BASIC VERB TYPES AND ARGUMENT STRUCTURES IN SHIPIBO-CONIBO

by

PILAR M. VALENZUELA

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"Basic Verb Types and Argument Structures in Shipibo-Conibo," a thesis prepared by Pilar M. Valenzuela in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of Linguistics. This thesis has been approved and accepted by:

_____

Dr. Doris L. Payne, Chair of the Examining Committee

_____

Date

Committee in charge: Dr. Doris L. Payne, Chair
                                Dr. Talmy Givón

Accepted by:

_____

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

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       In this study I propose a classification of the major verb types in Shipibo-Conibo mostly based on the analysis of their morpho-syntactic behavior. Transitivity is viewed as a multi-componential notion involving several general and language specific properties. According to these criteria, prototypical and non-prototypical sub-classes of intransitive and transitive verbs are identified, and the transitivization and de-transitivization strategies that may be applied to these verbs are described. Finally, I deal with characteristics exhibited by sub-classes of verbs that appear to be independent from transitivity.

CURRICULUM VITA

NAME OF AUTHOR: Pilar M. Valenzuela

PLACE OF BIRTH: Pisco, Peru

DATE OF BIRTH: December 27, 1961.

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon
Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú

DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Arts in Linguistics, 1997, University of Oregon
Diploma in Anthropological Studies, 1988, Pontificia Universidad Católica Perú
Bachelor of Arts in Romance Linguistics and Literature, 1985, Pontificia
   Universidad Católica del Perú

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Indigenous Languages of South America
Multicultural and Bilingual Education
Ethnolinguistics and Language Revitalization
Second Language Acquisition and Teaching

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Linguistic Consultant for the Implementation of the Education Reform among
   the Indigenous Peoples of Eastern Bolivia. Sponsored by the Sub-secretariat

of Ethnic Affairs (SAE); the National Secretariat of Education (SNE); and the Indigenous Confederation of the Bolivian East, Chaco and Amazonia (CIDOB). 1995-97.

Graduate Teaching Fellow, Linguistics Department, University of Oregon, Eugene, 1995-97.

Visiting Professor, Andean Linguistics and Education Program, Universidad Nacional del Altiplano-Puno (Peru), 1994-95.

Teacher and Linguist, Programa de Formación de Maestros Bilingües de la Amazonía Peruana (Bilingual Teachers Certification Program of the Peruvian Amazon). Sponsored by the Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana, and the Instituto Superior Pedagógico "Loreto;" Iquitos (Peru), 1990-93.

Linguistic Researcher, Project Perú-Birf II for the Expansion of Bilingual Education in the Southern Andes. Sponsored by the National Institute for Education Research and Development (INIDE), Ministry of Education of Peru; 1988-89.

Assistant Professor, Translation and Interpretation Program, Universidad Femenina del Sagrado Corazón, Lima (Peru), 1987.

Teaching Assistant, Programa de Estudios Generales Letras, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, 1984-86.

AWARDS AND HONORS:

Target of Opportunity "Laurel Award," Graduate School and Center of Multicultural Affairs, University of Oregon, 1997.

Research/Travel Fellowship, Graduate Students Support Committee, Department of Linguistics, 1997.

International Trade and Development Graduate Fellowship, Oregon State System of Higher Education and Sasakawa Foundation, 1995-96.

US Graduate Study Fellowship for Latin American and Caribbean Citizens,

Inter-American Foundation, 1994-95.

Travel Fellowship, 48th International Congress of Americanists, Symposium "Indigenous Languages of South America: Synchronic and Diachronic Aspects," 1994.

Linguistics Summer Program Fellowship at the University of Oregon, Ministry of Education of Peru and Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1988.

Quechua Language Course Fellowship, Instituto de Pastoral Andina-Cuzco (Peru), 1987.

PUBLICATIONS:

VALENZUELA, PILAR. 1991. Comprobación del lugar de la lengua iñapari dentro de la rama pre-andina de la familia arahuac. En Ignacio Prado Pastor (ed.), Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Etnolingüísticos, vol.6:209-39. Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor and Comité Ejecutivo del 46vo Congreso Internacional de Americanistas.

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DEDICATION

A mis entrañables padres

Jatíbi Shipibo jonibaona

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Cross-linguistically, it has been shown that verbs fall into different semantic and morpho-syntactic categories (Chafe 1970, Perlmutter 1978, Rosen 1984, Givón 1984, D. Payne 1985, Levin 1993, Watters 1996, among many others). Categorizing verbs is important since it is widely argued that it is the properties of the verb which determine the number and kind of arguments that the verb will have, the relation of these arguments to the verb, and also the possible alternate expressions of arguments and their interpretation. For example, Chafe (1970) makes an initial distinction between states (conditions and qualitites) and events; events can be further divided into change of state, action, and change of state plus action. States and change of state events involve a single argument, namely a patient; actions also involve a single argument, which plays the semantic role of agent. A change of state plus action verb involves both, a patient and an agent. The following examples can illustrate these four basic verb types and the semantic roles they imply:

"The wood is dry."   (state -> patient)
"The wood dried."   (change of state -> patient)
"Harriet sang."   (action -> agent)
"Harriet dried the wood."   (change of state plus action -> patient, agent)

Furthermore, Chafe distinguishes verbs that involve all-encompassing states or events; that is, that cover the total environment and not just some particular "thing" within it. He refers to these verbs as "state ambient" and "action ambient." Examples of sentences containing ambient verbs are _It is hot_ (state ambient), and _It is raining_ (action ambient) (1970:95-104).

Within the Relational Grammar framework, it has been claimed that in some languages (such as Italian, Sanskrit, Choctaw, Lakhota and Dutch) there are several syntactic phenomena sensitive to two classes of intransitive verbs: unergative and unaccusative. This claim is known as the Unaccusative Hypothesis, and was first posited by Perlmutter (1978). For the sake of exposition, I will describe unergative verbs as those intransitive verbs whose single argument plays the semantic role of agent, as in the English sentence _He jumped_. On the other hand, intransitive verbs whose single argument is a patient are called unaccusative, as in _The glass broke_ (Perlmutter 1978, Rosen 1984).

This paper intends to identify the basic verb types in Shipibo-Conibo (SC). This is a challenging task to accomplish, since many of the "tests" employed in other languages

are not applicable to Shipibo-Conibo. For example, in spite of being a basic SOV language, SC seems to have a fairly flexible word order. When considering case-marking, the same suffix can have an ergative, a genitive, or various oblique functions (instrumental, locative-directional, and temporal). Third person singular subject and object are often omitted from the clause, person marking in the verb is non-existent, and number marking is basically restricted to the third person. Besides, it seems that the grammatical status of recipient and patient with di-transitive verbs is the same. Finally, it is not clear that there are morpho-syntactic voice alternations of the familiar sort in this language. Therefore, this paper is devoted to looking for general and for language-specific morpho-syntactic and semantic criteria in order to distinghish among different kinds of verbs in Shipibo-Conibo. An exhaustive description of the rich verbal constructions in this language is far beyond the aim of this paper. However, I hope to make a significant contribution to the understanding of verbs and verbal constructions in this fascinating language.

Chapter II presents a discussion of general concepts that are crucial in verb classification such as the approach to categorization I adopt (Prototype Theory), the notion of transitivity, the identification of verb arguments, and the ways that these are expressed cross-linguistically. Chapter III describes central characteristics of Shipibo-Conibo that are necessary to understand the argumentation of this study; namely, case-marking, verb inflection, switch-reference, and transitivity parameters. Chapters IV and V are devoted to showing different types of intransitive verbs and their behavior under transitivization, respectively. Chapter IV describes copular and existential clauses, properties exhibited by motion verbs, verbs that take sentential subjects, meteorological/nature verbs, intransitives derived from non-verbal roots, and two-argument intransitives. Chapter V examines the use of different causativizers and promotional affixes (henceforth, applicatives). I show that it is possible to sub-categorize intransitive verbs according to the causativizers they take. The malefactive applicative -(V)naan ~ -(V)n will be shown to be one criterion for differentiating between intransitive and transitive roots.

Chapter VI discusses the properties of prototypical transitive verbs and the effects of adding the desiderative -kas. Besides the prototypical mono-transitive type, this group includes perception/cognition/memory verbs, complement-taking verbs, verbs with direct quote complements, and di-transitives. Within the non-prototypical transitive types are grouped cognate object verbs, verbs with alternate case-marking frames, and transitives that seldom take an object. Furthermore, Chapter VI discusses phenomena that cannot be accounted for by the notion of "inherent transitivity," and that might be considered as instances of split ergativity in the language. In addition, chapter VI describes de-transitivization strategies; that is, the de-transitivizer suffix -t and the different interpretations it triggers (reflexive, middle, and passive voice), as well as the reciprocal

-(an)anan. Chapter VII presents other minor verb types, such as auxiliary verbs, onomatopoeic verbs, fluid verbs, body part prefixed verbs, and verbs that do not take pro-verb forms. Finally, Chapter VIII summarizes the conclusions of this study.

