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## A grammatical description of Shiwiar

Kohlberger, M.

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**Author:** Kohlberger, M.

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## Chapter 6

# The Architecture of Shiwiar

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This chapter is an introduction to Shiwiar morphology, syntax and information structure. In §6.1, I give an overview of all the word classes in the language and I summarise their communicative functions, as well as their morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics. Nominals and verbs are explained in further detail in Chapters 7 and 8 respectively, but all other small word classes will be primarily discussed here. The defining traits of Shiwiar morphology are then described in §6.2, including its head- and dependent-marking nature and agglutinative tendencies. In this section I also motivate the distinctions between affixes and clitics and between inflection and derivation in Shiwiar. The next three sections focus on syntax. Sections 6.3 and 6.4 describe constituent order and grammatical relations respectively. Finiteness and different types of subordination are covered in §6.5. Finally, the marking of information structure in discourse is discussed in §6.6.

### 6.1. Word classes

Shiwiar has six word classes: nominals, verbs, adverbs, quantifiers, discourse particles and ideophones. Nominals can be further subdivided into nouns, adjectives and pronouns. These word classes can be differentiated along multiple dimensions, for example by their semantic properties, their morphological behaviour or their syntactic distribution. However, the most succinct way of distinguishing Shiwiar word classes is by their communicative function (or propositional act function) in terms of reference, modification and predication (following Croft 2001). Nominals are primarily used for reference (but they can also be used predicatively or as modifiers for other nominals); verbs have a predicative function; and adverbs, quantifiers and ideophones are used as modifiers (either just for verbs, or for nouns and verbs). Unlike adverbs or quantifiers, though, ideophones can have predicative functions as well. Finally, discourse particles have an attributive function, but rather than modifying another word class, they modify an entire discourse unit or utterance. **Table 6.1** summarises these distinctions, and each word class is discussed individually in the following subsections.

Word Class → ↓ Function	Nominal			Verb	Adverb	Quantifier	Discourse Particle	Ideophone
	Noun	Adjective	Pronoun					
Can it be used referentially as a core or oblique argument?	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Can it modify a noun?	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Can it modify a verb?	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Can it be used predicatively?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes

Table 6.1. Communicative functions of Shiwiar word classes

### 6.1.1. Nominals

The class of nominals in Shiwiar is made up of nouns, adjectives and pronouns. Although there are some differences between these three word types, they share most of their morphological and syntactic traits, and can therefore be thought of as members of a larger class. The primary difference between them is semantic. Nouns denote a bundle of semantic properties, e.g. *hápa* 'red brocket' denotes an animal, specifically a species of deer with reddish-brown hide, associated with a solitary nature, easily alarmed, etc. Conversely, adjectives denote a single property, e.g. *kakáram* 'strong' denotes the property of being strong or a referent which is strong. Pronouns, on the other hand, have deictic or anaphoric semantics.

All types of nominals can be used referentially in a clause and they can all function as arguments of verbs. This is shown in examples (6.1), (6.2) and (6.3), where the explicit argument of the verb is a noun, a pronoun and an adjective respectively.

- (6.1) *nasí umbuáwai.*  
*nasí umpu-a-wa-i.*  
**wind** blow-IPFV-3.S-DECL  
 'The wind is blowing.'  
 'El viento está soplando.'  
 (T01-S01-02.wav; 24:50-24:52)
- (6.2) *ámi vijnámi.*  
*ámi win'-á-mi.*  
**2SG** come-IPFV-2SG.S+DECL  
 'You're coming.'  
 'Tú vienes.'  
 (T01-S02-02.wav; 10:56-10:57)
- (6.3) *juminún takákhai.*  
*jumin'ú=n takák-ha-i.*  
**sweet=OBJ** have-1SG.S-DECL  
 'I have something sweet.'  
 'Tengo algo dulce.'  
 (T01-S01-02.wav; 43:09-43:10)

Nominals can also be used predicatively if they are combined with a copula. Examples (6.4) to (6.6) illustrate this with a noun, an adjective and a pronoun respectively.

- (6.4) *pakík<sup>ʃ</sup>a aín̄dzuit<sup>ʃ</sup>ai.*  
*pakí=k<sup>ʃ</sup>a aín̄tsu=it<sup>ʃ</sup>-a-i.*  
 peccary=TOP person=COP-3.S-DECL  
 'A peccary is a person.'  
 'Un jabalí es un ser humano.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 05:42-05:43)
- (6.5) *túra him<sup>ʃ</sup>áka kakármait<sup>ʃ</sup>ai.*  
*túra him<sup>ʃ</sup>á=ka kakárma=it<sup>ʃ</sup>-a-i.*  
 COORD:and/so chili.pepper=TOP strong=COP-3.S-DECL  
 'And the chili pepper is strong.'  
 'Y el ají es fuerte.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 06:54-06:57)
- (6.6) *ú<sup>ʃ</sup>t<sup>ʃ</sup>h<sup>ʃ</sup>ai m<sup>ʃ</sup>á kakáram.*  
*w<sup>ʃ</sup>t<sup>ʃ</sup>-h<sup>ʃ</sup>-a-i m<sup>ʃ</sup>á kakáram.*  
 1SG=COP-1SG.S-DECL more strong  
 'I am the stronger one.'  
 'Soy yo el más fuerte.'  
 (T01-S02-06.wav; 00:22-00:23)

Nominals can also behave as predicates when they are combined with certain stative verbs, such as *iki-* 'sit' and *waha-* 'stand' (referred to as semi-copulas in this work; see §8.12). This can be seen in example (6.7), where the adjective *túpin* 'straight' is used predicatively.

- (6.7) *túpin̄ ikítwai.*  
*túpin̄ íkí-t-wa-i.*  
**straight** sit-APPL-3.S-DECL  
 'It's noon. (Literally: It (i.e. the sun) is straight.)'  
 'Es el medio día. (Literalmente: (El sol) está recto).'  
 (T01-S01-02.wav; 11:46-11:47)

Some nominals, namely adjectives (6.8) and demonstrative pronouns (6.9), can modify nouns simply by appearing immediately adjacent to the noun they modify. Nouns and personal pronouns can also modify other nouns, but they require additional morphology: genitive case on a modifying noun (6.10) and object case on a modifying pronoun (6.11). In these cases, the modified noun appears with pronominal possessive morphology.

- (6.8) *húũn wãã*  
*húũn wãã*  
**big** hole  
 'big hole'  
 'hueco grande'  
 (T01-S01-02.wav; 36:06-36:07)
- (6.9) *hú jurãŋfa*  
*hú jurãŋ=fa*  
**PROX** fruit=FOC  
 'this fruit (focused)'  
 'esta fruta (enfocada)'  
 (T01-S01-02.wav; 57:09-57:10)
- (6.10) *namãŋgi nukúri*  
*namãŋki nukú-ri<sup>N</sup>*  
**game+GEN** mother-1PL/2PL/3.P  
 'the mother of game animals'  
 'la madre de los animales'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 02:10-02:11)
- (6.11) *amíŋa náim*  
*amí=ŋ'a ná-im*  
**2SG=OBJ(P)** name-2SG.P  
 'your name'  
 'tu nombre'  
 (T01-S02-02.wav; 08:33-08:34)

Nominals can be morphologically complex: they can appear with a variety of suffixes and enclitics, including derivational morphology (such as diminutive marking in (6.12)), inflectional morphology (such as case marking in (6.13)) and information structure morphology (such as topic and restrictive marking in (6.14)).

- (6.12) *umátŋíru*  
*umá-tŋí-rú*  
 cross.sibling-**DIM**-1SG.P+VOC  
 'My little cross-sibling!'  
 '¡Mi hermanito/hermanita!'  
 (T01-S01-01.wav; 40:16-40:17)

- (6.13) *núí tsaníŋmiaji níh'áí.*  
*núí tsaníŋ-mia-ji ní=h'áí.*  
 there get.together-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL 3=COM  
 'He got together with her there.'  
 'Ahí se juntó con ella.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 03:13-03:18)
- (6.14) *vík'a jamáik'a víkí huwákhai.*  
*wí=k'a jamáí=k'a wí=kí huwá-k-ha-i.*  
 1SG=TOP now=TOP 1SG=RESTR stay-PFV-1SG.S-DECL  
 'I'm staying all alone now.'  
 'Ahora me quedo sola.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 02:38-02:40)
- Adjectives and pronouns are closed classes with relatively few members, but nouns are an open class. New nouns can be formed by a number of different morphological derivation strategies. (6.15) is an example of a typical deverbal nominalisation. Deverbal nominalisations can be used semantically, syntactically and morphologically like any other noun: they can be used referentially (as in (6.16), where the nominalisation is an object of the verb, or in (6.17) where it is an oblique locative argument) or predicatively in combination with a copula (as in (6.18)).
- (6.15) *jutái*  
*ju-táí<sup>N</sup>*  
 eat-NS.NMLZ  
 'food'  
 'comida'  
 (T01-S01-02.wav; 56:16-56:17)
- (6.16) *wíkásatŋund̄ʒa ták tūhímíãjĩ.*  
*wíká-sa-tr'u=n-t̄ʒa*  
 walk-PFV-AS.NMLZ=OBJ=FOC  
*ták tūhí-mia-ji.*  
 IDEO:unable be.unable-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'He was unable to walk.'  
 'No podía caminar.'  
 (T01-S03-06.wav; 06:56-06:58)
- (6.17) *nujáŋga páki amutáŋnum wíak;*  
*nujáŋka páki amu-táí<sup>N</sup>=n'um wí-a-k;*  
 then peccary finish-NS.NMLZ=LOC go-IPFV-SIM  
 'Then they went to where the peccaries were dying...'  
 'Entonces fueron a donde los jabalís estaban acabándose...'  
 (T01-S01-03.wav; 01:35-01:37)

- (6.18) *nú nuwatik<sup>ʃa</sup> takákmijnit<sup>hi</sup> íik<sup>ʃa</sup> ʃiw<sup>ʃ</sup>artik<sup>ʃa</sup>.*  
*nú nuwa-tí=k<sup>ʃa</sup> takákm-in<sup>ʃu</sup>=it<sup>ʃ</sup>-hi*  
 ANA woman-1PL.SAP=TOP work-AG.NMLZ=COP-1PL.S+DECL  
*íi=k<sup>ʃa</sup> ʃiw<sup>ʃ</sup>ar-tí=k<sup>ʃa</sup>.*  
 1PL=TOP Shiwiar-1PL.SAP=TOP  
 'We, Shiwiar women, are hard workers.'  
 'Nosotras, mujeres shíwiar, somos trabajadoras.'  
 (T03-S10-01.wav; 04:49-04:54)

Nominals and their morphology are covered in further detail in Chapter 7 and the syntax of nominal arguments with respect to grammatical relations is explained further in §6.4. Deverbal nominalisations are discussed in §8.11.

### 6.1.2. Verbs

Shiwiar verbs are words that can head predicates. From a morphological perspective, verbs in finite clauses obligatorily inflect for aspect, tense, person/number and mood marking – although there are some exceptions that can be explained by phonological elision processes (see §5.2.1). A fully inflected finite verb can be seen in (6.19).

- (6.19) *ukukmiáhai.*  
*uku-k-miá-ha-i.*  
 leave-PFV-DIST.PST-1SG.S-DECL  
 'I left.'  
 'Me fui.'  
 (T03-S01-01.wav; 07:40-07:41)

Verbs in non-finite clauses can appear in three types of configurations. First, if they are subordinated verbs in a clause chain, they are marked for switch-reference, as in the first predicate of (6.20). Second, verbs can be nominalised and then used predicatively with a copula to express certain kinds of aspectual or modal/deontic semantics, as in the second predicate of (6.20), which has deontic semantics. Finally, although verbs in Shiwiar are usually bound roots, they can appear in their bare uninflected and underived form when they are used in auxiliary constructions. This can be seen in (6.21), where the verb *iw<sup>ʃ</sup>á-* 'to be awake' is in a stative auxiliary construction.

- (6.20) *máiʃa, hǎ́ nungá puhúsan; víkʰa wáitnastijnuitʰhʰai.*  
*máiʃa, hǎ́ nunká puhu-sa-n;*  
 now=FOC house+LOC ground+LOC live-SBD-1SG.SS  
*wí=kʰa waitna-s-tirʰu-itʰhʰa-i.*  
 1SG=TOP suffer-PFV-AS.NMLZ=COP-1SG-DECL  
 'Now that I live in a house on the ground, I have to suffer.'  
 'Ahora que vivo en una casa en la tierra, tengo que sufrir.'  
 (T01-S03-01.wav; 08:57-09:00)
- (6.21) *kindʰammaunum nujánnga nuwáka iwʰá puhúmiaji.*  
*kintʰam-mau=num nujánka nuwá=ka*  
 get.dark-NS.NMLZ=LOC COORD:then woman=TOP  
*iwʰá puhú-mia-ji.*  
 be.awake live-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'Then, at the place where it got dark, the woman remained awake.'  
 'Entonces, en el lugar donde anocheció la mujer se quedó despierta.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 03:01-03:03)

Valency is lexically determined for every verb. Verbs can be intransitive (6.22), transitive (6.23) or ditransitive (6.24). Valency changes are signalled overtly by derivational morphology, such as the applicative in (6.25), which turns *naham-* 'to hurt' from an intransitive verb (see (6.22)) into a transitive one.

