x-ín chérékë-n rara=n
 NAR.REP.3 fire:ABS pick.up-REM.PST-3-PROX parakeet=GEN ancestor=ERG
 ‘When the man turned (his face), the ancestor of the parakeet took the fire.’

- 012 *bibiani kaisa “chërökënx chërökënx chërökënx”*
bits-bian-i ka=is=a chërökënx chërökënx chërökënx
 pick.up-going-S/A>S:SE NAR=REP=3 chërökënx chërökënx chërökënx
kaisa kwankëshín manan
kaisa kwan-aké-x-ín manan
 NAR.REP.3 go-REM.PST-3-PROX up
 ‘Taking the fire and going, the mythical parakeet went up (saying) “chërökënx chërökënx chërökënx” (parakeet vocalization).’
- 013 *nuania “ëëëëëë” nuania kaisa*
nuan-ia “ëëëëëë” nuan-ia ka=is=a
 fly-S/A>O:SE ouch fly-S/A>O:SE NAR=REP=3
sharokëshín
sharo-aké-x-ín
 burn-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘When the ancestor of the parakeet was flying, the (fire) burned it (and it said) “ouch” (lit. “ëëëëëë”).’
- 014 “*chërökënén ka tsi buania*
chëröké=n ka tsi buan-i-a
 parakeet=GEN NAR:3 fire:ABS take-IPFV-NON.PROX
chërökënén ka tsi buania
chëröké=n ka tsi buan-i-a
 parakeet=ERG NAR:3 fire:ABS take-IPFV-NON.PROX
ka nipamiai ka nipamiai
ka nipat-mi-ai ka nipat-mi-ai
 NAR throw.down-CAUS-NAR NAR throw.down-CAUS-IMP.there
kaisa kakëshín
kaisa ka-aké-x-ín
 NAR.REP.3 say-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘“The parakeet is taking the fire, the parakeet is taking the fire; make him throw the fire down!, make him throw it down!”, the man said.’
- 015 *kakëxunbi kaisa ‘ama ‘ikën*
ka-këxun=bi ka=is=a ‘a-a=ma ‘ikën
 say-O>A:PE-although NAR=REP=3 do-NOMLZ=NEG be:3
 ‘Although (the man) said that, nobody did it.’

The foreigner [NA-foreigner-2007]

This narrative presents the story of a *gringo*, a mythical foreigner who once arrived at the place where the Kakataibo's ancestors used to live and started to live close to them, but without establishing any kind of interaction or relationship with them. He was only there, by himself, peacefully and silent. However, after a while, the Kakataibo's ancestors started to become scared of him and became very anxious about his presence. Then, the Kakataibo's ancestors decided to kill the visitor and, after they did so, they started to ask themselves who this foreigner was. The Kakataibo's ancestors decided to give special treatment to his corpse. One day, a tree started to grow directly from the heart of this *gringo* and it happened to be the *moquicho* tree, which is a type of banana that the Kakataibo's ancestors did not know until then, but which is currently highly appreciated. The narrative was told by Nicolás Aguilar [NA] to Julio Estrella and me. See Appendix 4 for the duration and other details about this recording.

- 001 *ësaokin ka 'ë 'ën kukuakën kakëxa*
 \ddot{e} s-a-o-kin ka 'ë 'ë=n kukuakë-n ka-akë-x-a
 like.this-FACT-S/A>A:SE NAR:3 1SG.O 1SG=GEN legitimate.uncle=ERG say-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘My legitimate uncle used to talk to me like this.’
- 002 *a kana ñuin*
 a ka-na ñui-i-n
 that.o NAR=1SG tell-IPFV-1/2
 ‘That I will tell.’
- 003 *achushi uni kaisa uakëxa*
 achushi uni ka-is=a u-akë-x-a
 one person:ABS NAR=REP=3 come-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 atunu bëbakëshín
 atu=nu bëba-akë-x-íñ
 3PL=LOC arrive-REM.PST-S-PROX
 ‘It is said that one man arrived where they used to live.’
- 004 *kananuna 'unanima a ñu baritianbira kán*
 kananuna 'unani-i=ma a ñu baritia-n=bi=ira kán
 NAR=1PL know-IPFV=NEG which year=TEMP=same=INTF EXCL
 ‘We do not know exactly in which year.’
- 005 *bëbaia kaisa isakëxa achushi gringo*
 bëba-ia ka-is=a is-akë-x-a achushi gringo
 arrive-S/A>O:SE NAR=REP=3 see-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX one white.person:ABS
 ‘They (just) saw him when he arrived.’

- 006 *ain maxká ka uxu*
ain maxká ka uxu
 3SG:GEN head:ABS NAR:3 white
 ‘His head was white (i.e. his hair was gray).’
- 007 *‘aishbi kaisa atubë banana ‘ikën*
‘aishbi ka=is=a atu=bë bana-a=ma ‘ikën
 but:S/A>A NAR=REP=3 3PL-COM:S speak-NOMLZ=NEG be:3
 ‘But he did not speak with them.’
- 008 *kaisa is isëshiakëxa atun*
kaisa is is-ishi-akë-x-a atu-n
 NAR.REP.3 see see-only-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX 3PL-A
 ‘They only looked at him several times.’
- 009 *atian gringo anribi kaisa isëshiakëshín atu a*
atian gringo a-n=ribi ka=is=a is-ishi-akë-x-íñ atu a
 then white.person 3SG-A=also NAR=REP=3 see-only-REM.PST-3-PROX they that
xubunu kaisa nukúakëshín achushi xubunu atun xubunu
xubu=nu kaisa nukut-akë-x-íñ achushi xubu=nu atu=n xubu=nu
 house=LOC NAR.REP.3 arrive-REM.PST-3-PROX one house=LOC 3PL=GEN house=LOC
 ‘Then, the gringo also used to look at them, and arrived at their houses.’
- 010 *‘como respetankin como rakwékinribi kaisa*
como respetan-kin como rakwé-kin=ribi ka=is=a
 like respect-S/A>A:SE like be.scared-S/A>A:SE=also NAR=REP=3
iskanma ‘ikën a gringo kán
is-kan-a=ma ‘ikën a gringo kán
 see-PL-NOMLZ=NEG be:3 that white.person:ABS EXCL
 ‘Showing respect and being scared of him, the people did not look at the gringo.’
- 011 *‘ainbi kaisa achushi banarábi a gringonén bana*
‘ainbi ka=is=a achushi bana-rá=bi a gringo=n bana
 but(DS/A/P) NAR=REP=3 one word:DIM=same that white.person=ERG word:ABS
‘inanma ‘ikën
‘inan-a=ma ‘ikën
 give-NOMLZ=NEG be:3
 ‘But the gringo did not speak a single word to them.’
- 012 *sapika ‘iakëxa español kan*
sapika ‘i-akë-x-a español kán
 DUB.NAR:3 be-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX Spanish:ABS EXCL
 ‘I think that he was Spanish.’

013 *usa sapika ‘iakëshín*

usa sapika ‘i-akë-x-ín
like.that DUB.NAR:3 be-REM.PST-3-PROX
'I think that he was like that.'

014 *‘ain kaisa atian atun bëruankin banakimabi*

‘ain ka=is=a atian atu=n bëruan-kin bana-kin=ma=bi
being(DS/A/P) NAR=REP=3 then 3PL=A take.care-S/A>A:SE speak-S/A>A:SE=NEG=same
kaisa ñu ‘inankëshín
kaisa ñu ‘inan-akë-x-ín
NAR.REP.3 thing:ABS give-REM.PST-3-PROX

'Being like this, they used to give things to him, looking after him and without speaking to the man.'

015 *nónsi a ñu ñububira piti usabubira*

nónsi a ñu ñu=bu=bi=ira piti usa=bu=bi=ira
banana what thing=COL=same=INTF food:ABS like.that=COL=same=INTF

‘inankin ‘ikinkinbi kaisa sinankëxa

‘inan-kin ‘i-kin-kin=bi ka=is=a sinan-akë-x-a
give-S/A>A:SE be-ASSO-S/A>A:SE=same NAR=REP=3 think-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

ma como dos años ‘ixun rabé baritiañu ‘ixun sinankëshín

ma como.dos.años ‘i-xun rabé baritia=ñu ‘i-xun sinan-akë-x-ín
already like.two.years be-S/A>A:SE two year=PROP be-S/A>A:SE think-REM.PST-3-PROX

'After giving him bananas, food and lots of different things for two years, the people thought about the situation.'

016 *sinanxun kaisa “mejor kananuna ‘ati ‘ain*

sinan-xun ka=is=a “mejor ka=nanuna ‘a-ti ‘ain
think-s/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 better NAR=1PL kill-NOMLZ be:1/2

nukën papan xukë kara

nukën papa=n xu-kë ka=ra
1pl.GEN father=ERG send-NOMLZ NAR=INT.3

nukën papa Diosan xukë kara nun kananuna kain nukën

nukën papa Dios=n xu-kë ka=ra nu=n ka=nanuna ka-i-n nukën
1pl.GEN father God=ERG send-NOMLZ NAR=INT.3 1PL=A NAR=1PL say-IPFV-1/2 1PL.GEN

‘ibubaë an xukë kara kananuna ‘unanimá

‘ibu-baë a=n xu-kë ka=ra ka=nanuna ‘unan-i=ma
owner-COL 3SG=A send-NOMLZ NAR=INT.3 NAR=1PL know-IPFV=NEG

usa ‘ain kananuna ‘unanyama⁸⁸

usa ‘ain ka=nanuna ‘unan-i-yama
like.that being(DS/A/O) NAR=1PL know-IPFV=NEG

88 This is the Shipibo-Konibo negative marker *-yama*. The cognate form in Kakataibo is simply *-ma*.

kara nun 'inka 'ikën

kara nu=n 'inka 'ikën
NAR=INT.3 1PL=GEN Inka:ABS be:3

kara nun 'inkama 'ikën

kara nu=n 'inka=ma 'ikën
NAR=INT.3 1PL=GEN Inka:ABS=NEG be:3

uisa nu oi kara uaxa

uisa nu o-i ka=ra u-a-x-a
how we FACT-S/A>S:SE NAR=INT.3 come-PFV1-3-NON.PROX

mejor kananuna 'ati 'ain kixun kaisa

mejor ka=nanuna 'a-ti 'ain ki-xun ka=is=a
better NAR=1PL kill-NOMLZ be:1/2 say:INTR-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3

sinankëxa

sinan-akë-x-a
think-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

‘Thinking, they said, “It is better if we kill him. Would he be the one who our father God sent? Would he be our Inka or not? Why did he come? It is better if we kill him”.’

017 *sinanxun kaisa atun piakama mëniókëshín anun*

sinan-xun ka=is=a atu=n pia=kama mënió-akë-x-in anun
think-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 3PL=GEN arrow=PL:ABS clean-REM.PST-3-PROX that:INS

'ati kan

'a-ti kán
kill-NOMLZ EXCL

‘Thinking about/of doing that, they prepared their arrows to kill the gringo with them.’

018 *gringo abë banakinmabi mënióxun kaisa*

gringo a=bë bana-kin=ma=bi mënió-xun ka=is=a
white.person that-COM:S speak-S/A>A:SE=NEG=same clean-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3

ma 'akankëshín

ma 'a-kan-akë-x-in
already kill-PL-REM.PST-3-PROX

‘Preparing their arrows, without talking with the gringo, suddenly they killed him.’

019 *'atankëxun kaisa upíoxun mëniókëxa*

'a-tankëxun ka=is=a upí-o-xun mënió-akë-x-a
kill-S/A>A:PE NAR=REP=3 good-FACT-S/A>A:SE clean-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

'atima okëma

'a-ti=ma o-kë=ma
do-NOMLZ=NEG FACT-NOMLZ=NEG

‘After killing him, they carefully cleaned his corpse, without burning it (lit. without doing things that should not be done).’

- 020 *mënióbiankin buanxun kaisa nun ñuibí*
mënió-bian-kin buan-xun ka=is=a nu=n ñui-i=bi
 clean-going:TRAN-S/A>A:SE take-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 1PL=A tell-S/A>S:SE=same
bakëtinén anun buanxun kaisa atian në maiankëshín
bakëti=n anun buan-xun ka=is=a atian në main-akë-x-ín
 stretcher=INS that:ins take-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 then ?? bury-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘Taking the corpse after cleaning it, using what we called a bakëti (stretcher), they buried the corpse.’
- 021 *achushi sitionu achushi me upínu méraxun anu maiankëshín*
achushi sitio=nu achushi me upit=nu mëra-xun anu main-akë-x-ín
 one place=LOC one earth beautiful=LOC find-S/A>A:SE there bury-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘Finding a beautiful place, they buried the corpse there.’
- 022 *maintankëxun kaisa upíokin matakakakëshín*
main-tankëxun ka=is=a upit-o-kin matakaka-akë-x-ín
 bury-S/A>A:PE NAR=REP=3 beautiful=FACT-S/A>A:SE clean.surface-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘After burying the corpse, they cleared the area (around the grave).’
- 023 *matakakatankëxun kaisa como non ‘akësaribi*
matakaka-tankëxun ka=is=a como no=n ‘a-kë-sa=ribi
 clean.surface-S/A>A:PE NAR=REP=3 like foreigner=ERG do-NOMLZ-COMP=also
okin bëruankëshín relevankin bëruankëshín
o-kin bëruan-akë-x-ín relevan-kin bëruan-akë-x-ín
 FACT-S/A>A:SE take.care-REM.PST-3-PROX take.turns-S/A>A:SE take.care-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘After they cleared the area (around the grave), they took care of the body as the foreigners do, taking turns.’
- 024 *a uni a gringo a bëruankëx ‘ikëbëbi*
a uni a gringo a bëruan-këx ‘i-këbë=bi
 that person:ABS that white.person 3SG.P take.care-P>S:PE be-DS/A/P:SE:INTR=same
dentro de un mes kaisa medio mes kaisa atian ënu ax kan ain nuitu punté
dentro.de.un.mes ka=is=a medio.mes ka=is=a atian ënu a=x kan ain
 after.one.month NAR=REP=3 half.a.month NAR=REP=3 then here that=S PART 3SG:GEN
ënuax kaisa achushi shinkun shinkun
nuitu punté ënu=ax ka=is=a achushi shinkun shinkun
 heart straight here-PA.S NAR=REP=3 one banana.spe:ABS banana.spe:ABS
uniakëshín
uni-akë-x-ín
 spring.up-REM.PST-3-prox
 ‘Even though they had taken care of the that gringo, after one month or half a month, here⁹⁹ straight from his heart, here, one tree of moquicho (a banana variety) sprang up.’

⁹⁹ The speaker is using his own body to indicate from where the tree started to grow. This is the reason why he uses the form *ënu* ‘here (proximal to the speaker)’.

- 025 “shinkun ka unia
 “shinkun ka uni-i-a
 banana.sp:ABS NAR:3 spring.up-IPFV-NON.PROX
 kantsin⁹⁰ ka unia” kixun kaisa
 kantsin ka uni-i-a ki-xun ka=is=a
 banana.spe:ABS NAR:3 spring.up-IPFV-NON.PROX say:INTR-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3
 isakëshín
 is-akë-x-ín
 see-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘The people saw it, saying “a moquicho tree has grown”.’

026 iskin bëruankë bëruankë kwanx kwarutankëx
 is-kin bëruan-kë bëruan-kë kwan-ax kwan-ru-tankëx
 see-s/A>A:SE take.care-NOMLZ take.care-NOMLZ go-S/A>S go-up-S/A>S:PE
 mananmi kwarutankëx achushi racimo chaxkë ira como tres metros
 manan=mi kwan-ru-tankëx achushi racimo chaxkë =ira como.tres.metros
 upside.of=IMPR.LOC go-up-S/A>S:PE one bunch long=INT like.three.meters
 usai kaisa a shinkun bakëankëshín
 usa-i ka=is=a a shinkun bakën-akë-x-ín
 like.that-s/A>S:SE NAR=REP=3 that banana.sp.:ABS give.bith-REM.PST-3-PROX
 bimiakëshín
 bimi-akë-x-ín
 get.fruit-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘From the corpse that they had looked after for a long time, a tree started to grow very high and it got a very long bunch of bananas, like three meters long.’

027 hasta men tsóbuti kán ‘ikë kaisa a
 hasta me=n tsót-but-i kán ‘i-kë ka=is=a a
 until earth=ERG sit.down-down:INTR-S/A>S:SE EXCL be-NOMLZ NAR=REP=3 that
 shinkun bëruankinisa satania satankëtian kaisa
 shinkun bëruan-kin-isa satan-ia satan-këtian ka=is=a
 banana.spe:ABS take.care-S/A>A:SE-REP.3 get.fat-S/A>O:SE get.fat-S/A>O:PE NAR=REP=3
 tëbiskakëshín
 tëbiska-akë-x-ín
 cut-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘After the bunch was so tall that it was reaching the ground, they looked after this moquicho tree and, when the bananas became fat, they cut the bunch.’

⁹⁰ According to my teachers, *shinkun* is a Shipibo-Konibo word. The corresponding word in Kaka-taibo is *kantsin*.

- 028 *tëbiskakiankin buanxun kaisa a shinkun xubu*
tëbiska-kian-kin buan-xun ka=is=a a shinkun xubu
 cut-going:INTR-S/A>A:SE take-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 that banana.spe:ABS house
bënánu mapunkë bënánu paniankëshín
bënánu mapunkë bënánu panin-akë-x-íñ
 young=LOC house young=LOC hang.up-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘Taking the moquicho bunch after they cut it, they hung it up inside a new house.’
- 029 *paninkëx kaisa atian ax pëkëakëshín*
panin-këx ka=is=a atian a=x pëkët-akë-x-íñ
 hang.up-P>S:PE NAR=REP=3 then that=S ripen-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘After they hung the bunch up, the moquicho got ripe.’
- 030 *pëkëti kán përun batsi upiti usa 'itankëx*
pëkët-i kán përu=n batsi upit-i usa 'i-tankëx
 ripen-S/A>S:SE EXCL bird.sp.=GEN egg beautiful-S/A>S:SE like.that be-S/A>S:PE
kaisa achushi pakéakëxa menu kán
kaisa achushi pakét-akë-x-a me=nú kán
 NAR.REP.3 one fall.down-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX ground=LOC EXCL
 ‘When they got ripe and became similar to the eggs of a bird called përu, one banana fell down on the ground.’
- 031 *ain manikënniáx pakékë bixun kaisa atian*
ain manikén-mi-ax pakét-ké bits-xun ka=is=a atian
 3SG:GEN first.bunch=IMPR.LOC-S/A>S fall.down-NOMLZ:ABS pick.up-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 then
achushi ñusi uninpain tankëshín
achushi ñusi uni-n=pain tan-akë-x-íñ
 one old person=ERG=first try-REM.PST-3-prox
sanuia kan achushi kuakëshín pakékë kan
sanu-ia kan achushi ku-akë-x-íñ pakét-ké kan
 taste.good-S/A>O:SE PART one:ABS eat.fruit-REM.PST-3-PROX fall.down-NOMLZ PART
 ‘Taking the banana that fell down from the first bunch, one old man tried it, he ate the banana that had fallen down.’
- 032 *pakékë xukaxun kuax kaisa miakëxa*
pakét-ké xuka-xun ku-ax ka=is=a mi-akë-x-a
 fall.down-NOMLZ:ABS peel-S/A>A:SE eat.fruit-S/A>S NAR=REP=3 stop-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
como dos o un hora usa
como.dos.o.un.hora usa
 like.two.or.one.hour like.that
 ‘After peeling and eating the moquicho that had fallen down, he rested for one or two hours.’