<div align="center">The Shipibo People</div>

The Shipibo are an Amazonian ethnic group that lives in the Ucayali area, between approximately 6 and 10 degrees of latitude south, in Central Eastern Peru, Departments of Ucayali and Loreto. There are approximately 23,000 *jonikon* "true people" settled in about 130 villages along the Ucayali River and its main tributaries: Cushabatay, Pisqui, Aguaytía, and Bajo Pachitea on the left margin; Maquía, Cashiboya, Roaboillo, Callaría, Tamaya, Sheshea, Caco, and Amaquiría on the right margin. In the past, they considered themselves as three different ethnic groups: *Shipibo* (the *Pichico*-monkeys), *Conibo* (the Eels), and *Xetebo* (the *Rinahuis*, a kind of small vulture). However, presently these three groups constitute almost a single unit that names themselves *Shipibo.* Their culture shows great vitality, in spite of their long and extensive contact with the *mestizo* society[1]. "Shipibo-Conibo" (henceforth, SC also), as the language is often referred to, is the dominant language for the Shipibo people, or even the only one for many of them.

SC belongs to the Panoan family. There are around twenty Panoan languages spoken in Peru, Brazil, and Bolivia. Since the whole Panoan population is estimated at less than 40,000 people, SC is by far the language with the highest number of speakers in this family, and one of the most significant of the Amazon rainforest. The most important general descriptive sources on this language remain *Lecciones para el aprendizaje del idioma Shipibo-Conibo* (Faust 1973), and *Diccionario Shipibo-Castellano* (Loriot, Lauriault, and Day 1993).

<div align="center">The Data</div>

The data upon which this paper relies have different sources. Most of it originates from my own work and friendship with the Shipibo since 1990. Published materials have also been used; namely, Faust (1973), Bardales (1979), Instituto Lingüístico de Verano (ILV) (1979), Ministerio de Educación and Instituto Lingüístico de Verano (1982), and Loriot et alia (1993). The sources of the illustrative sentences included here are indicated, unless they come from my own fieldwork. The analysis of all the examples is my responsibility.

The symbols employed in the SC examples are the same as those of the practical alphabet in use in the bilingual schools, except for the following changes: k (instead of c and qu) to represent the voiceless velar stop /k/, w (instead of hu) for the voiced labial-velar semiconsonant /w/, ’ (instead of h) for the glotal stop, and x (instead of sh) to

represent the voiceless retroflex sibilant /s/. As in the practical orthography, the symbol e̱ stands for a high back unrounded vowel.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Prototype Theory

As stated in chapter I, this study aims at identifying the basic verb types in SC; therefore, it is important to discuss the approach to categories adopted here. This philosophical choice will define the nature of the verb classes and of the grammatical rules to be expected. The particular model adopted here is that of prototype theory. Many functionalists in the linguistic field view prototype theory as a categorization model that responds to the nature of human languages, and therefore to the kind of grammatical rules necessary to talk about them. Before looking at particular instances of prototype-based approaches to language, let us outline what is understood by prototype theory.

The traditional categorization model previous to prototype theory can be traced back to Aristotle and Plato. It is based on criterial properties; that is, for any given entity, a feature is either present or absent, and things belong to the same category if and only if they share certain features which are necessary and sufficient conditions for defining it. Following this approach, linguistic categories belong to a single class with clear-cut

boundaries, all members are equally good examples, and grammatical rules are expected to be exceptionless.

It was Eleanor Rosch who first proposed that thought in general is organized in terms of prototypes and basic-level categories. However, the philosophical basis of prototype theory can be traced back to Wittgenstein's fuzzy-edged categories and "family resemblance" (Lakoff 1987). According to the prototype model most members of a category will be clearly distinguishable from most members of a contrasting category; however, at least some categories will have degrees of membership instead of clear-cut boundaries. Another principle of prototype theory is that categories are formed of multiple criterial properties (instead of just one), some of which may be displayed by more members. Attributes do not occur independently but they are strongly associated; this means that in the majority of cases, having one attribute implies having many of the others. Psychological categories possess a core meaning and instances of categories differ in the degree to which they fit this core meaning; as a result of this "internal structure," some members may be better examples than others. Furthermore, the properties of certain categories are a consequence of the nature of human biological capacities and of the experience of functioning in a physical and social environment. Finally, it is due to the

fuzzy-edged nature of prototype categories that metaphoric extension is possible (Rosch 1973, 1977, 1978; Givón 1984, 1997; Lakoff 1987).

As mentioned above, a prototype view has been embraced by several scholars in the linguistic field. For example, Keenan (1976) describes grammatical relations in terms of a cluster of semantic, pragmatic and grammatical properties. According to these properties, languages will exhibit degrees of grammaticalization of their syntactic relations. Givón (1995, 1997) has interpreted Keenan's work as a prototype-based approach. Another example of a prototype-based frame is Hopper and Thompson's (1980) influential article on transitivity. These authors question the traditional definition of transitivity based on a single criterial property and identify ten parameters according to which clauses can be rated along the transitivity continuum. Shibatani (1985) explicitly adopts the framework of prototype theory to account for the fact that passives form a continuum with active sentences, and that there is a passive prototype as well as partial resemblances of passives with other constructions such as the reflexive, reciprocal, spontaneous, potential, honorific and plural formation. Levin's (1993) view of verb classification constitutes another instance against the traditional notion of criterial properties. Levin claims that the behavior of a verb is to a large extent determined by its meaning. However, it is unlikely that a single meaning property in itself can be sufficient to characterize a particular class of verbs; rather, it is the conjunction of properties that together reflect the meaning components shared by the class members. Furthermore, since many of these meaning components are common to other verb classes, the properties attributable to a single meaning component will be present in various verb classes (1993:16-7).

The prototype categorization framework is crucial in this study. For example, I will claim that transitivity in SC is a componential notion involving a cluster of associated properties, and that there are prototypical and non-prototypical members of the major classes of intransitive and transitive verbs; therefore, we do not expect a clear-cut boundary between them. A specific advantage of adopting a prototype-based approach is that it accounts for the fact that certain verbs exhibit double membership. An instance of double membership is the verb root *keen-* "want," which can take a nominal complement with alternate expression of arguments (<absolutive absolutive>/<absolutive oblique>), a clausal complement with co-referential subjects (modality verbs), and a clausal complement with non-coreferential subjects (manipulation verbs). Given the characteristics described above, the rules posited here are not expected to be exceptionless.

<u>The Notion of Transitivity</u>

There are different ways to approach transitivity. It can be viewed semantically and morpho-syntactically; we can also refer to "clause-level" as opposed to (but complementary with) "inherent" transitivity. Transitivity can also be viewed as a discrete vs. a gradient phenomenon.

<p style="text-align:center">Semantic and Morpho-Syntactic Transitivity</p>

<u>Semantic Transitivity</u>

When dealing with the semantic structure of verbs it is important to take into account that case roles, like any other semantic categories, encode mental representations of events rather than objective facts (DeLancey 1991:346). The semantic representation of events is a mental construal that departs from reality and does not exactly match with it. Case roles are defined and assigned in terms of constraining event schemas and not with reference to the larger more amorphous scenarios found in the lexical semantics of verbs (1991:343). For example, a verb such as *buy* has four semantic arguments (the seller, the buyer, the merchandise, and the payment); however, languages encode this kind of event in terms of two or three-argument clauses.

Givón (1995:76) offers a semantic definition of transitive events subsuming the notion of transitivity in the following three central features present in the clause:

a. Agent: "a volitional, controlling, actively-initiating agent who is reponsible for the event, thus its <u>salient cause</u>."
b. Patient: "a non-volitional, inactive, non-controlling patient who registers the event's changes-of-state, thus its <u>salient effect</u>."
c. Verbal modality: a "perfective (non-durative), sequential (non-perfect) and realis (non-hypothetical) [event]. The prototype transitive event is thus fast-paced, completed, real, and perceptually-cognitively salient."

Semantically, an intransitive verb is one that involves a single participant, which can play the semantic roles of agent, dative, patient of change or patient of state. A transitive verb is one that involves two or more participants, most normally described in terms of agent and patient. The prototypical transitive verb has an initiator, volitional, controller, salient agent subject, and involves a "physical, obvious, concrete, accessible to observation" change in the state of its patient object (Givón 1984:96).

<u>Morpho-Syntactic Transitivity</u>

Morpho-syntactic transitivity has to do with the mapping between case roles and grammatical relations that takes place in the clause. Transitivity has profound consequences in the way the core arguments of the clause -agent and patient- will be encoded, and particularly in the way this coding corresponds to the grammatical relations of subject and direct object of the sentence.