- (6.22) *wakʰr nahámawai.*  
*wakʰr nahám-a-wa-i.*  
 stomach-1SG.P hurt-IPFV-3.S-DECL  
 'My stomach hurts.'  
 'Me duele el estómago.'  
 (T01-S01-01.wav, 17:47-17:49)
- (6.23) *utʰiutʰiʰkʰa saanga hukʰtʰmiaji.*  
*utʰi-utʰiʰ=kʰa saa=r=ka hu-kí-tʰ-mia-ji.*  
 boy-DIM=TOP corn=OBJ=TOP take-PFV-NEG-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'The little boy didn't take the corn.'  
 'El niño no se llevó el maíz.'  
 (T01-S03-06.wav, 01:53-01:55)

- (6.24) *t̥ʃuú muuk̚ín nu n̥w̥ín susári.*  
*t̥ʃuú muuk̚ín*  
 monkey+GEN head+1PL/2PL/3.P=OBJ  
*nu n̥w̥ín su-sa-r-i.*  
 ANA wife+1PL/2PL/3.P=OBJ give-PFV-PL-3.S+DECL  
 'They gave his wife the head of the monkey.'  
 'Le dieron a su mujer la cabeza del mono.'  
 (T03-S01-07.wav; 27:48-27:51)
- (6.25) *vín'a muukúr nahambrútawai.*  
*w̥n'a muuk-úr naham-rú-t-a-wa-i.*  
 1SG=OBJ head-1SG.P hurt-APPL-1SG.O-IPFV-3.S-DECL  
 'My head hurts me.'  
 'Me duele la cabeza.'  
 (T01-S01-01.wav; 11:09-11:11)

Shiwiar verbs are a large but closed class, as there are no productive verbalisation strategies to derive verbs from existing Shiwiar words. However, it is possible to identify a number of complex verb stems which are made up of a noun root and a defunct verbalising suffix, as in (6.26) and (6.27). It is therefore possible that denominal verbal strategies were productive in the past, and that verbs were historically an open class. It should also be noted that there is a currently productive morphological strategy to nativise borrowed verbs from Spanish, as shown in (6.28).<sup>34</sup>

- (6.26) *sáurwai.*  
*sáu-r-wa-i.*  
 bubble-VBLZ-3.S-DECL  
 'It's bubbling.'  
 'Está burbujeando.'  
 (T01-S01-02.wav; 52:11-52:12)
- (6.27) *kjndámwai.*  
*kin'tá-m-wa-i.*  
 day-VBLZ-3.S-DECL  
 'It's getting dark (i.e. the day is ending).'  
 'Está anocheciendo.'  
 (T01-S01-02.wav; 11:01-11:02)

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<sup>34</sup> The sound quality of this example is unfortunate, but it is one of the few cases where this loan verbalising suffix is found in the recorded corpus. Although I heard it frequently in discourse, it seems that Shiwiar speakers were careful to avoid Spanish verbal loans when they were being recorded. See (8.256) for another example of this morpheme.

- (6.28) *matrikulá<sup>h</sup>astasan uniβersiđáđ;*  
*matrikulá<sub>[Sp]</sub>-<sup>h</sup>a-s-tasa-n*                      *uniβersiđáđ<sub>[Sp]</sub>;*  
 matriculate-LOAN.VBLZ-PFV-INTENT-1SG.SS      university  
 '...so that I matriculate at the university...'  
 '...para que yo me matricule en la universidad...'  
 (T03-S03S14-01.wav; 00:58-00:59)

The morphology of verbs is covered in detail in Chapter 8. Denominal verbalisations are discussed in §7.14.

### 6.1.3. Adverbs

Adverbs in Shiwiar are a relatively small class of words that modify verbs in terms of manner, time or location. This can be seen in examples (6.29), (6.30) and (6.31) respectively. They most frequently appear immediately before the verb that they modify.

- (6.29) *tu tʃitʃámiaji.*  
*tu*                      *tʃitʃá-mia-ji.*  
**thus**      speak-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'He spoke like that.'  
 'Él hablo así.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 05:31-05:32)
- (6.30) *hú kafi arúm tatátwai.*  
*hú*      *kafi*                      *arúm*      *ta-tát-wa-i.*  
 PROX evening      **later**      arrive+PFV-FUT-3.S-DECL  
 'He will arrive later this evening.'  
 'Va a llegar después, esta noche.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 02:28-02:30)
- (6.31) *amahíy puhámgaji.*  
*amahíy*                      *puhám-ka-ji.*  
**other.side.of.river**      accumulate-PFV-3.S+DECL  
 'It's flooding on the other side of the river.'  
 '(El agua) se está acumulando en el otro lado del río.'  
 (T01-S01-02.wav; 28:59-29:00)

There is also a subclass of interrogative adverbs, which are content question words that correspond to English *why*, *how* and *when*. These are not classed as interrogative pronouns like the rest of content question words in Shiwiar (see §7.4.3) because these do not behave morphologically and syntactically like nominals, but rather pattern with adverbs instead. Examples of these adverbs can be seen below. Two of the adverbs have short

and long forms which can be used interchangeably: *warúka* ~ *warúkaja* 'why' (see (6.32) and (6.33)) and *it'úr* ~ *it'úrua* 'how' (see (6.34) and (6.35)). The adverb *warutiá* 'when' only has a single form (see (6.36)).

- (6.32) *warúka awátmĩ.*  
*warúka awá-t-mĩ.*  
**why** hit-1SG.O-2SG.S  
 'Why are you hitting me?'  
 '¿Por qué me estás pegando?'  
 (T01-S03-05.wav; 04:51-04:52)
- (6.33) *warúkaja juári.*  
*warúkaja ju-á-r-i.*  
**why** eat-PFV-PL-3.S  
 'Why did they eat it?'  
 '¿Por qué se lo comieron?'  
 (T01-S03-01.wav; 01:44-01:45)
- (6.34) *it'úr nahándrumi atúmfa.*  
*it'úr nahán-rumi atúm=fa.*  
**how** do-2PL.S 2PL=FOC  
 'How do you do it?'  
 '¿Cómo lo hacen?'  
 (T02-S03S16-02.wav; 03:56-03:58)
- (6.35) *jamáif áuf it'úrua at̃jiktáthi.*  
*jamái=f áuf it'úrua at̃ji-k-tát-hi.*  
 now=FOV DIST=FOC **how** grab-PFV-FUT-1PL.S  
 'How will we grab that one now?'  
 '¿Cómo vamos a cogerle a ése ahora?'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 04:11-04:13)
- (6.36) *warutiá wakítmi.*  
*warutiá wakít-mi.*  
**when** return-2SG.S  
 'When are you returning?'  
 '¿Cuándo regresas?'  
 (T03-S03S15-01.wav; 00:45-00:47)

Adverbs can optionally be combined with discourse marking enclitics, as in (6.37) and (6.38). When these adverbs are topicalised or focused, they often appear at the beginning of the clause.

- (6.37) *máik'a víi hukít'h'ami.*  
*má=k'a wíi hu-kí-t'-h'ami.*  
 now=TOP 1SG take-PFV-I.FUT-1SG.S>2SG.O+DECL  
 'Now I will take you.'  
 'Ahora te voy a llevar.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 03:08-03:10)
- (6.38) *huíf jakí tati.*  
*hu=f ja=kí ta-tí.*  
 here=FOC who=RESTR arrive+PFV-3.S:IMP  
 'Let whoever arrive here.'  
 'Que llegue aquí quien quiera.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 02:45-02:46)

A small subset of adverbs inflect for person/number, cross-referencing the subject of the verb that they modify, as in (6.39) and (6.40). All the suffixes can be seen in **Table 6.2**. The appearance of the vowels shown in parentheses is governed by the principles laid out in §5.2.1. Usually, if an adverbial pronominal suffix is followed by another morpheme (namely a discourse marking enclitic), then the allomorph with the vowel is used, as in (6.40).

- (6.39) *amíka nanámim tamí.*  
*am=f ka nanámí-m t-a-mí.*  
 2SG=TOP in.vain-2SG.A say-IPFV-2SG.S+DECL  
 'You're speaking in vain.'  
 'Estás hablando de gana.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 02:40-02:42)
- (6.40) *íif nanámrik uáhi.*  
*íi=f nanám-rí=k u-á-hi.*  
 1PL=FOC in.vain-1PL.A=TOP hide-IPFV-1PL.S+DECL  
 'We are hiding in vain.'  
 'Nos estamos escondiendo de gana.'  
 (T03-S01-04.wav; 09:15-09:16)

	1 <sup>st</sup> person	2 <sup>nd</sup> person	3 <sup>rd</sup> person
Singular	<i>-n(a)</i>	<i>-m(i)</i>	<i>-Ø</i>
Plural	<i>-r(i)</i>	<i>-rum(i)</i>	<i>-r(a)</i>

**Table 6.2.** Adverbial pronominal suffixes

It should be noted that the form of the adverbial pronominal suffixes is identical to that of same-subject markers in non-finite verbs in clause chains.

However, despite this formal similarity, this subset of adverbs can still be clearly differentiated from verbs. First, these adverbs can only inflect for person/number, and not for all the other inflectional categories that can be marked on verbs. Second, adverbs never have arguments. Nevertheless, the morphological parallels do suggest that these adverbs may have originated historically as verbs before becoming restricted to their current form and function. A clear example of this is the adverb *nikás* 'truly', which is identical to the perfective third person same-subject form of the verb 'to know' in clause chains: *niká-s* (know-PFV).

Another set of adverbs whose origin is even more transparent is a handful of location adverbs that are unambiguously derived from demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *nu<sup>N</sup>* 'there' from *\*nu=i<sup>N</sup>* (ANA=LOC) and *hu<sup>N</sup>* 'here' from *\*hu=i<sup>N</sup>* (PROX=LOC). However, I treat these as adverbs rather than as inflected pronouns because their syntactic distribution and function as verbal modifiers patterns with adverbs rather than with demonstrative pronouns (which modify nouns). An example of these can be seen in (6.41)

- (6.41) *turámatai nu<sup>N</sup> tʃitʃáɲpak;*  
*turá-matai<sup>N</sup>      nu<sup>N</sup>      tʃitʃá-in<sup>1</sup>a-k;*  
 and-1/3.DS      there      speak-IPFV:PL-SIM  
 'Then they spoke there...'  
 'Después hablaron ahí...'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 04:59-05:01)

There is only one productive way to derive new adverbs in Shiwiar, and this is by adverbialising a verb with the suffix *-ki(n<sup>1</sup>)* (the final nasal stop often gets elided in fast speech). An example of this is shown in (6.42). This occurs frequently in the corpus, but interestingly only in conjunction with the verbs of motion *win<sup>1</sup>(i)-* 'to come' and *wi-* 'to go'.

- (6.42) *nas<sup>1</sup> uutkín<sup>1</sup> vijnáwai.*  
*nas<sup>1</sup>      uut-kín<sup>1</sup>      win<sup>1</sup>-á-wa-i.*  
 wind      wail-ADVBLZ      come-IPFV-3.S-DECL  
 'The wind comes wailing.'  
 'El viento viene llorando.'  
 (T01-S01-02.wav; 26:21-26:23)

#### 6.1.4. Quantifiers

Shiwiar quantifiers are a small closed class of words that can modify both nouns and verbs by specifying the quantity of a given referent or the degree or scope of a given predicate. When they modify a noun, they can appear before or after it, as in (6.43) and (6.44).

- (6.43) *aúka nukáp híin utuátkar;*  
*aú=ka nukáp híi=n utuá-t-ka-r;*  
 DIST=TOP **much** **fire=OBJ** put.inside-APPL-PFV-3PL.SS  
 'They put a lot of fire in there.'  
 'Pusieron mucha candela adentro.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 06:38-06:40)
- (6.44) *ut̥s̥ík'a nukáp wahármiaji.*  
*ut̥s̥i=k'a nukáp wahá-r-mia-ji.*  
**child=TOP much** stand-APPL-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'Many children were standing there.'  
 'Muchos niños estaban parados ahí.'  
 (T01-S03-04.wav; 02:38-02:40)
- When they modify a verb they can also appear in any order, as in (6.45) and (6.46), or even at the beginning of a clause, as in (6.47). Note that when a quantifier appears in a transitive or ditransitive clause without a noun, it may be tempting to analyse the quantifier as an argument of the verb. However, the fact that quantifiers never take object case marking, particularly in positions where nominal arguments would, is evidence against this analysis.
- (6.45) *máf amúkmiaji.*  
*máf amú-k-mia-ji.*  
 all finish-PFV-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'They finished off everything.'  
 'Acabaron con todo.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 04:47-04:49)
- (6.46) *juár máf máf; máf núna umís;*  
*ju-á-r máf máf; máf nú=na umí-s;*  
 eat-PFV-3PL.SS all all all ANA=OBJ **complete-SBD**  
 'They ate everything and completed all of that...'  
 'Se comieron todo y acabaron todo eso...'  
 (T01-S02-10.wav; 02:55-02:58)
- (6.47) *andzú jamái nakarkáta.*  
*antsú jamái naka-r-ká-ta.*  
**much** now **have.sex.with-1SG.O-PFV-2SG.S:IMP**  
 'Now have a lot of sex with me.'  
 'Ahora ten mucho sexo conmigo.'  
 (T01-S02-09.wav; 01:06-01:08)

Because quantifiers can modify both nouns and verbs, there is a question about the constituency of these words: when they modify a noun, do they form a tighter syntactic or phonological bond with it than when they

modify a verb? Two pieces of evidence point to the fact that quantifiers are not more tightly bound to nouns than verbs – either syntactically or phonologically – even when they have semantic scope over the former. One is that there can be a noticeable prosodic pause between the quantifier and the noun it modifies, as in the first two words of example (6.48). But further, there can also be a clear syntactic break between the two. In the same example, the speaker who uttered this and three independent listeners had the intuition that the quantifier *antsú* 'much' has scope over the chili pepper. Nevertheless, the quantifier and the noun are separated by a long prosodic pause *and* by the coordinator *nujánka* 'then/and'. This is consistent with observations that have been made for other Chicham languages, where a different set of syntactic tests reveal that quantifiers do not form part of noun phrases in Aguaruna (Overall 2017a: 214–217).