- 033 *'ikinbi kaisa uisaibi ain ñubi*
i-kin=bi ka=is=a ui-sa-i=bi ain ñu=bi
 be-S/A>A:SE=same NAR=REP=3 how-S/A>S:SE=same 3SG:GEN thing:ABS=same
ain pukubi después kaisa bëtsinribi 'atëkëankëshín
ain puku=bi después ka=is=a bëtsi-n=ribi 'a-tëkën-akë-x-ín
 3SG:GEN belly:ABS=NEG after NAR=REP=3 other.one=ERG=also do-again-REM.PST-3-PROX
achushi
achushi
 one:ABS
 ‘Being like this, nothing happened to his belly and, thus, another person also tried one.’
- 034 *dos veces kaisa cada uno 'akëxa*
dos.veces ka=is=a cada.uno 'a-akë-x-a
 two.times NAR=REP=3 every.one do-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
 ‘Each one did this twice.’
- 035 *ax kainbaiti kaisa ñantan uxun kaisa*
a=x kain-bait-i ka=is=a ñantan u-xun ka=is=a
 3sg=S wait-DUR.same.day-S/A>S:SE NAR=REP=3 afternoon come-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3
“kana uisaibi ‘ikëma ‘ain ia”
kana uisaibi i-kë=ma 'ain ia
 NAR=1SG nothing be-NOMLZ=NEG be:1/2 PART
 ‘After he waited for the whole afternoon, (he said) “nothing happened to me”.’
- 036 *“tain tanti ka miribi” a kaxun kaisa bëtsi ñusiribishi*
tain tanti ka mi=ribi a ka-xun ka=is=a bëtsi ñusi=ribi=ishi
 EXH rest NAR you=also that.P say-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 other old.man:ABS=also=only
invitankëxa dos kán kumiakëshín
invitan-akë-x-a dos kán ku-mi-akë-x-in
 invite-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX two EXCL eat.fruit-CAUS-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘Saying “let’s rest, you as well!”, the old man gave two bananas to another old man, who ate them’
- 037 *pëkarakëma ‘ainishi ‘apunkin kaisa bëtsi ñantan*
pëkara-kë=ma 'ain=iishi 'a-pun-kin ka=is=a bëtsi ñantan
 dawn-NOMLZ=NEG being(DS/A/P)=only do-PST.hours-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 other afternoon
‘uxkin ‘akëshín
'ux-kin 'a-akë-x-ín
 sleep-S/A>A:SE do-REM.PST-3-PROX
 ‘Before it dawned, doing that early in the morning, (the old man) tried another one in the afternoon.’

- 038 *'akëxbi kaisa uisaibi 'iama 'ikën*
 'a-këx=bi ka=is=a uisaibi 'i-a=ma 'ikën
 do-P>S:PE=same NAR=REP=3 nothing be-NOMLZ=NEG be:3
 'Even though he did all this, nothing happened to him.'
- 039 *atian kaisa anuxun kaisa dos xanu ñuxan xanuribi*
 atian ka=is=a anuxun ka=is=a dos xanu ñuxan xanu=ribi
 then NAR=REP=3 then:tran NAR=REP=3 two woman old(fem) woman:ABS=also
 xanu xéniribi 'amiakëshín
 xanu xéni=ribi 'a-mi-akë-x-íñ
 woman old:ABS=also do-CAUS-REM.PST-3-PROX
 'Then, he also made two old women try the bananas.'
- 040 *'amikëxbi kaisa atian xanu rabë uisaibi 'iama 'ikën*
 'a-mi-këx=bi ka=is=a atian xanu rabë uisaibi 'i-a=ma 'ikën
 do-CAUS-P>S:PE=same NAR=REP=3 then woman two:ABS nothing be-NOMLZ=NEG be:3
 'Although he made them try the bananas, nothing happened to the two women.'
- 041 *anuxun kaisa jovenribi achushi jovenribi 'amiakëshín*
 anuxun ka=is=a joven=ribi achushi joven=ribi 'a-mi-akë-x-íñ
 then:TRAN NAR=REP=3 young:ABS=also one young:ABS=also do-CAUS-REM.PST-3-PROX
 'Then, he made a young person try the bananas.'
- 042 *'amikin 'amipunkin kaisa*
 'a-mi-kin 'a-mi-pun-kin ka=is=a
 do-CAUS-S/A>A:SE do-CAUS-PST.hours-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3
 ñantanbukëbëtan 'amitëkëankëshín 'inan-tëkëankëshín
 ñantan-but-këbëtan 'a-mi-tëkëen-akë-x-íñ 'inan-tëkëen-akë-x-íñ
 get.dark-ASP:become-DS/A/O(SE,TRA) do-CAUS-again-REM.PST-3-PROX give-again-REM.PST-3-PROX
 'Having made them try the bananas early in the morning, he made them try the bananas again when it got dark.'
- 043 *'axun kaisa atian tuakama mëtikakëshín*
 'a-xun ka=is=a atian tua=kama mëtika-akë-x-íñ
 do-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 then boy=PL:ABS distribute-REM.PST-3-PROX
 'Doing (it) like this, then, he distributed the bananas among all the people.'
- 044 *"uisaibi kananuna ima 'ati ka*
 uisaibi ka=nanuna ima 'a-ti ka
 nothing NAR=1PL ?? do-NOMLZ NAR:3
 piti ka 'a" kixun kaisa atun ñuikinbi
 pi-ti ka 'a' ki-xun ka=is=a atu=n ñui-kin=bi
 eat-NOMLZ NAR do-IMP say:INTR-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 3PL=GEN tell-S/A>A:SE=same

chëkaxun pëtsuakëshín

chëka-xun pëtsu-akë-x-ín

push-S/A>A:SE eat.with.fingers-REM.PST-3-PROX

‘Saying “nothing will happen to us. This is for eating”, they mashed the bananas and ate them with their fingers’.

045 *pëtsuxun kaisa atian uisaibi ‘akëma kamaxunbi*

pëtsu-xun ka=is=a atian uisaibi ‘a-kë=ma kamaxun=bi
eat.with.fingers-s/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 then nothing do-NOMLZ=NEG all.together=same

todo el mundo a këñukin piakëxa a kantsin

todo.el.mundo a këñu-kin pi-akë-x-a a kantsin
all.the.people that.o finish-S/A>A:SE eat-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX that banana.SP:ABS

‘When they ate it with the fingers, the banana did not do anything to them and everyone ate from that moquicho bunch, finishing it.’

046 *usaoxun kaisa ain takuisa unia*

usa-o-xun ka=is=a ain taku-isa uni-ia
like.that-FACT-S/A>A:SE NAR=REP=3 3.GEN plant:ABS-REP.3 spring.up-s/A>O:SE

unirukëkama a kaisa rabé rabé énanan unia

uni-ru-kë=kama a ka=is=a rabé rabé én-anan uni-ia
spring.up-up-NOMLZ=PL that.o NAR=REP=3 two two leave-D.OBJ:SE spring.up-s/A>O:SE

unia chaia bitankëxun kaisa

uni-ia cha-ia bits-tankëxun ka=is=a
spring.up-s/A>O:SE become.big-s/A>O:SE pick.up-s/A>A:PE NAR=REP=3

takubuakëxa

taku-bu-akë-x-a
plant-ITER:one.direction-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

‘Doing (it) like this, they took the moquicho shoots, all the ones that had grown, and left them in pairs on the ground; when they became big, they planted them along a path.’

047 *kamabi menu xëxánuá ‘apábuakëshín*

kamabi me=nu xëxá=nu=a ‘apat-bu-akë-x-ín
all earth=LOC small.river=LOC=PA:O plant-ITER:one.direction-REM.PST-3-PROX

‘They planted the moquicho trees, everywhere along the margins of the small rivers.’

048 *anuax isa uakamë éotanun usaokëxun kaisa*

anuax isa uakamë éo-tan-nun usa-o-këxun ka=is=a
then:INTR REP.3 grow/reproduce-go.to-DS/A/O:POE like.that-FACT-O>A:PE NAR=REP=3

uakë kamabi kaikëtian kaikëtian kaisa anua baka

uakë kamabi kai-këtian kai-këtian ka=is=a anu-a baka
big all reproduce-s/A/O>O:PE reproduce-s/A/O>O:PE NAR=REP=3 there-PA:O river

rërëkakë kwëtú rërëkakë buankëxa a kán

rërëka-kë kwëtú rërëka-kë buan-akë-x-a a kán
spill-NOMLZ mud spill-NOMLZ:ABS take-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX that:P EXCL

‘When the bananas grew and reproduced and spilt around the rivers where they were, the people took them.’

049 *buankëx kaisa anuax taxan karunu menuax unikë*

buan-këx ka=is=a anuax taxan karu=nu me=nu=ax uni-kë

take-O>S:PE NAR=REP=3 then:INTR type of firewood=LOC earth=LOC=PA.S spring.up-NOMLZ

usa 'itankëx kaisa kantsin ënëx uakamë öökëshín

usa 'i-tankëx ka=is=a kantsin ënë=x uakamë öo-akë-x-ín
like.that be-s/A>S:PE NAR=REP=3 banana.spe this=S grow/reproduce-REM.PST-3-PROX

anuairaisa takubuashín

anu-a-ira-isa taku-bu-akë-x-ín

there-PA:O-INT-REP.3 plant-ITER:one.direction-REM.PST-3-PROX

‘After they took the bananas, (they left them) on the ground and on the firewood mounds, and after being there for a while, this moquicho grew and reproduced; and they planted the moquicho again exactly were they were before.’

050 “*takubua kaisa nun shinkun ënëx*

“*taku-bu-a ka=is=a nu=n shinkun ënë=x*
plant-ITER:one.direction-NOMLZ NAR=REP=3 1PL=GEN banana.sp. this=S

‘*ikën” kixun ka ‘ën kukuakën ‘ë kakëxa*

‘*ikën ki-xun ka ‘ë=n kukuakë-n ‘ë ka-akë-x-a*
be:3 say:INTR-S/A>A:SE NAR:3 1SG=GEN legitimate.uncle=ERG 1SG:P say-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX

‘Saying, “It is said that the banana that they planted is this moquicho of ours”, my legitimate uncle told me all this.’

051 *a kakëxun kana ñui ñuin*

a ka-këxun ka=na ñui ñui-i-n
that.o say-P>A:PE NAR=1SG tell tell-IPFV-1/2

‘After he told me that, I have told the same several times.’

Appendix 2: Swadesh list of 200 terms for the four extant dialects of Kakatataibo with English and Spanish translations

No.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
1	animal	animal	júina	júina	júina	júina
2	dog	perro	?utjíti kamón	?utjíti	?utjíti kamón	?utjíti kamón
3	bird	pájaro	?isá	?izá	?isá	?isá
4	snake	culebra	rúnu	rúnu	rúnu	rúnu
5	fish [noun]	pez; pescado	βakéna tsátsa	wakéna sásá	wakéna / βakéna tsátsa	wakéna tsátsa
6	louse	piojo	?ía	?ía	?ía	?ía
7	worm (i.e., earthworm)	lombriz (no gusano)	nuín	nuín	nuín	nuín
8	grass	pasto	βási	wázi	βási / wasi	wási
9	tree	árbol	i	i	i	i
10	name	nombre	áni	áni	áni	áni
11	father	padre	pápa	pápa	pápa	pápa
12	mother	madre	títa	títa	títa	títa
13	husband	esposo; marido	βíni	wíni	βíni	βíni
14	wife	esposa	saβiónki šánu	zawiónki zánu	saβiónki šánu	saβiónki šánu
15	man [male]	hombre	úni βíþu	úni núku wíni	úni βíþu	úni βíþu
16	woman	mujer	šánu	zánu	šánu	šánu
17	child	niño	túa	túa zu	túa	túa
18	person (human)	persona	úni	úni	úni	úni
19	head	cabeza	mašká	mápu zo	mašká	mašká
20	ear	oreja	paþí	pawí	paþí	paþí
21	eye	ojo	þíru	wíru	þíru	þíru
22	nose	nariz	ríkín	rigí	ríkín	ríkín

No.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
23	mouth	boca	kʷiβí	kʷiwi	kʷiβí	kʷiβí
24	tongue	lengua	ána	ána	ána	ána
25	tooth [front]	diente	ʂít̪a	ʐít̪a	ʂít̪a	ʂít̪a
26	neck	cuello	tíṣá	tíṣá	tíṣá	tíṣá
27	belly	barriga	púku	púgu	púku	púku
28	back [of body]	espalda	káṣu	kázu	káṣu	káṣu
29	tail	rabo, cola	ína	ína	ína	ína
30	leg	pierna	kísi	kízi zo	kísi	kísi
31	foot	pie	tá̄i	tá̄i	tá̄i	tá̄i
32	wing	ala	píntsís pítfí	pínsf pítfí	píntsís pítfí	píntsís pítfí
33	hand	mano	míkín	migf	míkín	míkín
34	heart	corazón	núitu	núitu	núitu	núitu
35	guts	tripas; intestinos	púku	púgu	púku	púku
36	liver	hígado	tákʷa	tágʷa	tákwa	tákʷa
37	bone	hueso	ʂo	zo	ʂo	ʂo
38	meat (flesh)	carne	námi	námi	námi	námi
39	fat (grease)	grasa	ʂíni	ʐíni	ʂíni	ʂíni
40	skin [of person]	piel	ʂaká βíʃí	ʐagá wíí	ʂaká βíʃí	ʂaká βíʃí
41	hair	cabello (o pelo)	βu	u	βu	βu
42	feather [large]	pluma	píʃí ráni	píʃí ráni	píʃí ráni	píʃí ráni
43	blood	sangre	ími	ími	ími	ími
44	root	raíz	tapún	tapú	tapún	tapún
45	bark [of tree]	corteza	ʂaká	ʐagá	ʂaká	ʂaká
46	leaf	hoja	píi	píi	píi	píi
47	flower	flor	?úa	?úa	?úa	?úa
48	fruit (berry)	fruta	βími	wimi	βími	βími
49	seed	semilla	ju ūʂí	ju ūʂí	ju ūʂí	ju ūʂí
50	stick [of wood]	palo	i	i	i	i
51	ashes	ceniza	ʈjimápu	ʈjimápu	ʈjimápu	ʈjimápu

No.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
52	mountain	montaña	βáfi	waín	βáfi	βáfi
53	woods (forest)	bosque	ni	ni	ni	ni
54	river	río	βáka	wáka	βáka / wáka	wáka
55	lake	lago	?ián	?ián	?ián	?ián
56	sea	mar	parún papa	parún papa	parún papa	parún papa
57	water	agua	?umpás	?umpáz	?umpás	?umpás
58	ice	hielo	mátsi	mási	mátsi	mátsi
59	fire	fuego	tsi	si	tsi	tsi
60	smoke [noun]	humo	kuín	kuín	kuín	kuín
61	earth [soil]	tierra	me	míe	me	me
62	dust	polvo	pútu	pútu	pútu	pútu
63	sand	arena	mási	mázi	mási	mási
64	stone	piedra	mašás	mazáz	mašás	mašás
65	road (path)	carretera (camino, trocha, sendero)	βái	wái	wái / βái	wái
66	egg	huevo	βátsi ~ wátsi	wasi	βátsi	βátsi ~ watsi
67	rain	lluvia	úne	úwe	uí	eße
68	snow	nieve	—	—	—	—
69	fog	neblina	kʷéñkuru	kuíñkuru	kénkuru	kénkuru
70	sky	cielo	naí	naí	naí	naí
71	cloud	nube	nítí kuín	kuín	nítí kuín	nítí kuín
72	wind [breeze]	viento	súnu	zúnu	súyu	súyu
73	sun	sol	βári	wári	βári / wári	wári
74	star	estrella	?íspa	?ípa	?íspa	?íspa
75	day [daytime]	día	nítí	nítí	nítí	nítí
76	night	noche	imí	wakín	imí wakíj / imí βakíj	wakíj
77	year	año	βáritia	wáritia	βáritia	βáritia
78	rope (cord)	cuerda	ítsi	ísi	ítsi	ítsi
79	salt	sal	táfi	taín	táfi	tasi

No.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
80	I	yo	?i	?i	?i	?i
81	thou [you]	usted, tú	mi	mi	mi	mi
82	he	él	a	a / u	a	a
83	they	ellos	átu	ágama / úgama	átu	átu
84	we	nosotros	nú(kamá)	núgíama	nú(kama)	nú(kama)
85	ye [you all]	ustedes; vosotros	mítsu	migama	mítsu	mítsu
86	who [interr.]	quién	úi	úi	úi	úi
87	what [interr.]	qué	a ju	a ju	a ju	a ju
88	this	este	fn̄i	fn̄i	fn̄i	fn̄i
89	that	ése; aquel	a / u	a / u	a / u	a / u
90	live	vivir	tsóti βúkuti	sóti úguti	tsóti βúkuti	tsóti βúkuti
91	die	morir	βámati	wámati	βámati, wámati	wámati
92	freeze	congelar; helarse	mátsiti	másiti	mátsiti	mátsiti
93	swell	hinchar	?úati	?úati	?úati	?úati
94	fall [drop]	caer(-se)	nipákiti	nipágiti	nipákiti	nipákiti
95	breathe	respirar	uínti	uínti	uínti	uínti
96	blow [wind]	soplar	ṣúnkati	zúnkati	ṣúnkati	ṣúnkati
97	sleep	dormir	?ústi	?úzti	?ústi	?ústi
98	lie [be lying down]	echar(-se)	rakáti	ragáti	rakáti	rakáti
99	sit	sentar(-se)	tsóþuti	sówuti	tsóþuti	tsóþuti
100	stand	parar(-se)	nirúti	nirúti	nirúti	nirúti
101	float	flotar; rebalsar	þispúti	wípúti	þispúti	þispúti
102	flow	fluir	aþáti	awáti	aþáti	aþáti
103	come	venir	úti	úti	úti	úti
104	walk	caminar; andar (more general)	nítí	niti	niti	niti
105	fly [verb]	volar	nuánti	nuánti	nuánti	nuánti

No.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
106	swim	nadar	míjuti	míjuti	míjuti	míjuti
107	turn [intr. v.]	voltear, girar	kʷainákiti	kʷainágiti	kʷainákiti	kʷainákiti
108	play	jugar	kʷáiti	kʷáiti	kʷáiti	kʷáiti
109	see	ver	ísti	íti	ísti	ísti
110	smell [tr. v.]	oler	ṣtí	z̪tí	ṣtí	ṣtí
111	hear	oír	kʷáti	kʷáti	kʷáti	kʷáti
112	know [facts]	saber	?unánti	?unánti	?unánti	?unánti
113	think	pensar	sinánti	zinánti	sinánti	sinánti
114	fear [verb]	temer	rakʷítí	ragʷítí	rakʷítí	rakʷítí
115	count [verb]	contar	tupúnti	tupúnti	tupúnti	tupúnti
116	say	decir	káti kíti	káti kíti	káti kíti	káti kíti
117	sing	cantar	kántati	kántati	kántati	kántati
118	laugh	reír	kʷáiti	kʷáiti	kʷáiti	kʷáiti
119	eat	comer	píti	píti	píti	píti
120	drink [verb]	beber, tomar	ṣfati	z̪fati	ṣfati	ṣfati
121	suck	chupar	úputi	úputi	újuti	újuti
122	bite	morder	nat̪ʃti	nat̪ʃti	nat̪ʃti	nat̪ʃti
123	spit [verb]	escupir	túʃukati	túyukati	túʃukati	túyukati
124	vomit [verb]	vomitar	?anáti	kináti	kinánti	?anáti
125	scratch [itch]	rascar	ṣuánti	zuánti	ṣuánti	ṣuánti
126	hunt	cazar	jú ?ati	jú ?ati	jú ?ati	jú ?ati
127	burn [tr. v.]	quemar	nínti ṣaroti	nínti	nínti ṣaroti	nínti ṣaroti
128	sew	coser	?únuti kíṣiti	?únuti	?únuti kíṣiti	?únuti kíṣiti
129	tie [verb]	atar, amarrar	tíkírikati	tírikati	tíkírikati	tíkírikati
130	pull	jalar	níñiti	níñiti	níñiti	níñiti
131	throw	tirar; lanzar	níti nónti	níti nónti	níti nóti	níti nóti
132	push	empujar	títikati	títikati	títikati	títikati
133	squeeze	apretar	tsíŋkati	síŋkati	tsíŋkati	tsíŋkati
134	dig	cavar; escarbar	náiti	náiti	náiti	náiti

No.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
135	wash	lavar	tʃúkati	tʃúgati	tʃúkati	tʃúkati
136	wipe	limpiar; enjugar	mínióti	mínióti	mínióti	mínióti
137	rub	sobar, frotar	rašuánti rámasuti	zuánti	rašuánti rašuánti rámasuti	rašuánti ratsíkati rámasuti
138	give	dar	?inánti	?ináti	?inánti	?inánti
139	hold [in hand]	agarrar, sostener	þíti tuínti	wíti tuínti	þíti tuínti	þíti tuínti
140	cut [verb]	cortar	tíati	tíati	tíati	tíati
141	split	partir; hender	túkati	túgati	túkati	túkati
142	fight	pelear; luchar	mianánti	mianánti	mianánti	mianánti
143	hit	golpear, pegar	mítí	mítí	mítí	mítí
144	stab [or pierce]	penetrar (perforando)	tʃátfíti	tʃátfíti	tʃátfíti	tʃátfíti
145	kill	matar	ríti	rítíti	ríti	ríti
146	smooth	liso	niþá	niwá	niþá	niþá
147	warm (hot weather)	caliente	?ítsís	zána	?ítsís	?ítsís
148	cold [weather]	frío	mátsí	mási	mátsí	mátsí
149	sharp [knife]	filudo, filoso	kʷínú kʷínṣu	kʷínuti	kʷínú kʷínṣu	kʷínú kʷínṣu
150	dull [knife]	desafilado; embotado	kʷínunuma	kʷínunuma	kʷínujuma	kʷínujuma
151	rotten [log]	podrido	tʃíkikí	tʃígigí	tʃíkikí	tʃíkikí
152	straight	recto, derecho	puntí	puntí	puntí	puntí
153	dirty	sucio	tʃúa	tʃúa	tʃúwa	tʃúa
154	heavy	pesado	?íf	?íf	?íyi	?íyi
155	wet	mojado	tʃaþá	tʃawá	tʃaþá	tʃaþá
156	dry [adj./v.]	seco	?ískikí	?ískigí	?ískikí	?ískikí
157	black	negro	tunán	tunán	tunán	tunán
158	white	blanco	úṣu	úzu	úṣu	úṣu