Syntactically, verbs can be classified according to the number of arguments they require. An intransitive verb is one which requires a single argument, whose grammatical relation is subject. A transitive verb requires two or more arguments, whose grammatical relations are subject and direct object. Often, languages have overt signals of morpho-syntactic transitivity. For example, languages with ergative-absolutive case-marking differentiate intransitive subjects from transitive ones. Yup'ik, an Inuit language of Central Alaska, makes use of special suffixes to indicate whether a verb stem is intransitive or transitive, in addition to ergative-absolutive case-marking. The sentences below (taken from T. Payne 1997) show that intransitive verb stems are marked with the corresponding suffix -*u*, while transitive ones require the suffix -*a*[2]:

Pam-aq   aya-llru-*u*-q.
Pam-ABS travel-PAST-INTRNS-3SG
"Pam travelled."

Tom-aq   quyi-llru-*u*-q.
Tom-ABS cough-PAST-INTRNS-3SG
"Tom coughed."

Nerre-llru-*a*-nga.
eat-PAST-TRNS-1SG
"I ate it."

The next examples show that an inherently (i.e., lexically sub-categorized) transitive verb such as *nerre*- "eat" requires the intransitive suffix -*u* when undergoing de-transitivization; in this case, anti-passivization:

Yero-m   keme-q   nerre-llru-*a*-0.
Yero-ERG meat-ABS eat-PAST-TRNS-3SG/3SG
"Yero ate the meat."

Yero-q   (kemer-meng)   nerre-llru-*u*-q.
Yero-ABS   meat-INSTR   eat-PAST-INTRNS-3SG.

"Yerro ate (meat)."

     Panare (Carib, Venezuela) is another instance of a language that signals morpho-syntactic transitivity overtly; intransitive verbs have distinct tense/aspect/mode suffixes and person marking prefixes than those exhibited by transitive verbs (T. Payne 1990:431). For example, Panare has different intransitive and transitive imperfective aspect allomorphs. While *-nëpëj* is used with intransitive verbs, *-mpëj* is used with transitive ones[3] (examples taken from T. Payne et alia 1992:176, 183):

A-s-awantë-*nëpëj*   ejkikë.
NEU-DETRANS-endure-IMPERF:I   maybe
"Maybe he is sick."

Asoonwa wëënë y-uchi-n   a-t-a'ma-*nëpëj.*
three   moon 3-be-NONSPEC:I NEU-DETRANS-prepare-IMPERF:I
"For three months he will prepare (to get good aim with the blowgun)."

A-y-itya-*mpëj*   chu.
2-TRNS-listen-IMPERF:T 1SG
"I am listening to you."

Paamë y-akóika-*mpëj*   e'ñapa.
salt   TRNS-OI:take:last-IMPERF:T   people
"Someone is buying up all the salt."

<u>Case-Marking Typology</u>

     According to Givón (1984:136), the case-marking typology of a language is its most central typological parameter, since almost all other parts of the grammar interact with it. The different case-marking systems are typological solutions to the same functional bind between semantic role and pragmatic function of the arguments in a clause. There are three basic ways in which languages respond to this need: nominative-accusative, ergative-absolutive, and active-stative systems

     It is now generally assumed that there are three basic syntactic-semantic primitives, that for ease are referred to with the symbols A, S and O (Dixon 1979, 1994); or A, S and P (Comrie 1978, as the first to so refer to them). S refers to the single argument of an intransitive verb. In verbs involving two (or more) core arguments, the assignment of A and O relations depends on the prototypical meaning of the verb used. A refers to the

most agent-like argument, while O refers to the most affected or patient-like one. Systems in which S and O show the same behavior, while A has a different behavior, are called ergative-absolutive; systems which treat A and S alike, and differently from O, are called nominative-accusative. As the terms are most commonly used, a nominative-accusative language is one which marks subjects (i.e. A and S together) in the same way, and differently from the object of a transitive verb; that is, these languages express the opposition between subject and object. An ergative-absolutive language is one that marks intransitive and transitive subjects differently; the subject of an intransitive verb is marked in the same way as the object of a transitive one.

Split-S languages, also referred to as active-stative languages (among other denominations, see Mithun 1991), are those that follow a middle strategy between nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive systems, marking some Ss like A and others like O. Sa stands for the single argument of an intransitive active verb, while So stands for the single argument of an intransitive stative verb. Seki (1990) points out that although active systems have been treated as a variant of an ergative system (Comrie 1978, Dixon 1979), other studies (Seki refers particularly to Klimov 1972, 1977) claim that the active type is a typologically separate system defined by a set of related structural features on different levels of the language. Among other possible characteristics of active languages (such as lack of adjectives, a split between active and inactive nouns, and active and stative verbs), the subject of active verbs is marked differently from the subject of statives; the subject of statives is marked in the same ways as the object of transitive verbs. The structure of languages of this type is oriented to express the relations between active and inactive participants, rather than the relations between subjects and objects (Seki 1990).

Clausal Level and Inherent Transitivity

Hopper and Thompson (1980) challenge the traditional notion of transitivity which restricts itself to the presence of a direct object in the clause, so that an activity is "carried-over" or "transferred" from an agent to a patient. According to these authors, transitivity is a global property of a clause that involves a number of components. They identify ten parameters according to which clauses can be ranked along the transitivity continuum. Each one of these parameters "...involves a different facet of the effectiveness or intensity with which the action is transferred from one participant to another" (1980:242). The values of these parameters are: two or more participants (rather than one), action (rather than non-action), telic aspect (rather than atelic), punctual action (rather than non-punctual), volitionality (rather than non-volitionality), affirmative (rather than negative), realis mode (rather than irrealis), agent high in potency (rather than low), highly individuated object (rather than non-individuated), and a totally affected object (rather than a partially affected or non-affected object). Kibrik (1996:279) suggests that

Hopper and Thompson's list should include a parameter dealing with agent individuation or definiteness. Kibrik points out that many languages (such as Ute, Navajo, Lithuanian, and GeniuSiene) have been shown to be sensitive to the referential status of the agent. Specifically, in these languages indefinite "actors" (Kibrik employs two macro-roles of which "actor" corresponds to the most agent-like) trigger a morphosyntactic transitivity decrease of the clause.

A prototypical transitive clause will exhibit a realis, punctual, completed action, involving at least two participants, in which A is a definite/individuated initiator and controller, acting purposefully on an affected and individuated O. A crucial consequence of Hopper and Thompson's definition of transitivity is that a single-participant clause may rank higher along the transitivity continuum than a two-participant one, if it shows more relevant transitivity components. They argue that morpho-syntactic markings tend to be sensitive to clause-level transitivity.

Based on her analysis of Yagua (isolate, Peru) verbs, D. Payne (1985) contrasts the notion of "inherent transitivity" with that of clause-level transitivity. Payne argues that in Yagua there are degrees of transitivity that depend on the properties of the verb roots themselves. Verb roots are sub-categorized according to three criteria: number of participants (obligatory object participant, optional object participant, single participant); semantic role of expressed direct object (patient vs. instrument); and allowance for taking valence-increasing or valence-decreasing morphology. While the first two parameters have a universal nature, the last one is specific to Yagua. Payne shows that these properties cannot be attributed to clause-level transitivity, since they do not depend on either larger semantic or syntactic contexts. To the contrary, it is the sub-categorization properties of the verb roots themselves which partially determine the contexts where they may be used. Payne claims that clause-level and inherent transitivity are similar and partially overlapping concepts, and that a universal theory of transitivity must include both of them.

A central aspect on which the different authors cited above agree is that transitivity is a graded phenomenon that depends on a cluster of properties; therefore, we expect to find better and poorer examples of (in)transitive verbs, rather than absolutely discrete categories. As has been discussed in the section on prototype theory, these views constitute the core of the categorization framework adopted in this study. Also, I will make use of the notions of inherent and clause-level transitivity. While most SC verbs will be shown to be inherently transitive or inherently intransitive, clause-level transitivity will allow us account for most of the exceptions.

<u>Identifying a Verb Argument</u>

Probably the most important criterion for establishing verb classes is the number of obligatory arguments that a verb requires. However, the determination of what

constitutes a verb argument is not always straightforward. There does not seem to exist a clear, well-established definition of argument. Within the transformational-generative tradition, van Riemsdijk and Williams (1986) recognize the "more or less unanalyzed intuition" of what is and what is not an argument of a determined predicate. This intuition turns out to be "unreliable" in certain cases. The study of "selectional restrictions" provides an alternative way of distinguishing arguments from non-arguments. That is, a verb will place semantic selectional restrictions on its arguments and not on anything else. The following English sentences illustrate the selectional restrictions test:

a. The sail seems to luff.
b. The hour seems to elapse.
c. The mole seems to die.
d. The train seems to derail (van Riemsdijk and Wiliams 1986:241)

   The fact that the verb *seems* places no restrictions on the kind of surface subject that occurs with it suggests that this surface subject is not an argument of *seem*. On the other hand, the fact that the selection of the surface subject does appear to depend on the embedded verb suggests that it is an argument of that embedded verb. Consider also the copular verb *be* in English. This verb imposes no semantic restriction as to the kind of subject or complement the clause may have. However, selectional restrictions do operate between the subject and the complement. This observation might be considered as a typical characteristic of copular verbs.