- (6.48) *máf, hífin ukursár andzú nujánka, him'án;*  
*máf, hífin uku-r-sá-r*  
**all fire=OBJ leave-APPL-PFV-3PL.SS**  
*antsú nujánka, him'án;*  
**much COORD:then chili.pepper=OBJ**  
 'They left all the fire and a lot of chili pepper.'  
 'Dejaron toda la candela y bastante ajo.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 04:47-04:49)

As can be heard in most of the examples in this section, quantifiers are often produced with a noticeable high pitch excursion. The semantics of a quantifier can iconically be intensified by further increasing the pitch excursion and/or elongating the accented vowel. Quantifiers can also be intensified by reduplication. Both of these strategies can be seen in (6.49).

- (6.49) *áuka máf hukímiaji. máf máf hukí;*  
*áu=ka máf hu-kí-mia-ji. máf máf hu-kí;*  
**DIST=TOP all take-PFV-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL all all take-PFV**  
 'She took *everything*.'  
 'Se llevó *todo*.'  
 (T01-S03-01.wav; 04:32-04:34)

Quantifiers can be topicalised, as in (6.50), but this only occurs rarely in the corpus. It is unclear whether they can also appear with other discourse marking enclitics, such as focus markers.

- (6.50) *nukápká nand̄zik'árau*  
*nukápká nant̄jik'á-ra-u*  
 much=TOP scratch-PFV-S.NMLZ  
 'the one who scratched a lot'  
 'el que raspó mucho.'

(T03-S01-01.wav; 10:58-10:59)

The historical origin of Shiwiar quantifiers is opaque and it should be noted that many differ substantially in form compared to those of other Chicham languages (Overall 2017a: 415). For example, contrast Aguaruna *kuwáfat* 'many/much' to Shiwiar *antsú* 'many/much', neither of which have cognate quantifiers in the other language. Similarly, Aguaruna *afí* 'all' and Shiwiar *máj* 'all' may well be related, but it is not clear why the first consonant would be missing in Aguaruna. Only one Shiwiar quantifier displays signs of historical morphological complexity. The quantifier *húmak* 'a bit/few' (see (6.51)) has an intensified variant *húmt̄jik* 'a little bit/very few' (6.52), which seems to suggest that the final stop in the word is a reflex of the restrictive enclitic =*k(i)* (see §7.10). This is based on the assumption that the middle sequence *-t̄ji-* is in fact the diminutive suffix *-(u)t̄ji* (see §7.6.1). This hypothesis is further strengthened by the fact that there is an even more intensified variant *húmt̄jiut̄jik* 'a tiny bit/extremely few' (6.53), which has two stacked diminutives.

- (6.51) *ah̄ht̄jinga húmak nand̄ziksáu*  
*ah̄ht̄-t̄jir=ka húmak nant̄jik-sá-u*  
 ginger-DIM=OBJ=TOP a.bit scratch-PFV-S.NMLZ  
 'the one who scratched a bit of ginger'  
 'el que raspó un poco de jengibre.'

(T03-S01-01.wav; 11:36-11:39)

- (6.52) *húmd̄zik*  
*\*húm-t̄jir=k*  
 (a.bit-DIM=RESTR)  
 'a little bit'  
 'un poquito'

(T03-S01-01.wav; 11:00-11:00)

- (6.53) *ah̄ht̄jik'a húmd̄ziut̄jik*  
*ah̄ht̄-t̄jir=k'a \*húm-t̄ji-ut̄jir=k*  
 ginger-DIM=TOP (a.bit-DIM-DIM=RESTR)  
 'a tiny bit of ginger'  
 'un poquitito de jengibre'

(T03-S01-01.wav; 10:56-10:58)

### 6.1.5. Discourse particles

Discourse particles are a class of words that convey a speaker's stance or attitude towards a proposition or a situation. They can have scope over a phrase, a whole clause or even an entire utterance. There are two subclasses of discourse particles: coordinators and interjections. Coordinators are used to connect discourse units and package them in whatever way the speaker conceptualises the relationship between propositions. A discourse unit might correspond to something as small as a single word or phrase, or something as large as a clause chain. This is exemplified in examples (6.54) to (6.57).

The following examples are taken from a narrative about the mythical history of white-lipped peccaries<sup>35</sup>, a pig-like mammal that is well-known for its aggressive behaviour. In the story, humans are trying to kill all the peccaries but one man falls in love with a peccary-woman and elopes with her. He then starts to turn into a peccary himself, but is subsequently found by the other humans. When they realise that he is turning into a peccary, they catch him and confront him about it. The following scene depicts the moment that the humans encounter the peccary-man, begin talking to him, realise his conversion, and capture him. Each of the examples corresponds to a discourse unit that is introduced by a coordinator. The particular semantics of each coordinator helps to package the information according to the way that the speaker pictures the scene in his mind: *túra* is a basic coordinator (similar to 'and'), but it can also denote a consequence ('so'); *nujá*<sup>N</sup> (or *nujáŋka*) signals the next event in a sequence ('then'); *ma* denotes a contrast or hesitation ('but') on the part of the speaker. Notice also that some coordinators, like *túra*, can appear together with switch-reference markers to help track whether the subject of the upcoming discourse unit is the same or different to the subject of the preceding unit.

- (6.54) *turámatai nuí tʃitʃáŋpak;*  
*turá-matai<sup>N</sup> nuí tʃitʃá-in<sup>l</sup>a-k;*  
 COORD:and/so-1/3.DS there speak-IPFV:PL-SIM  
 'So they talked there...'  
 'Entonces hablaron ahí...'

(T01-S02-03.wav; 04:59-05:01)

<sup>35</sup> See Overall (2019) for an Aguaruna parallel, and Descola (1996) for an account of the symbolism of white-lipped peccaries in Chicham cultures.

- (6.55) *ma jáuntʃ urárau*  
*ma jáuntʃ urá-ra-u*  
 COORD:but previously grow.hair-PFV-NMLZ  
 '...but the one who had previously grown fur...'  
 '...pero al que le había crecido lana anteriormente...'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 05:02-05:05)
- (6.56) *nujá pakí tʃitʃámnaʃ ándipn amiáji.*  
*nujá<sup>N</sup> pakí tʃitʃám=na=ʃ*  
 COORD:then peccary+GEN language+1PL/2PL/3.P=OBJ=FOC  
*ánt-in<sup>i</sup> a-miá-ji.*  
 understand-AG.NMLZ COP-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 '...then (he) used to understand language of the peccaries.'  
 '...después (él) solía entender el idioma de los jabalís.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 05:05-05:08)
- (6.57) *turámatai nujánga atʃik<sup>á</sup>r pakín;*  
*turá-mata<sup>N</sup> nujánga atʃi-k<sup>á</sup>-r pakí=n;*  
 COORD:and/so-1/3.DS COORD:then grab-PFV-3PL.SS peccary=OBJ  
 'So then they grabbed the peccary.'  
 'Entonces después le cogieron al jabalí.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 05:10-05:14)

Some coordinators have fairly transparent historical origins. The coordinator *nujá<sup>N</sup>* 'then' seems to be a fossilised version the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun in ablative case: *\*nu=já<sup>N</sup>* (ANA=ABL, literally 'from there/that').<sup>36</sup> The long form of the same coordinator, *nujánga* 'then', simply reflects an additional topic marker: *\*nu=já<sup>N</sup>=ka* (ANA=ABL=TOP). The coordinator *tura* 'and/so' might originate from a subordinated perfective form of the verb 'to say': *\*tu-ra* (SAY-PFV, literally 'having said that'). This would explain why this coordinator is compatible with switch-reference morphology.

The other type of discourse particle is an interjection. Interjections are unlike coordinators in that they are not used as linkers, but they are similar in that they express the speaker's attitude or stance, and they also have wide semantic scope. In example (6.58), after having been asked by an interlocutor to tell a story, the speaker agrees with the interjection *ajú* before launching into the story itself. In example (6.59), the speaker expresses fear with the interjection *pái*. Finally, in example (6.60), the interjection *áh* shows that the

<sup>36</sup> Note that local Spanish varieties also have a discourse connecting phrase which is highly reminiscent of this Shiwiar coordinator: *de ahí* 'then' (literally 'from there'). This similarity may well be a result of contact between the two languages.

speaker is being dismissive with his interlocutor. Like adverbs, some interjections are produced with a noticeable pitch excursion, as in (6.60).

- (6.58) *ajú jáund̄ʒuk, íjɲa húũndri, áuja puhu ármiaji.*  
*ajú jáunt̄ʒuk, í=na húũn-rí<sup>N</sup>, áu=ja<sup>N</sup>*  
 INTERJ:agreement long.ago 1PL=OBJ(P) elder-1PL/2PL/3.P DIST=ABL  
*puhu á-r-mia-ji*  
 live COP-PL-DIST.PST-3+DECL  
 'Well, long ago our elders lived from that.'  
 'Bueno, antiguamente nuestros antepasados vivieron de eso.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 00:21-00:28)
- (6.59) *pái jamáik<sup>l</sup>a nuápi wɲáwa.*  
*pái jamát=k<sup>l</sup>a nuápi win<sup>l</sup>-á-wa*  
 INTERJ:fear now=TOP cannibal come-IPFV-3.S  
 'Oh no, now the cannibals are coming!'  
 '¡Uy, ahora están viniendo los caníbales!'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 03:39-03:41)
- (6.60) *áh, am̄ka nangámim tám̄.*  
*áh, am̄=ka nangámi-m t-á-m̄.*  
 INTERJ:dismissal 2SG=TOP in.vain-2SG.A say-IPFV-2SG.S+DECL  
 'Oh sure, you're speaking in vain.'  
 'Ay claro, estás hablando de gana.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 02:40-02:42)

### 6.1.6. Ideophones

Ideophones are a large closed class of sound-symbolic words that are used to modify verbs. As described by Dingemanse (2012: 655), they are used to depict sensory imagery. In the case of Shiwiar, ideophones have a very broad semantic range: they can represent external sensory stimuli, such as sounds (*púr* 'the sound of taking manioc out of the ground') or smells (*sírśír* 'smell of wet dog'), but also internally perceived stimuli, such as movements (*p̄f̄r* 'moving around in circles or rotating') or sensations (*pák* 'the feeling of falling asleep').

Ideophones are particularly frequent in narrative genres, and skilled storytellers make extensive use of them to describe a situation. Examples (6.61) to (6.64) come from a story about a group of terrifying mythical cannibals called *huríhuri*, who attack and eat humans when the latter are disrespectful towards animals or when they overhunt. In this scene, a group of people who had previously been making fun of monkeys fall asleep, thinking that they were safe. This causes the cannibals to suddenly appear and chase after them. Ideophones are used in almost every clause by the speaker to illustrate this dramatic event.

- (6.61) *ajá tipikár tipikár tipikár;*  
*ajá tipí-ká-r tipí-ká-r tipí-ká-r;*  
 IDEO:nothing lie-PFV-3PL.SS lie-PFV-PL lie-PFV-3PL.SS  
 'There was nothing (no danger), so they lay there and lay there...'  
 'No había nada (ningún peligro), así que estuvieron acostados...'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 03:06-03:09)
- (6.62) *kuruá kuruá waháijnak; jáu kanúkar;*  
*kuruá kuruá wahá-in<sup>a</sup>-k; jáu kanú-ka-r;*  
 IDEO:snore stand-IPFV:PL-SIM previously sleep-PFV-3PL.SS  
 'They were snoring, having previously fallen asleep...'  
 'Estaban roncando, como se habían dormido antes...'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 03:11-03:13)
- (6.63) *sákam hurihurík<sup>a</sup> sijnukí vinímiaji.*  
*sákam hurihurí=k<sup>a</sup>*  
 IDEO:sudden.noise cannibals=TOP  
*sin<sup>u</sup>-kí win-í-mia-ji.*  
 scream-ADVBLZ come-PFV-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'With a sudden noise, the cannibals came screaming.'  
 'De pronto con un ruido, los caníbales vinieron gritando.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 03:16-03:20)
- (6.64) *hurí hurí hurí hurí hurí hurí hurí waháki vijnámdai;*  
*hurí hurí hurí hurí hurí hurí hurí wahá-ki win<sup>i</sup>-á-mtar<sup>N</sup>;*  
 IDEO:cannibal.sounds stand-ADVBLZ come-IPFV-1/3.DS  
 'The cannibals came, making their unique sound...'  
 'Los caníbales vinieron, haciendo su sonido...'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 03:20-03:24)

Some ideophones can appear on their own, as in (6.61) and (6.63), but others appear in combination with a dummy verb, often the verb *(wa)há-* 'to stand', as in (6.62) and (6.64). Note that many ideophones have very specific meanings, like the representation of nothingness (6.61) or the sounds that a mythical cannibal makes (6.64). For this reason, ideophones tend to co-occur most frequently with verbs that have compatible semantics. For example, the negative existential verb *atsu-* (which is in fact a negated copula: *a-tsú* (COP-NEG)) is almost always accompanied by the ideophone that means 'nothing', as in (6.65).

- (6.65) *níŋa kanútirin íámiaji íámiaji pero ajá atsúmiaji.*  
*ní=n'á kanúti-ri<sup>N=n</sup> íá-mia-ji*  
 3=OBJ(P) bedroom-1PL/2PL/3.P=LOC search-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
*íá-mia-ji pero<sub>[Sp]</sub>*  
 search-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL but  
*ajá a-tsú-mia-ji.*  
 IDEO:nothing COP-NEG-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'She searched and searched in her bedroom, but it wasn't there.'  
 'Buscó y buscó en su dormitorio pero no estaba.'  
 (T01-S03-01.wav; 05:52-05:55)

Other ideophones are slightly more general and can be used with a variety of verbs, like *kufjât*, which expresses that something is being pressed into a soft surface, whether it be mud, as in (6.66), or skin, as in (6.67). Nevertheless, even in cases where ideophones have more varied distribution, it is clear that they have rich semantic content.