No.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alder Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
159	red	rojo	ꝑfíši úšin	roza / zoza	ꝑfíši únsín	ꝑfíši úšin
160	yellow	amarillo	kúrunsa	kurúnza	ꝑfáma ?úasa	kurúnsa
161	green	verde	páša	páz̄a	páša	páša
162	new	nuevo	þiná þíó	wíná þíó	þiná þíó	þiná þíó
163	old [adj.]	viejo	ſíni	zíni	ſíni	ſíni
164	good	bueno	upí	upí	upí	upí
165	bad	malo	?áisama	?áizama	?áisama	?áisama
166	here	aquí; acá	ínu	ínu	ínu	ínu
167	there	ahí; allí; allá	ánu	ánu	ánu	ánu
168	near	cerca	úrama	úrama	úrama	úrama
169	far	lejos	úra	úra	úra	úra
170	right (side)	derecha	míkʷeu	míkʷeu	míkeu	míkeu
171	left (side)	izquierda	mímiu	mímiu	mímiu	mímiu
172	big	grande	ꝑfá	ꝑfá	ꝑfá	ꝑfá
173	wide	ancho	pampa	pampa	pampa	pampa
174	thick	grueso	kištú	kižtú	kištú	kištú
175	small	pequeño	ꝑukúma	ꝑugúma	ꝑukúma	ꝑukúma
176	thin	delgado	þintsín	wínsí	þintsín	þintsín
177	narrow	angosto; estrecho	ántsukus	ánsugugí	ántsuku	ántsuku
178	long	largo	ꝑfazgí	ꝑfazgí	ꝑfazgí	ꝑfazgí
179	short	corto; bajo (vertical)	mitú	mitú	mitú	mitú
180	one	uno	atíúsi	atíúi	atíúsi	atíúsi
181	two	dos	raþí	rawí	raþí	raþí
182	three	tres	—	—	—	—
183	four	cuatro	—	—	—	—
184	five	cinco	mápai	mápai	mápai	mapai
185	many	muchos	?ítsa	?ísa	?ítsa	?ítsa
186	few	pocos	?ítsamaſí	?ítsama	?ítsamaſí	?ítsamaſí
187	all	todos	kámaþí	kámawi	kámaþí	kámaþí

594 — Appendix 2: Swadesh list of 200 terms for the four extant dialects of Kakatataibo

No.	English	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Alto Aguaytía	Sungaroyacu
188	some	algunos	ráiri	ráiri	ráiri	ráiri
189	other	otro	βítsi	wísi	βítsi	βítsi
190	where [interr.]	dónde	úinu	úinu	úinu	úinu
191	when [interr.]	cuándo	úisaran	úizaju	úisaran	úisaran
192	how [interr.]	cómo	úisa	úiza	úisa	úisa
193	in	en, adentro	miú	miú	miú	miú
194	right (correct)	correcto	upí	upí	upí	upí
195	not	no	-ma	-ma	-ma	-ma
196	and	y	?ímainun	?ímainun	?ímainun	?ímainun
197	because	porque	ráðanan	ráwanan	ráðanan	ráðanan
198	if	si	—	—	—	—
199	at	en	-un	-un	-nu	-un
200	with [accompanyment]	con	-βí(tan)	-wí(tan)	-βí(tan)	-βí(tan)

Appendix 3: Tessmann's list of 237 terms for the four extant dialects of Kakatataibo with German and Spanish translations

No.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
1	Zunge	lengua	ána	ána	ána	ána
2	Zahn	diente	šíta	zíta	šíta	šíta
3	Auge	ojo	þíru	wíru	þíru	þíru
4	Ohr	oreja	paþí	pawí	paþí	paþí
5	Kopf	cabeza	maþká, mapuso	mapuzo	maþká, mapuso	maþká, mapuso
6	Hand	mano	míkín	migí	míkín	míkín
7	Wasser	agua	?umpás	?umpáz	?umpás	?umpás
8	Feuer	fuego	tsí	sí	tsí	tsí
9	Sonne	sol	þári	wári	wári	wári
10	Mond	luna	?úþí	úzí	?úþí	úþí
11	Erde (Erboden)	tierra (suelo)	me	míe	me	me
12	Stein	piedra	maþás	maza	maþá	maþá
13	Haus (Wohn-) (comunal)	casa	shúbu	zúu	shúbu	shúbu
14	Topf (Koch-) (de cocina)	olla	jútí	—	jútí	jútí
15	Kanu	canoa	núnti	núnti	núnti	núnti
16	Mann	hombre	úni	úni	úni	úni
17	Frau	mujer	shánu	zánu	shánu	shánu
18	Huhn	gallina	?atóripa	?átapa	?atóripa	?atóripa
19	Hund	perro	kamún, utíþí	utíþí	kamún, utíþí	kamún, utíþí
20	Jaguar	jaguar	?ínu	?ínu	?ínu	?ínu
21	Tapir	sachavaca	?ó	?ó	?ó	?ó
22	Kaiman	caimán	kapí	kapí	kapí	kapí
23	Stock	palo, bastón	i	i	i	i
24	Maniok	yuca	?átsa	?ása	?átsa	?átsa

No.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytia	Sungaruyacu
25	Mais	maíz	ʂ̥ki	ʐ̥gi	ʂ̥ki	ʂ̥ki
26	Plante	plátano	nõnsi	nó(n)zigi	nõnsi	nõnsi
27	Tabak	tabaco	rumf̥	rumf̥	rumf̥	rumf̥
28	eins	uno	atʃ̥úʃi	atʃ̥úin	atʃ̥úʃi	atʃ̥úʃi
29	zwei	dos	raβ̥f̥	rawf̥	raβ̥f̥	raβ̥f̥
30	drei	tres	—	—	—	—
31	weiß	blanco	úšu(a)	úžu(a)	úšu(a)	úšu(a)
32	schwarz	negro	tunán	tuná	tunán	tunán
33	rot	rojo	uʃín, panʃín, tʃ̥íʃi	zoza	uʃín, panʃín, tʃ̥íʃi	uʃín, panʃín, tʃ̥íʃi
34	Haar	cabello	βu	u	βu	βu
35	Schnurrbart	barba	kʷíni	kʷíni	kʷíni	kʷíni
36	Backenbart	patillas	tánrani	fzpa	tánrani	tánrani
37	Gesicht	rostro	βimána	wimána	βimánan	βimána
38	Stirn	frente	βimána	wimána	βimánan	βimána
39	Brauen	cejas	βíšku	wízku	βíšku	βíšku
40	Wimpern	pestañas	βíšni	wízni	βíni	βíšni
41	Nase	nariz	ríkín	rigín	ričín	ričín
42	Mund	boca	kʷiβí	kʷiwí	kʷiβí	kʷiβí
43	Lippe	labios	kʷipá,	kʷiwí,	kʷipá,	kʷipá,
44	Kinn	mentón	kʷišá	kʷizá	kʷišá	kʷišá
45	Kehle	garganta	tíru, tísá 'neck'	tíru, tísá 'neck'	tíru, tísá 'neck'	tíru, tísá 'neck'
46	Hals	cuello	tísá	tísá	tísá	tísá
47	Rücken	espalda	kášu	kázu	kášu	kášu
48	Schulter	hombro	tíkñpata	pízú zo	tíkñpata	tíkñpata
49	Arm	brazo	píján	píjá	píján	píján
50	Oberarm	brazo superior	píján rara	pízú zo	píján rara	píján rara
51	Unterarm	antebrazo	píján	píjá	píján	píján
52	Ellenbogen	codo	βánβusu	wáuzu	wáβusu	wánβusu
53	Finger	dedo	míkín	mígí	míkín	míkín
54	Nagel	uña	?untsís	?unsí	?untsís	?untsís

No.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
55	Brust	pecho	ſíkán	igá	ſíkán	ſíkán
56	Rippe	costilla	putú(ſo)	putú(zo)	putú(ſo)	putú(ſo)
57	Brustwarze	pezón	ſúma	zúma	ſúma	ſúma
58	Weibl. Brust	seno	ſúma	zúma	ſúma	ſúma
59	Bauch	barriga	nubí	nuwí	nubí	nubí
60	Nabel	ombligo	nitú	nitú	nitú	nitú
61	Penis	pene	iñsú	iñzú	iñsú	iñsú
62	Hoden	testículo	úþu	úzi	úþu	úþu
63	—					
64	—					
65	Vulva	vulva	t̪ípi	t̪ípi	t̪ípi	t̪ípi
66	Bein	pierna	kísi	kízi	kísi	kísi
67	Ober-schenkel	muslo	kísi	kízi	kísi	kísi
68	Unter-schenkel	pierna baja	kísi	kízi	kísi	kísi
69	Knie	rodilla	ránþusu	ráuzu	ráþusu	ránþusu
70	Fuß	pie	tái	tái	tái	tái
71	Ferse	talón	tái tsíputu	tái t̪ipun	tái tsíputu	tái tsíputi
72	Zeh	dedo del pie	tái ríþu	tái ríu zo	tái ríþu	tái ríþu
73	Haut	piel	þijí	wíi	þijí	þijí
74	—					
75	Knochen	hueso	ſo	zo	ſo	ſo
76	Blut (75 in Kashibo)	sangre	ími	ími	ími	ími
77	Atem	aliento	ſabáki	zawágí	ſawáki	ſawáki
78	Menge (Leute)	multitud de gente	þukúki	ugúgi	þukúki	þukúki
79	—					
80	—					
81	Knabe, geschlechts-reifer	muchacho, púber	þiná uni	winá uni	þiná uni	þiná uni

598 — Appendix 3: Tessmann's list of 237 terms for the four extant dialects of Kakatataibo

No.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
82	Mädchen, geschlechts- reifes	muchacha, púber	ṣuntaku	wíná zánu	ṣuntaku	ṣuntaku
83	Vater	padre	pápa	pápa	pápa	pápa
84	Mutter	madre	títa	títa	títa	títa
85	Freund (nur gleich- geschlecht- licher)	amigo (solo homo- sexual)	—	—	—	—
86	Feind	enemigo	no	no	no	no
87	Fremder	extranjero	úra þukúkì	úra ugúgì	úra þukúkì	úra þukúkì
88	Wilder	salvaje	raíkima	raígima	raíkima	raíkima
89	Sprache	idioma	βana	wana	wana	wana
90	Kopfschmerz	dolor de cabeza	máškatan ?ákì	mápuzo paígì	máškatan ?ákì	máškatan ?ákì
91	Leibshmerz	dolor de barriga	púku nínì ?ákì	púgun paígì	púku nínì ?ákì	púku nínì ?ákì
92	Arznei	remedio	ro	ro	ro	ro
93	Speise	comida	píti	píti	píti	píti
94	Fleish	carne	námi	námi	námi	námi
95	Fisch	pescado	juúma 'anchoveta'	juúma 'anchoveta'	juúma 'anchoveta'	juúma 'anchoveta'
96	Himmel	cielo	naí	naí	naí	naí
97	Vollmond	luna llena	úzì þiráma isíkì uzì turúkì	úzì izígì	úzì þiráma isíkì uzì turúkì	úzì þiráma isíkì uzì turúkì
98	Mond, zunehmend	luna creciente	úzì isíkì	úzì wíráma isíkì	úzì isíkì	úzì isíkì
99	Stern	estrella	?íspa	?ízpa	?íspa	?íspa
100	Wolke	nube	kuín	kuín	kuín	kuín
101	Blitz	relámpago	kaná míriti	kaná míriti	kaná míriti	kaná míriti
102	Donner	trueno	kaná	kaná	kaná	kaná
103	Regen	lluvia	úwe	úi	ébe	
104	Wind	viento	súnu	zúnu	súju ~ súnu	súju
105	Regenzeit	estación lluviosa	míta	míta	míta	míta

No.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
106	Trockenzeit	estación seca	βaritía	warikʷaŋi	waritía	waritía
107	Morgen	mañana	?imfíjí	?imfín	?imfíjí	?imfíjí
108	Mittag	mediodía	βári maníkí, βári jamán nakíkí	wári jamá nakíkí	wári maníkí, wári jamán nakíkí	wári maníkí, wári jamán nakíkí
109	Nacht	noche	jantán, imí	jantán, imí	jantán, imí	jantán
110	Tag	día	nítí	nítí	nítí	nítí
111	Monat	mes	?úṣí	?úzí	?úṣí	?úṣí
112	Jahr	año	βaritía	waritía	waritía	waritía
113	Fluß	río	βáka	wáka	wáka	wáka
114	Sandbank	banco de arena	masi	mazi	masi	masi
115	Bach	riachuelo	šíšá	zízá	šíšá	nasí šíšá
116	Schnelle	catarata	?umpás ʃioβúki, ?umpás ?iβúki	?iyúgi	?umpás ʃioβúki, ?umpás ?iβúki	?umpás ʃioβúki, ?umpás ?iβúki
117	Quelle	fuente	múmokiké	maná ?íkí	múmokiké	múmokiké
118	Hügel	loma	matá	matán me	matá	matá
119	Wald	bosque	ni	ni	ni	ni
120	Sekundärwald (purma)	bosque secundario	mái	mái	mái	mái
121	Pflanzung	huerta	náí	náí	náí	náí
122	Weg	camino	βai	wai	wai	wai
123	Baum	árbol	i	i	i	i
124	Holz	madera	i (níkí)	i (níkí)	i (níkí)	i (níkí)
125	Liane	bejuco	nintʃíṣ	nintʃíz, ajaz	nintʃíṣ	nintʃíṣ
126	Blatt	hoja	píi	píi	píi	píi
127	Blume	flor	ju ?úa	ju ?úa	ju ?úa	ju ?úa
128	Wurzel	raíz	tapún	í tapu	tapún	tapún
129	Heliconia (situlli)	heliconia (situllí)	sinkín	paka	sinkín	sinkín
130	Affe, allg.	mono (general)	—	—	—	—

No.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytia	Sungaruyacu
131	heller Kapuzineraffe	mono capuchino claro	tʃíru uṣu	tʃíruzu	tʃíru uṣu	tʃíru uṣu
132	dunkler Kapuzineraffe	mono capuchino oscuro	tʃíru	tʃíru	tʃíru	tʃíru
133	Saimiri (frailecito)	saimiri (frailecillo)	rúkaruka	rúgaruga	rúkaruka	rúkaruka
134	Brüllaffe	mono aullador	ru	ru	ru	ru
135	Wollaffe (choro)	mono lanudo (choro)	tʃúnakuru	tʃúnaguru	tʃúnakuru	tʃúnakuru
136	Spinnenaffe	mono araña	tʃúna	tʃúna	tʃúna	tʃúna
137	Nachtaffe (musmuqui)	mono nocturno (musmuqui)	ríri	ríri	ríri	ríri
138	Fledermaus	murciélagos	kaʃjan	kaía	kaínʃa	kaínʃa
139	Puma	puma	tʃáṣu ?inu	tʃáṣu ?inu	tʃáṣu ?inu	tʃáṣu ?inu
140	Tigerkatze	tigrillo	?inu	?inu	?inu	?inu
141	Buschhund	perro de monte	kaman, ní utitʃí	kamún, ní utitʃí	kamún, ní utitʃí	kamún, ní utitʃí
142	Nasenbär (achuni)	coatí (achuni)	sisi	zizi	sisi	sisi
143	Otter	nutría	βúnsime, şórapana	únsime, jórapana	βúnsime, şórapana	βúnsime, şórapana
144	Delphin (bufeo)	buefo	kʷʃuiʃka	kúzinga	kʷʃuiʃka	kʷʃuiʃka
145	Seekuh	manatí	şórapana	jórapana	şórapana	şórapana
146	Reh	corzo	tʃáṣu	tʃáṣu	tʃáṣu	tʃáṣu
147	Weißbart-pekari	huangana	jo	jo	jo	jo
148	Halsband-pekari	sagino	?unkín	?ungí	?unkín	?unkín
149	Wasserschwein (ronsoco)	ronsoco	?amín	?amí	?amín	?amín
150	Aguti	añuje	mari	mari	mari	mari
151	Paka	majas	?ánu	?ánu	?ánu	?ánu

No.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
152	gr. Ameisenbär	oso hormiguero	kúruṣaɨ̄	kúruṣaɨ̄	kúruṣaɨ̄	kúruṣaɨ̄
153	Faultier (pelejo)	mono perezoso	punsín	puzf	punsín	punsín
154	kl. Gürteltier (carachupa)	armadillo pequeño (carachupa)	ŋaís	ŋaíz	jaís	jaís
155	Hahn	gallo	?atóripa β̄in̄i	?átapa w̄in̄i	?atóripa β̄in̄i	?atóripa β̄in̄i
156	Huhn	gallina	?atóripa ſanu	?átapa zanu	?atóripa ſanu	?atóripa ſanu
157	Ei	huevo	?atóripa βátsi	?átapa wási	?atóripa βátsi	?atóripa wátsi
158	Ara macao	ara macao	ʂ̄on	ʐ̄on	ʂ̄on	ʂ̄on
159	Ara chloroptera	ara choloptera	kaín	kaín	kaín	kaín
160	Ararauma	ararauma	kana	kana	kana	kana
161	Papagei	papagayo	βo	wo	βo	wo
162	Aasgeier	gallinazo	ʂ̄it̄i	ʐ̄it̄i	ʂ̄it̄i	ʂ̄it̄i
163	Eule	lechuza	púpu	púpu	púpu	púpu
164	Nacht-schwalbe	golondrina nocturna	píru	píru	píru	píru
165	Kolibri	picaflor	pínu	pínu	pínu	pínu
166	Zigeuner-huhn	gallina gitana	níſſs	níſf	níſſs	níſſs
167	Hokko	paujil	?asín	?azí	?ansín	?ansín
168	Penelope Jacutinga	pava de monte	kuşu	kuzu	kuşu	kuşu
169	Penelope Jacuacu (pucacunga)	pava de monte (puca-cunga)	kʷʰβu	kʷʰf̄u	kʷʰβu	kʷʰβu
170	Arapaima (paiche L.)	paiche	—	—	—	—
171	Riesenwels (súngaro)	súngaro	túki	túki	túki	túki
172	Landschildkröte	tortuga terrestre	ʂ̄áf	típa	ʂ̄áf	ʂ̄áf
173	Flußschildkröte	tortuga fluvial	ʂ̄aón	kauri	ʂ̄aón	ʂ̄aón

No.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
174	Tejueidechse (iguano)	iguana	ʂíkí	ʐégi	ʂíkí	ʂíkí
175	Leguan (camaleón)	camaleón	?ápajíru	?ápainru	?ápajíru	?ápajíru
176	Eidechse	lagartija	júnki	júngi	júnki	júnki
177	Schlange	culebra	rúnu	rúnu	rúnu	rúnu
178	Eunectes (Boa)	boa	rúnín	rúnín	rúnín	rúnín
179	Lanzen- schlange	víbora del Brasil	kánaru	kánaru	kánaru	kánarun
180	Buschmeister	surucucú (afaninga)	piská	pízgá	piská	piská
181	Kröte	sapo	aʃá	ajá	aʃá	aʃá
182	Biene	abeja	βúna	úna	βúja	βúja
183	Wespe (182 in Kashino list)	avíspera	βína	wína	βína	βína
184	Shmetterling	mariposa	pínpíšo	pínpízo	pínpíšo	pínpíšo
185	Spinnweben (Spinne in Kashino list)	telarañas	sapín	waxú	sapín	sapín
186	Sandfliege	ardilla	kápa	kápa	kápa	kápa
187	Milbe	ácaro (isango)	?upús	?upúz	?upús	?upús
188	Mücke	mosquito	βi	wi	βi	βi
189	Dinoponera- Ameise (isula)	hormiga isula	kutíʃ	kutína mo	kutíʃ	kutíʃ
190	Ding, Sache	objeto, cosa	ju	ju	ju	ju
191	Feuerholz	leño	káru	káru	káru	káru
192	Kohle	carbón	tsísu	sízu	tsísu	tsísu
193	Asche	ceniza	tʃímapu	tʃímapu	tʃímapu	tʃímapu
194	Rauch	humo	tsín kuín	sin kuín	tsín kuín	tsín kuín
195	Flamme (fogata)	fogata	tsí ríkirukí	frírugí	tsí ríkirukí	tsí ríkirukí
196	krank	enfermo	juki ?isínkí	jugi ?isíngí	juki ?isínkí	juki ?isínkí