   I will adopt the following definition of argument of a predicate: An argument of a predicate is an (overtly expressed or not) obligatory complement (NP or adpositional phrase) whose semantic nature is imposed and restricted by that predicate.

Lexical Argument vs. (Bound) Pronominal Argument Languages

   After defining what constitutes a verb argument, it is necessary to briefly discuss the different ways in which these arguments are encoded in languages. In the literature a distinction has been made between two different language types: those with free lexical or free pronominal arguments, and those with bound pronominal arguments (often called just "pronominal arguments" (see for instance Jelinek 1984, 1985, Sandoval and Jelinek 1989, among others). In the former type, lexical expressions or free pronouns stand as the verb arguments, with or without additional agreement on the verb. In bound pronominal
argument languages, the bound forms syntactically express the verb arguments, making additional free forms syntactically unnecessary. This latter type has been referred to as "substitute" arguments (Nida 1946:142), as "cross-referencing" arguments (Gleason 1961:166), and as "head-marked clause relations" (Nichols 1986:61). In discussing Panare, D. Payne (1995) considers that "a bound affix on a verb or auxiliary is argumental

when it, alone, satisfies the argument requirements of a non-imperative, main clause verb. A lexical NP expression may perhaps co-occur, but is not necessary in terms of the syntax of the clause itself." On the other hand, "a lexical NP expression or free pronoun is argumental when it both expresses a core argument of the verb and is required in order for a main non-imperative clause to be grammatical" (1995:3).

It is also possible that a language exhibits a combination of these two argument types. Spanish is an example of such a split-argument type language, with bound pronominal arguments for subject, and free lexical or free pronominal arguments for object (Jelinek 1984:48-9). The sentences below illustrate the optionality of a free pronominal subject expression, but the obligatority of a free lexical or free pronominal object expression[4]:

(Nosotras)   encontramos   *el*   *lugar perfecto*.
(1PL:FEM)   found-1PL   DET:MASC place perfect
"We found the perfect place."

(Nosotras)   *lo*   encontramos.
(1PL:FEM)   3:MASC:OBJ found:1PL
"We found it."

*Encontramos.
found:1PL

Payne (1995) further observes that "zero pronoun" languages such as Chinese and Japanese have been viewed in phrase structure theories as belonging to the basic Lexical Argument type. In certain languages, such as SC, "zero pronoun" forms are used for the third person singular. Therefore, I am considering "third person zero pronoun" languages as a subgroup of "zero pronoun" languages. As will be shown in the following chapter, SC belongs to the Lexical Argument type.

CHAPTER III

MAJOR FEATURES OF SHIPIBO-CONIBO

Morphologically, SC can be characterized as a dominantly agglutinative, suffixing language. In morpho-syntactic terms, a fairly rigid ergative-absolutive case-marking system allows for word order flexibility in this basic SOV language. The following sections describe major features of the language that are relevant for the argumentation contained in this study, such as the expression of arguments, case-marking, verb inflection, use of pro-verbs, and the definition of transitivity.

Shipibo-Conibo as a Lexical Argument Language

Shipibo-Conibo is a lexical argument language, as defined in chapter II, for both subject and object functions, since there is no marking of arguments on the verb. Omission of required subject or object is normally understood as a zero third person singular form. Consider the examples below[5]:

1)   Ja-n-ra   ea-0   jamá-ke.
        3-ER-AS 1-AB   kick-INC
        "(S)he kicked me."

2)   Ea-0-ra   jamá-ke.
        1-AB-AS   kick-CMPL.
        "((S)he) kicked me."

3)   E-n-ra   ja-0   jamá-ke.
        1-ER-AS   3-AB   kick-CMPL
        "I kicked him/her/it."

4a)   E-n-ra   jamá-ke.
        1-ER-AS   kick-CMPL
        "I kicked (him/her/it)."

Sentence 4a) above indeed designates an individuated, definite pronominal "him/her/it," since it is a valid answer to the question:

4b)   Tso-n-ki   nokon   ochíti-0   jama-a?
       who-ER-INT   POS1   dog-AB   kick-CMPL2
       "Who kicked my dog?"

A third person singular object is normally omitted when the referent is activated in the discourse. Consider the following short dialogues:

5a)   -Chai,   mi-n wame-0   rete-ibat-a-ki   ja-res-a?
       brother.in.law 2-ER paiche-AB kill-PST2-PART-INT   exist-only-PART:INT
       -"Brother in law, is there still the *paiche*[6] you killed yesterday?"

5b)   -No-n-ra   moa   pi-kin   keyo-ke.
        1p-ER-AS   already eat-SSST   finish-CMPL
       -"We ate it already."

Overtly expressing the object in this context has a contrastive effect. For instance, in a context where there were two different kinds of food, such as *paiche* and peccary meat, and one is asked whether the *paiche* is left, the answer could be:

5c)   -No-n-ra   moa   ja-0 pi-kin   keyo-ke.
        1p-ER-AS   already 3-AB eat-SSST finish-CMPL
       -"That we ate already."

Case-Marking in Shipibo-Conibo

As is typical in Panoan languages, SC exhibits an ergative-absolutive pattern in most parts of its grammar. This is seen in the case-markers added to noun phrases or free pronouns. As in most languages of this type, the ergative case is marked overtly, while the absolutive case is marked by zero. SC can be considered as a rigid morphologically ergative language, except for a few marginal constructions that will be discussed below.

The ergative morpheme {-*n*} has the allomorphs /-*n; -an, -en, -in; -kan, -ten, -tan; -man; -nin; -on; -ton, -tonin; -baon*/, mostly depending on the number of moras the underlying root has (Faust 1973, Valenzuela 1994a and b). This same morpheme, besides playing the ergative function, is used to mark the genitive, the instrumental, and two other

oblique functions, locative-directional and temporal. While it is the only way to mark the ergative, genitive, and instrumental functions, there are alternative ways to mark locative-directional and temporal functions. On the other hand, zero marking is also used for recipients or goals. The following examples show the *-nin* allomorph playing the

ergative, genitive, and different oblique functions; the zero morpheme is marking objects and the subject of an intransitive verb:

6) Maria-*nin*-ra   ea-*0*   koriki-*0*   meni-iba-ke.
Maria-ER-AS   1-AB   money-AB   give-PST2-CMPL
"Maria gave me money yesterday."

7) Cesar-*nin*-ra   Maria-*nin*   wai-*0*   rera-ke   machito-*nin*.
Cesar-ER-AS   Maria-GEN   field-AB   cut.tree-CMPL   machete-INSTR
"Cesar cleared Maria's field with a machete."

8) Sabado-*nin*-ra   ea-*0*   paboro-*nin*   ka-kas-ai.
Saturday-TEMP-AS   1-AB   lake-LOC/DIR   go-DES-INC
"On Saturday, I want to go to the lake."

The sentences below exhibit other allomorphs:

9) Sanke-*man*-ra   jawen   pia-*kan*   pia-*n*   koyaparo-0
Sanken-ER-AS   POS3   nephew-GEN   arrow-INSTR   tucunaré-AB

tsáka-ke,   ia-*man*.
shoot.arrow-CMPL   lake-LOC
"Sanken killed a *tucunaré* fish with his nephew's arrow, in the lake."

10) Inka-*n*   shinan-*man*   manan-xawe-*n*   pei-0-ki   séke-nan-a
Inca-ER   thinking-INSTR   hill-turtle-GEN   wing-AB-DM   break-MAL-PART

iki.
AUX
"The Inca, with its (mental) power, broke the tortoise's wings."

11) Jisis-*in*-ra   Sanke-*man*   bake-0   natex-ke.
ischimi-ER-AS   Sanken-GEN   child-AB   bite-CMPL

"The *ischimi* ant bit Sanken's child."

The next examples show that SC case-markers are attached to the last word of the correspondent NP. Since the absolutive marker is zero, the ergative has been chosen to illustrate this. Note also the second position of evidentiality/speech act markers (i.e., the aseverative AS morpheme), right after the first constituent of the clause:

12)　　Tita　　betan papa-*n*-ra　　jaton　bake-bo-*0*　　ese-ai.
　　　　mother and　father-ER-AS POS3p child-PL-ABS advise-INC
　　　　"The mother and the father advise their children."