- (6.66) *níŋa nawíŋga kufjât kufjât wímau tipáwai.*  
*ní=n'á nãwĩ=ka*  
 3=OBJ(P) foot+1PL/2PL/3.P=TOP  
*kufjât kufjât wí-mau tip-á-wa-i.*  
 IDEO:press.into go-NS.NMLZ lie-IPFV-3.S-DECL  
 'His footprints, which had been pressed into the mud as he went, lie there.'  
 'Sus pisadas, que habían sido impresas en el lodo cuando caminaba, están ahí.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 04:08-04:11)
- (6.67) *híh'ãĩ kufjât kufjât nundutrámiaji.*  
*hí=h'ãĩ kufjât kufjât nuntu-t-rá-mia-ji.*  
 fire=COM IDEO:press.into burn-APPL-PFV-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'She burnt him with fire by pressing it into his skin.'  
 'Le quemó con candela, presionándole su piel.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 04:02-04:05)

In addition to their modifying function, ideophones can be used predicatively as well. This is shown in example (6.68), where the ideophone appears without a verb, and in fact functions as the predicate. However, even in cases where a verb is missing, ideophones are never directly combined with verbal inflectional morphology; the semantics of this type of predicate (e.g. tense) need to be interpreted in context.

- (6.68) *áuka jāwǎǎka há há há.*  
*áu=ka jāwǎǎ=ka há há há.*  
 DIST=TOP dog=TOP IDEO:bark  
 'The dog barked.'  
 'El perro ladró.'

(T01-S03-06.wav; 04:03-04:04)

The origin of some ideophones seems to be onomatopoeic, especially those for animal calls. Other ideophones have less transparent origins. Interestingly, it appears that they are very readily diffused by contact. Nuckolls (1996) provides a very detailed description of Northern Pastaza Kichwa ideophones, and a substantial number have identical correspondences in Shiwiar. This holds for ideophones that are not obviously onomatopoeic and that have very specific semantics, such as *tsak* 'the moment of making a shallow puncture' and *tsuk* 'the moment of removing a piece of something cleanly away from its whole'.

## 6.2. Morphology

Shiwiar is a highly synthetic language which exhibits both head- and dependent-marking. Shiwiar morphology tends towards agglutination, but there are also many cases of fusion caused by historical and ongoing phonological elision processes. Morphemes differ greatly in the degree of boundedness that they exhibit, ranging from unbound roots that can appear on their own to clitics and affixes that never appear unless they are combined with a root. Clitics and affixes are broadly distinguished by how broad or narrow their distribution and scope is: affixes are restricted to appear with particular word classes and generally only have scope over a word, whereas clitics can appear with a wider set of hosts and can have scope over entire phrases or clauses. Finally, although some morphemes are prototypically inflectional and others are prototypically derivational, the distinction between inflection and derivation is not always clear in the language. In all of these areas, Shiwiar closely resembles the other Chicham languages (Overall 2017a: 8–12; Peña 2015: 296–328).

The following sections will offer a closer look at all of the aforementioned morphological characteristics of Shiwiar.

### 6.2.1. Head-marking and dependent-marking

Following the terminology in Nichols (1986), Shiwiar is a double-marking language in that grammatical relations can be morphologically marked on both the head of a clause (through indexation of subject and object on the verb)

and its dependent(s) (through object case marking on nominal arguments). This can be seen in example (6.69).

- (6.69) *warúka apapítam vijnáfa.*  
*warúka apapí-t-a-m wi-n'á=fa.*  
 why chase-1SG.O-IPFV-2SG.S 1SG=OBJ=FOC  
 'Why are you chasing me?'  
 '¿Por qué me persigues?'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 02:28-02:30)

However, it should be noted that although double-marking is possible in Shiwiar, it does not always occur for two main reasons. First, not all nominal arguments are flagged by case marking: subject arguments are never marked, and some third person object arguments are not marked with object case (see §6.4 for a detailed explanation of differential object marking in Shiwiar). This is shown in examples (6.70) and (6.71), respectively. Second, a Shiwiar clause does not require explicit nominal arguments if they are retrievable from the discourse context, as in example (6.72). In all these cases, the morphological marking of grammatical relations is only found on the verb.

- (6.70) *júmi tipíáji.*  
*júmi tipí-á-ji.*  
 rain lie-PFV-3.S+DECL  
 'Rain fell everywhere (i.e. it is pooling).'  
 'Cayó lluvia por todo lado (es decir, se está acumulando).'  
 (T01-S01-02.wav; 28:02-28:03)
- (6.71) *tsaníri wáingam.*  
*tsaní-rí<sup>N</sup> wáin-ka-m.*  
 lover-1PL/2PL/3.P find-PFV-2SG.S  
 'You found her lover!'  
 '¿Encontraste a su amante!'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 02:42-02:44)
- (6.72) *undzúrwai.*  
*untsú-r-wa-i.*  
 call-1SG.O-3.S-DECL  
 'He's calling me.'  
 'Me está llamando.'  
 (T01-S02-02.wav; 09:12-09:13)

Another case of double-marking can be seen in nominal possessive constructions, where both the head (the possessum) and the dependent (the

possessor) are morphologically marked. The head is marked with possessive morphology and the dependent is marked by genitive case (if it is a noun) or object case (if it is a pronoun). This can be seen in examples (6.73) and (6.74). However, similarly to dependents in clauses, dependents in possessive constructions do not need to be overtly expressed, as in (6.75). In those cases, the marking is *de facto* only found on the head.

- (6.73) *namáŋgi nukúri*  
*namáŋki nuku-r<sup>N</sup>*  
 game+GEN mother-1PL/2PL/3.P  
 'the mother of game (hunted animals)'  
 'la madre de los animales'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 02:10-02:11)
- (6.74) *víŋa jakáĩr*  
*wé-r<sup>a</sup> jakáĩ-r*  
 1SG=OBJ(P) upper.arm-1SG.P  
 'my upper arm'  
 'mi brazo superior'  
 (T01-S01-01.wav; 13:15-13:17)
- (6.75) *jakáĩr*  
*jakáĩ-r*  
 upper.arm-1SG.P  
 'my upper arm'  
 'mi brazo superior'  
 (T01-S01-01.wav; 03:54-03:55)

### 6.2.2. Agglutination and fusion

The morphology in Shiwiar is mostly agglutinative, in the sense that most words are made up of a concatenation of multiple morphemes and that each morpheme expresses an exponent of a single morphological category. This can be seen in (6.76).

- (6.76) *víi vinit<sup>á</sup>thai.*  
*wíi win-i-t<sup>á</sup>t-ha-i.*  
 1SG come-PFV-FUT-1SG.S-DECL  
 'I will come.'  
 'Vendré.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 01:15-01:17)

It is also not unusual to find cases of morphological fusion in Shiwiar, where a single morpheme expresses exponents of two or more morphological

categories. The vast majority of these cases, however, are straightforward instances of phonological mergers occurring at a morpheme boundary. An example of this can be seen in (6.77), where the final morpheme *-mĩ* is a fusional morpheme that expresses both second person singular subject as well as declarative mood. There is independent evidence which shows that the second person singular subject marker is *-m(i)* (as in (6.78)), and that the declarative mood marker is *-i* (as in (6.79)), but it is clear that when these come together as *\*mĩ-i*, the vowels merge, producing a fusional morpheme *-mĩ*. These cases of fusion are marked by a plus sign (+) in the glossing of the multiple exponents.

- (6.77) *amukí wiámĩ.*  
*amu-kí wi-á-mĩ.*  
 finish-PFV go-IPFV-2SG.S+DECL  
 'You're going to finish.'  
 'Was a terminar.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 02:34-02:36)
- (6.78) *wijnámik.*  
*win<sup>l</sup>-á-mi-k.*  
 come-IPFV-2SG.S-Q  
 'Are you coming?'  
 '¿Vienes?'  
 (T01-S02-02.wav; 11:24-11:25)
- (6.79) *wijnáhai.*  
*win<sup>l</sup>-á-ha-i.*  
 come-IPFV-1SG.S-DECL  
 'I'm coming.'  
 'Estoy viniendo.'  
 (T01-S02-02.wav; 11:38-11:38)

There is a very small set of portmanteau morphemes for which there are no clear indications that a phonological merger is at work, and which only ever appear in the fused form. One of these is the morpheme *-(i)n<sup>l</sup>a*, which indicates plural number (for the subject of a verb) and imperfective aspect, as in (6.80).<sup>37</sup> These are considered true cases of fusion, and they are marked with a colon (:) in the glossing.

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<sup>37</sup> It is noteworthy that *-a* is an imperfective marker, so an alternative analysis would be to consider the morpheme *-(i)n<sup>l</sup>a* to be a combination of two morphemes, where *-(i)n<sup>l</sup>* marks plurality: *-(i)n<sup>l</sup>-a* (PL-IPFV). However, there is no independent evidence – either within Shiwiar or across the Chicham language family – to motivate *-in<sup>l</sup>* as a morpheme in its own right.

- (6.80) *túra* *tʃitʃáɲak*;  
*túra* *tʃitʃá-in'a-k*;  
 COORD:and/so speak-IPFV:PL-SIM  
 'So they were speaking...'  
 'Entonces estaban hablando...'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 0:28-00:29)

Finally, there are a few cases of a third type of morpheme in Shiwiar which does not fit into either the agglutinative or the fusional profile because it is suprasegmental in nature. The vocative, for example, is not marked by a segmental morpheme, but rather by the absence of the expected historical apocope (see §5.2.1) at the end of a noun. Compare the noun in (6.81), in its citation form, with the vocative form in (6.82). The final vowel in (6.82) is not an independent morpheme, but rather the unelided historical final vowel of the noun. Another instance of a suprasegmental morpheme is the third person pronominal marking on possessed nouns, which in some nouns is indexed by nasality and a change of the last vowel in a root. Compare the noun *núwa* 'wife' in (6.83) and the possessed form *núwí* 'his wife' in (6.84). These suprasegmental morphemes are marked in the glosses with a plus sign as well (+).

- (6.81) *apátʃ*  
*apátʃ*  
 grandfather  
 'grandfather'  
 'abuelo'  
 (T01-S01-01.wav; 56:18-56:18)
- (6.82) *apátʃí*  
*apátʃí*  
 grandfather+VOC  
 'Grandfather!'  
 '¡Abuelo!'  
 (T01-S01-01.wav; 55:27-55:28)
- (6.83) *nuwáka* *tʃitʃák*;  
*nuwá=ka* *tʃitʃ-á-k*;  
 wife=TOP speak-IPFV-SIM  
 'The wife spoke...'  
 'La mujer habló...'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 03:24-03:24)

- (6.84) *túra nandúka nūwíaji.*  
*túra nandú=ka nūwí=a-ji.*  
 COORD:and/so moon=TOP wife+1PL/2PL/3.P=PST.COP-3.S+DECL  
 'The moon was his wife.'  
 'La luna era su mujer.'

(T01-S03-01.wav; 00:26-00:28)

### 6.2.3. Roots, affixes and clitics

Morphemes in Shiwiar can be distinguished by their degree of boundedness and their scope over other morphemes. The only unbound morphemes in Shiwiar are roots, all of which correspond to one of the word classes covered in §6.1. Most roots in the language can appear on their own, like the demonstrative *tikíŋ* 'another', the noun *aínts* 'person' and the adjective *natsá* 'unmarried' in (6.85). The only exceptions are verbal roots, which only appear in their bare form in auxiliary constructions, like the verb *mú* 'drink' in (6.86), but otherwise are bound roots that must occur with inflectional affixes, like the verbs *puh(u)*- 'to live' in (6.85) and *wí-* 'to go' in (6.86).

- (6.85) *tikíŋ aíns natsá puháu*  
*tikíŋ aíns natsá puh-á-u*  
 another person unmarried live-IPFV-S.NMLZ  
 'the other person who lived as an unmarried man'  
 'la otra persona que vivía soltero'

(T01-S03-01.wav; 00:26-00:28)

- (6.86) *jumí mú wíaha.*  
*jumí mú wí-a-ha.*  
 water+OBJ drink go-IPFV-1SG  
 'I'm going to drink water!'  
 '¡Voy a tomar agua!'

(T01-S01-01.wav, 21:20-21:21)

All other bound morphemes in Shiwiar can be classed as affixes or clitics. I follow the approach taken by Overall for Aguaruna in distinguishing the two "on syntactic grounds: affixes operate at the level of the word, while clitics operate at the phrasal or clausal level" (Overall 2017a: 9). In this approach, affixes are considered part of the word formation apparatus in the language (i.e. the morphology), whereas clitics are used for syntactic or information structural (i.e. discourse) purposes. This can be seen in example (6.87), where the clitics are used to mark either grammatical relations or discourse structure. The difference between affixes and clitics can also be seen in their distribution: affixes combine with specific word classes, whereas clitics can combine with a broader range of hosts. Whereas verbal suffixes can

only appear on verbs, for example, the enclitic =*k<sup>(i)</sup>(a)* appears with an adverb in (6.87), and with both a verb and a pronoun in (6.88).