No.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
197	gesund	sano	júkima	júkima	júkima	júkima
198	hart	duro	?íru	?íru	?íru	?íru
199	weich	suave	βátʃu	wátʃu	wátʃu	wátʃu
200	rund	redondo	mamua	mamua	mamua	mamua
201	lang	largo	ʈʃáskf	ʈʃazgí	ʈʃáskf	ʈʃáskf
202	kurz	bajo	mítu (uni)	mítu (uni)	mítu (uni)	mítu (uni)
203	groß	grande	tʃa	tʃa	tʃa	tʃa
204	klein	pequeño	tʃukúma	tʃugúma	tʃukúma	tʃukúma
205	alt	viejo	ʂíni	ʐíni	ʂíni	ʂíni
206	jung	joven	βíná	wíná	βíná	βíná
207	klug	inteligente	sinánju	sinánju	sinánju	sinánju
208	häbsch	bonito	?upí	?upí	?upí	?upí
209	häßlich	feo	?áisama	?áizama	?átima	?áisama
210	kalt	frío	matsíki	masigí	matsíki	matsíki
211	heiß	caliente	?ítsís	ʐána	?ítsís	?ítsís
212	heute	hoy	βírí	wírí	βírí	βírí
213	gestern	ayer	?imfíji, ʈʃíβáʃkíkí	?imfíji, ʈʃíwáʃkíkí	?imfíji, ʈʃíwáʃkíkí	?imfíji, ʈʃíwáʃkíkí
214	morgen	mañana	?imfíji	?imfíji	?imfíji	?imfíji
215	hier	aquí	ínu	ínu	ínu	ínu
216	dort	allá	ánu	ánu	ánu	ánu
217	rechts	derecho	míkʷeu	míkʷeu	míkeu	míkeu
218	links	izquierda	mímiu	mímiu	mímiu	mímiu
219	ja	sí	—	—	—	—
220	nein (= ist nicht)	no (no es)	juŋuma	juŋuma	yuyuma	yuyuma
221	viele	muchos	?ítsa	?ísa	?ítsa	?ítsa
222	wenig	poco	?ítsamaʃí	?ísamají	?ítsamaʃí	?ítsamaʃí
223	alle, alles	todos, todo	kamaβí	kamawi	kamaβí	kamaβí
224	nichts	nada	juŋuma	juŋuma	yuyuma	yuyuma
225	vier	cuatro	—	—	—	—
226	fünf	cinco	mápai	mápai	mápai	mápai

604 — Appendix 3: Tessmann's list of 237 terms for the four extant dialects of Kakataibo

No.	German	Spanish	Lower Aguaytia	San Alejandro	Upper Aguaytía	Sungaruyacu
227	sechs	seis	—	—	—	—
228	sieben	siete	—	—	—	—
229	acht	ocho	—	—	—	—
230	neun	nueve	—	—	—	—
231	zehn	diez	—	—	—	—
232	erster	primer	apain	apain	apain	apain
	Vorhaut	prepucio	—	—	—	—
	gut	bueno	?upí	?upí	?upí	?upí
	schlecht	malo	mianánki	mianángi	mianánki	mianánki
	essen (Form?)	comer (?forma?)	píti	píti	píti	píti
	schlafen (Form?)	dormir (?forma?)	?uṣti	?uz̩ti	?uṣti	?uṣti
	töten (Form?)	matar (?forma?)	uni ?ati	uni ?ati	uni ?ati	uni ?ati

Appendix 4: Kakataibo textual database

(Fully translated, transcribed and annotated texts)

Code	Author	Time	Examples included in this grammar	Title in Spanish
AE-my.plans-2006	Alfredo Estrella	3:04	YES	Lo que voy a hacer el próximo año
AE-my.work<-2006	Alfredo Estrella	1:19	YES	Lo que hice hoy
EE-road-2006	Emilio Estrella	2:58	YES	La construcción de la carretera
EE-today-2006	Emilio Estrella	1:01	NO	Lo que hice hoy (en Lima)
EE-today(2)-EE-2006	Emilio Estrella	1:01	NO	Lo que hice hoy
EE-north-2006	Emilio Estrella	6:25	YES	Nuestros antepasados vienen del norte
RP-santa.merta-2006	Ricardo Pereira	4:54	NO	Santa Marta
MO-fisher-2007	Marcelo Odicio	3:17	YES	Un hombre pescaba con el ojo
WO-armadillo-2007	Wilton Odicio	2:35	YES	Un hombre enterró a su enemigo
SE-paucair-2007	Salomón Estrella	4:26	YES	Un hombre enterró a su enemigo
JE-parakeet-2007	Julio Estrella	1:41	YES	Un lorito se robó el tizón
SE-fisher-2007	Salomón Estrella	2:56	YES	Un hombre siempre traía anchoveta
JE-worms-2007	Julio Estrella	2:37	YES	Un hombre siempre traía suri
SE-cheater.woman-2007	Salomón Estrella	10:25	YES	Matiando un chosna blanco, vio que su mujer le engañaba
SE-flood2-2007	Salomón Estrella	4:51	YES	El diluvio
JE-king.vulture-2007	Julio Estrella	9:06	YES	Un cóndor lo rescató
SE-flood-2007	Salomón Estrella	2:32	YES	Un hombre apareció a la una de la mañana
JE-pomegranates-2007	Julio Estrella	3:01	YES	Un hombre traidorón llegó con granadillas
SE-arrows-2007	Salomón Estrella	6:30	YES	Elaboración de las flechas
JE-blind.man-2007	Julio Estrella	6:33	YES	Una mujer cuidaba bien a su esposo ciegoito
JE-my.life-2007	Julio Estrella	1:54	YES	Lo que voy a hacer el próximo año

Code	Author	Time	Examples included in this grammar	Title in Spanish
NA-my.plans-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	2:04	YES	Lo que voy a hacer el próximo año
SE-my.plans-2007	Salomón Estrella	2:20	YES	Lo que voy a hacer el próximo año
NA-foreigner-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	6:33	YES	Un gringo vino a visitar
JE-deer.man-2007	Julio Estrella	3:10	NO	El hombre venado no estaba muerto
NA-deer-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	5:55	YES	El hombre venado no estaba muerto
JE-woman-2007	Julio Estrella	11:13	YES	Una mujer pintaba a su marido
NA-pomegranates-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	3:33	YES	Un hombre traicionero llegó con granadillas
NA-boy-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	3:41	YES	Un niño apedreó al amante de su mujer
NA-ancestors-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	9:49	YES	La construcción de la carretera
SE-agriculture-2007	Salomón Estrella	5:51	YES	Elaboración de la chacra
NA-incas-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	9:40	YES	Elaboración de las flechas
EE-isa.kuna-2007	Emilio Estrella	1:59	NO	Isa Kuna, el hombre que nombró los ríos
EE-fisher-2007	Emilio Estrella	1:57	YES	Un hombre pescaba con el ojo
EE-king.vulture-2007	Emilio Estrella	5:22	YES	Un cóndor lo rescató
AE-ancestors-2007	Alfredo Estrella	5:18	NO	Nuestros antepasados vivían de otra forma
AE-bosses-2007	Alfredo Estrella	4:35	NO	Los jefes que hemos tenidos
AE-shelli-2007	Alfredo Estrella	3:31	NO	Olivia Sheilly y los pastores que llegaron
AE-trips-2007	Alfredo Estrella	9:07	NO	Mis viajes de evangelización
AE-work-2007	Alfredo Estrella	3:32	NO	Mi trabajo actual
AE-ancestors(2)-2007	Alfredo Estrella	5:23	NO	Nuestros antepasados vivían de otra forma
AE-americans-2007	Alfredo Estrella	4:47	NO	Los gringos conocieron a Bolívar
AE-kamano-2007	Alfredo Estrella	5:40	NO	Los kamano
AE-wild.animals-2007	Alfredo Estrella	4:13	NO	Los animales del monte

Code	Author	Time	Examples included in this grammar	Title in Spanish
AE-plants-2007	Alfredo Estrella	5:00	NO	Las plantas del monte
AE-illnesses-2007	Alfredo Estrella	4:45	NO	Las enfermedades del hombre cacataibo
AE-yesterday-2007	Alfredo Estrella	1:48	NO	Lo que hice ayer
AE-today-2007	Alfredo Estrella	1:43	NO	Lo que hice hoy
AE-missionary2007	Alfredo Estrella	2:26	NO	El pastor que va a venir
AE-churches-2007	Alfredo Estrella	1:57	NO	Mis viajes a otras iglesias
EE-bosses-2007	Emilio Estrella	4:47	NO	Los patronos que teníamos antes
EE-conquerors-2007	Emilio Estrella	5:51	YES	Nuestros antepasados conquistaron a otros pueblos
EE-cheater-2007	Emilio Estrella	5:30	NO	Matando un chosna blanco, vió que su mujer le engañaba
EE-burry-2007	Emilio Estrella	5:41	YES	Un hombre enterró a su enemigo
EE-parties-2007	Emilio Estrella	9:28	NO	Nuestros antiguos hacían sus buenas fiestas
EE-origins-2007	Emilio Estrella	5:33	NO	El hombre antes fue animal
EE-weddings(1)2007	Emilio Estrella	5:29	NO	Los matrimonios antiguos
EE-weddings(2)-2007	Emilio Estrella	2:49	NO	Los matrimonios modernos
EE-kamano2007	Emilio Estrella	6:40	NO	Los kamano
NA-kinkajous-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	6:25	NO	Matando un chosna blanco, vió que su mujer le engañaba
NA-wars-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	6:56	NO	Nuestros antepasados hacían guerra
JE-weddings-2007	Julio Estrella	6:47	NO	Los matrimonios antiguos
NA-tsikiumano-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	6:56	YES	Tsikiumano se llevó a la hija de un hombre
JE-ancestors-2007	Julio Estrella	10:06	NO	Nuestros antepasados vivían de otra forma
NA-ancestors-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	13:58	NO	Nuestros antepasados vivían de otra forma
JE-jaguar-2007	Julio Estrella	6:52	YES	Un tigre se comía a los antiguos
NA-bear-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	4:58	NO	Un oso negro llegaba antes

Code	Author	Time	Examples included in this grammar	Title in Spanish
JE-life-2007	Julio Estrella	5:43	NO	Biografía
NA-wars(1)-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	5:36	NO	Nuestros antepasados conquistaron a otros pueblos
NA-flood-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	6:13	NO	El diluvio
JE-stories-2007	Julio Estrella	5:39	NO	Lo que mis abuelos me contaban
NA-wars(2)-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	5:34	NO	Nuestros antepasados hacían guerra
JE-bury-2007	Julio Estrella	4:50	NO	Nuestros antepasados no enterraban a sus muertos
NA-isakuna-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	3:39	NO	Isa Kuna, el hombre que nombró los ríos
JE-wars-2007	Julio Estrella	4:05	NO	nuestros antepasados peleaban con los shipibos
JE-knifes-2007	Julio Estrella	6:23	NO	Nuestros antepasados no tenían ni machetes ni cuchillos
NA-old.gardens-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	3:33	NO	Nuestros antepasados hacían sus chacras
JE-lousses-2007	Julio Estrella	4:30	NO	Un tiempo había bastante piños
NA-inchinka-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	9:58	YES	Inchinka, una mujer que vengó a sus familiares
JE-inchinka-2007	Julio Estrella	3:26	NO	Inchinka, una mujer que vengó a sus familiares
NA-canoe-2007	Nicolás Aguilar	3:09	NO	Una mujer llegó en una canoa de metal
JE-worms-2007	Julio Estrella	4:30	NO	una mujer siempre se sentaba en su casa
EE-north-2007	Emilio Estrella	16:32	NO	nuestros antepasados vienen del norte
EE-old.times-2007	Emilio Estrella	5:17	NO	Nuestros antepasados vivían de otra forma
EE-my.life-2007	Emilio Estrella	16:48	YES	Nuestros antepasados hacían muchas cosas
EE-inkas-2007	Emilio Estrella	13:31	NO	Los incas
EE-jungle-2007	Emilio Estrella	17:38	NO	Nuestros antepasados vivían acá en la selva
IO-old.times-2008	Irma Odicio	7:27	NO	Nuestras abuelas vivían compartiendo
IO-deer.man-2008	Irma Odicio	4:04	NO	El hombre venido no estaba muerto
IO-wars-2008	Irma Odicio	9:57	NO	Nuestras abuelas también hacían guerra

Code	Author	Time	Examples included in this grammar	Title in Spanish
EE-sky-2008	Emilio Estrella	6:25	NO	Nuestros antepasados subían al cielo
EE-ancestors(2)-2008	Emilio Estrella	15:56	NO	Nuestros antepasados vivían de otra forma
EE-down.river-008	Emilio Estrella	10:36	NO	Por abajo es bien bonito
NA-creation(1)-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	5:26	NO	La creación del cielo y la tierra
NA-flood-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	5:06	NO	el diluvio
NA-utano-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	3:25	NO	Utano se llevó a una abuela de nosotros
NA-umubaë-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	2:39	NO	umubaë xanu
NA-xuncha-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	3:02	NO	xuncha y otros seres del monte
NA-creation(2)-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	2:24	NO	La creación del hombre
NA-fisher-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	1:36	NO	Un hombre pescaba con el ojo
NA-burrry-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	1:55	NO	un hombre enterró a su enemigo
NA-isakuna-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	5:07	YES	Isa Kuna, el hombre que nombró los ríos
NA-trees-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	3:07	NO	Cuando la tierra no tenía árboles
NA-gardens-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	4:39	NO	nuestros antepasados sembraban muchas cosas
NA-intkas-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	2:28	NO	los incas
NA-workers-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	2:58	NO	aunque no tenía hacha, hacían bien su trabajo
NA-kamano-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	3:12	NO	Los kamano
NA-famine-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	3:50	NO	hubo un tiempo de hambruna
NA-tiger-2008	Nicolás Aguilar	4:30	NO	Un tigre se comía a los antiguos
EE-sky(2)-2008	Emilio Estrella	7:58	NO	nuestros antepasados subían al cielo
SE-father-2008	Salomón Estrella	8:32	NO	nuestro padre no encontraba a su mujer
SE-old.times-2008	Salomón Estrella	8:53	NO	entre cuñadas se visitaban
SE-wars-2008	Salomón Estrella	9:39	NO	Nuestros antepasados hacían guerra

Appendix 5: Brief Kakataibo–English vocabulary

The present Kakataibo-English vocabulary lists the words which appear in the preceding grammatical description. The entries are given in their root form in most cases, but some entries are morphologically complex (involving a derived form or a compound with idiosyncratic meanings). The Kakataibo entries follow the alphabetic order presented below:

‘ – A – B – Ch – E – Ě – I – K – Kw – M – Ñ – N – O – P – Q – R – S – Sh – T – U – W – X – Y

The following parts of speech are identified in the following entries:

<i>adj</i>	adjective	<i>n.</i>	noun
<i>adv</i>	adverb	<i>num.</i>	numeral
<i>conj</i>	conjunction	<i>post</i>	postposition
<i>dem</i>	demonstrative	<i>pron</i>	pronoun
<i>int-w</i>	interrogative word	<i>q</i>	quantifier
<i>intj.</i>	interjection	<i>v.</i>	verb

An English-Kakataibo index is included as part of the present vocabulary.

Kakataibo – English vocabulary

/‘/	
‘ a’ā <i>intj.</i> interjection: ‘it hurts’.	‘apunkë <i>n.</i> house.
‘ abu <i>n.</i> great egret; <i>Ardea alba</i> .	‘apu <i>n.</i> boss.
‘ acha <i>v.</i> jump over something.	‘aru <i>v.</i> cook.
‘ ainbi <i>conj.</i> but (DS/A/P).	‘ashá <i>n.</i> common giant toad; <i>Bufo marinus</i> .
‘ ain <i>v.</i> be (1/2).	‘atapa <i>n.</i> chicken (< sk).
‘ ain <i>v.</i> being (DS/A/P).	‘ata <i>n.</i> blue-headed macaw; <i>Primolius couloni</i> .
‘ aisama <i>adj.</i> bad, terrible, ugly.	‘atoripa <i>n.</i> chicken.
‘ aisamera <i>q.</i> a lot of.	‘atsan <i>v.</i> get tired.
‘ aisa <i>adj.</i> beautiful, good.	‘atsa <i>n.</i> manioc; <i>Manihot esculenta</i> .
‘ aishbi <i>v.</i> but: S/A>S.	‘axan <i>v.</i> fish using poison.
‘ aish <i>v.</i> be: S/A>S.	‘a <i>v.</i> make, do, kill, transitive auxiliary.
‘ akin <i>v.</i> help.	‘e <i>v.</i> swallow.
‘ amen <i>n.</i> capybara; <i>Hydrochirus hydrochaeris</i> .	‘ëbi <i>pron.</i> first singular personal pronoun (emphatic form).
‘ anibu <i>n.</i> ancestor.	‘ëkama <i>pron.</i> first plural (*exclusive) personal pronoun.
‘ anpa <i>n.</i> horse fly; <i>Tabanus</i> species.	‘ëma <i>n.</i> village.
‘ anu <i>n.</i> paca; <i>Cuniculus paca</i> .	‘ënan <i>v.</i> separate.
‘ apat <i>v.</i> plant, take down.	

‘ënchi <i>n.</i> younger sister of a man or woman.	‘unkin <i>n.</i> collared peccary; <i>Pecari tajacu</i> .
‘éo kamë <i>q.</i> a lot of.	‘unpax <i>n.</i> water.
‘ëska <i>v.</i> dry.	‘untsis <i>n.</i> nail.
‘ëtsën <i>n.</i> louse; <i>Pediculus humanus</i> .	‘unxë <i>n.</i> ornament.
‘è <i>pron.</i> first person singular pronoun.	‘upus <i>n.</i> chigger; <i>Trombiculidus</i> species.
‘ian <i>n.</i> lake.	‘uran <i>adv.</i> for a long time (< Spanish hora ‘hour’).
‘ia <i>n.</i> louse; <i>Pediculus humanus</i> .	‘ux <i>v.</i> sleep.
‘ibut <i>v.</i> descend.	
‘ibu <i>n.</i> owner.	
‘iét (~ ‘íé) <i>adj.</i> heavy.	
‘ikén <i>v.</i> be (3).	
‘ikut <i>v.</i> hug.	
‘ik <i>v.</i> be.	
‘imainun <i>conj.</i> and.	
‘inan <i>v.</i> give.	
‘inti <i>n.</i> break of dawn.	
‘inut <i>v.</i> cross (a river).	
‘inu <i>n.</i> jaguar; <i>Pantera onca</i> .	
‘iò <i>adj.</i> new.	
‘ipasu <i>post.</i> at the side of.	
‘iru <i>v.</i> go up.	
‘isá <i>n.</i> bird, passerine.	
‘isin <i>v.</i> be sick.	
‘isku <i>n.</i> russet-backed oropendola; <i>Psarocolius angustifrons</i> .	
‘ispa <i>n.</i> star.	
‘ishish <i>n.</i> unidentified fish.	
‘ishki <i>n.</i> unidentified shrub.	
‘ishtun <i>adv.</i> quickly (< Shipibo-Konibo).	
‘itsa <i>adj.</i> several.	
‘itsi (~‘betsi) <i>adj.</i> other.	
‘itsis <i>adj.</i> hot.	
‘i <i>n.</i> stingray; Fam <i>Potamotrygonidae</i> .	
‘ó ‘épë <i>n.</i> ivory palm (‘large ivory palm’); <i>Phytelephas microcarpa R & P.</i>	
‘ó ‘ipu <i>n.</i> type of armored catfish (‘large armored catfish’); <i>Hypostomus</i> species.	
‘okan chichi <i>n.</i> striolated puffbird (‘tapir’s grandmother’); <i>Nystalus striolatus</i> .	
‘okan ñain <i>n.</i> type of tick (tapir’s tick); Fam <i>loxodidae</i> .	
‘ó <i>n.</i> tapir; <i>Tapirus terrestris</i> .	
‘uchiti <i>n.</i> dog.	
‘uku <i>n.</i> cough.	
‘unanti <i>n.</i> knowledge.	
‘unan <i>v.</i> know.	
‘uncha <i>n.</i> palm tree; <i>Wettinia</i> species.	
‘unchi <i>n.</i> little brother/sister.	
‘unën <i>v.</i> hide.	
‘unët <i>v.</i> hide one self.	
	A
	a ñubira <i>pron.</i> something.
	a ñubirës <i>pron.</i> anything.
	a ñubi <i>pron.</i> nothing.
	a ñun <i>int.w.</i> with what (instrumental).
	a ñu <i>int.w.</i> what (lit ‘that thing’).
	abat <i>v.</i> escape, run.
	abi <i>pron.</i> third singular/plural personal pronoun (emphatic form).
	achun <i>n.</i> spider monkey; <i>Ateles paniscus</i> , or woolly monkey; <i>Lagothrix lagothricha</i> (vocative).
	achushi <i>num.</i> one.
	aini <i>n.</i> female cross cousin of a man.
	aintsi <i>n.</i> relative.
	ain <i>v.</i> come (1/2).
	ain <i>pron.</i> third singular genitive personal pronoun.
	ai <i>adv.</i> there.
	akama <i>pron.</i> third plural personal pronoun.
	aka <i>n.</i> tiger-heron; <i>Tigrisoma fasciatum</i> .
	amanu <i>adv.</i> not here.
	amiribishi <i>adv.</i> again.
	amiricano <i>n.</i> American.
	amo <i>adv.</i> on/at that side.
	an taë tëbiskati <i>n.</i> unidentified fish.
	ana <i>n.</i> oral cavity, tongue.
	anë <i>n.</i> name.
	ansu <i>v.</i> clean a pot with ones finger.
	antaka <i>v.</i> spill.
	antaki <i>v.</i> be spilled, spill over.
	antanama <i>n.</i> scorpion; <i>Vejovis</i> species.
	anuan <i>conj.</i> then (DS/A/P).
	anuax <i>conj.</i> then (INTR).
	anun <i>dem.</i> that (INS).
	anuxun <i>conj.</i> then (TRAN).
	anu <i>adv.</i> there.
	apashiru <i>n.</i> lizard; <i>Iguana iguana</i> .
	arí <i>intj.</i> interjection: ‘it hurts’.
	asábi <i>adj.</i> good.
	asin <i>n.</i> curassow; <i>Mitu tuberosum</i> .
	ashibaë ño <i>n.</i> mythical pig.