13)　　Wiso ino　　sina-*kan*-ronki joni　rabé-*0*　pi-ke.
　　　　black tiger fierce-ER-hsy　man　two-AB eat-CMPL
　　　　"It is said that the fierce blacktiger ate the two men."

14)　　Joni-0　　Kako-nko-niax　　noko-ibat-a-*tonin*-ra　　　　rono-*0*
　　　　man-AB Caco-LOC-PROC arrive-PAST2-PART-ER-AS　snake-AB

　　　　rete-ke.
　　　　kill-CMPL
　　　　"The man that arrived from Caco yesterday killed a snake."

The fact that the same morpheme is used to express ergative, genitive, instrumental, and locative/directional functions is a characteristic shared with other Panoan languages such as Amahuaca andYaminahua (Hyde et alia 1980:139, Eakin 1991). (This also indicates something about the diachronic development of the ergative morpheme, though that cannot be explored here.)

The ergative pattern in SC is (in most cases) realized through a syntactically based case-marking system (see Dixon's distinction between semantically vs. syntactically based case-marking systems, 1994:23-5). That is, the marking of core arguments that a verb requires has been grammaticalized based on the prototypical meaning of the verb, without regard to the actual instances of use. Therefore, the subjects of verbs such as "kill," "hit" or "defeat" will always be marked as ergative and their objects as absolutive, even if in particular sentences they lack crucial agent or patient properties. This is illustrated by the following examples of SC:

Non-volitional, non-controller, non-initiator agents

15)　　Oin-xon-ma-bi　　　a-kin-ra,　　Wexa-*kan* Sani-0　jiwi-n
　　　　see-PSST-NEG-EMP do-SSST-AS Wexa-ER　Sani-AB stick-INSTR

rishki-ke.
hit-CMPL
"Without realizing, Wexá hit Sani with a stick."

16) A-kas-ai-ma-bi-ra   e-*n*   Sani-0   rete-ke.
do-DES-INC-NEG-EMP-AS   1-ER Sani-AB kill-CMPL
"Against my will, I killed Sani."

17) Reoko-xon-ra e-*n* onpax-0   xea-ke.
turn-PSST-AS 1-ER water-AB drink-CMPL
"Falling (from the canoe), I drank water."

Non-human agent

18) Jiwi-*n*-ra   Sani-0   rishki-ke.
tree-ER-AS   Sani-AB hit-CMPL
"The tree hit Sani."

Inanimate agents

19) Aros sako-*n*-ra   ea-0   ares-ke.
rice   sack-ER-AS 1-AB defeat-CMPL
"The sack of rice overcame me (with its weight)."

20) Mano-0-ra   kina-*man*   rete-ke.
Mano-AB-AS vomit-ER   kill-CMPL
"The vomiting killed Mano."

21) Nato jene-*n*   rete-a   ainbaon-ra   moa   join-ai.
DET flowing.water-ER kill-PART woman.ER-AS already breath-INC
"This woman who had almost drowned is breathing already." (Lit. "The woman whom the flowing water killed is breathing already.") (Loriot et alia 1993:230)

Non-reached target:

22) Wexa-*kan*-ra jiwi-n   Sani-0   a-kean-ke.
Wexá-ER-AS stick-INSTR Sani-AB make-FRUSTR-CMPL
"Wexá almost hit Sani with a stick."

23)   Wexa-*kan*-ra   to'ati-nin   ino-0   kene-ke.
        Wexá-ER-AS   shotgun-INSTR tiger-AB   miss-CMPL
        "Wexá failed to shoot the tiger with the shotgun."

24)   Wexa-*kan*-ra   pirota-0   jama-kin   kene-ke.
        Wexá-ER-AS   ball-AB   kick-SSST   miss-CMPL
        "Wexá, kicking the ball, missed it."

Shipibo-Conibo Verb Inflection

In this section, I briefly describe verb inflection in SC. In this language, a declarative finite verb consists of at least a root and an aspect marker. There are two aspect distinctions: The incompletive *-ai* (INC) indicates that an event takes place habitually, that the event is taking place at the moment of the utterance, or that the event will take place soon after the utterance. The completive *-ke* (CMPL) indicates that the action has been finished by the time of some temporal point of reference, usually the moment of utterance. Aspect markers occupy the last position on a main verb. When evidentiality clitics (which are second position clitics) are attached to a main verb, aspect markers are placed after them, thus suggesting their relatively recent grammaticalization. Other finite constructions are those with the copula *iki*, including the future root-*no(n)x iki* (root-FSSI[7] AUXILIARY), and the narrative past construction root-*a iki* (root-PARTICIPLE AUXILIARY). In this language, noun, adjective and some adverb roots can also function as predicates by adding the corresponding affixes directly to the root. This is analogous to the English root *paper*, as in the sentence "*He papered the wall.*"

SC is a suffixing language, except for a set of body part prefixes (and maybe a couple of classifiers) that can be attached to certain nouns, adjectives and verbs. Besides these prefixes and the aspect suffixes mentioned above, SC verb suffixes can be classified into three major groups: transitivity alternation suffixes, modifiers, and time/aspect suffixes (Loriot et alia 1993:50-3).

Transitivity alternation suffixes include the "reflexive" (a gloss that will be questioned in chapter VI) and reciprocal markers, the transitivizer suffixes *-a* and *-n*, the causative marker *-ma*, and the applicatives (that is, oblique promotional suffixes) *-xon* (usually benefactive), *-(V)naan ~ -(V)n* (malefactive), and *-ki(i)n* (associative).

Modifiers include the desiderative *-kas*, adverbial markers such as *-kean* "almost," *-ribi* "also," *-yora* "much," *-tani* "hardly"/"barely," *-res* "only," *-na* "warning," *-men* "quickly," and *-i* "come (do x)"; direction of the action and aspect markers such as

-tan "go and come back," *-kain/-bain* "going," *-kiran/-beiran* "coming," *-pake* "going down," *-ina* "going up," *-shin* "all night long," *-bai* "all day long," *-yon* "completely," *-bekon* "two people," and the negative *-yama.*

Time/aspect suffixes include *-ya ~ -yat* "tomorrow," *-wan* "earlier the same day," *-iba* "yesterday," *-yantan* "some months/years ago," *-kati* imperfect far away past, *-kato* perfect far away past, *-ni* remote past. The plural marker *-kan* follows any time suffix except for the remote past. The following sentence shows a verb root followed by suffixes from these three major groups, and the plural and completive aspect markers:

25)   Nawa-baon-ra   koríki-0   noa-0
        foreigner-PL:ER-AS   silver-AB   1p-AB

           1   2   2   3
        oin-<u>ma</u>-<u>kas</u>-<u>yama</u>-<u>wan</u>-kan-ke
        see-CAUS-DES-NEG-PST1-PL-CMPL
        "The foreigners didn't want to show us the money."

<center>Shipibo-Conibo Switch-Reference System</center>

The SC switch-reference system operates between main and dependent clauses and is expressed in the form of a suffix attached to the verb of the dependent clause. SC subordinators can express three different kinds of information: 1) the relative temporal order of the events of the main and the dependent clauses; 2) co-referentiality or non-coreferentiality of the subjects in the dependent and the main clauses (where "subject" is the conflation of S and A); and 3) transitivity or intransitivity of the <u>main verb</u>. The system is extremely rich and I cannot give a full treatment of it in this work, though I will make a few observations.

 Since the dependent verb occurs at the end of its clause, and the most common order in a sentence is DEPENDENT CLAUSE-MAIN CLAUSE, switch reference markers tend to be sentence medial. However, given that the main clause can also precede the dependent one, switch-reference markers also occur in sentence-final position.

Note that when the subjects are non-coreferential, (in)transitivity of the main verb is not signaled (these are the cases the term "neutral" refers to). Here the distinction appears to be unnecessary since there is no potential case-recoverability problem when the subjects are different. An instance of a case-recoverability problem would be one in which the subjects of a dependent and a main clause with different transitivity values are co-referential and thus undergo "equi-NP deletion." In such an instance, the case-marking on the overt subject NP will necessarily conflict with the case-marking predicted by the transitivity value of one of the clauses (though not of the other clause).

The marker -*a* (glossed as PAB "previous absolutive") indicates that the event in the dependent clause is previous to that of the main clause, and that the object of the dependent clause is co-referential with the intransitive subject of the main verb (Loriot et alia 1993:55). The following are some examples of multi-clausal sentences that contain switch-reference markers:

26)   Nokon papa-0-ra   wai   meno-*ax*   kachio ka-ke.
       POS1   father-AB-AS garden burn-PSSI   forest   go-CMPL
       "My father burned the garden and then went to the forest."

27)   Nokon papa-n-ra   wai   meno-*xon*   atsa-0   bana-ke.
       POS1   father-ER-AS garden burn-PSST   manioc-AB sow-CMPL
       "My father burned the garden and then sowed the manioc."