- (6.87) *máik<sup>ʃa</sup> iin wakʃtkitʃun inindím<sup>ʃats</sup>, tiármiaji.*  
*máí=k<sup>ʃa</sup> ií=n wakʃt-ki-tn<sup>ʃu</sup>=n*  
 now=TOP 1PL=LOC return.to-PFV-AS.NMLZ=OBJ  
*inintím<sup>ʃa</sup>-ts, t-i-ár-mia-ji.*  
 think-NEG say-PFV-PL-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'He doesn't plan to return to us.'  
 'No piensa volver donde nosotros.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 04:20-04:25)
- (6.88) *ámi awímbratʃn wakʃrakmika; amika nuŋgá taútmit<sup>ʃa</sup>.*  
*ámi awí-m-ra-tin<sup>ʃ</sup> wakʃr-a-k-mí=ka;*  
 2SG save-REFL-PFV-AS.NMLZ want-IPFV-SIM-2SG.SS=TOP  
*amí=ka nuŋká taú-t-m-i-ʃ<sup>ʃa</sup>.*  
 2SG=TOP ground+LOC dig-APPL-REFL-PFV-2SG.S:IMP  
 'If you want to save yourself, dig yourself into the ground!'  
 'Si te quieres salvar, ¡cávate en la tierra!'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 01:35-01:39)

Phonological evidence suggests that discourse marking clitics are less bound than syntactic clitics (e.g. case markers) and all affixes in the language: they are occasionally pronounced with a considerable pause from their host, as in (6.89). These pauses are not observed for any other bound morphemes in the corpus.

- (6.89) *huríhuri, k<sup>ʃa</sup> jukártʃnuit<sup>ʃai</sup>.*  
*huríhuri =k<sup>ʃa</sup> ju-kárt-in<sup>ʃu</sup>=it<sup>ʃ</sup>-a-i.*  
 cannibal =TOP eat-INDF.O-AG.NMLZ=COP-3.S-DECL  
 'The cannibals eat people.'  
 'Los caníbales comen gente.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 01:20-01:25)

There is an almost universal tendency in Shiwiar for bound morphology to occur after the root. All clitics in the language are enclitics, and almost all affixes are suffixes. There is, however, a single prefix in the language: a causative, as seen in (6.90). It is very similar in form to causatives in other neighbouring languages, raising the possibility that this prefix was borrowed into Shiwiar through contact (see §2.3.2).

- (6.90) *nujáŋga ífámgamiaji.*  
*nujáŋka í-fám-ka-mia-ji.*  
 COORD:then CAUS-be.scared-PFV-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'He scared her.'  
 'Le asustó.'

(T01-S02-03.wav; 02:20-02:21)

Finally, in terms of ordering, clitics almost always occur after the final suffix in a word. The only exception is the copula clitic, which is usually followed by verbal suffixes, as shown in (6.91). This presumably is the result of a historical process whereby an independent and inflected copula verb became cliticised to its complement over time.

- (6.91) *hakáuit'ai.*  
*ha-ká-u=i't-a-i.*  
 die-PFV-S.NMLZ=COP-3.S-DECL  
 'It's dead.'  
 'Está muerto.'

(T01-S01-02.wav; 57:28-57:29)

#### 6.2.4. Inflection and derivation

There is a well-established functional distinction in the literature between inflectional and derivational morphology, where derivation subsumes the morphological processes that produce new lexemes, and inflection subsumes the morphological processes that yield different grammatical forms of a single lexeme (Booij 2007; Bybee 1985; Dressler 1989; Plank 1994, *inter alia*). Prototypical inflection is obligatory, productive, and cannot change the word class of a stem, whereas prototypical derivation is optional, less productive, and does have the ability to change the word class of a stem. These distinctions can certainly be applied to Shiwiar morphemes: for instance in (6.92), the denominal verbaliser *-t(u)* is a stereotypically derivational morpheme, whereas the third person subject marker *-wa* and the declarative mood marker *-i* are stereotypically inflectional morphemes.

- (6.92) *nasíndwai.*  
*nasí-t-wa-i.*  
 wind-VBLZ-3.S-DECL  
 'It's windy.'  
 'Hace viento.'

(T01-S01-02.wav; 25:15-25:16)

However, there is also widespread recognition in the literature that the boundary between derivation and inflection is not always clear-cut. This also holds true in Shiwiar. One example of a morpheme that has both derivational and inflectional properties is the suffix *-(i)n<sup>j</sup>(u)*. This suffix can function as a deverbal agentive nominaliser, i.e. it nominalises the syntactic subject of a verb *v* and yields a noun which means 'one who *vs*'. This is shown in (6.93), where a noun meaning 'worker' is derived from a verb meaning 'to work'. In this sense, it is a prototypically derivational morpheme because it changes the word class of the root. Furthermore, it cannot be used productively to form a noun from any verb; it can only yield nouns from verbs that have a semantic agent. There are no cases in the corpus of this morpheme deriving a referential noun from verbs whose syntactic subject is more like a semantic patient, as in 'to die' or 'to sleep'.

- (6.93) *áifring<sup>j</sup>a takákmij<sup>n</sup> síram.*  
*áif-rí<sup>N</sup>=k<sup>j</sup>a                      takákm-in<sup>j</sup>                      síram.*  
 husband-1PL/2PL/3.P=TOP    work-AG.NMLZ                      beautiful  
 'Her husband was a hard worker and beautiful.'  
 'Su marido era trabajador y hermoso.'
- (T01-S03-01.wav; 00:43-00:46)

However, the exact same morpheme can also be used to form a habitual predicate in Shiwiar. In order to express a habitual action, any verb can be nominalised with the suffix *-(i)n<sup>j</sup>(u)* and then used predicatively with a copula. This is shown in example (6.94). It should be noted that the word *hút-in<sup>j</sup>* (cry-AG.NMLZ) is never used as a standalone referential noun – probably because the verb *hút(a)-* 'to cry' is not considered a verb with an agentive subject by Shiwiar speakers. Nevertheless, this agentive restriction clearly does not extend to the formation of a habitual predicate. In this predicative usage, the suffix *-(i)n<sup>j</sup>(u)* is inflectional: it is entirely productive (i.e. it can be used with any verb) and it is obligatory for the formation of a habitual predicate. Cases like this one show that the distinction between derivation and inflection in Shiwiar is not always straightforward.

- (6.94) *máik<sup>j</sup>a hújipui<sup>t</sup>h<sup>j</sup>ai.*  
*mái=k<sup>j</sup>a                      húj-in<sup>j</sup>v=i<sup>t</sup>-h<sup>j</sup>a-i.*  
 now=TOP                      cry-AG.NMLZ=COP-1SG.S-DECL  
 'Now I cry all the time.'  
 'Ahora siempre lloro.'
- (T01-S03-01.wav; 09:06-09:08)

Another generalisation that has been made about derivational morphology cross-linguistically is that it is more relevant to the meaning of

the word and it therefore appears closer to its root (Bybee 1985). Derivational morphemes in Shiwiar do indeed tend to appear closer to the root than inflectional morphemes, as in (6.95), where the derivational applicative marker in the verb is closer to the root than all the inflectional markers that follow.

- (6.95) *nu pakí nuwánga awahtukiármiaji.*  
*nu pakí nuwá=r=ka*  
 ANA peccary female=OBJ=TOP  
*awah-tu-ki-ár-mia-ji.*  
 scare-APPL-PFV-PL-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'They scared the female peccary.'  
 'Le asustaron al jabalí hembra.'

(T01-S02-03.wav; 02:02-02:05)

### 6.3. Constituent order

The order of constituents in a Shiwiar clause is not fixed, but there is a strong tendency towards SOV order in transitive clauses (as in (6.96)) and SV order in intransitive clauses (as in (6.97)).<sup>38</sup> However, it is actually quite uncommon in natural discourse for a clause to have all arguments expressed by a nominal. Usually, there is only single nominal argument – like the subject in (6.98), the object in (6.99) or an oblique in (6.100) – or no argument at all, as in (6.101). Therefore, a better characterisation is that Shiwiar clauses are usually predicate-final.

- (6.96) *nu ańts pakí apapík;*  
*nu ańts pakí apapík;*  
 ANA person peccary+OBJ chase-PFV  
 'Those people chased the peccary.'  
 'Esa gente persiguió al jabalí.'

(T01-S02-03.wav; 05:14-05:16)

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<sup>38</sup> When talking about grammatical relations, only two argument types are distinguished in Shiwiar grammar: subject and object. These are abbreviated throughout this work as S and O respectively. The reader should not confuse the use of S in this work to mean only the single argument of an intransitive clause (as opposed to the agent-like argument of a transitive clause, often abbreviated as A). See §6.4 for more information about grammatical relations in Shiwiar.

- (6.97) *íi vijnáhi.*  
*íi win<sup>i</sup>-á-hi.*  
 1PL come-IPFV-1PL.S+DECL  
 'We're coming.'  
 'Estamos viniendo.'  
 (T01-S02-02.wav; 11:59-12:00)
- (6.98) *nujá pakí nuwa t̥ʃit̥ʃarak;*  
*nujá<sup>N</sup> pakí nuwa t̥ʃit̥ʃá-r-a-k;*  
 COORD:then peccary female speak-APPL-IPFV-SIM  
 'Then the female peccary spoke to him.'  
 'Después el jabalí hembra le habló a él.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 02:25-02:28)
- (6.99) *nangátramun hiáhai.*  
*nangkátramu=n hi-á-ha-i.*  
 end=OBJ look.at-IPFV-1SG.S-DECL  
 'I'm looking at the end.'  
 'Veo el final.'  
 (T01-S01-02.wav; 09:50-09:52)
- (6.100) *ik'ám wimí.*  
*ik'ám wi-mí.*  
 forest+LOC go-1PL.S:IMP  
 'Let's go to the forest.'  
 'Vamos a la selva.'  
 (T01-S01-01.wav, 55:56-55:58)
- (6.101) *máik'a inait'ámsahi.*  
*mái=k'a in'ai-t'ám-sa-hi.*  
 now=TOP stop-1PL/2.O-PFV-1PL.O+DECL  
 'Now they've stopped us.'  
 'Ahora ya nos pararon.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 03:44-03:45)

Despite the strong predicate-final tendency, there is no restriction in Shiwiar on a constituent appearing after the verb, particularly if the speaker wants to highlight that constituent for information structural reasons. Both focused and topicalised constituents can appear clause-finally. Often, these constituents are also morphologically marked, as in (6.102) where the subject argument appears with the focus enclitic. However, the morphological marking of the focused or topicalised constituent is not necessary, given that its postposed syntactic position alone is an indication of its special status. Any argument – whether it is a subject (6.103), an object (6.104) or an oblique (6.105) – can occur clause-finally.

- (6.102) *máik'a ðimgit'ai íífa.*  
*mái=k'a ðim-ki-t'ai íí=fa.*  
 now=TOP advance-PFV-1PL.S:IMP 1PL=FOC  
 'Now let's advance.'  
 'Ahora avancemos nosotros.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 03:40-03:42)
- (6.103) *ajámbrin amiáji níí.*  
*ajámr-in<sup>i</sup> a-miá-ji níí.*  
 defend-AG.NMLZ COP-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL 3  
 'He used to defend her.'  
 'Él la solía defender.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 03:24-03:26)
- (6.104) *máf ik'áçt'úrcmiaji nu aántsun.*  
*máf ik'áih<sup>i</sup>-t'ú-r-mia-ji nu aántsú=n.*  
 all cause.to.faint-APPL-PL-DIST.PL-3.S+DECL ANA person=OBJ  
 'They caused all those people to faint there.'  
 'Hicieron desmayar a toda esa gente ahí.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 03:45-03:48)
- (6.105) *wiárcmiaji ik'ám.*  
*wi-ár-mia-ji ik'ám.*  
 go-PL-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL forest+LOC  
 'They went to the forest.'  
 'Se fueron a la selva.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 00:24-00:26)

Constituent order in Shiwiar seems to be slightly more variable than in other Chicham languages. Although Overall (2017a: 577–580) confirms that there is flexible constituent order in finite clauses in Aguaruna (governed by similar principles as in Shiwiar), he states that SOV order is obligatory in subordinate clauses. In the Shiwiar corpus, however, it is not rare to come across examples like (6.106), where an argument is clause-final in a subordinate clause within a clause chain.

- (6.106) *amasánj t̃jít̃jarak núwa wahí puháun;*  
*amasánj t̃jít̃já-r-a-k*  
 Amasank speak-APPL-IPFV-SIM  
*núwa wahí puh-á-u=n;*  
 woman widowed live-IPFV-S.NMLZ=OBJ  
 'Amasank spoke to the woman who lived as a widow...'  
 'Amasank le habló a la mujer que vivía como viuda...'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 01:32-01:34)

The only clauses in Shiwiar where there is a strict requirement for predicates to be final are nominalised clauses, which can also be seen in example (6.106).

## 6.4. Grammatical relations

Shiwiar has strict nominative-accusative alignment, and grammatical relations in the language primarily revolve around the distinction between subject and object. This distinction is morphologically marked on both the predicate and its arguments: verbs have pronominal indexation and nominals are flagged by case. The following subsections will focus on what constitutes a subject and an object in Shiwiar (§6.4.1) and how grammatical relations are marked on verbs (§6.4.2) and nouns (§6.4.3) respectively.

### 6.4.1. Grammatical roles

Shiwiar only distinguishes between two core syntactic grammatical roles: subject and object. A subject in Shiwiar (abbreviated as S in this work) is any of the following three types<sup>39</sup> of arguments:

- (1) The sole argument of an intransitive clause. Depending on the verb, these arguments may semantically be agents (6.107), experiencers (6.108) or natural/astronomical/meteorological forces (6.109).
- (2) The more agent-like argument of a transitive clause (such as the man in (6.110)).
- (3) The subject of a copular clause (such as the wife in (6.111)).