atian <i>conj.</i> then.	ba <i>n.</i> egg, larva, insect nest.
atsin <i>v.</i> enter.	bechun <i>n.</i> wave.
atu <i>pron.</i> third dual/paucal personal pronoun.	bëba <i>v.</i> arrive.
au <i>adv.</i> there.	bëbun <i>post.</i> in front of.
a <i>pron.</i> third singular personal pronoun.	bëbu <i>n.</i> man.
a <i>dem.</i> that (proximal to the addressee).	bëbu <i>adj.</i> male.
B	bëchikë <i>n.</i> son (of a man).
baba <i>n.</i> grandchild.	bëchi <i>v.</i> father.
bachi <i>n.</i> mosquito net.	bëchi <i>v.</i> pull out.
bachu <i>adj.</i> soft.	bëi <i>n.</i> collared tamandua; <i>Tamandua tetradactyla</i> .
bain <i>n.</i> catfish; <i>Pseudoplatystoma fasciatum</i> .	bëka <i>v.</i> carry something off (the wind).
baiska <i>v.</i> relieve.	bëki <i>v.</i> be carried by the wind, fan oneself.
baiski <i>v.</i> revive.	bëkwë <i>v.</i> paint with different colors the traditional guns.
bai <i>n.</i> path.	bëmana (~ bëmanan) <i>n.</i> face, forehead, front.
bakan bina <i>n.</i> wasp.	bëna <i>v.</i> lie down.
baka <i>n.</i> river.	bënan <i>v.</i> turn off, extinguish.
báka <i>v.</i> lift.	bënät (~ bënä) <i>adj.</i> young.
bake bëchikë <i>n.</i> male son (of a man).	bëná <i>adj.</i> young.
baketi <i>n.</i> stretcher.	bënët (~ bënë) <i>adj.</i> fast.
báki <i>v.</i> rise.	bënët <i>v.</i> get scared.
bakux <i>n.</i> foam.	bënët <i>v.</i> hurry.
bakwa <i>n.</i> male reproductive organ of plants.	bënë <i>n.</i> male cross cousin, husband, man.
balata <i>n.</i> rubber latex.	bënta xuta <i>n.</i> younger cross cousin of woman.
bama <i>v.</i> die.	bëntan <i>v.</i> hang.
bamë <i>n.</i> unidentified fish.	bënta <i>n.</i> grandfather of a woman.
Banaoka <i>n.</i> proper name of a river (lit. ‘speaking river’).	bëöka <i>v.</i> take the top off, open (something).
bana <i>n.</i> language, word, tale.	bëöki <i>v.</i> open (by itself).
bana <i>v.</i> speak.	béráma <i>adj.</i> old.
banbuxu <i>n.</i> elbow.	béráma <i>adv.</i> a long time ago, before.
banin <i>n.</i> peach palm; <i>Bactris gasipaes</i> .	bérëka <i>v.</i> rub with pitch.
barán <i>n.</i> squash; <i>Cucurbita</i> species.	bérëki <i>v.</i> be rubbed with pitch, rub oneself with pitch.
barashka <i>v.</i> rip a piece of fabric, making noise.	bérunka <i>v.</i> be careful.
barashki <i>v.</i> be ripped (a piece of fabric), get ripped making noise (a piece of fabric).	béruan <i>v.</i> look after.
baritia <i>n.</i> year.	bérü <i>v.</i> stay.
bari <i>v.</i> look for.	bérü <i>n.</i> eye.
bari <i>n.</i> sun.	bérí <i>adv.</i> now, nowadays.
basa <i>n.</i> squirmed monkey; <i>Saimiri sciureus</i> .	bësu <i>v.</i> wake up.
basi <i>v.</i> be slow; delay.	bësun <i>v.</i> wake somebody.
basi <i>n.</i> generic for grass.	bëtas <i>v.</i> obstruct.
bashi <i>n.</i> mountain, large hill.	bëtsi <i>adj.</i> other.
bata <i>n.</i> candy.	bëtsukuka <i>v.</i> kiss.
bata <i>adj.</i> sweet.	bëtun <i>n.</i> night monkey; <i>Aotus</i> species (vocative).
batsi <i>n.</i> egg.	bëun <i>n.</i> tear(s).
baxëx <i>v.</i> gossip.	bëxá <i>n.</i> rheum (sleep of the eyes).
báxka <i>v.</i> bend.	bëxbá <i>adj.</i> thin.
báxki <i>v.</i> be bent, get bent.	bëxtun <i>n.</i> collared peccary; <i>Pecari tajacu</i> (vocative).
baxu <i>n.</i> catfish; <i>Callichthys Callichthys</i> .	bëxuñu <i>adj.</i> blind.

bëxí <i>n.</i> skin.	chaxmën <i>n.</i> agouti; <i>Dasyprocta</i> species (vocative).
bë <i>v.</i> bring.	chaxun bi <i>n.</i> type of mosquito (deer's mosquito); <i>Anopheles</i> species.
bë <i>v.</i> surpass, walk ahead.	chaxun mais <i>n.</i> type of army ant (deer's army ant); <i>Eciton</i> species.
bimi <i>n.</i> fruit.	chaxu <i>n.</i> deer.
bina <i>n.</i> wasp.	cha <i>adj.</i> big.
binun <i>n.</i> palm; <i>Mauritia flexuosa</i> .	che <i>n.</i> uncle (vocative).
biski <i>v.</i> get cut.	chëka <i>v.</i> squash, mash.
bits (~ bi) <i>v.</i> pick up, grap, buy.	chëpa <i>n.</i> fly; <i>Tabanus</i> species.
bi <i>n.</i> mosquito; <i>Culicidus</i> species.	chërökëñ <i>n.</i> unidentified parakeet.
bo 'apashiru <i>n.</i> great green iguana ('green iguana'); <i>Iguana iguana</i> .	chëxë pua <i>n.</i> dark red variety of cush-cush yam; <i>Dioscorea</i> species.
bo runin <i>n.</i> emerald tree boa ('green boa'); <i>Corallus caninus</i> .	chëxë xai <i>n.</i> dark variety of sugar cane; <i>Saccharum officinarum L.</i>
bo <i>n.</i> yellow-crowned parrot; <i>Amazona ochrocephala</i> .	chichachi <i>v.</i> prick the butt.
buáka <i>v.</i> fill.	chichi <i>n.</i> grandmother.
buáki <i>v.</i> become full.	chichu <i>post.</i> inside (e.g. a river).
buán <i>v.</i> take, go in group.	chikin <i>v.</i> take out.
buchi <i>n.</i> older brother of a man or woman.	chikish <i>adj.</i> lazy.
buín <i>v.</i> move, carry.	chikit <i>v.</i> go out.
bui <i>n.</i> tree; <i>Cavanillesia platanifolia</i> .	chikut <i>v.</i> appear.
bukan <i>n.</i> sling.	chimacha <i>v.</i> insert stick in the anus.
buku <i>v.</i> be, live together.	chinit (~ chini) <i>adj.</i> last.
bukun <i>v.</i> put things together.	chiñashi <i>n.</i> hard butt meat.
bukun <i>v.</i> gather.	chiñuxu <i>n.</i> crooked butt.
bukun <i>n.</i> tree; <i>Cecropia hololeuca</i> .	chipi <i>n.</i> vulva.
buntish <i>n.</i> generic name for any red-and-black colored bird.	chira bakë <i>n.</i> sister.
bunxan <i>n.</i> lung.	chira bakë <i>n.</i> different sex sibling, parallel cousin of a man.
buña <i>n.</i> bee; Fam. <i>Apidae</i> .	chiru <i>n.</i> capuchin monkey; <i>Cebus apella</i> .
butu <i>v.</i> dive.	chisman kuru <i>n.</i> giant hunting ant; <i>Paraponera</i> species.
bu <i>n.</i> human head hair.	chishaíka <i>v.</i> move the butt.
Ch	chishú <i>n.</i> white-lipped peccary; <i>Tayassu pecari</i> (female) (vocative).
chabat (~ chabá) <i>adj.</i> wet.	chitaxka <i>v.</i> hit on the butt.
chachiti <i>v.</i> pierce.	chité <i>n.</i> left overs (of food).
chaipa <i>n.</i> younger cross cousin of man.	chiushin <i>adj.</i> red-butted.
chaitiokë <i>n.</i> direct ancestor.	chiux(u) <i>adj.</i> white-butted.
chaiti <i>n.</i> ancestor.	chixanao <i>v.</i> warm up the butt.
chai <i>n.</i> brother in law.	chixut <i>v.</i> have diarrhea.
chai <i>n.</i> male cross cousin of a man.	chixu <i>n.</i> buttock.
chánka <i>v.</i> cut into pieces.	chon <i>n.</i> fish; <i>Crenicichla semicincta</i> .
chánki <i>v.</i> be in pieces, come to be into pieces (to fall apart into pieces).	chuchu <i>n.</i> older sister of a woman.
chanpish <i>n.</i> clam; Clas. <i>Bivalvia</i> .	chuishka <i>v.</i> cut.
charu <i>n.</i> crab.	chuka <i>v.</i> wash.
chaxka <i>v.</i> chop.	chukúma <i>adj.</i> small.
chaxka <i>v.</i> sting.	chuku <i>n.</i> grass.
chaxkët (~ chaxkë) <i>adj.</i> tall.	
chaxki <i>v.</i> be stung, get stung.	

chumin *adj.* thin.

chuna sisi *n.* South American coati ('dark coati'); *Nasua nasua* (subtype).

chuna têtë *n.* bicolored hawk ('dark hawk'); *Accipiter bicolor*.

chuna *n.* spider monkey; *Ateles paniscus*. woolly monkey; *Lagothrix lagothricha*.

chupa *n.* clothes.

churan *n.* unidentified fungus.

churun *v.* jump.

chushi *v.* get dry.

E

ëchi *v.* take off.

ëman *post.* far from, outside.

ëmá *intj.* interjection: 'not in that way'.

ënë *dem.* this (proximal to the speaker).

ënu *adv.* here.

ëpë *intj.* interjection: 'I just remembered'.

ërén *v.* light.

ërët *v.* burn.

ërí (archaic) *intj.* interjection: 'I fear'.

ësa *adv.* like this.

ëska *v.* dry (something).

ëski *v.* get dry.

ëu *n.* ant; Fam. *Formicidae*.

ëxku *n.* piece of charcoal from an old fire.

ë: *intj.* interjection: 'I fear'.

I

ia *n.* fishy smell.

ichú (~ ichut) *v.* be bright.

ima *n.* unidentified ant.

iméishi *adv.* tomorrow, yesterday.

iménaëx *adv.* at midnight.

imi *n.* blood.

ina *n.* paddle.

ina *n.* tail.

ini bëchikë *n.* daughter.

inu *n.* mallet.

inxu *n.* penis.

in *v.* cry.

irubë *v.* stay.

ispan *n.* temple (of head).

is *v.* see.

isha *n.* bad smell.

itax *n.* shank (lower leg).

i *n.* generic for tree, stick.

K

kacha *adj.* sour; lemon.

kaibo *n.* relative.

kain *v.* wait.

kais *v.* choose.

kai *v.* reproduce.

Kakataibo *n.* Kakataibo people.

kamabi *q.* all, every.

kamánan *post.* over.

kamé ëó *q.* a lot, much, many.

kamó *adj.* big.

kana 'ó *n.* tapir subtype ('yellowish tapir');

Tapirus terrestris (subtype).

kana baux *n.* butterfly larva ('yellowish larva');

Morpho species.

kana *n.* blue-and-yellow macaw; *Ara ararauna*.

kani *v.* grow.

kanta *v.* sing.

kantsin *n.* palm; *Attalea phalerata*.

kapa *n.* squirrel; Fam. *Sciuridae*.

kapék (~ kapé) *n.* caiman; Fam. *Alligatoridae*.

kari *n.* sweet potato; *Ipomoea batatas*.

karu *n.* firewood.

kaspai (~ kapais) *n.* dorsal fin (of fish).

kashi *n.* bat; Ord. *Chiroptera*.

kashtá *n.* color of plants or hair when they become dry or damaged.

katamët *v.* trust.

kata *n.* cape (< Central Quechua).

katé *v.* feel ashamed.

katsin *n.* unidentified banana.

kaxori *n.* pomegranate; *Passiflora nitida*.

kaxu *post.* behind.

kaxu *n.* back, back part of an object.

kaxu *post.* behind.

ka *v.* say (TRAN).

kepin *v.* bring closer.

këka *v.* call shouting.

këki *v.* shout.

këmë *v.* lie.

kënë *n.* wall.

këntí *n.* pot.

këñu *v.* finish.

këpit *v.* get closer.

kéruka *v.* make something produce noise.

kéruki *v.* produce noise.

këxë *n.* piece of a broken pot.

këxtut (~ këxtú) *adj.* thick.

kimisha *num.* three (< sk).

kini *n.* hole.

kisi *n.* leg, back of leg, thigh.

ki *v.* say (INTR.).

kuin *n.* cloud.

kuki *n.* firefly; *Lampyris* species.

kuku *n.* father in law; uncle.

kuman *n.* tree; *Dipterix micrantha*.

kumon *n.* white-throated tinamou; *Tinamus guttatus*.

kuni *n.* knifefish; *Gymnotus carapo*.

kunu *n.* unidentified fungus.

kunxan *n.* Spanish cedar; *Cedrela* species.

kuña *adj.* straight.

kuñun *n.* saliva.

kupíra *adj.* very expensive.

kuriki *n.* money.

kuru (~ kurua) *adj.* ash-colored.

kushi *adj.* strong.

kushtin *n.* curassow; *Mitu tuberosum* (vocative).

ku *n.* pus, pimple.

Kw

kwain *v.* move over.

kwako *v.*, lay out.

kwan *v.* go.

kwat *v.* hear.

kwaxbín *n.* tree; *Erythrina* species.

kwa *v.* play, laugh.

kweoka *adj.* wide (said for a river); Aguaytíá River.

kwëbí *post.* mouth, border, nearby.

kwëen *v.* want, like, be happy.

kwënë *n.* traditional painting.

kwëni *n.* beard, moustache.

kwënu *v.* sharpen.

kwën *v.* feel happy.

kwëpa *n.* lip(s).

kwëxá *n.* chin.

kwënkuru *n.* mug.

M

maban *n.* trap for birds.

maën *v.* sweep.

maë *n.* abandoned garden.

maís *n.* army ant; *Eciton* species.

manámi *post.* above.

manan *post.* top of.

Manë Bërukë *n.* proper name.

manë *n.* metal.

manxanta *n.* palate.

man *v.* touch.

mapara *n.* big rock.

mapikut *v.* stick one's head out.

mapun *v.* cover.; *n.* agouti; *Dasyprocta* species.

maru *v.* sell.

masi *n.* sand.

maskwan *n.* roof.

masman *adj.* shallow.

maspui (~ mapuis) *n.* brains.

matä (~ matat) *n.* hill.

matân *n.* small hill.

matsi *adj.* cold.

matsut *v.* sweep.

maxëoka *n.* proper name of a river (lit. red river).

maxká (~ maxkat) *n.* head, head of an object.

ma *adv.* already.

ma: *intj.* interjection: 'I am surprised'.

meina *n.* generic for armadillo.

me *n.* soil, land, ground, earth, field.

më (~ mëë) *v.* beat up, hit.

mëë *v.* work.

mëkamat *v.* steal.

mëkën *n.* hand, finger.

mënio *v.* clean.

mëni *v.* be clean.

mëntsis *n.* fingernail.

mëntu *adj.* with a chopped finger.

mëñu *v.* swim.

mëratí *n.* partner, lover.

mëra *v.* find.

mëtut (~ mëtú) *adj.* short.

mëtika *v.* distribute the same quantity among several people.

mëtiki *v.* receive the same quantity.

mëú *post.* inside (e.g. a house).

mëxu *n.* knuckles.

më *v.* follow a restricted diet.

më *n.* provisions, mineral lick.

mibi *pron.* second singular/plural personal pronoun (emphatic form).

mikama *pron.* second plural personal pronoun.

mishkiti *n.* fishing hook.

mishki *v.* fish with hook.

mitsu *pron.* second dual personal pronoun.

mi *pron.* second singular personal pronoun.

mo *n.* tree trunk.

mua *n.* mud.

muka *adj.* bitter; poison.

munu *adv.* slowly, slow.

muxa ro *n.* unidentified thorny tree.

muxa shinin *n.* unidentified thorny tree.

muxa *n.* thorn.

N

ñaaë *n.* unidentified tree.

ñais *n.* nine-banded long-nosed armadillo;

Dasypus novemcinctus.

ñankan *adv.* in vain.

ñantan *n.* afternoon.

ñe *n.* paternal aunt.

ñe *n.* woman's paternal aunt or mother in law.
aunt of a woman. niece, daughter-in-law of
a woman.

ñon *v.* not share with.

ño *n.* white-lipped peccary; *Tayassu pecari.*

ñu mëë *v.* work.

ñuina *n.* animal.

ñui *v.* tell.

ñuman *n.* thread.

ñuma *n.* unidentified fish.

ñusi *adj.* old.

ñusi *adj.* old (male); old man.

ñusmá *adj.* stupid.

ñusma *adj.* dummy.

ñusuti *n.* big bag.

ñushin atima *n.* devil.

ñushu *n.* curvature.

ñuxan *adj.* old (female); old woman.

ñu *n.* thing.

N

naë *v.* dig.

naë *n.* garden.

nai *n.* sky.

nakwa *n.* fly; *Diptera* species.

namé *post.* inside (e.g. a pot).

namé *n.* interior of a cavity or concave surface.

nami *n.* meat, body, flesh.

nanën *v.* submerge (something).

nanët (*~ nanë*) *n.* brother.

nanët *v.* submerge oneself.

nanë *n.* genipap.

nanë *n.* tree species; *Genipa americana.*

nan *v.* put.

nashi / ñashi *n.* smoked meat.

nashi *v.* wash, bath.

nashpa *adj.* concave.

naxaka *v.* make objects like dry leaves, paper,
cardboard produce noise.

naxaki *v.* produce noise (objects like dry leaves,
paper, carton).

naxbat (*~ naxbá*) *adj.* wide.

naxën *n.* bee; Fam. *Apidae.*

nákxa *v.* insert.

nákxi *v.* get inserted, go into the jungle.

na *n.* nest, aunt of a man.

nëä *v.* tie.

nëbëtsi *post.* in the center of.

nëish *adj.* tasty.

nëkëmanan *post.* this side of the river.

nëkë *post.* on/at this side.

nëmin *adj.* deep.

nënkët (*~ nënké*) *adj.* long.

nëtë *n.* day.

në *v.* draw near, get furious.

nipakët *v.* fall down.

nipat *v.* throw down.

nirin *v.* drag.

nirit *v.* crawl.

nisi *n.* vine, rope, liana.

nish *v.* hate, envy.

nitëxë *v.* feel sad.

nits *v.* walk.

nitú *n.* navel.

ni *n.* jungle.

ni *v.* throw.

nónke *n.* tree species; *Crescentia* species.

nónsi *n.* banana, plantain; *Musa paradisiaca.*

no *n.* foreigner, enemy.

nó *n.* saki monkey; *Pitheca monacus.*

nubi *pron.* first singular plural personal
pronoun (emphatic form).

nubu *n.* aquatic snail; Clas. *Gastropoda.*

nubí *n.* abdomen flesh.

nui *v.* love.

nukama *pron.* first plural (*inclusive) personal
pronoun.

nukën *pron.* first plural genitive personal pro-
noun.

nukut *v.* arrive.

numëñ *v.* cut a tree.

nunti *n.* canoe.

nutsi *v.* feel sad, get disappointed with/about.

nu *pron.* first dual (*inclusive) personal pronoun.