Table 1

Shipibo-Conibo Switch-Reference Markers

Event of Dep- endent Clause	Main Clause	Subjects	
		Co-referential	Non-coreferential
PREVIOUS to event in main clause	intransitive neutral transitive	*-ax* *-taanan* *-xon*	*-ken, -ke-tian*
PAB	intransitive		*-a*
SIMULTANEOUS	intransitive neutral transitive	*-i* *-anan* *-kin*	*-ain, -ai-tian, -nontian*
SUBSEQUENT (Following)	intransitive neutral transitive	*-nox* *-no(n)xon*	*-non*

28)   Karo   bena-*kin*   rono-0   mera-ke.
       firewood search-SSST   snake-AB found-CMPL
       "While (s)he was looking for firewood, (s)he found a snake."

29)   Karo   ben-*ain*-ra   rono-n   natex-ke.
       firewood search-SDS-AS   snake-ER   bite-CMPL

"While (s)he was looking for firewood, a snake bit her/him."

30)   Mia bi-*i*   jo-*nox*-pari-ra   papa-0   kachio ka-ke.
       2   get-SSSI come-FSSI-just.then-AS father-AB   forest   go-CMPL
       "Before coming to get you, father went to the forest."

The following example illustrates the -*a* (previous absolutive) marker, indicating that the object of the dependent clause is co-referential with the subject of the intransitive main clause:

31)   No-n   bo-*á*-ra   mia-0   yoyo i-ti-ma   iki.
       1p-ER   carry-PAB-AS 2-AB   speak-INF-NEG   AUX
       " When we carry you, you must not speak!" (ILV 1979:48)

This typologically rare absolutive co-reference marker is the same form as the past participle suffix (glossed as "participle" PART) which appears in relative clauses and other verbal complements.

More than one switch-reference marker can occur in the same sentence. The next example refers to two twin brothers who shoot arrows up in order to make a ladder to the sky. The subjects are always the same, the two twin brothers:

32)   (a) Ja pia-n-ribi,   wetsa pia   poinki-0 tsaka-*xon*,
       DET   arrow-INSTR-REP other   arrow   end-AB   shoot.arrow-PSST,

       (b) nenké-a-*xon*,   (c) mai-ki   noko-*ax*,   (d) bo-ríba-kan-a
        long-TRNZ-PSST   ground-OBL2 meet-PSSI   go:PL-REP-PL-PART

       iki,   jakiribi, jaton   xobo-n.
       AUX   again   POS3p   house-DIR
       "(a) Again, with this arrow they shot at another arrow's end, (b) making (the arrow ladder) longer, (c) so that they reached the ground. (d) After this, they went back to their house." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:23)

In all cases in sentence 32) the dependent verb refers to an event which is previous to the one expressed in the main clause. The marker -*xon* indicates that the next verb is transitive ("make something long" and "meet/reach something"), while -*ax* indicates that the following verb is intransitive ("go"). In example 33) below, the same-reference markers -*ax* and -*xon* indicate that the subjects of "go" are co-referential with the subjects of "fall" and "behead," respectively; the switch-reference markers -*ketian* and -*aitian*

show that the subjects of "fall" and "behead" are different from the subject of the main verb, "finish":

33)   (a) Ka-*ax* (b) poxó-*ketian*, (c) ka-wan-*xon*   (d) te-xte-kas-*aitian*,
        go-PSSI   fall-PDS   go-PST-PSST   head-cut-DES-SDS

        (e) joni-0   bina-n   keyo-a   iki.
        person-AB wasp-ER   finish-PART AUX
        "(a) Going there (b) they fell, (c) going there (d) and wanting to cut (the plant) (e) the wasps bit the men." (Bardales 1979:15)

The complex SC switch-reference system is comparable to the one exhibited by some Australian languages such as Western Desert (Pitjantjatjara dialect), Warlpiri, Warlmanpa, the Mantharta languages (Jiwarli, Thiin, Warriyangka and Tharrkari), and the Kanyara languages (Payungu, Thalanyji and Purduna) (Austin 1981, 1988). SC exhibits various instances of the switch-reference system operating at the discourse level. I will present a folk story below for the reader's perusal, though I cannot give a full analysis of it here for reasons of space.

The Woman and the Blacktiger Bird

34)   Iso   ak-í-ronki   kachio bo-kan-ni-ke,   westíora
        spidermonkey make-INC-hsy   forest   go:PL-PL-REM-CMPL   one

        ainbo-ya.
        woman-with
        "It is said that long time ago (some men) went to the forest to hunt spider-monkeys, with a woman."

35)   Ja   nokot-a   nete xabá-*ketian*-ronki   kachio   bo-kan-a
        DET   arrive-PART   day   clear-PDS-hsy   forest   go:PL-PL-PART

        iki,   iso   rete-*noxon*   ben-ai.
        AUX   spidermonkey   kill-FSST   search-INC
        "On the next day, at dawn, they entered the forest looking for spidermonkeys to kill."

36)   Jatian-ki   ja   ainbo   ja-bicho-shoko-0, pota-kan-*a*   banet-a   iki.

then-DM   DET woman 3-alone-DIM-AB leave-PL-PAB stay-PART
AUX

"Then, they left the woman by herself."

37)   Ja   bo-kan-a   pekao-ki, wiso-ino   isá-0   keot-a   iki.
       DET go:PL-PL-PART after-DM   black-tiger bird-AB roar-PART AUX
       "After they had left, the blacktiger bird roared."

38)   Wiso-ino   keot-ai-keská-ribi-ki   ik-á   iki,   "riki, riki, riki, riki,"
       black-tiger roar-INC-like-REP-DM   be-PART AUX   ONOM

       ik-í.
       be-CONT
       "It was like the blacktiger's roaring: 'riki, riki, riki, riki'."

39)   Jatian ja keot-*aitian*-ki, ainbaon   mawa mawa-a   iki.
       then   3 roar-SDS-DM   woman:ER imitate imitate-PART AUX
       "Then, hearing the blacktiger bird roaring, the woman immitated it."

40)   Ja-0   mawa maw-*aitian*-ki,   ja   wiso-ino   isá-0   jo-á   iki.
       3-AB imitate imitate-SDS-DM DET black-tiger bird-AB come-PART AUX
       "As she was doing so, this blacktiger bird came (to the place where the woman
       was)."

41)   Jo-*ax*-ki   ja   isá-bi-0   ino-a   iki.
       come-PSSI-DM DET bird-EMP-AB tiger-PART AUX
       "But arriving (there), this bird turned into a tiger."

42)   Ino-*xon*-ki   ja   ainbo-0   pi-á   iki.
       tiger-PSST-DM   DET woman-AB eat-PART AUX
       "Turning into a tiger, it ate the woman."

43)   Jatian be-*xon*   oin-kan-a-ronki,   ja   ainbo-0
       then   come:PL-PL-PSST see-PL-PART-hsy DET woman-AB

       moa   wiso-ino-n   pi-á   ik-á   iki.
       already black-tiger-ER eat-PART be-PART AUX

"When the men came back, they found the woman who the blacktiger had eaten already."

44) Jaskara-ton   ratet-*ax*,   moa   jakiribi be-kan-a   iki.
     this.way-OBL get.scared-PSSI already again   come:PL-PL-PART AUX
     "So, the men got scared and came back (from the forest)."

<div align="right">Story teller: ALEJANDRO ROQUE (ILV 1979:10)</div>

<div align="center">Short Answers to Yes/No Questions</div>

Another distinctive feature of SC, that will be useful for objectively determining transitivity values is the use of pro-verb forms as short answers for yes/no questions. While most verbs with absolutive subject marking take the intransitive "be"-based forms *ik-í* (be-SSSI)/*ik-ama* (be-NEG) for yes/no, respectively, most verbs with ergative subject marking take the transitive "make"-based forms *a-kin* (make-SSST)/*ak-ama* (make-NEG) instead. Below I am including lists of some sample verbs that take the intransitive and the transitive pro-verbs.

Instances of verbs that take the forms *ik-í/ik-ama*:

noko- "arrive"	noya- "fly"
ishto- "run"	choron- "jump"
sinat "get angry"	isin- "be(come) sick"
keen- "want"	pashkin- "be(come) tired"
shinabenot- "forget"	oko- "cough"
jatishan ik- "sneeze"	ae-ik- "burp, belch"
jison- "urinate"	poya- "defecate"
oxa- "sleep"	paket- "fall"
ransa- "dance"	

45a) -Mi-n chai-0-ki   moa   neno nokot-a?
       2-GEN brother.in.law-AB-INT already here   arrive-CMPL:INT
      -"Did your brother in law arrive here already?"