(6.107) *wíi wɨnáhai.*  
*wíi*     *wɨn<sup>l</sup>-á-ha-i.*  
 1SG     come-IPFV-1SG.S-DECL  
 'I'm coming.'  
 'Estoy viniendo.'

(T01-S02-02.wav; 10:48-10:49)

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<sup>39</sup> Note that although I enumerate three different “types” of subjects here, this is for expository purposes. All three “types” of subjects are treated identically in Shiwiar grammar.

- (6.108) *fi háahi.*  
*fi há-a-hi.*  
**1PL** be.ill-IPFV-1PL.S+DECL  
 'We're ill.'  
 'Estamos enfermos.'  
 (T01-S02-01.wav; 12:45-12:47)
- (6.109) *nándu táakwai.*  
*nántu táak-wa-i.*  
**moon** appear-3.S-DECL  
 'The moon is appearing.'  
 'La luna está saliendo.'  
 (T01-S01-02.wav; 15:30-15:31)
- (6.110) *túra nú ašmangga wakřrumiaji nũwřnga.*  
*túra nú ašmang=ka*  
 COORD:and/so ANA **man**=TOP  
*wakřru-mia-ji nũwř=ka.*  
 love-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL wife+1PL/2PL/3.P=OBJ=TOP  
 'And that man loved his wife.'  
 'Y ese hombre quería a su mujer.'  
 (T01-S03-01.wav; 00:52-00:55)
- (6.111) *nuwřnga nakíaji.*  
*nũwř=ka nakí=a-ji.*  
**wife+1PL/2PL/3.P=TOP** lazy=PST.COP-3.S+DECL  
 'His wife was lazy.'  
 'Su mujer era vaga.'  
 (T01-S03-01.wav; 00:39-00:42)

An object in Shiwiar (abbreviated as O in this work) is any of the following two types<sup>40</sup> of arguments:

- (1) The more patient-like argument of a transitive clause (such as the enemy in (6.112)); or the patient/theme-like argument of a ditransitive clause (such as the monkey's head in (6.113)).
- (2) The goal/recipient/beneficiary-like argument of a ditransitive clause (such as the wife in (6.113)).

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<sup>40</sup> Once again, although I enumerate two different "types" of objects here, this is for expository purposes. Both "types" of objects are treated identically in Shiwiar grammar.

- (6.112) *níŋa nimasínāk tsanǵúrar nujáŋga;*  
*ní=ŋ'a nimas=na=k*  
 3=OBJ(P) enemy+1PL/2PL/3.P=OBJ=RESTR  
*tsanǵú-ra-r nujáŋka;*  
 forgive-APPL+PFV-3PL.SS COORD:then  
 'They then forgave only their enemy.'  
 'Después perdonaron solo a su enemigo.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 03:38-03:42)
- (6.113) *tʃuú muukín nu núwín susári;*  
*tʃuú muuk=n*  
 monkey+GEN head+1PL/2PL/3.P=OBJ  
*nu núw=n su-sa-r-i;*  
 ANA wife:1PL/2PL/3.P=OBJ give-PFV-PL-3.S+DECL  
 'They gave his wife the head of the monkey.'  
 'Le dieron a su mujer la cabeza del mono.'  
 (T03-S01-07.wav; 27:48-27:51)

This results in the following two generalisations: (1) every clause in Shiwiar has one subject; and (2) some clauses additionally have one or more objects.

#### 6.4.2. Pronominal indexing on verbs

Shiwiar verbs have pronominal indexes for both subjects and objects. These indexes express both person (first, second or third) and number (singular or plural). Because every clause in Shiwiar has a subject, subject marking is completely ubiquitous in verbs. Most of the time, the morphological marking is explicit, as in (6.114). However, occasionally it is implicit: in some paradigms, third person subjects are the only ones that are not marked, so a lack of subject marking necessarily implies a third person subject, as in (6.115).

- (6.114) *jutáwai.*  
*jut-á-wa-i.*  
 rain-IPFV-3.S-DECL  
 'It's raining.'  
 'Está lloviendo.'  
 (T01-S01-02.wav; 05:31-05:32)
- (6.115) *ahínak;*  
*ah-ín'a-k;*  
 hit-IPFV:PL-SIM  
 'They were hitting them...'  
 'Estaban golpeándolos...'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 01:47-01:48)

Subjects are most often indexed by a portmanteau morpheme that expresses both the person and number of the subject, as in (6.116). In a few cases, though, the person and number of the subject is expressed by two morphemes, as in (6.117).

- (6.116) *símahai*.  
*sím-a-ha-i*.  
 feel.warm-IPFV-1SG.S-DECL  
 'I feel warm.'  
 'Tengo calor.'
- (T01-S01-02.wav; 21:48-21:49)

- (6.117) *ukúrkiárcmiaji*.  
*ukú-r-ki-ár-mia-ji*.  
 leave-APPL-PFV-PL-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'They left her there.'  
 'La dejaron ahí.'
- (T01-S02-03.wav; 02:05-02:06)

Although subjects are usually indexed by morphemes that exclusively refer to the subject, as in (6.118), they are occasionally indexed by portmanteau morphemes that also refer to the object, as in (6.119).

- (6.118) *atúmfa tandárumik*.  
*atún=fa ta<sup>N</sup>-t-á-rumi-k*.  
 2PL=FOC arrive-APPL-PFV-2PL.S-Q  
 'Have you arrived?'  
 '¿Ya llegaron?'
- (T01-S02-02.wav; 13:14-13:15)

- (6.119) *ukuáhmĩ*.  
*uku-á-hmĩ*.  
 leave-IPFV-1SG.S>2SG.O+DECL  
 'I'm leaving you.'  
 'Te estoy dejando.'
- (T01-S03-01.wav; 03:51-03:52)

If a predicate is transitive, the object is also indexed on the verb. For first and second person objects, the marking is explicit, as in (6.120). Third person objects are never marked on the verb, but they can be inferred despite the lack of marking (even if there is no explicit nominal object argument), given that if a verb is transitive it necessarily has an object, as in (6.121).

- (6.120) *ma tsangúrturta.*  
*ma* *tsankú-r-tu-r-ta.*  
 COORD:but forgive-APPL-1SG.O-PFV-2SG.S:IMP  
 'But forgive me.'  
 'Pero perdóname.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 02:52-02:54)
- (6.121) *atjiktái.*  
*atji-k-tái.*  
 grab-PFV-1PL.S:IMP  
 'Let's grab him.'  
 'Cojámoslo.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 04:38-04:38)
- Objects can be indexed by morphemes that exclusively refer to the object, as in the second verb in (6.122). They can also be indexed by portmanteau morphemes that refer to both the subject and the object, as in the second verb in (6.123). Finally, they can also be indexed doubly, by two separate object-specific morphemes, as in both verbs in (6.124).
- (6.122) *páki mármika; initrít'aram.*  
*páki má<sup>N</sup>-rm=ka; ini-t-r-í-t'aram.*  
 peccary kill-2PL.SS=TOP bring-APPL-1SG.O-PFV-2PL.S:IMP  
 'If you kill a peccary, bring it to me.'  
 'Si matan un jabalí, tráiganmelo.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 05:24-05:26)
- (6.123) *warí inindímsantsuk áitkaham.*  
*warí inintím-sa-n-tsu=k áit-ka-ham.*  
 what know-SBD-1SG.SS-NEG+S.NMLZ=TOP do.thus-PFV-1SG.S>2SG.O  
 'I don't know what I was thinking; I did that to you!'  
 'No sé qué estaba pensando en hacerte eso.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 02:54-02:57)
- (6.124) *huríhuri vinitrámbi. jurámatathi.*  
*huríhuri wini-t-rám-hi.*  
 cannibals come-APPL-1PL/2.O-1PL.O+DECL  
*ju-rám-a-tat-hi.*  
 eat-1PL/2.O-PFV-FUT-1PL.O+DECL  
 'The cannibals are coming for us. They will eat us.'  
 'Los caníbales están viniendo por nosotros. Nos van a comer.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 03:57-03:59)

Most ditransitive predicates in the Shiwiar corpus have two third person objects, as in (6.113). In these cases, no object is indexed on the verb,

as expected. Some ditransitive predicates in the corpus have one speech act participant object, which is indexed on the verb as usual, as in (6.125). There are no examples in the Shiwiar corpus of a ditransitive verb with two speech act participant objects, so it is unclear whether first or second person objects would get marked preferentially in that situation. Overall (2017a: 242) claims that first person is marked preferentially in Aguaruna in elicited examples, but he also mentions that he has not come across any natural examples of ditransitive clauses with two speech act participant objects. Clearly, these seem to be avoided in Chicham languages.

- (6.125) *kuiʃmɨn hapirkíʔathami.*  
*kuiʃ-mʔ=rʔ hapí-r-kí-ʔat-hami.*  
 ear-2SG.P=OBJ pull-APPL-PFV-FUT-1SG.S>2SG.O+DECL  
 'I will pull your ear.'  
 'Te voy a jalar la oreja.'  
 (T01-S01-01.wav; 08:04-08:05)

More information about the form and distribution of the specific morphemes that index subjects and objects in Shiwiar can be found in §8.7.

#### 6.4.3. Case on nouns

Grammatical relations are also flagged on nominal arguments by means of case. Subjects are never marked for case, as in (6.126). Speech act participant (first and second person) objects on the other hand are flagged by object case marking, as in (6.127) and (6.128).

- (6.126) *nasí uútwai.*  
*nasí uúʔ-wa-i.*  
**wind** howl-3.S-DECL  
 'The wind is howling.'  
 'El viento está aullando.'  
 (T01-S01-02.wav; 26:16-26:17)

- (6.127) *vɨna hirɨpak;*  
*wʔ=rʔa hí-r-ínʔa-k;*  
**1SG=OBJ** look.at-1SG.O-IPFV:PL-SIM  
 'They were looking at me...'  
 'Me estaban viendo...'  
 (T01-S03-04.wav; 02:40-02:42)

- (6.128) *vii nikásnaka amínga hukí<sup>t</sup>h<sup>i</sup>amí.*  
*wii níká-s-na=ka amí<sup>t</sup>=n=ka hu-kí-t<sup>i</sup>-h<sup>i</sup>amí.*  
 1SG truly-1SG.A=TOP 2SG=OBJ-TOP take-PFV-IFUT-1SG.S>2SG.O+DECL  
 'I will truly take you.'  
 'Yo te voy a llevar de verdad.'  
 (T01-S05-01.wav; 01:18-01:21)

Like the other Chicham languages (Overall 2017a: 279–282; Peña 2015: 711–720; Saad 2014: 50–52), Shiwiar exhibits a typologically unusual type of differential object marking when it comes to third person objects. These objects are only marked with object case if the subject of the clause is first person singular or third person, as in (6.129) and (6.130). If the subject of the clause is first person plural or second person, as in (6.131) and (6.132), the object remains unmarked. This type of pattern is referred to in the typological literature as a global or scenario-conditioned split (Silverstein 1976: 178; Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant 2018: 12) because it is conditioned by characteristics of both the subject and the object.

- (6.129) *jamáik<sup>i</sup>a ańdźun waing<sup>i</sup>ahai nukuá.*  
*jamái=k<sup>i</sup>a ańtsu=n wain-k<sup>i</sup>a-ha-i nuku=á.*  
 now=TOP person=OBJ find-PFV-1SG.S-DECL mother=VOC  
 'I just found a person now, aunt.'  
 'Acabo de encontrar a una persona, tía.'  
 (T01-S05-01.wav; 02:38-02:41)
- (6.130) *nujá numípmas tikífn ahiármiaji.*  
*nujá<sup>N</sup> numí=n<sup>i</sup>ma<sup>N</sup>=f tikí<sup>t</sup>=n ahi-á-r-mia-ji.*  
 COORD:then branch=LOC=FOC shin=OBJ hit-PFV-PL-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'Then they kept hitting their shins on (fallen) branches.'  
 'Después se golpeaban sus canillas en ramas (caídas).'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 01:44-01:47)
- (6.131) *máik<sup>i</sup>a áu atjiktai.*  
*mái=k<sup>i</sup>a áu atj<sup>i</sup>-k-tai.*  
 now=TOP DIST grab-PFV-1PL.S:IMP  
 'Let's grab him now.'  
 'Cojámoslo ahora.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 04:27-04:29)
- (6.132) *aa pero namánga wáindrumi.*  
*aa<sub>[Sp]</sub> pero<sub>[Sp]</sub> nama<sup>t</sup>=ka wain-t-rumi.*  
 INTERJ:oh but game=TOP find-APPL-2PL.S+DECL  
 'Oh, but you find game animals.'  
 'Ah, pero encuentran animales.'  
 (T03-S03S14-02.wav; 04:43-04:45)

For a more detailed description of the morphology of case marking, see §7.8.

## 6.5. Finiteness and subordination

In this work, Shiwiar clauses are generally referred to as either finite (or main) clauses, or as non-finite (or subordinate) clauses. However, this two-way dichotomy is somewhat oversimplified. As has been established for other languages in the typological literature (Givón 1990: 852–891, *inter alia*), finiteness is best thought of as a continuum which is inversely correlated with the degree of syntactic and semantic independence of a clause. Broadly defined for Shiwiar, a finite clause is independent syntactically – in the sense that it is fully formed on its own – and semantically – in the sense that it conveys the full set of inflectional categories that can be expressed on Shiwiar verbs. Conversely, non-finite clauses are dependent on another clause, either syntactically (by being structurally embedded in another clause) or semantically (by requiring interpretation through the inflectional categories expressed in another clause).

The following subsections will explain how a finite clause can be best defined in Shiwiar (§6.5.1) and what types of subordinate clauses exist in the language (§6.5.2).