P

pabí *n.* ear.

paëñ *v.* get drunk.

paka <i>n.</i> bamboo; <i>Guadua superba</i> , bamboo spear.	puchi <i>v.</i> take the intestines of an animal off.
panan <i>v.</i> be hungry.	pui <i>v.</i> defecate.
pani <i>v.</i> hang.	pui <i>n.</i> excrement.
pani <i>n.</i> palm species; <i>Astrocaryum murumuru</i> .	pui <i>n.</i> older opposite sex sibling.
panshin (~ panshian) <i>adj.</i> yellow.	puku <i>n.</i> stomach.
panun <i>n.</i> frog species; <i>Leptodactylus boliviensis</i> .	puku <i>n.</i> belly.
pañun <i>n.</i> handkerchief (< Spanish ‘paño’).	punsën <i>n.</i> two-toed sloth; <i>Choleopus cf hoffmanni</i> .
papaokë <i>n.</i> ancestor.	puntët (~ punté) <i>adj.</i> correct.
papa <i>adj.</i> big.	punté <i>post.</i> in the direction of.
papa <i>n.</i> father.	punu <i>n.</i> vein, tendon.
nephew, son-in-law of a woman.	pun <i>n.</i> poke.
papi <i>v.</i> carry.	pupu <i>n.</i> owl species; Fam. <i>Strigidae</i> .
papí <i>v.</i> carve.	pura <i>n.</i> unidentified type of grass.
parunuti <i>n.</i> earring.	Puri <i>n.</i> proper name (female).
paru <i>n.</i> big river.	puru <i>v.</i> fill.
paru <i>adj.</i> lacking one ear.	putú <i>n.</i> rib.
patron <i>n.</i> boss.	putu <i>n.</i> dust, powder, grainy substance.
paxá (~ paxá) <i>adj.</i> green.	R
pa <i>n.</i> father (short form).	raban <i>v.</i> take care of.
péanka <i>v.</i> pierce.	rabéokë <i>n.</i> pants.
péanki <i>v.</i> be pierced, get pierced.	rabé <i>num.</i> two.
péchi <i>n.</i> wing feather, wing.	raëska <i>v.</i> singe.
péi <i>n.</i> leaf.	rairi <i>adj.</i> different; different one.
pékara <i>v.</i> dawn.	rakanan <i>v.</i> level ground.
péka <i>v.</i> pierce.	rakan <i>v.</i> lay down.
pékwe <i>n.</i> shoulder (blade).	rakan <i>v.</i> lean.
péncha <i>v.</i> extend ones arms.	rakat <i>v.</i> lie down.
pénét (~ péné) <i>adj.</i> lighty.	rakwët <i>v.</i> be afraid of.
pénru <i>adj.</i> one-handed.	ranbuxu <i>n.</i> knee.
pénian <i>n.</i> arm, front leg.	rani <i>n.</i> body hair, bristle, down (of bird).
pépi <i>n.</i> traditional storehouse.	ransa <i>v.</i> dance.
péu <i>v.</i> begin.	rapasu <i>post.</i> at the side of.
pé <i>v.</i> take off (shoes, clothes).	rara <i>n.</i> ancestor.
pé:ns (archaic) <i>intj.</i> interjection: ‘crying’.	rarë <i>bake</i> <i>n.</i> different sex sibling of a woman.
piaka <i>n.</i> nephew, niece son-in-law, daughter-in-law of a man.	ratuishi (< Spanish) <i>adv.</i> suddenly.
pian <i>n.</i> nephew (vocative).	ratu <i>v.</i> scare.
zia <i>n.</i> arrow.	raxnun <i>n.</i> white-lipped peccary; <i>Tayassu pecari</i> (male) (vocative).
pikut <i>v.</i> go out.	raxu <i>v.</i> peel.
pinu <i>n.</i> hummingbird; Fam. <i>Trochilidae</i> .	ra <i>n.</i> skin.
pisa <i>n.</i> toucan; <i>Pteroglossus castanotis</i> .	rë <i>v.</i> kill.
pisi <i>adj.</i> rotten.	rëbumi <i>post.</i> beyond.
pishin <i>v.</i> lack.	rëbun <i>n.</i> tip, point, prow, headwaters.
pishu <i>v.</i> get bothered, get angry.	rëka <i>v.</i> rub a length of thread with pitch to lash the arrowhead to the shaft.
pishu <i>v.</i> cry for someone.	rëkin <i>n.</i> nose.
piti <i>n.</i> food.	rënkü <i>n.</i> capybara; <i>Hydrochurus hydrochaeris</i> (vocative).
pi <i>v.</i> eat.	rëntu <i>adj.</i> with a chopped tip.
po <i>n.</i> shellfish; Clas. <i>Bivalvia</i> .	

rëpan <i>n.</i> snout (of animal).	shitat <i>v.</i> cross.
rëpa <i>n.</i> honey.	shi <i>v.</i> rub.
rëra <i>v.</i> cut down.	shorapana <i>n.</i> giant otter (subtype); <i>Pteronura brasiliensis</i> .
rëréka <i>v.</i> spill.	shuka <i>v.</i> spill water through a cane or a hose.
rësun (~ rësú) <i>post.</i> at the end of (synonym of sënén).	shurun <i>v.</i> have pimples.
rëshi <i>n.</i> snot.	
rëtë <i>v.</i> kill.	T
rëun <i>n.</i> snot.	taë <i>n.</i> foot.
rëxlá <i>n.</i> coati; <i>Nasua nasua</i> (vocative).	taish <i>n.</i> cane; <i>Gynerium sagittatum</i> (Aubl) P. Beauv.
riri <i>n.</i> night monkey; <i>Aotus</i> species.	taka <i>v.</i> shake.
risi <i>n.</i> thread.	tákwa <i>n.</i> liver.
rit <i>v.</i> go together.	tamu <i>n.</i> cheek.
ru <i>n.</i> howler monkey; <i>Alouatta seniculus</i> .	tanain <i>post.</i> at the base of.
ronru <i>v.</i> climb.	tana <i>v.</i> imitate, track an animal.
ro <i>n.</i> generic term for medicinal plant.	tani <i>v.</i> tie.
ruë <i>n.</i> ax.	tanpan <i>n.</i> paca; <i>Cuniculus paca</i> (vocative).
runu <i>n.</i> snake.	tanti <i>v.</i> taste.
S	tantsi <i>n.</i> dimple of cheek.
saëkë <i>n.</i> mouth of a river.	tanu <i>n.</i> palm grub.
saët <i>v.</i> flow into.	tan <i>v.</i> rest.
saki <i>v.</i> stop feeling pain slowly.	tapan <i>n.</i> raft.
samun <i>n.</i> house fly; <i>Dipterus</i> species.	tapiti <i>n.</i> ladder.
sanu <i>adj.</i> delicious.	tapun <i>n.</i> root.
sëbë <i>n.</i> fly; Fam. <i>Ceratopogonidae</i> .	taru <i>adj.</i> lame (person or animal).
sënan <i>v.</i> heat.	taru <i>adj.</i> limping.
sënén <i>post.</i> at the end of (synonym of rësun).	tashi <i>n.</i> salt.
sënë <i>v.</i> finish.	tashka <i>v.</i> hit.
sia <i>n.</i> gnat; Ord. <i>Dipterae</i> .	tashpan <i>n.</i> webbed feet/hands.
sinan <i>v.</i> think.	taxka <i>v.</i> hit somebody.
sinan <i>n.</i> thought.	taxki <i>v.</i> hit oneself (by accident).
siná <i>adj.</i> brave.	tax <i>n.</i> peck.
sisi <i>n.</i> coati; <i>Nasua nasua</i> .	ta <i>n.</i> mother (reduced form).
síun <i>n.</i> tapir; <i>Tapirus terrestris</i> (vocative).	të / tëë <i>v.</i> work.
suku <i>n.</i> small louse; <i>Pediculus humanus</i> .	tëchun <i>n.</i> howler monkey; <i>Alouatta seniculus</i> (vocative).
suñu <i>n.</i> wind.	tékë <i>n.</i> piece.
shaki <i>v.</i> be noisy.	tékwa <i>n.</i> wattle (of guan or turkey).
shaku <i>n.</i> tree; Fam. <i>Moraceae</i> .	tëmú <i>post.</i> under (e.g. a table).
shápi <i>n.</i> shrimp; <i>Gammarus</i> species.	tënë <i>v.</i> resist pain.
shëré <i>n.</i> rapids that form when the river level is low.	tënka <i>v.</i> cut.
shikan <i>n.</i> chest, front of object, underside (e.g., of table).	tëpa <i>n.</i> toad-headed turtle; <i>Podocnemis erythrocephala</i> .
shima <i>v.</i> be thirsty.	tëpus <i>v.</i> crop (of bird).
shimú <i>post.</i> under and in contact with' (e.g., stuck under a table).	tëru <i>n.</i> throat.
shinkun <i>n.</i> banana; <i>Musa</i> species.	tëtan <i>v.</i> tie.
shipibo <i>n.</i> Shipibo people.	Tëtëkamo <i>n.</i> proper name.
shiringa <i>n.</i> shiringa rubber.	tëxá <i>n.</i> neck, top of shoulder, trapezoid muscle.
	tirit (~ tirí) <i>adj.</i> shiny.

tiskiti	v. swell.	uibirës	pron. anyone (P).
tita	n. mother.	uibiri	pron. nobody (P).
tointi	n. gun.	uimi	int-w. where (inexact location).
toin	v. hold on, grab.	uinbira	pron. someone (A).
toxama	n. unidentified tree.	uinbira	pron. someone (A).
female cross cousin of a woman.		uinbirës	pron. anyone (A).
to	n. cane; <i>Gynerium sagitatum</i> (Aubl) P Beauv.	uinbirës	pron. anyone (A).
tó	n. palm; <i>Dictyocaryum ptalianum</i> .	uinbi	pron. nobody (A).
tsábë	n. woman's sister-in-law or female cross cousin.	uinbi	pron. nobody (A).
tsati	n. walking stick.	uinikë	int-w. which.
tsatsa	n. generic term for fish.	uinubira	pron. somewhere.
tsëpa	n. shrub; <i>Protium</i> species.	uinubirës	pron. anywhere.
tsiki	n. anus.	uinubi	pron. nowhere.
tsiman	v. feel the butt/anus.	uinu	int-w. where (exact location).
tsimë	v. touch the butt.	uin	int-w. who (A), whose.
tsinarashka	v. rip the back part.	uisa kupi	int-w. why.
tsintu	adj. with a chopped tail.	uisa otisu	int-w. why (archaic).
tsiñunan	adj. smoke the back parts (e.g. of a butchered animal).	uisaibira	pron. some way.
tsipúmi	post. below.	uisaibirës	pron. any way.
tsipun	v. poke the butt.	uisaibi	pron. no way.
tsipun	n. stern, butt end of an object.	uisai	int-w. how (INTR).
tsiraká	v. lay butt-down.	uisakin	int-w. how (TRAN).
tsisman	n. wolf fish; <i>Hoplias malabaricus</i> .	uisaranbira	pron. some time.
tsispin	n. coccyx (human tailbone).	uisaranbirës	pron. anytime.
tsitikun	n. capuchin monkey; <i>Cebus apella</i> (vocative).	uisaranbi	pron. no time.
tsitunan	adj. black-butted.	uisaran	int-w. when.
tsit	v. occupy.	uisa	int-w. how.
tsi	n. fire.	uiti	int-w. how much/many.
tsón	v. seat.	uixbira	pron. someone (S).
tsót	v. sit down, live.	uixbirës	pron. anyone (S).
tuakë	n. son of a woman.	uixbi	pron. nobody (S).
tua	n. child, boy.	uix	int-w. who (S).
tua	n. treefrog; Fam. <i>Hylidae</i> .	ui	pron. who.
tuá	n. son of a woman.	ui	int-w. whom (P).
tumi	n. parakeet species; <i>Pionus menstruus</i> .	ukairi	n. ladder.
tumú (~ tumúa)	adj. spherical.	uka	n. giant cowbird; <i>Molothrus orzivorus</i> .
tunan	adj. black.	ukémanan	post. on/at the other side of a river.
turu (~ turua)	adj. rounded.	uké	post. on/at the other side.
turu	n. tree species; <i>Hura crepitans</i> .	unchi	n. younger brother of a man.
U		unio	v. create.
u baritia	n. last year.	uni	n. person, man.
uakamë öö	v. grow, reproduce.	uni	v. reproduce.
uá	n. flower.	unu	dem. there (far).
ubu	n. testicle(s).	uñe	n. rain.
uibë(tan)	pron. with whom.	upit (~ upí)	adj. good, beautiful.
uibira	pron. someone (P).	urama	adv. close.
		uran	adv. much time.
		ura	adv. far.
		uri	adv. far.
		usa	adv. like that.

ushin (~ ushian) <i>adj.</i> red.	xëni <i>adj.</i> old.
uxë <i>n.</i> moon, month.	xëni <i>n.</i> corporal fat.
uxu bimpish <i>n.</i> white guayaba; <i>Psidium guava L.</i>	xëpan kuru <i>n.</i> cockroach; <i>Blaberus</i> species.
uxu chiru <i>n.</i> white-fronted capuchin; <i>Cebus albifrons</i> .	xëpúti <i>n.</i> door.
uxu (~ uxua) <i>adj.</i> white.	xëput <i>v.</i> close.
u <i>v.</i> come.	xëta <i>n.</i> tooth, beak (of bird), arrow head, tip.
u <i>dem.</i> that (distal to both speaker and addressee).	Xëtu <i>n.</i> proper name.
u: <i>intj.</i> interjection: ‘response to a call’.	xët <i>n.</i> smell.
X	
xabat (~ xabá) <i>adj.</i> clear.	xëxá (xëxat) <i>n.</i> creek, small river.
xaba <i>adj.</i> free.	xón chuna kuru <i>n.</i> woolly monkey subtype ‘reddish woolly monkey’; <i>Lagothrix lagotricha</i> (subtype).
xába <i>v.</i> yawn when tired.	xon kari bata <i>n.</i> mythical drink.
xabionkë <i>n.</i> wife.	xón kukan <i>n.</i> red-necked woodpecker ‘reddish woodpecker’; <i>Campephilus rubricollis</i> .
xabi <i>n.</i> crotch.	xón <i>n.</i> scarlet macaw; <i>Ara macao</i> .
xaë <i>n.</i> yellow-footed tortoise; <i>Chelonoidis (Geochelone) denticulata</i> .	xo <i>n.</i> bone.
xaika <i>v.</i> shake (TRAN).	xuat (~ xuá) <i>adj.</i> fat.
xaiki <i>v.</i> shake (INTR).	xua <i>n.</i> itchiness.
xai <i>n.</i> sugar cane.	xubu <i>n.</i> house.
xaká <i>n.</i> (fruit) rind, (animal) hide.	xui <i>v.</i> grill.
xaki <i>v.</i> grate.	xúka <i>v.</i> peel.
xama <i>n.</i> new unopened (palm) frond.	xukën <i>n.</i> brother.
xani <i>n.</i> female pubic hair.	xukën <i>n.</i> same sex sibling.
xanu <i>n.</i> female, woman, wife.	xukut <i>v.</i> get peeled.
xapa <i>n.</i> gourd.	xúku <i>n.</i> unidentified tree.
xapi <i>n.</i> shrimp.	xuma <i>n.</i> breast, nipple.
xará <i>v.</i> make noise.	xunru <i>adj.</i> lacking one breast.
sexta <i>n.</i> beak.	xuntaku <i>adj.</i> young (female), girl.
xëa <i>v.</i> drink.	xuta <i>n.</i> grandson, grandfather.
xëbin <i>n.</i> palm; <i>Attalea butyracea</i> .	xut <i>v.</i> throw.
xëki <i>n.</i> corn.	xu <i>adj.</i> small.
xëmën <i>n.</i> kinkajou; <i>Potos flavus</i> .	xu <i>adj.</i> young, unripe
xëna <i>n.</i> caterpillar; Fam. <i>Lepidoptera</i> .	
xëni <i>adj.</i> fatty.	
Y	
	Yamino <i>n.</i> proper name.

English – Kakataibo index

A

a long time ago *adv.* béráma
 a lot *q.* ‘aisamera, *q.* ‘éo kamé, *q.* kamé éó
 abdomen flesh *n.* nubí
 above *post.* manámi
 afternoon *n.* ñantán
 again *adv.* amiribishi
 agouti *n.* mapun
 agouti (vocative) *n.* chaxmén
 Aguaytíá river *adj.* kweoka
 all *q.* kamabi
 already *adv.* ma
 Amazona ochrocephala *n.* bo
 American *n.* amiricano
 ancestor *n.* ‘anibu, *n.* chaiti, *n.* papaoké, *n.* rara
 and *conj.* ‘imainun
 animal *n.* ñuina
 ant *n.* éu, *n.* ima
 anus *n.* tsiki
 any way *pron.* uisaibirés
 anyone (A) *pron.* uinbirés, *pron.* uinbirés
 anyone (P) *pron.* uibirés
 anyone (S) *pron.* uixbirés
 anything *pron.* a ñubirés
 anytime *pron.* uisaranbirés
 anywhere *pron.* uinubirés
 appear *v.* chikut
 aquatic snail *n.* nubu
 arm *n.* pënan
 armadillo *n.* ñais
 armored catfish *n.* ó ‘ipu
 army ant *n.* mais
 army ant (deer’s army ant) *n.* chaxun mais
 arrive *v.* bëba, *v.* nukut
 arrow *n.* pia
 arrow (head) *n.* xéta
 ash-colored *adj.* kuru (~ kurua)
 at midnight *adv.* iménaëx
 at the side of *post.* rapasu
 aunt (of a man) *n.* na
 aunt (of a woman) ñe xuta *n.* ñe
 ax *n.* ruë