45b) -Ik-í/Ik-ama
       be-SSSI/be-NEG
      -"Yes/No"

46a) -Mi-n tsákat-a   isá-0-ra   noy-ai?
      2-ER hit.w/arrow-PART bird-AB-AS fly-INC
      -"Is the bird that you hit (with an arrow) flying?"

46b) -Ik-í/Ik-ama
      be-SSSI/be-NEG
      -"Yes/No"

47a) -Mia-0-ki   sinat-ai?
      2-AB-INT   be.angry-INC
      -"Are you angry?"

47b) -Ik-í/Ik-ama
      be-SSSI/be-NEG
      -"Yes/No"

Instances of verbs that take the forms *a-kin/ak-ama*:

pi- "eat"   koko- "eat fruit"
xea- "drink"   oin- "see"
ninkat "hear, understand"   xete- "smell"
shinan- "think"   onan- "know"
yoy- "say"   yono- "order"
sawe- "put on"   paran- "tell a lie, deceive"
mishki- "fish w/hook"   yomera- "fish/hunt"
rikan- "fish w/net"   axan- "fish w/poison"
rete- "kill"   tsaka- "fire w/arrow"
roto- "miss"   xoton- "push"
nini- "pull"   jamat- "kick, step on"
rishki- "hit w/stick"   sepa- "clear (the field)"
rera- "cut (down)"   meno- "burn"
bana- "sow"   oro- "weed, clear"
texte- "harvest plantain"   teke- "harvest corn"
mexa- "harvest tubercules"   matso- "broom"
namat- "dream"   osan- "laugh"
joti- "smoke"   wina- "row"
jono- "pull (the canoe/raft/boat)" kinan- "vomit"
join- "breath"

48a) -Mato-n-ki   kapé-0   pi-ai?

        2p-ER-INT   alligator-AB eat-INC
        -"Do you(PL) eat alligator?

48b)   -A-kin/Ak-ama
        make-SSST/make-NEG
        -"Yes/No"

49a)   -Mi-n-ki   ninkat-a?
        2-ER-INT listen-CMPL:INT
        -"Did you understand?"

49b)   -A-kin/Ak-ama
        make-SSST/make-NEG
        -"Yes/No"

50a)   -Mi-n papa-n-ki   wiso ino-0   rete-a?
        2-GEN father-ER-INT black tiger-AB kill-CMPL:INT
        -"Did your father kill the black tiger?"

50b)   -A-kin/Ak-ama
        make-SSST/make-NEG
        "-Yes/No"

<u>Transitivity in SC</u>

        As mentioned in chapter II above, in this study I will make use of the notions of inherent and clause-level transitivity in order to account for the SC data. While the former accounts for the dominant ergative-absolutive pattern in SC, the latter allows us understand most of the residue. With very few exceptions, SC verbs are lexically sub-categorized as inherently transitive or inherently intransitive, according to the criteria presented in Table 2[8].

        Although in several languages the reflexive and reciprocal may be applied to certain intransitive verbs that take indirect objects, both the reflexive and reciprocal apply to transitive verbs primarily (Givón 1990:628). In SC, while the reciprocal suffix applies to a few intransitive verbs, the "reflexive" suffix (to be analyzed here as a more general de-transitivizer) applies to transitive verbs only. Therefore, a prototypical transitive verb is one which allows an expressed object marked absolutive, marks its subject (when overt) as ergative, triggers the same-reference markers *-xon/-kin/-no(n)xon*, triggers the indicated adverbial and connector agreement, can take the de-transitivizer, reciprocal and malefactive suffixes, marks its clausal complement (if any) by *-ti, -ai* or *-a*, and makes use

of *ak-* "make" as pro-verb. The first three properties of transitive verbs have been described and illustrated in previous sections of this chapter. The remaining parameters will be presented in chapter IV (malefactive), and particularly in chapter VI dealing with transitive verbs.

As predicted by the prototype model of categorization, it is possible to classifiy most SC verbs as clearly intransitive or transitive. However, there are different degrees of transitivity, and a fuzzy area between "non-prototypical intransitive" and "non-prototypical transitive" verbs. The final (arguable) criterion adopted in this paper to distinguish between intransitive and transitive verbs is the possibility of allowing, at least as one of the alternate expressions, a second overt argument marked absolute.

Table 2

Transitivity Properties in SC

	Transitive	Intransitive
Overtly expressed object	possible	not possible
Case-marking on subject	ergative	absolutive
Same-reference agreement	*-xon*, *-kin*, *-noxon*	*-ax*, *-i*, *-nox*
Adverbial/connector agreement	*-xon, jainoa*	*-0, -ax, jain*
De-transitivizer	+	-
Reciprocal	+	-
Malefactive	+	-
Pro-verb	*ak-*	*ik-*
Verbal complementizer	*-ti, -ai, -a*	*-i*

CHAPTER IV

INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Dixon (1994:6) establishes three different language types according to the way they treat transitivity. In some languages, almost every verb root is strictly classified as either transitive or intransitive (Latin, Dyirbal). In a second type of language, the transitivity of verbs is more fluid; that is, many roots in such a "fluid" language can be used either as intransitive or as transitive without adding any overt marking (English). In a third type of language, almost every verb root can be used as transitive or as intransitive, although often by adding certain morphological markers (Fijian). In SC, there is a significant number of verb roots that can either have an intransitive or a transitive use. But in most cases, the root seems to be intrinsically intransitive or transitive and the forms with a different transitivity value result only from addition of a specifically derivational (de)transitivizer suffix. Therefore, SC seems to be a language that belongs to the third type described above. In this chapter, I will focus on inherently intransitive verb roots.

Intransitive verbs are those involving a single participant whose case role is either agent or patient. Syntactically, intransitive verbs allow a single core argument whose

grammatical role is subject. In an ergative-absolutive pattern, this single argument is marked absolute. As illustration, consider:

51)   Same-*0*-ra   ishto-ai.
        Same-AB-AS   run-INC
        "Same is running."

52)   Same-*0*-ra   paket-ai.
        Same-AB-AS   fall-INC
        "Same is falling."

53)   Same-*0*-ra   xoa iki.
        Same-AB-AS   fat   COP
        "Same is fat."

The different types of intransitive verbs and some of the particular clause types they trigger are described in the remainder of this chapter.

<u>Copular Verbs and their Clauses</u>

A copula is an element whose primary function is to link a predicate nominal to a subject. Copular constructions in SC can be divided into: nominal, adjectival, locational, and possessive. Since the aseverative second position clitic *-ra* can either be suffixed to the first constituent of the clause or prefixed to the copula verb, the copula *iki* can occur by itself or prefixed, in which case it turns out as *r-iki*.

<div align="center">Nominal Copular Clauses</div>

Nominal copular clauses can be equational or attributive in function:

54)   Oa joni-0-ra   nokon   papa iki.
        that man-AB-AS   POS1   father COP
        "That man is my father."

55)   Nokon   wetsa-0-ra   profesor   iki
        POS1   sibling-AB-AS   teacher   COP
        "My brother is a/the teacher."
        The following examples show the copula *iki* by itself and prefixed by the aseverative clitic *-ra*:

56a)   Ino-0-ra   yoina siná   *iki*.
        tiger-ABS-AS   animal fierce COP
        "The tiger is a fierce animal."

56b)   Ino-0   *r-iki*   yoina   siná.
        tiger-ABS   AS-COP   animal   fierce
        "The tiger is a fierce animal."

<div align="center">Adjectival Copular Clauses</div>

Adjective is a distinct word class from both verbs and nouns in SC. The following examples illustrate adjectival copular clauses where the copula occurs by itself and prefixed by the aseverative clitic; example 59) shows the copula in a different tense/aspect:

57) Nokon   nonti-0-ra   bená *iki*.
    POS1   canoe-AB-AS   new   COP
    "My canoe is new."

58) Nokon papa-yosi-n   keni-0   *r-iki*   joxo itan kebox.
    POS1   father-old-GEN beard-AB AS-COP white and sparse
    "My granfather's beard is white and sparse." (Loriot 1993:37)

59) Jaino-ax moa   pia   poinki-0 jishti-bires   *ik-á*   *iki*.
    then-PSSI already arrow end-AB   visible-completely be-PART AUX
    "Then, the end of the arrow was completely visible." (Ministerio de Educación
    and ILV 1982:23)

Locative Copular Clauses

Locative copular clauses have the same structure as nominal and adjectival clauses, except that their predicates involve a postpositional phrase:

60) Nokon tita-0   *r-iki*   wai-nko.
    POS1   mother-AB AS-COP garden-LOC
    "My mother is in the garden."

61) Maro-ti   xobo-0-ra   Rama-n   xobo patax *iki*.
    exchange-NLZ house-AB-AS Rama-GEN house next.to COP
    "The store is next to Rama's house."