### 6.5.1. Finite clauses

In formal terms, the most direct correlate of finiteness in Shiwiar is the number of inflectional morphological categories expressed in a clause. These include aspect, tense, person/number of the subject (and object in (di)transitive verbs) and mood. If a clause is specified for all those categories, it is a fully finite clause. An example is shown in (6.133).

- (6.133) *vɨná juruátatwai.*  
*wɨ-nʲá ju-ru-á-tat-wa-i.*  
 1SG=OBJ eat-1SG.O-PFV-FUT-3.S-DECL  
 'It's going to eat me.'  
 'Me va a comer.'

(T01-S03-06.wav; 05:52-05:53)

In functional terms, a finite clause is semantically and syntactically independent: although example (6.133) comes from an anecdote where it is further contextualised (e.g. the unexpressed subject is a jaguar, and this was uttered in the context of someone accidentally stumbling upon one), this clause could be produced on its own and still be interpretable by a listener.

It should be noted that some finite clauses appear to be missing certain inflectional categories. This is because some exponents of finite inflectional categories in Shiwiar are implicitly expressed through *lack* of morphological marking. In (di)transitive verbs, for example, a lack of a pronominal object index on the verb implies a third person object, as in (6.134); every other object person/number combination is morphologically expressed, so there is no room for ambiguity. Similarly, present tense is the only tense that is unmarked; therefore, any finite clause without tense marking can be inferred to be in the present tense, as in (6.135). This means that even in cases where there are seemingly “missing” morphological categories, these clauses are still fully specified (whether explicitly or implicitly) for them. Importantly, these clauses do fulfil the functional diagnostic of semantic and syntactic independence, and should therefore also be considered finite.

(6.134) *hukímiaji*.

*hu-kí-mia-ji*.

take-PFV-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL

'He took her.'

'Se la llevó.'

(T01-S02-03.wav; 03:12-03:13)

(6.135) *ãníãhmĩ*.

*aní-a-hmĩ*.

love-IPFV-1SG.S>2SG.O+DECL

'I love you.'

'Te quiero.'

(T01-S03-01.wav; 03:41-03:42)

Another reason why inflectional categories appear to be missing in some finite clauses is that various phonological elision processes (see §5.2.1) have eroded morphological material, making it seem like a verb is not marked for a particular category. For example, in (6.136), the semantics of the utterance indicate that the verb should be in imperfective aspect, yet the imperfective marker *-a* is not present. However, the imperfective marker presumably merged with the vowel of the preceding verbaliser *-m(a)*, and the */a/* was elided given that it was the third vowel in the word (a prosodic/metrical position which was the target of a historical elision process). This progression is shown by the reconstructed forms in (6.137). Once again, the fact that the clause in (6.136) is syntactically and semantically independent suggests it should be treated as a finite clause despite the missing aspect marker.

- (6.136) *kjnd'ámwai.*  
*kin'tá-m-wa-i.*  
 day-VBLZ-3.S-DECL  
 'It's getting dark (i.e. the day is ending).'
- (T01-S01-02.wav; 11:03-11:05)
- (6.137) *\*kintá-ma-a-wa-i.* > *\*kintá-ma-wa-i.*  
 day-VBLZ-IPFV-3.S-DECL      day-VBLZ+IPFV-3.S-DECL  
 'It's getting dark (i.e. the day is ending).'

### 6.5.2. Types of subordination

In opposition to finite clauses, there are non-finite clauses in Shiwiar which are in some way dependent on another clause, a so-called matrix clause<sup>41</sup>. The nature of this dependency varies across different clause types and can either be syntactic or semantic. Syntactically dependent clauses can be embedded into a matrix clause in three different ways: as a complement clause, as a (headless) relative clause or as an adverbial clause.

Complement clauses are notional predications that can be used as arguments of a matrix clause. They are formed by an action/state nominaliser (see §8.11.3). In (6.138), the complement clause is the object of the matrix clause.

- (6.138) *máit'jun tūhíáhāi.*  
*má-i-t'ñ'u=n*      *tūhí-a-ha-i*  
 bathe-PFV-AS.NMLZ=OBJ      be.unable-IPFV-1SG.S-DECL  
 'I'm unable to bathe.'  
 'No puedo bañarme.'
- (T01-S03-06.wav; 12:08-12:10)

Relative clauses usually modify a noun, and in those cases they can be thought of as subordinate within a noun phrase (see §7.15.4). However, in Shiwiar, relative clauses can also be used as independent referential expressions (i.e. as headless relative clauses). In those cases they can function directly as arguments of a matrix clause. Relative clauses are formed by a participant nominaliser (either a subject or a non-subject nominaliser, see

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<sup>41</sup> In this work, I use the term “matrix clause” simply to denote a clause which a subordinate clause is in some way dependent on. I prefer this to the term “main clause” or “independent clause” because a subordinate clause in Shiwiar may be dependent on another subordinate clause. Calling the superordinate clause a “matrix clause” therefore does not imply that it is finite or independent.

§8.11). In (6.139), a headless relative clause ('the one who was caught/grabbed') is the subject of the matrix clause. In (6.140), one headless relative clause is the subject of the matrix clause ('the ones who went to the forest') while another one is its copular complement ('the ones who were tired').

- (6.139) *atʃikmáu nujánga tʃitʃák;*  
*atʃi-k-máu nujánka tʃitʃ-á-k;*  
 grab-PFV-NS.NMLZ COORD:then speak-IPFV-SIM  
 'The one who had been caught then spoke...'  
 'El que habían cogido habló...'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 05:17-05:18)
- (6.140) *ikám wiáruka jawikárau asár; ajá tipikár;*  
*ikám wi-ár-u=ka jawi-ká-ra-u*  
 forest+LOC go-PL-S.NMLZ=TOP get.tired-PFV-PL-S.NMLZ  
*a-sá-r; ajá tipi-ká-r;*  
 COP-SBD-3PL.SS IDEO:nothing lie-PFV-3PL.SS  
 'The ones who went to forest were the tired ones, so since there was nothing (no danger), they lay down there...'  
 'Los que se fueron a la selva eran los cansados, así que como no había nada (ningún peligro), se acostaron...'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 03:06-03:09)

Finally, adverbial clauses can function as modifiers of a matrix clause. They are formed with an adverbialiser (see §6.1.3). An example of a modifying adverbial clause can be seen in (6.141).

- (6.141) *áuka ambukí vinímiaji hũũndjãwããka.*  
*áu=ka ampu-kí win-í-mia-ji*  
 DIST=TOP run-ADVBLZ come-PFV-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
*hũũntjãwãã=ka.*  
 jaguar=TOP  
 'The jaguar came running.'  
 'El jaguar vino corriendo.'  
 (T01-S03-03.wav; 10:30-10:31)

A different type of dependency, namely a semantic one, is found in non-finite clauses within clause chains. Clause chains are clause combining structures that consist of at least one subordinate clause (a so-called medial clause) and one matrix clause. In Shiwiar, clause chains are often made up of many medial clauses; in narratives there can even be dozens of clauses in a chain. An example of a Shiwiar clause chain is shown in (6.142). The first two

clauses are non-finite medial clauses, whereas the final clause is the matrix clause. Note that the medial clauses are not marked with the full range of inflectional categories that the matrix clause has: the former are only specified for aspect, person/number of the subject and switch-reference. Switch-reference indicates whether there is a shared argument between the medial clause and the following clause. In (6.142), both medial clauses are marked for same subject, making it clear that all clauses in the chain have the same subject argument (i.e. the speaker). On the other hand, in (6.143), the medial clause is marked for different subject, because each clause has a different subject argument.

- (6.142) *víʃtʃi hatirán; kambatá kindʰa kanúran; taatáthai.*  
*víʃtʃi*                      *hati-rá-n;*  
 cow.tree+OBJ            cut.with.axe-PFV-1SG.SS  
*kampatá*      *kintʰa*      *kanú-ra-n;*  
 three            day            sleep-PFV-1SG.SS  
*ta<sup>N</sup>-a-tát-ha-i.*  
 arrive-PFV-FUT-1SG.S-DECL  
 'I will cut some cow tree, sleep for three days and I will arrive.'  
 'Voy a sacar leche de caucho, dormir por tres días y voy a llegar.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 07:36-07:39)
- (6.143) *píngʃ ʃindʰátʃmatai; híhʰãĩ kutʃát kutʃát nundutrámiaji.*  
*píngʃ*                      *ʃinʰá-tʃ-matai<sup>N</sup>;*  
 truly                      wake-NEG-1/3.DS  
*híi=hãĩ*      *kutʃát kutʃát*      *nuntu-t-rá-mia-ji.*  
 fire=COM      IDEO:press.into      burn-APPL-PFV-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'Since he truly was not waking up, she burnt him with fire by pressing  
 it into his skin.'  
 'Como de verdad no se estaba despertando, le quemó con candela,  
 presionándole su piel.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 04:01-04:05)

Medial clauses in Shiwiar also have special subordinating morphology that can further specify the semantic relationship between them and the matrix clause. In (6.144), for example, the suffix *-k(u)* signals that the action in the medial clause is occurring simultaneously to the action in the matrix clause. In (6.145), the suffix *-tas(a)* implies that the predicate in the medial clause was a goal or intention that is fulfilled by the predicate in the matrix clause. And in (6.146), the suffix *-ka* indicates that the action in the medial clause is repetitive, and that it is the cause of the predicate in the matrix clause.

- (6.144) *wiákminga; víjá amíh'ãĩ wítáthai.*  
*wi-á-k-min=ka; wí=já amí=h'ãĩ wi-tát-ha-i.*  
 go-IPFV-SIM-2SG.DS=TOP 1SG=FOC 2SG=COM go-FUT-1SG.S-DECL  
 'If you go, I'll also go with you.'  
 'Si te vas yo también me voy contigo.'  
 (T01-S03-01.wav; 04:07-04:09)
- (6.145) *hútmatai; histásan; tandáhai.*  
*hút-matai<sup>N</sup>; hi-s-tása-n; ta<sup>N</sup>-t-á-ha-i.*  
 cry-1/3.DS see-PFV-INTENT-1SG.SS arrive-APPL-PFV-1SG.S-DECL  
 'They were crying, so I came to check up on them.'  
 'Estaban llorando, así que vine a verles.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 02:21-02:23)
- (6.146) *ma nujánga páki ambu ambuáka; jawikármiaji.*  
*ma nujánga páki ambu ambu-á-ka;*  
 COORD:but COORD:then peccary run run-IPFV-REPET  
*jawi-ká-r-mia-ji.*  
 get.tired-PFV-PL-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'The peccaries were running and running and they got tired.'  
 'Los jabalíes estaban corre que corre y se cansaron.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 01:38-01:44)

There is a strong preference for medial clauses to appear before the matrix clause, but this is not always the case. In (6.147), the medial clause appears after the matrix clause. The fact that that the medial verb is marked for second person same-subject suggests that when the medial clause is postposed, the switch-reference refers back to the matrix verb. This is apparent from the fact that the preceding matrix clause has a second person subject, whereas the following clause has a third person subject.

- (6.147) *ma ní<sup>j</sup>a it'atá; wakírakmíka; timiaji.*  
*ma ní=k'á it'-a-tá; wakír-a-k-mí=ka;*  
 COORD:but 3=TOP bring-PFV-2SG.S:IMP love-IPFV-SIM-2SG.SS=TOP  
*t-i-mia-ji.*  
 say-PFV-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL  
 'Bring him if you love him, she said'  
 'Tráelo si lo quieres, dijo.'  
 (T01-S05-01.wav; 02:44-02:47)

The type of dependency relationship that medial clauses in a chain have with their matrix clause has been labelled cosubordination in the literature (Foley & Van Valin 1984; Olson 1981). The reasoning behind this term is that clause chains have elements of both coordination and subordination. They

are coordinate in that medial clauses are not syntactically embedded in matrix clauses. But they are subordinate in that the inflectional categories specified in the matrix clause have scope over the medial clauses. This characterisation of medial clauses works to some extent for Shiwiar. Note for example that in (6.148), both the imperative mood of the matrix clause and the semantics of intention/movement of the auxiliary construction<sup>42</sup> in the matrix clause carry over to the medial clause. However, the inflectional categories of the matrix verb do not always have scope over the medial verbs in Shiwiar. It is clear, for example, that in (6.149), the imperative mood of the matrix verb does not extend to the medial verb.

- (6.148) *namánj tukuár; ju wiártai.*  
*namánj tuku-á-r; ju wi-ár-tai.*  
 game shoot-PFV-1PL.SS eat go-PL-1PL.S:IMP  
 'Let's go shoot some game and eat it.'  
 'Vamos a cazar animales y comerlos.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 00:22-00:24)

- (6.149) *wiákmika; hurukt'á.*  
*wi-á-k-mi-ka; hu-ru-k-t'á.*  
 go-IPFV-SIM-2SG.SS=TOP take-1SG.O-PFV-2SG.S:IMP  
 'If you go, take me.'  
 'Si te vas, llévame.'  
 (T01-S03-01.wav; 04:10-04:11)

For this reason, it would be incorrect to imply that there is a strict syntactic dependency between medial clauses and their matrix verb in Shiwiar. Instead, it is best to analyse the relationship as a semantic one, where medial verbs are interpreted in the context of the matrix verb.

## 6.6. Information structure

Shiwiar speakers can employ a rich array of strategies to express information structure. These include prosodic, syntactic and morphological possibilities. The following subsections describe how focus (§6.6.1) and topic (§6.6.2) are marked in the language.

### 6.6.1. Focus

Focus refers to new or contrastive information; “it is the unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable element of an utterance” (Lambrecht 1994:

<sup>42</sup> Auxiliary constructions with the verb *wi-* 'to go' signal an intention to do something and of movement towards that goal (see §8.13).