B

back *n.* kaxu
 back of leg *n.* kisi
 back part of an object *n.* kaxu

bad *adj.* ‘aisama
 bad smell *n.* isha
 bamboo *n.* paka
 bamboo spear *n.* paka
 banana *n.* katsin, *n.* nónsi, *n.* shinkun
 base (of) *post.* tanaín
 bat *n.* kashi
 bath *v.* nashi
 be *v.* ‘ik, *v.* buku
 be (1/2) *v.* ‘ain
 be (S/A>S) *v.* ‘aish
 be (third person) *v.* ‘ikën
 be afraid of *v.* rakwët
 be bent *v.* báxki
 be bright *v.* ichú (~ ichut)
 be careful *v.* bëruanka
 be carried by the wind *v.* bëki
 be happy *v.* kwëén
 be hungry *v.* panan
 be pierced *v.* pëanki
 be rubbed with pitch *v.* bëréki
 be slow *v.* basi
 be stung *v.* chaxki
 beak *n.* xexta
 beak (of bird) *n.* xëta
 beard *n.* kwëni
 beat (up) *v.* më (~ mëë)
 beautiful *adj.* ‘aisa, *adj.* upit (~ upí)
 become full *v.* buáki
 bee *n.* buña, *n.* naxén
 before *adv.* béráma
 begin *v.* pëu
 behind *post.* kaxu, *post.* kaxu
 being (DS/A/P) *v.* ‘ain
 belly *n.* puku
 below *post.* tsipúmi
 bend *v.* báxka
 beyond *post.* rëbumi
 big *adj.* cha, *adj.* kamó, *adj.* papa
 big bag *n.* ñusuti
 big river *n.* paru
 bird *n.* ‘isá
 bird (red-and-black colored) *n.* buntish
 bitter *adj.* muka
 black *adj.* tunan
 black-butted *adj.* tsitunan
 blind *adj.* bëxuñu

blood <i>n.</i> imí	choose <i>v.</i> kais
body <i>n.</i> námi	chop <i>v.</i> chaxka
body hair <i>n.</i> rani	chopped finger (with) <i>adj.</i> mëntu
bone <i>n.</i> xo	chopped tail (with) <i>adj.</i> tsintu
border <i>post.</i> kwébí	chopped tip (with) <i>adj.</i> rëntu
boss <i>n.</i> 'apu, <i>n.</i> patron	clam <i>n.</i> chanpish
boy <i>n.</i> tua	clean <i>v.</i> mënio
brains <i>n.</i> maspui (~ mapuis)	clean (a pot with one's finger) <i>v.</i> ansu
brave <i>adj.</i> siná	clean (be) <i>v.</i> mëni
break of dawn <i>n.</i> 'inti	clear <i>adj.</i> xabat (~ xabá)
breast <i>n.</i> xuma	climb <i>ru v.</i> ronru
breast (lacking one) <i>adj.</i> xunru	close <i>adv.</i> urama, <i>v.</i> xëput
bring <i>v.</i> bë	clothes <i>n.</i> chupa
bring closer <i>v.</i> kepin	cloud <i>n.</i> kuin
bristle <i>n.</i> rani	coati <i>n.</i> chuna sisi, <i>n.</i> sisi
brother <i>n.</i> nanët (~ nanë), <i>n.</i> xukën	coati (vocative) <i>n.</i> rëxká
brother in law <i>n.</i> chai	coccyx <i>n.</i> tsispin
burn <i>v.</i> érët	cockroach <i>n.</i> xëpan kuru
but (DS/A/P) <i>conj.</i> 'ainbi	cold <i>adj.</i> matsi
but (S/A>S) <i>v.</i> 'aishbi	collared peccary <i>n.</i> 'unkin
butterfly larvae <i>n.</i> kana baxux	collared peccary (vocative) <i>n.</i> bëxtun
buttock <i>n.</i> chixu	come <i>v. u</i>
buy <i>v.</i> bits (~ bi)	come (first/second person) <i>v.</i> ain
C	
caiman <i>n.</i> kapë / kapëk	concave <i>adj.</i> nashpa
call shouting <i>v.</i> këka	cook <i>v.</i> 'aru
candy <i>n.</i> bata	Corallus caninus <i>n.</i> bo runin
cane <i>n.</i> taish, <i>n.</i> to	corn <i>n.</i> xëki
canú <i>n.</i> nunti	correct <i>adj.</i> puntët (~ punté)
cape <i>n.</i> kata	cough <i>n.</i> 'uku
capuchin (white-fronted) <i>n.</i> uxu chiru	cover mari <i>v.</i> mapun
capuchin monkey <i>n.</i> chiru	crab <i>n.</i> charu
capuchin monkey (vocative) <i>n.</i> tsitikun	crawl <i>v.</i> nirit
capybara <i>n.</i> 'amen	create <i>v.</i> unio
capybara (vocative) <i>n.</i> rënku	creek <i>n.</i> xëxá (~ xëxat)
carry <i>v.</i> buin, <i>v.</i> papi	crooked butt <i>n.</i> chiñuxu
carry something off (the wind) <i>v.</i> bëka	crop (of bird) <i>v.</i> tëpus
carve <i>v.</i> papi	cross <i>v.</i> shitat
caterpillar <i>n.</i> xëna	cross (a river) <i>v.</i> 'inut
catfish <i>n.</i> bain, <i>n.</i> baxu	crotch <i>n.</i> xabi
cedar <i>n.</i> kunxan	cry <i>v.</i> in
center of <i>post.</i> nëbëtsi	cry for someone <i>v.</i> pishu
charcoal <i>n.</i> ëxku	Culicidus <i>n.</i> bi
cheek <i>n.</i> tamu	curassow <i>n.</i> asin
chest <i>n.</i> shikan	curassow (vocative) <i>n.</i> kushtin
chicken <i>n.</i> 'atapa, <i>n.</i> 'atoripa	curvature <i>n.</i> ñushu
chigger <i>n.</i> 'upus	cush-cush yam (red) <i>n.</i> chëxë pua
child <i>n.</i> tua	cut <i>v.</i> chuishka, <i>v.</i> tënka
chin <i>n.</i> kwéxá	cut (into pieces) <i>v.</i> chánka
	cut a tree <i>v.</i> numën
	cut down <i>v.</i> rëra

D

damaged (color) *n.* **kashtá**
 dance *v.* **ransa**
 daughter *n.* **ini bëchikë**
 daughter-in-law (of a man) *n.* **piaka**
 daughter-in-law (of a woman) *n.* **ñe**
 dawn *v.* **pëkara**
 day *n.* **nëtë**
 deep *adj.* **nëmin**
 deer *n.* **chaxu**
 defecate *v.* **pui**
 delay *v.* **basi**, *v.* **munu**
 delicious *adj.* **sanu**
 descend *v.* **‘ibut**
 devil *n.* **ñushin atima**
 diarrhea (have) *v.* **chixut**
 die *v.* **bama**
 different *adj.* **raíri**
 different sex sibling *n.* **chira bakë**
 different sex sibling (of a woman) *n.* **rarë bake**
 dig *v.* **naë**
 dimple of cheek *n.* **tantsi**
 direct ancestor *n.* **chaitiokë**
 distribute (the same quantity among several
people) *v.* **mëtika**
 dive *v.* **butu**
 do *v.* **‘a**
 dog *n.* **‘uchiti**
 door *n.* **xëpüti**
 dorsal fin (of fish) *n.* **kaspai** (~ *kapais*)
 down (of bird) *n.* **rani**
 drag *v.* **nirin**
 draw near *v.* **në**
 drink *v.* **xëa**
 drink (mythical) *n.* **xon kari bata**
 dry *v.* **‘ëska**
 dummy *adj.* **ñusma**
 dust *n.* **putu**

E

ear *n.* **pabi**
 earring *n.* **parunuti**
 earth *n.* **me**
 eat *v.* **pi**
 egg *n.* **ba**, *n.* **batsi**
 elbow *n.* **banbuxu**
 emerald tree boa ('green bo') *n.* **bo runin**
 end (of an object) *n.* **tsipun**
 end (of) *post.* **rësun** (~ *rësu*)
 end of *post.* **sënën**

enemy *n.* **no**

enter *v.* **atsin**
 envy *v.* **nish**
 escape *v.* **abat**
 every *q.* **kamabi**
 excrement *pui n.* **pui**
 extend ones arms *v.* **pëncha**
 extinguish *v.* **bënan**
 eye *n.* **bëru**

F

face *n.* **bëmana** (~ *bëmanan*)
 fall apart *v.* **chánki**
 fall down *v.* **nipakët**
 fan oneself *v.* **bëki**
 far *adv.* **ura**, *adv.* **uri**
 far from *post.* **ëman**
 fast *adj.* **bënët** (~ *bënë*)
 fat *adj.* **xuat** (~ *xuá*)
 fat (corporal) *n.* **xëni**
 father *v.* **bëchi**
 father (short form) *n.* **pa**
 father in law *n.* **kuku**
 father papa xuta *n.* **papa**
 fatty *adj.* **xëni**
 feel (the butt/anus) *v.* **tsiman**
 feel ashamed *v.* **katë**
 feel sad *v.* **nitëxë**, *v.* **nutsi**
 female *n.* **xanu**
 female cross cousin (of a man) *n.* **aini**
 female cross cousin (of a woman) *n.* **toxama**
 female pubic hair *n.* **xani**
 field *n.* **me**
 fill *v.* **buákä**, *v.* **puru**
 find *v.* **mëra**
 finger *n.* **mëkën**
 fingernail *n.* **mëntsis**
 finish *v.* **këñu**, *v.* **sënen**
 fire *n.* **tsi**
 firefly *n.* **kuki**
 firewood *n.* **karu**
 fish *n.* **chon**
 fish (generic) *n.* **tsatsa**
 fish (unidentified) *n.* **an taë tëbiskati**, *n.* **bamë**
 fish (with hook) *v.* **mishki**
 fish (using poison) *v.* **‘axan**
 fishing hook *n.* **mishkiti**
 fishy smell *n.* **ia**
 flesh *n.* **nami**
 flow (into) *v.* **saët**

flower <i>n. uá</i>	grab <i>v. toin</i>	
fly <i>n. chëpa</i> , <i>n. nakwa</i> , <i>n. sëbë</i>	rainy substance <i>n. putu</i>	
foam <i>n. bakux</i>	grandchild <i>n. baba</i>	
follow a restricted diet <i>v. më</i>	grandfather <i>n. xuta</i>	
food <i>n. piti</i>	grandfather of a woman <i>n. bënta</i>	
foot <i>n. taë</i>	grandmother <i>n. chichi</i>	
forehead <i>n. bëmana</i> (~ <i>bëmanan</i>)	grandson <i>n. xuta</i>	
foreigner <i>n. no</i>	grap <i>v. bits</i> (~ <i>bi</i>)	
free <i>adj. xaba</i>	grass <i>n. chuku</i>	
frog <i>n. panun</i>	grass (generic) <i>n. basi</i>	
front <i>n. bëmana</i> (~ <i>bëmanan</i>)	grass (unidentified) <i>n. pura</i>	
front (of object) <i>n. shikan</i>	grate <i>v. xaki</i>	
front leg <i>n. pëñan</i>	great egret <i>n. 'abu</i>	
fruit <i>n. bimi</i>	great green iguana ('green iguan') <i>n. bo 'apashiru</i>	
fungus (unidentified) <i>n. churan</i> , <i>n. kunu</i>	green <i>adj. paxá</i> (~ <i>paxá</i>)	
G		
garden <i>n. naë</i>	grill <i>v. xui</i>	
garden (abandoned) <i>n. maë</i>	ground <i>n. me</i>	
gather <i>v. bukun</i>	grow <i>v. kani</i> , <i>v. uakamë</i> <i>éo</i>	
generic for armadillo <i>n. meina</i>	guayaba (white) <i>n. uxu bimpish</i>	
generic term for medicinal plant <i>n. ro</i>	gun <i>n. tointi</i>	
genipap <i>n. nanë</i>	H	
get angry <i>v. pishu</i>	hand <i>n. mëkën</i>	
get bent <i>v. báxki</i>	handkerchief <i>n. pañun</i>	
get bothered <i>v. pishu</i>	hang <i>v. bëntan</i> , <i>v. pani</i>	
get closer <i>v. këpit</i>	happy (feel) <i>v. kwén</i>	
get cut <i>v. biski</i>	hard butt meat <i>n. chiñashi</i>	
get drunk <i>v. paën</i>	hate <i>v. nish</i>	
get dry <i>v. chushi</i> , <i>v. 'ëski</i>	have pimples <i>v. shurun</i>	
get furious <i>v. në</i>	hawk <i>n. chuna tëtë</i>	
get pierced <i>v. pëanki</i>	he <i>pron. a</i>	
get scared <i>v. bënët</i>	head <i>n. maxká</i> (~ <i>maxkat</i>)	
get stung <i>v. chaxki</i>	headwaters <i>n. rëbun</i>	
get tired <i>v. 'atsan</i>	hear <i>v. kwat</i>	
giant cowbird <i>n. uka</i>	heat <i>v. sënan</i>	
giant hunting ant <i>n. chisman kuru</i>	heavy <i>adj. 'iët</i> (~ <i>'ié</i>)	
giant otter (subtype) <i>n. shorapana</i>	help <i>v. 'akin</i>	
girl <i>adj. xuntaku</i>	her <i>pron. ain</i>	
give <i>v. 'inan</i>	here <i>adv. énu</i>	
gnat <i>n. sia</i>	here (not) <i>adv. amanu</i>	
go <i>v. kwan</i>	herself <i>pron. abi</i>	
go (in group) <i>v. buan</i>	hide <i>v. 'unën</i> , <i>n. xaká</i>	
go (into the jungle) <i>v. náxki</i>	hide (one self) <i>v. 'unët</i>	
go (up) <i>v. 'iru</i>	hill <i>n. matá</i> (~ <i>matat</i>)	
go out <i>v. chikit</i> , <i>v. pikut</i>	hill (small) <i>n. matán</i>	
go together <i>v. rit</i>	himself <i>pron. abi</i>	
good <i>adj. 'aisa</i> , <i>adj. asábi</i> , <i>adj. upit</i> (~ <i>upí</i>)	his <i>pron. ain</i>	
gossip <i>v. baxëx</i>	hit <i>v. më</i> (~ <i>mëë</i>), <i>v. tashka</i>	
gourd <i>n. xapa</i>	hit (on the butt) <i>v. chitaxka</i>	
	hit oneself <i>v. tákki</i>	

hit somebody *v.* **tákxa**

hold on *v.* **toin**

hole *n.* **kini**

honey *n.* **rëpa**

horse fly *n.* **‘anpa**

hot *adj.* **‘itsis**

house *n.* **‘apunkë, n. xubu**

house fly *n.* **samun**

how *int-w.* **uisa**

how (INTR) *int-w.* **uisakin**

how much/many *int-w.* **uiti**

howler monkey *n.* **ronru**

howler monkey (vocative) *n.* **tëchun**

hug *v.* **‘ikut**

human head hair *n.* **bu**

hummingbird *n.* **pinu**

hurry *v.* **bënët**

husband *n.* **bënë**

I

I *pron.* **‘ë**

Iguana iguana *n.* **bo ‘apashiru**

imitate *v.* **tana**

in direction of *post.* **punté**

in front of *post.* **bëbun**

in vain *adv.* **ñankan**

insect nest *n.* **ba**

insert *v.* **nákka**

insert stick in the anus *v.* **chimacha**

inserted (get) *v.* **nákki**

inside *post.* **chichu, post. mëú, post. namë**

interior *n.* **namë**

interjection ('it hurts') *intj.* **arí**

interjection ('crying') *intj.* **pë:ns** (archaic)

interjection ('I am surprise') *intj.* **ma:**

interjection ('I fear') *intj.* **ë:, intj. ëři** (archaic)

interjection ('I just remembered') *intj.* **ëp **

interjection ('not in that way') *intj.* **ëm **

interjection (it hurts) *intj.* **‘a’á**

interjection: 'response to a call' *intj.* **u:**

itchiness *n.* **xua**

J

jaguar *n.* **‘inu**

jump *v.* **churun**

jump (over something) *v.* **‘acha**

jungle *n.* **ni**

K

Kakataibo *n.* **Kakataibo**

kill *v.* **‘a, v. r  , v. r  t  **

kinkajou *n.* **x  m  n**

kiss *v.* **b  tsukuka**

knee *n.* **ranbuxu**

knifefish *n.* **kuni**

know *v.* **‘unan**

knowledge *n.* **‘unanti**

knuckles *n.* **m  xu**

L

lack *v.* **pishin**

lacking one ear *adj.* **paru**

ladder *n.* **tapiti, n. ukairi**

lake *n.* **‘ian**

lame *adj.* **taru**

land *n.* **me**

language *n.* **bana**

large hill *n.* **bashi**

larva *n.* **ba**

last *adj.* **chinit** (~ **chini**)

last year *n.* **u baritia**

laugh *v.* **kwa**

lay (butt-down) *v.* **tsirak  **

lay down *v.* **rakan**

lay out *v.,* **kwako**

lazy *adj.* **chikish**

leaf *n.* **p  i**

lean *v.* **rakan**

left overs (of food) *n.* **chit  **

leg *n.* **kisi**

lemon *adj.* **kacha**

level (ground) *v.* **rakanan**

liana *n.* **nisi**

lie *v.* **k  m  **

lie down *v.* **b  na, v. rakat**

lift *v.* **b  ka**

light *v.* **  r  n**

lighty *adj.* **p  n  t   (~ p  n    )**

like *v.* **kw    n**

limping *adj.* **taru**

lip(s) *n.* **kw  pa**

little brother *n.* **‘unchi**

little sister *n.* **‘unchi**

live *v.* **ts  t  **

live together *v.* **buku**

liver *n.* **t  kwa**

lizard *n.* **apashiru**

long *adj.* **n  nk  t   (~ n  nk    )**

long time (for a) *adv.* ‘uran

look after *v.* béruan

look for *v.* bari

louse *n.* ‘ëtsén, *n.* ‘ia

love *v.* nui

lover *n.* mérati

lung *n.* bunxan

M

macaw (blue-and-yellow) *n.* kana

macaw (blue-headed) *n.* ‘ata

make *v.* ‘a

make noise *v.* xará

make noise (INTR) *v.* naxaki

make noise (TRAN) *v.* naxaka

make something produce noise *v.* kéruka

male *adj.* bëbu

male cross cousin *n.* bënë

male cross cousin of (a man) *n.* chai

male reproductive organ (of plants) *n.* bakwa

male son (of a man) *n.* bake bëchikë

mallet *n.* inu

man *n.* bëbu, *n.* bënë, *n.* uni

manioc *n.* ‘atsa

many *q.* kamé ëó

mash *v.* chëka

meat *n.* nami

metal *n.* manë

mineral lick *n.* më

money *n.* kuriki

month *n.* uxë

moon *n.* uxë

mosquito *n.* bi

mosquito (deer's mosquito) *n.* chaxun bi

mosquito net *n.* bachi

mother *n.* tita

mother (reduced form) *n.* ta

mother in law (of a woman) ñe xuta *n.* ñe

mountain *n.* bashi

moustache *n.* kwëni

mouth *post.* kwëbí

mouth (of a river) *n.* saëkë

move *v.* buin

move (the butt) *v.* chishaíka

move over *v.* kwain

much *q.* kamé ëó

mud *n.* mua

mug *n.* kwënkuru

myself *pron.* ‘ëbi

N

nail *n.* ‘untsis

name *n.* anë

navel *n.* nitú

nearby *post.* kwëbí

neck *n.* tëxá

nephew (of a man) *n.* piaka

nephew (of a woman) *n.* papa

nephew (vocative) *n.* pian

nest nachi *n.* na

new *adj.* ‘iò

niece (of a woman) *n.* ñe

niece son-in-law (of a man) *n.* piaka

night monkey *n.* bëtun, *n.* riri

nipple *n.* xuma

no time *pron.* uisaranbi

no way *pron.* uisaibi

nobody (A) *pron.* uinbi, *pron.* uinbi

nobody (P) *pron.* uibi

nobody (S) *pron.* uixbi

noisy (be) *v.* shaki

nose *n.* rëkin

not share with *v.* ñon

nothing *pron.* a ñubi

now *adv.* bërí

nowadays *adv.* bërí

nowhere *pron.* uinubi

O

obstruct *v.* bëtas

occupy *v.* tsit

old *adj.* béráma, *adj.* xëni, *adj.* ñusi

old (female) *adj.* ñuxan

old (male) *adj.* ñusi

older brother (of a man or woman) *n.* buchi

older opposite sex sibling *n.* pui

older sister (of a woman) *n.* chuchu

one *num.* achushi

one-handed *adj.* pënru

open (by itself) *v.* bëóki

open (something) *v.* bëóka

oral cavity *n.* ana

ornament *n.* ‘unxë

oropendola *n.* ‘isku

other *adj.* ‘itsi (~betsi), *adj.* bëtsi

other side *post.* ukë

other side (of a river) *post.* ukëmanan

our *pron.* nukën

ourselves *pron.* nubi

outside *post.* ëman

over *post.* **kamánan**

owl *n.* **pupu**

owner *n.* **‘ibu**

P

paca *n.* **‘anu**

paca (vocative) *n.* **tanpan**

paddle *n.* **ina**

paint with different colors the traditional guns
v. **bëkwë**

palate *n.* **manxanta**

palm *n.* **‘uncha, n. binun, n. kantsin, n. pani,**

n. tó, n. xëbin

palm (frond) *n.* **xama**

palm grub *n.* **tanu**

pants *n.* **rabéoké**

parakeet *n.* **tumi**

parakeet (unidentified) *n.* **chérékëñ**

parallel cousin of a man *n.* **chira bakë**

partner *n.* **mërati**

passerine *n.* **‘isá**

paternal aunt (of a woman) *n.* **ñe**

path *n.* **bai**

peach palm *n.* **banin**

peck *n.* **tax**

peel *v.* **raxu, v. xúka**

peeled (get) *v.* **xukut**

penis *n.* **inxu**

person *n.* **uni**

pick up *v.* **bits**

piece *n.* **tëkë**

piece of a broken pot *n.* **këxë**

pieces (be in) *v.* **chánki**

pierce *v.* **chachiti, v. pëanka, v. pëka**

pig (mythical) *n.* **ashibaë ño**

pimple *n.* **ku**

plant *v.* **‘apat**

play *v.* **kwa**

point *n.* **rëbun**

poison *adj.* **muka**

poke *n.* **pun**

poke (the butt) *v.* **tsipun**

pomegranate *n.* **kaxori**

pot *n.* **këntí**

powder *n.* **putu**

prick (the butt) *v.* **chichachi**

produce noise *v.* **këruki**

proper name *n.* **Manë Bërukë, n. Tëtëkamo,**

n. Xëtu, n. Yamino

proper name (female) *n.* **Puri**

proper name (river) *n.* **Banaoka, n. maxëoka**

provisions *n.* **më**

prow *n.* **rëbun**

puffbird *n.* **‘okan chichi**

pull (out) *v.* **bëchi**

pus *n.* **ku**

put *v.* **nan**

put (together) *v.* **bukun**

Q

quickly *adv.* **‘ishtun**

R

raft *n.* **tapan**

rain *n.* **uñe**

rapid (river) *n.* **shëré**

receive (the same quantity) *v.* **mëtiki**

red *adj.* **ushin** (~ ushian)