207). In Shiwiar, focus can be marked in a variety of ways. First, the most pervasive strategy is to tag the relevant constituent with the focus enclitic =*f(a)*.<sup>43</sup> This enclitic can appear with any word class in the language except ideophones (see §6.1). The following example stems from a story in which humans are trying to eradicate peccaries. The peccaries flee from the humans, but eventually decide to take up a stand. In (6.150) the speaker, citing a direct quote from a mythical peccary, defiantly suggests to the rest of the peccaries that they should all reproduce and repopulate the forest, in contrast to the wishes of the humans.

- (6.150) *máik<sup>l</sup>a íf juhártai.*  
*máí=k<sup>l</sup>a í=f juhá-r-tai.*  
 now=TOP 1PL=FOC be.plentiful-PFV-1PL.S:IMP  
 'As for us, let's be plentiful now.'  
 'En cuanto a nosotros, abundemos.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 03:42-03:43)

The focus enclitic =*f(a)* can also be used to mark an entire subordinate clause as focused. When a medial clause in a clause chain is focused with this enclitic, it has the reading of a concessive clause (i.e. a clause that would be introduced by *even if* or *even though* in English). This is shown in (6.151). The link between focus marking and concessive clauses has been noted in the typological literature (König 1988).

- (6.151) *húündjāwããkfa isámdaiſa; ajámbrin amiaji níi.*  
*húünjawãã=k=fa isá-mtai<sup>N</sup>=fa;*  
 jaguar=RESTR=FOC bite-1/3.DS-FOC  
*ajámr-in<sup>i</sup> a-mia-ji níi.*  
 defend-AG.NMLZ COP-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL 3  
 'Even if a jaguar would bite him, he would defend her.'  
 'Aunque le muerda un tigre, él la solía defender.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 03:22-03:26)

A second way of marking focus on a given constituent in clause is the use of a particular high-low intonational contour that highlights new information prosodically. This can be heard in examples (6.152) and (6.153), where the focused constituents that express pertinent new information are *náki* 'lazy' and *ſírmawatſ* 'beautiful' respectively. In both examples, the

<sup>43</sup> The appearance of the final vowel in this morpheme is subject to free variation. The enclitic also has an allomorph =*tſa* that can be used when it appears immediately after a nasal stop or nasal vowel (see §7.12.1).

speaker is introducing characters in a traditional narrative – a husband and a wife – and for the first time in the narration the speaker is presenting traits about each of the characters that will later be relevant in the story. To begin with, the speaker focuses on the laziness of the wife in (6.152). Then, switching over to the husband, she focuses on the beauty of his face in (6.153). The pitch of both utterances is marked on the corresponding spectrograms in **Figure 6.1** and **Figure 6.2**. In the two cases, there is a noticeable high tone target on the accented vowel of the focused constituent, which then immediately falls to a low tone target.

- (6.152) *nuwíŋga nakíaji.*  
*nũwĩ=ka*                      *nakí=a-ji.*  
 wife+1PL/2PL/3.P=TOP      lazy=PST.COP-3.S+DECL  
 'His wife was lazy.'  
 'Su mujer era vaga.'  
 (T01-S03-01.wav; 00:39-00:42)
- (6.153) *híutĩirifa vjndzá. muúktĩirifa fírmawatĩ.*  
*hí-utĩi-rĩ<sup>N</sup>=fa*                      *wĩr'ĩjá.*  
 eye-DIM-1PL/2PL/3.P=FOC      clear  
*muúk-tĩi-rĩ<sup>N</sup>=fa*                      *fírma-watĩ.*  
 head-DIM-1PL/2PL/3.P=FOC      beautiful-DIM  
 'As for his eyes, they were clear; and as for his face, it was beautiful.'  
 'Sus ojitos eran claros y su carita era bonita.'  
 (T01-S03-01.wav; 00:47-00:50)

Finally, focus can also be marked syntactically by postposing a constituent to the end of a clause. This is shown in (6.154), where the speaker is specifying that the referent went to the forest, and not elsewhere. Interestingly, this clause-final position can also be used for topicalised constituents (see §6.3). However, they are distinguished prosodically: focused constituents in this position usually have a characteristic high tone.

- (6.154) *wiárcmiaji ik'ám.*  
*wi-ár-mia-ji*                      *ik'ám.*  
 go-PL-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL      forest+LOC  
 'They went to the forest.'  
 'Se fueron a la selva.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 00:24-00:26)

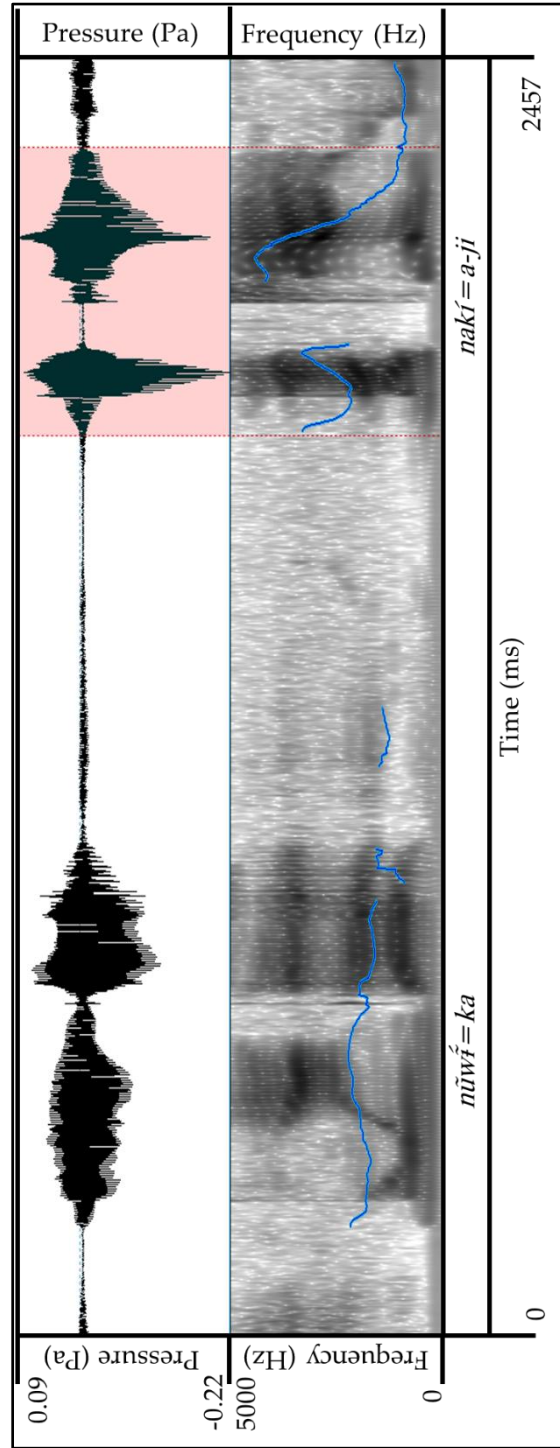


Figure 6.1. Prosodic focus marking on *nakĩji* 'she was lazy'

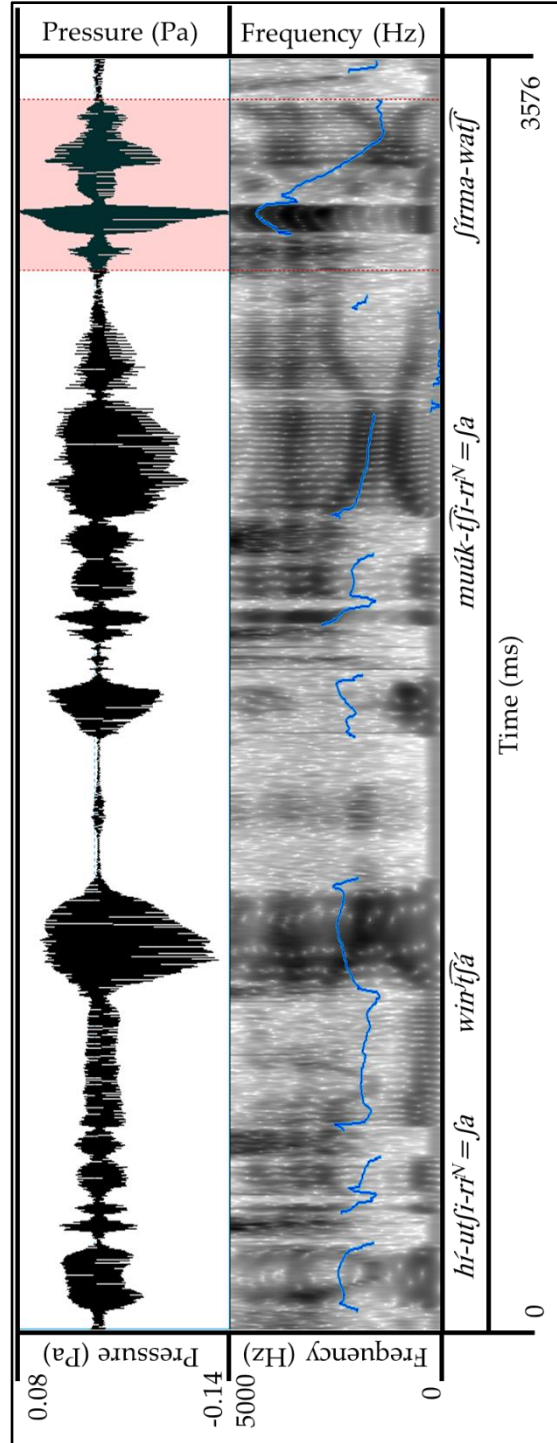


Figure 6.2. Prosodic focus marking on *sírma-wafí* 'beautiful'

Why a speaker chooses to mark focus prosodically, morphologically or syntactically, or indeed with a combination of those strategies, is not fully clear to me at this point. As observed above, there is a tendency for prosodically-marked focus to be for new information whereas morphologically-marked focus is more frequently used for contrast. However, a more in-depth study of the semantic and pragmatic details of each marking type would be a very fruitful area for future research.

### 6.6.2. Topic

A topic is the referent or notion that is being talked about (Lambrecht 1994: 127,131). Topics in Shiwiar are primarily marked morphologically, although they can also be highlighted syntactically. The morphological expression of topicality involves the enclitic =*k<sup>(j)</sup>a*.<sup>44</sup> Like the focus enclitic, the topic enclitic can appear with any word class in the language except ideophones (see §6.1). The following examples were taken from a conversation fragment about hunting. One of the speakers is curious about hunting in the evening, so she introduces a new topic into the discourse, the evening, in (6.155). Because this is new information, *káfi* 'evening' appears with a focus enclitic. In example (6.156), her interlocutor replies and shows that he has taken up that topic by marking *káfi* 'evening' with the topic enclitic. He then pauses to think, and continues in (6.157), once again expressing the topic at hand at the end.

- (6.155) *kafíʃa warí máamĩ amĩ.*  
*kafí=ʃa warí má<sup>N</sup>-a-mĩ amĩ.*  
 evening=FOC what kill-IPFV-2SG.S+DECL 2SG  
 'What do you hunt in the evening?'  
 '¿Qué cazas en la noche?'  
 (T03-S03S15-01.wav; 02:36-02:38)
- (6.156) *kafík<sup>j</sup>a wikáinawai kafái pamá.*  
*kafí=k<sup>j</sup>a wiká-in<sup>j</sup>a-wa-i kafái pamá.*  
 evening=TOP walk-IPFV:PL-3.S-DECL paca tapir  
 'In the evening pacas and tapirs walk around.'  
 'En la noche caminan guantas y tapires.'  
 (T03-S03S15-01.wav; 02:38-02:41)

<sup>44</sup> The initial consonant of this morpheme is only palatalised if it is preceded by a high front vowel /i/, as explained in §5.1.5.

- (6.157) *fufuí, áu juháipawai kafík'a.*  
*fufuí, áu juhá-ir'a-wa-i kaf'k'a.*  
 armadillo DIST be.plentiful-IPFV:PL-3.S-DECL evening=TOP  
 'Armadillos... Those are plentiful in the evening.'  
 'Armadillos... Esos abundan en la noche.'  
 (T03-S03S15-01.wav; 02:43-02:46)

Like with focus marking, entire subordinate clauses can be topicalised in Shiwiar. If a medial clause in a clause chain is marked with the topic enclitic =*k<sup>(o)</sup>(a)*, the clause has a conditional reading, as in (6.158). The link between topic marking and conditional clauses is cross-linguistically common and well-established in the typological literature (Haiman 1978).

- (6.158) *páki mármika; inirít'aram.*  
*páki má<sup>N</sup>-rm'ka; ini-t-r-i-t'aram.*  
 peccary kill-2PL.SS=TOP bring-APPL-1SG.O-PFV-2PL.S:IMP  
 'If you kill a peccary, bring it to me.'  
 'Si matan un jabalí, tráiganmelo.'  
 (T01-S02-03.wav; 05:24-05:26)

In addition to being marked morphologically, topics can also be highlighted syntactically by being postposed to the end of a clause. This is most often done when the topicalised constituent has not been expressed for a longer stretch of discourse and the speaker wants to confirm to the listener that that is still the topic. Clause-final topicalised constituents need not be marked morphologically, as shown in (6.159). This clause-final position can also be occupied by focused constituents, but topics are not usually accompanied by the high pitch excursion that is characteristic of focus.

- (6.159) *máf ik'áçt'úrciaji nu aínsun.*  
*máf ik'áih'-t'ú-r-mia-ji nu aínsu=n.*  
 all cause.to.faint-APPL-PL-DIST.PL-3.S+DECL ANA person=OBJ  
 'They caused all those people to faint there.'  
 'Hicieron desmayar a toda esa gente ahí.'  
 (T01-S02-04.wav; 03:45-03:48)