red-butted *adj.* **chiushin**

relative *n.* **aintsi, n. kaibo**

relive *v.* **baiska**

reproduce *v.* **kai, v. uakamë ëo, v. uni**

resist pain *v.* **tënen**

rest *v.* **tan**

revive *v.* **baiski**

rheum *n.* **bëxá**

rib *n.* **putú**

rind *n.* **xaká**

rip (the back part) *v.* **tsinarashka**

rip a piece of fabric *v.* **barashka**

ripped (be) *v.* **barashki**

rise *v.* **báki**

river *n.* **baka**

rock (big) *n.* **mapara**

roof *n.* **maskwan**

root *n.* **tapun**

rope *n.* **nisi**

rotten *adj.* **pisi**

rounded *adj.* **turu** (~ turua)

rub *v.* **rëka, v. shi**

rub oneself with pitch *v.* **bëréki**

rub with pitch *v.* **bëréka**

rubber latex *n.* **balata**

run *v.* **abat**

S

saki monkey *n.* **nó**

saliva *n.* **kuñun**

salt *n.* **tashi**

sand *n.* **masi**

say (INTR) <i>v. ki</i>	soil <i>n. me</i>
say (TRAN) <i>v. ka</i>	some time <i>pron. uisaranbira</i>
scare <i>v. ratu</i>	some way <i>pron. uisaibira</i>
scarlet macaw <i>n. xón</i>	someone (A) <i>pron. uinbira, pron. uinbira</i>
scorpion <i>n. antanama</i>	someone (P) <i>pron. uibira</i>
seat <i>v. tsón</i>	someone (S) <i>pron. uixbira</i>
see <i>v. is</i>	something <i>pron. a ñubira</i>
sell <i>v. maru</i>	somewhere <i>pron. uinubira</i>
separate <i>v. 'ënan</i>	son (of a man) <i>n. bëchikë</i>
several <i>adj. itsa</i>	son (of a woman) <i>n. tuakë, n. tuá</i>
shake <i>v. taka</i>	son-in-law (of a woman) <i>n. papa</i>
shake (INTR) <i>v. xaiki</i>	sour <i>adj. kacha</i>
shake (TRAN) <i>v. xaika</i>	speak <i>v. bana</i>
shallow <i>adj. masman</i>	spherical <i>adj. tumú (~ tumúa)</i>
shank (lower leg) <i>n. itax</i>	spider monkey (vocative) <i>n. achun</i>
sharpen <i>v. kwënu</i>	spider monkey chuna kuru <i>n. chuna</i>
she <i>pron. a</i>	spill <i>v. antaka, v. rërëka</i>
shellfish <i>n. po</i>	spill (over) <i>v. antaki</i>
shiny <i>adj. tirit (~ tirí)</i>	spill (water) <i>v. shuka</i>
shipibo <i>n. shipibo</i>	spilled (be) <i>v. antaki</i>
shiringa <i>n. shiringa</i>	squash <i>n. barán, v. chëka</i>
short <i>adj. mëtut (~ mëtú)</i>	squirmed monkey <i>n. basa</i>
shoulder (blade) <i>n. pëkwë</i>	squirrel <i>n. kapa</i>
shout <i>v. këki</i>	star <i>n. 'ispá</i>
shrimp <i>n. shápi, n. xapi</i>	stay <i>v. bëru, v. irubë</i>
shrub <i>n. tsëpa</i>	steal <i>v. mëkamat</i>
sibling (same sex) <i>n. xukën</i>	stern <i>n. tsipun</i>
sick (be) <i>v. 'isin</i>	stick <i>n. i</i>
side (of) <i>post. 'ipasu</i>	stick (one's head out) <i>v. mapikut</i>
side (that) <i>adv. amo</i>	sting <i>v. chaxka</i>
sing <i>v. kanta</i>	stingray <i>n. 'i</i>
singe <i>v. raëska</i>	stomach <i>n. puku</i>
sister <i>n. chira bakë</i>	stop (feeling pain slowly) <i>v. saki</i>
sit down <i>v. tsót</i>	straight <i>adj. kuña</i>
skin <i>n. bëxí, n. ra</i>	stretcher <i>n. bakëti</i>
sky <i>n. nai</i>	strong <i>adj. kushi</i>
sleep <i>v. 'ux</i>	stupid <i>adj. ñusmá</i>
sling <i>n. bukan</i>	submerge (something) <i>v. nanëñ</i>
slow <i>adv. munu</i>	submerge oneself <i>v. nanët</i>
slowly <i>adv. munu</i>	suddenly <i>adv. ratuishi (< Spanish)</i>
small <i>adj. chukúma, adj. xu</i>	sugar (cane) <i>n. xai</i>
small louse <i>n. suku</i>	sugar cane (dark) <i>n. chëxë xai</i>
small river <i>n. xëxá (~ xëxat)</i>	sun <i>n. bari</i>
smell <i>n. xët</i>	surpass <i>v. bë</i>
smoke (the back parts) <i>adj. tsíñunan</i>	swallow <i>v. 'e</i>
smoked meat <i>n. nashi (~ ñashi)</i>	sweep <i>v. maëñ, v. matsut</i>
snake <i>n. runu</i>	sweet <i>adj. bata</i>
snot <i>n. rëshi, n. rëun</i>	sweet potato <i>n. kari</i>
snout (of animal) <i>n. rëpan</i>	swell <i>v. tiskiti</i>
soft <i>adj. bachu</i>	swim <i>v. mëñu</i>

T

tail *n.* **ina**
 take *v.* **buan**
 take care of *v.* **raban**
 take down *v.* ‘**apat**
 take off *v.* **ëchi**, *v.* **pë**
 take out *v.* **chikin**
 take the intestines of an animal off *v.* **puchi**
 take the top off *v.* **bëöka**
 tale *n.* **bana**
 tall *adj.* **chaxkët** (~ **chaxkë**)
 tamandua *n.* **bëi**
 tapir *n.* ‘**ó**, *n.* **kana** ‘**ó**
 tapir (vocative) *n.* **siun**
 taste *v.* **tanti**
 tasty *adj.* **nëish**
 tear(s) *n.* **bëun**
 tell *v.* **ñui**
 temple (of head) *n.* **ispän**
 tendon *n.* **punu**
 terrible *adj.* ‘**aisama**
 testicle(s) *n.* **ubu**
 that (distal to both speaker and addressee) *dem.* **u**
 that (INS) *dem.* **anun**
 that (like) *adv.* **usa**
 that (proximal to the addressee) *dem.* **a**
 then *conj.* **atian**
 then (DS/A/P) *conj.* **anuan**
 then (INTR) *conj.* **anuax**
 then (TRAN) *conj.* **anuxun**
 there *adv.* **ai**, *adv.* **anu**, *adv.* **au**
 there (far) *dem.* **unu**
 they *pron.* **akama**, *pron.* **atu**
 thick *adj.* **këxtut** (~ **këxtú**)
 thigh *n.* **kisi**
 thin *adj.* **bëxbá**, *adj.* **chumin**
 thing *n.* **ñu**
 think *v.* **sinan**
 thirsty (be) *v.* **shima**
 this (like) *adv.* **ësa**
 this (proximal to the speaker) *dem.* **ënë**
 this side *post.* **nëkë**
 this side of the river *post.* **nëkëmanan**
 thorn *n.* **muxa**
 thorny tree *n.* **muxa ro**, *n.* **muxa shinin**
 thought *n.* **sinan**
 thread *n.* **risi**, *n.* **ñuman**
 three *num.* **kimisha**
 throat *n.* **tëru**
 throw *v.* **ni**, *v.* **xut**

throw down *v.* **nipat**

tick *n.* ‘**okan** **ñain**
 tie *v.* **ñëa**, *v.* **tani**, *v.* **tëtan**
 tiger-heron *n.* **aka**
 time (much) *adv.* **uran**
 tinamou *n.* **kumon**
 tip *n.* **rëbun**, *n.* **xëta**
 toad *n.* ‘**ashá**
 toad-headed turtle *n.* **tëpa**
 tomorrow *adv.* **imëishi**
 tongue *n.* **ana**
 tooth *n.* **xëta**
 top of *post.* **manan**
 top of shoulder *n.* **tëxá**
 toucan *n.* **pisa**
 touch *v.* **man**
 touch (the butt) *v.* **tsimë**
 track (an animal) *v.* **tana**
 traditional painting *n.* **kwënë**
 traditional storehouse *n.* **pëpi**
 transitive auxiliary *v.* ‘**a**
 trap (for birds) *n.* **maban**
 trapezoid muscle *n.* **tëxá**
 tree *n.* **bui**, *n.* **bukun**, *n.* **kuman**, *n.* **kwaxbín**,
 n. **nanë**, *n.* **nónke**, *n.* **shaku**, *n.* **turu**
 tree (generic) *n.* **i**
 tree (unidentified) *n.* **xúku**, *n.* **ñaë**
 tree (unidentified) *tsabë* *n.* **toxama**
 tree trunk *n.* **mo**
 treefrog *n.* **tua**
 trust *v.* **katamët**
 turn off *v.* **bënan**
 two *num.* **rabé**
 two-túd sloth *n.* **punsëñ**
 tú *n.* **taë**

U

ugly *adj.* ‘**aisama**
 uncle *n.* **kuku**
 uncle (vocative) *n.* **che**
 under *post.* **shimù**, *post.* **tëmù**
 underside *n.* **shikan**
 unidentified fish *n.* ‘**ishish**, *n.* **ñuma**
 unidentified shrub *n.* ‘**ishki**
 unripe *adj.* **xu**

V

vein *n.* **punu**
 very expensive *adj.* **kupíra**
 village *n.* ‘**ëma**

vine *n.* **nisi**vulva *n.* **chipi****W**wait *v.* **kain**wake somebody *v.* **bësun**wake up *v.* **bësu**walk *v.* **nits**walk ahead *v.* **bë**walking stick *n.* **tsati**wall *n.* **kënë**want *v.* **kwëën**warm up (the butt) *v.* **chixanao**wash *v.* **chuka**, *v.* **nashi**wasp *n.* **bakan bina**, *n.* **bina**water *n.* **'unpax**wattle *n.* **tëkwa**wave *n.* **bechun**we *pron.* **‘ëkama**, *pron.* **nukama**we (dual) *pron.* **nu**webbed *n.* **tashpan**wet *adj.* **chabat** (~ chabá)what *int.w.* **a ñu**what (instrumental) *int.w.* **a ñun**when *int.w.* **uisaran**where (exact location) *int.w.* **uinu**where (inexact location) *int.w.* **uimi**which *int.w.* **uinikë**white *adj.* **uxu** (~ uxua)white-butted *adj.* **chiux(u)**white-lipped peccary *n.* **ño**white-lipped peccary (female) (vocative) *n.* **chishú**white-lipped peccary (vocative) *n.* **raxnun**who *pron.* **ui**who (A) *int.w.* **uin**who (S) *int.w.* **uix**whom (P) *int-w.* **ui**whom (with) *pron.* **uibë(tan)**whose *int-w.* **uin**why *int-w.* **uisa kupi**why (archaic) *int-w.* **uisa otisu**wide *adj.* **naxbat** (~ naxbá)wide (said for a river) *adj.* **kweoka**wife *n.* **xabionkë**, *n.* **xanu**wind *n.* **suñu**wing *n.* **pëchi**wolf fish *n.* **tsisman**woman *n.* **xanu**woodpecker *n.* **xón kukan**woolly monkey *n.* **chuna**, *n.* **xón chuna kuru**woolly monkey (vocative) *n.* **achun**word *n.* **bana**work *v.* **mëë**, *v.* **të tëë**, *v.* **ñu mëë****Y**yarina palm *n.* **‘ó ‘ëpë**yawn (when tired) *v.* **xába**year *n.* **baritia**yellow *adj.* **panshin** (~ **panshian**)yellow-crowned parrot *n.* **bo**yellow-footed tortoise *n.* **xaë**yesterday *adv.* **imëishi**you *pron.* **mi**you (dual) *pron.* **mitsu**you (plural) *pron.* **mikama**young *adj.* **bënat** (~ **bëná**), *adj.* **bëná**, *adj.* **xu**young (female) *adj.* **xuntaku**younger brother (of a man) *n.* **unchi**younger cross cousin (of man) *n.* **chaipa**younger cross cousin (of woman) *n.* **bënta xuta**younger sister (of a man or woman) *n.* **‘enchi**yourself *pron.* **mibi**

Appendix 6: Index of Kakataibo grammatical morphemes

The present index lists all the Kakataibo grammatical morphemes listed and illustrated in this book (the glosses follow the abbreviations used throughout this grammar). The entries have been organized according to the following alphabetic order:

A – B – Ch – E – Ē – I – K – Kw – M – Ñ – N – O – P – Q – R – S – Sh – T – U – W – X – Y

A				
=a	3.	-but	down:INTR, advanced.process.	
=a ~ =kwa	PA.P.	-but	downward.	
-ai	NOMLZ.	bu-	head, ‘head’ of an object, above, top of.	
-akat ~ -ukut ~ -ëkët ~ -ikit ~ -mët ~ -mëkët	REF.	-bu	continuously in one direction.	
=ake	REM.PST.	=bu	COL.	
-akëma	as.used.to.	-bëkin	iterative in different places.	
-akët	gradually.	=bëtan	COM:A.	
-akët	in.curve:INTR.	-bëtsin	coming:TRAN.	
-anan	MAL.	bë-	eye, tear, rheum (‘sleep’ of the eyes), face, forehead, front, in front of.	
-anan	RECP.	=bë	COM:S.	
-anan	S/A>S/A:DOB:SE.			
an-	oral cavity, tongue, palate, interior of a cavity or concave surface, inside, (elongated) hole.	Ch		
-an	DS/A/P:PE.	-chi	taking off.	
-arakët	in.curve:ITER/DUR:INTR.	Ē		
-arat	in.curve:ITER/DUR:TRAN.	-ëxan	PST.days.ago.	
-at	in.curve:TRAN.	I		
=ax ~ =kwax	PA.S.	-ia	S/A/P>P:SE.	
-ax	S/A>S; PA.S.	-ia	S/A>P:SE.	
-a	NOMLZ.	-iéé	3:accusatory.	
-a	NON.PROX.	=inak	GENE.	
-a	NON.REST.	in-	tail, tail fin, penis.	
-a	PFV.	-inë	DUR:REM.PST.	
-a	STAT.	=ira	INTF.	
B		-isa	IRR.	
-bait	DUR:same.day.	=is	REP.	
ban-	elbow.	=ishi ~ =ëshi ~ =shi		
=baë	COL.		only.	
-bian	going:TRAN.	-itsin	COND.	
=birës	purely.	i-	shank (lower leg).	
=bi	self, same, EMP, although.	-i	S/A>S:SE.	
-buin	passing by:TRAN.	=iëtan	IPFV.	
=buin	passing.by:TRAN.	=ië	FRUST.TRAN.	
-bun	IMP (special form).	-íñ	FRUST:INTR.	
			PROX.	

K				
=kaia	CONT.		ma-	head, ‘head’ of an object, human
=kaina	NAR:INT:2.			head hair, brains, top of, large
=kama	PL.			hill, small hill, sphere, ground
-kan	PL.	=ma		surface.
-kan	EXCL.	=mina		NEG.
-kas	DES.	=miu		2.
-katsa	DES.NOMLZ.	-mi		IMPR.LOC.
-katsi	pretending.	=mi		CAUS.
ka-	back, back part of an object, underside (e.g., of a table), behind, dorsal fin (of fish).	=mi(ki)		IMPR.DIR.
=ka	NAR.	=mënë		MIR.
-kian	going:INTR.	më-		hand, finger, fingernail, knuckles.
-kian	HAB:REM.PST:3.		Ñ	
-kin	ASSO.	=ñu		PROP.
-kin	HAB:REM.PAST:1/2.		N	
-kin	S/A>A:SE.		-n	1/2.
-kin	EXCL.		=n ~ =an ~ =nëñ	ERG, A, GEN, INS, TEMP, VOC.
-kin	S/A>A:SE.			
ki-	leg, back of leg, thigh.	=nan		POSS.
-kuma	fake.	na-		belly, navel, interior of a cavity or
=kuni	ASSER.			concave surface, inside,
-kuni	ASSE.			abdomen flesh.
-kun	real.	=na		1SG.
=kupí	REAS.	=na		lest.
-kut	going out.	=(na)nuna		1PL.
-käan	FRUST.	-ntu		lacking.
-këbëtan	DS/A/P:SE:TRAN.	=nu=ax		ABL.
-këbë	DS/A/P:SE:INTR.	=nuna		1PL.
=këñun	COM:P.	-nun		DS/A/P:POE; PURP.
-kët	MID.	-nuxun		S/A>A:POE.
-këtian	S/A/P>P:PE.	-nu		S/A>S:POE.
-këxbi	P>S:SE.			belly, navel, abdomen flesh.
-këxunbi	P>A:SE.			
-këxun	P>A:PE.	=nuna		LOC.
-këx	P>S:PE.	-nuna		1PL.
-kë	NOMLZ.	-n		TRAN.
		=n		1/2.
Kw				
-kwain	passing.by:INTR.		=n	1/2/3 (in the conversational genre).
-kwatsin	coming:INTR.	-nët		DUR:night.before.
kwë-	mouth, border, nearby, lip(s), chin.	në-		liquid, fire, vulva, interior of a cavity or concave surface, inside.
M				
-mainun	DS/A/P:SE.	O		
-mainun	DS/A/P:SE:DUR.	-o ~ -a		FACT.
-mán	COMPL.NEG.1/2.	-oka		river.
		-on		AUG.
		-on		PST.yesterday.

P		
=pain ~ =pan	first, yet.	=tani at least.
-pakët	downward:INTR.	-tankëxun S/A>A:PE.
-pat	downward:TRAN.	-tankëx S/A>S:PE.
-pat	PL.OBJ.	tan- cheek, dimple (of cheek).
pa-	ear, temple (of head).	-tan go.to.
=pa	ASSE.NON.PROX.	ta- foot, toe, toenail, root, at the base of.
pi-	rib.	=tibi ~ =tiibi DIST.
-pun	PST.hours.	-tibu NOMLZ.
=pënë	MIR.NON.PROX.	-ti NOMLZ.
pën-	arm, front leg, wing.	-tsin COND.
pë-	shoulder (blade).	tsi- buttock, anus, stern, ‘butt’ end of an object, vulva, coccyx (human tailbone), inside, deep inside.
R		
-rá ~ ratsuk	DIM.	-t HARM.
-rabat	DISTR.	-t MID.
-rabé	HAB.PAST.	-tökëñ again.
-rakët	CONT.	-tín same.size.
-rakët	in.curve:INTR.	të- neck, top of shoulder, trapezoid muscle, throat, wattle (of guan or turkey), crop (of bird).
ran-	knee.	
-rat	ITER:CONT:TRAN.	
-rat	in.curve:TRAN.	
-rat	ITER:CONT:INTR.	
ra-	body, flesh, skin, (fruit) rind, (animal) hide, at the side of.	U
=ra	INT.	-uku ITER.
=ribi	also.	u- testicle(s).
=ri	CON.	=u IMP.LOC.
=ri	COUN.	=u(ki) IMPR.DIR.
-ru	lacking.	X
-ru	upward.	xan- new unopened (palm) frond, (round) hole (in tree or ground).
-rés	frequently, distractedly.	xa- crotch.
=rés	distractedly.	-xun BEN.
=rés	just; frequently.	-xun S/A>A.
rë-	nose, tip, point, prow, headwaters, snout (of animal), snot, at the end of.	=xun PA.A.
		xu- breast, nipple.
		-x 3.
S		=x S.
=sapi	DUB.	=x TOP.
=sa	COMP.	xë- tooth, beak (of bird) arrow head, tip.
=shaman	INTF.	
shi-	chest, front of object, underside (e.g., of table).	Y
		-yantan PST.months.
T		
-tabat	for the first time.	
=taba	first.time.	
=tain	EXH.	
-tanàn	S/A>S/A:SE.	

Photographs



The author with some of his Kakataibo teachers in Lima.



A view of the Kakataibo village of Yamino.



The author with Emilio Estrella working at his house.



The author with Emilio Estrella in his kitchen.



Julio Estrella with recording equipment.



Nicolás Aguilar with recording equipment.



Alfredo Estrella with recording equipment.



Salomón Estrella with recording equipment.



Magaly Estrella preparing necklaces.



Irma Estrella with her handicrafts.



Emilio Estrella preparing a bow.



Goliat Estrella working on some transcriptions.



The author in a documentation session with Irma Odicio.



The author in a documentation session with Emilio Estrella.



A view of the Shamboyacu River.



A Kakataibo boy holding a traditional spear.

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