Possessive Copular Clauses

Possessive clauses are formed with the copula *iki*, and by adding the *-ya* (~ *-sha*) possessive suffix to the predicate complement:

62) Ja   ainbo e-n   paranta-0   meni-a-ra   bake-*ya*   *iki*.
    DET woman 1-ER banana-ABS give-PART-AS child-with COP
    "The woman to whom I gave the banana has a child."

63) Ja   ainbo e-n   paranta-0   meni-a   *r-iki*   bake-*ya*.
    DET woman 1-ER banana-ABS give-PART AS-COP child-with
    "The woman to whom I gave the banana has a child."

64) Ja   Yoáshiko Inka-0-ronki rayos-*sha*   *i-paoni-ke*.

DET   Stingy   Inca-AB-hsy   son.in.law-with be-IMPRF:REM-CMPL
"It is said that the Stingy Inca had a son in law." (Bardales 1979:17)

65)   Wetsa joni-0-ronki *i-káti-ai*   mansana   wai-*ya*,
         other   man-AB-hsy be-IMPRF:REM-INC apple   garden-with

         i-xon-bi-ki   joni-n   jawen bimi-0   koko-yama-katit-ai.
         be-PSST-EMP-DM man-ER POS3 fruit-AB suck-NEG-IMPRF:REM-INC
         "It is said that a man had an apple garden; however, he could not eat his fruits."
         (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:31)

66)   Manan-xawe-0-ronki moatian   *i-pao-ni-ke*   pei-*ya*,
         hill-turtle-AB-hsy   in.the.old.time be-IMPRF-REM-CMPL wing-with

         kikin-bires   ishto joni.
         very-completely fast   person
         "It is said that in the old times, the tortoise had wings and was a very fast
person."   (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:1)

    Negative possessive clauses are formed with the copula *iki* and by adding the
negative possessive suffix *-oma* (glossed as PRIV "privative") to the predicate
complement:

67)   Ea-0 ribin'-*oma* *i-ken-bi*-ra   nawa-n   ea-0   tee-ma-i,
         1-AB debt-PRIV be-PDS-EMP-AS *mestizo*-ER 1-AB   work-CAUS-INC

         mia-0-ra   ribin-*ya*   *iki*   *i-xon.*
         2-AB-AS   debt-with COP   be-PSST
         "In spite of not having any debt, the *mestizo* made me work alleging that I had a
         debt." (Loriot et alia 1993:300)

68)   Oa ainbo-0-ra   bene-*oma*   *iki*.
         that woman-AB-AS husband-PRIV COP
         "That woman does not have a husband."

    Another way to express negative possession is by using a negative existential
construction (see section on "existential clauses" below):

69) Ikaxbi no-n   ja   xea-ti-0   *yama   ik-á   iki*.
    but   1p-GEN? DET drink-NLZ-AB exist:NEG be-PART AUX
    "But we didn"t have anything to drink." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV
    1982:16)

70) Ikaxbi-ra noa-0   ja-n   shitá-ti *yama-ke*,   e-n
    but-AS   1p-AB   DET-INSTR cross-INF exist:NEG-CMPL 1-ER

    kapé-0   kena-banon.
    alligator-AB call-EXH
    "But we don't have anything to cross (the creek) with, I will call the alligator."
    (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:33)

Zero Copula

At least nominal, adjectival, and possessive copular constructions can appear with
a zero copula:

71)   Oa joni-0-ra   nokon wetsa.
      that man-AB-AS POS1   sibling
      "That man is my brother."

72)   Jaskat-ax i-ní-ronki-ki,   rama-kama-bi, manan-xawe-0   yosma,
      so-INTR   be-REM-hsy-DM now-LIM-EMP hill-turtle-AB   weak

      ishto-ma-shoko   ni-ai.
      fast-NEG-DIM   walk-INC
      "Since that time, and even until now, the tortoise is weak and walks slowly."
      (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:1)

73)   Jaskat-ax i-ní-ronki,   rama-kama-bi maxó   kexá-0   ani.
      so-INTR   be-REM-hsy now-LIM-EMP opossum mouth-AB big
      "Since that time, and even until now, the opossum's mouth is big." (Ministerio de
      Educación and ILV 1982:14)

74)   Nokon wetsa-0   xobo-ya.
      POS1   sibling-AB house-with
      "My sister/brother has a house."

Existential Clauses

The verb *ja-* is used in existential constructions with the meanings of "exist," "there be," and "live":

75)   Ani jema-nko   icha joni-bo   *ja-kan-ke*.
        big village-LOC many person-PL exist-PL-CMPL
        "There are many people in the city."

76)   Jaskat-ax rama-kama-bi chii *ja-ke*.
        so-INTR   now-until-EMP fire exist-CMPL
        "And it is so that even until now there is fire." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV
        1982:27)

As will be shown in the section dealing with auxiliary verbs (chapter VII), the existential *ja-* is also used in constructions denoting obligation ("have to").

<p align="center">Negative-Existential Clauses</p>

The negative-existential *yama* (diachronically -*ya* "with" + -*ma* "negative") occurs in different constructions. It occurs as a copular complement, with or without an overt copula. Consider the two occurrences of *yama* in the example below:

77)   Ja-n   jaton piti kobin'-a-ti-bo   *yama*,   paranta
        3-OBL1   POS3p fish boil-TRNZ-NLZ-PL   EXIST:NEG plantain

        xoi-ti-bo   *yama*   *i-ketian*.
        roast-NLZ-PL   EXIST:NEG   be-PDS
        "Then, they did not have boiled fish, since there was not plantain to cook."
        (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:26)

However, in the following sentence, *yama* behaves as the verb of the single argument "fire," taking tense/aspect markers:

78)   Moatian-ronki   chii-0 *yama-katit-ai*.
        in.the.old.time-hsy   fire-AB   EXIST:NEG-IMPRF:REM-INC
        "It is said that in the old time there was no fire." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV
        1982:26)

The negative-existential *yama* has also grammaticalized as the negative verb suffix *-yama*:

79)   Too-ya   ainbaon-ra   chaxo-0   pi-*yama*-ke.
       round-with   woman:ER-AS   deer-AB   eat-NEG-CMPL
       "The pregnant woman did not eat the deer meat."

<div align="center">Motion Verbs</div>

In general, there are at least two sub-classes of motion verbs; those that are inherently directed, such as "come," "go," and "arrive," and those that express the manner of motion like "jump," "run," "trot," and "skip" (Levin 1993:15). This section presents particular properties exhibited by intransitive motion verbs, such as different singular/plural roots, locative and clausal complements, and the possibility of the locative object alternation. All the verbs that have the properties to be discussed below can be sub-classified as inherently directed motion verbs.

<div align="center">Different Singular/Plural Verb Roots</div>

Almost all SC verbs have a single root and establish the singular/plural distinction only in the third person, by suffixing the plural marker *-kan*. However, *jo-* "come" and *ka-* "go" are the only two verbs that establish the number distinction with all persons, by using different singular/plural roots:

Singular roots	Plural roots
jo- "come"	be- "come"
ka- "go"	bo- "go"

These two verbs, besides taking a special plural root, require the addition of the third person plural suffix on the verb:

80a)   Ja-0-ra   Kako-nkoniax   *jo*-ke.
       3-AB-AS   Caco-from:INTR   come-CMPL
       "(S)he came from Caco."

80b)   Ja-bo-0-ra   Kako-nkoniax   *be-kan*-ke.
       3-PL-AB-AS   Caco-from:INTR   come:PL-PL-CMPL

"They came from Caco."

81a)   Mia-0-ra   Kako-nko   *ka*-ke.
        2-AB-AS   Caco-DIR   go-CMPL
        "You went to Caco."

81b)   Mato-0-ra   Kako-nko   *bo-kan*-ke.
        2p-AB-AS   Caco-DIR   go:PL-PL-CMPL
        "You (pl) went to Caco."

<div align="center">Intransitive Verbs with Locative Complements</div>

    The verbs below semantically require a locative complement, though syntactically sometimes this can be omitted for pragmatic reasons.

jo-/be- "come"

82)   Yabi-0-ra   neno   jo-ke.
        Yabi-AB-AS   here   come-CMPL
        "Yabi came here."

83)   Mia-0-ki   jo-a?
        2-AB-INT   come-CMPL:INT
        "Did you arrive (here)?"

    Sentence 83) above is the typical Shipibo way to greet somebody who has just arrived to the village or to the house.

ka-/bo- "come"

84)   Moara   ka-ke.
        already-AS   go-CMPL
        "(S)he left already."

85)   Kako-nko   ka-ke.
        Caco-DIR   go-CMPL
        "He went to Caco."

nokot- "arrive"

86) Ka-ax, nokot-a   iki,   paro nawé-ki-nin,   taxa-nko.
    go-PSSI arrive-PART AUX river curve-OBL2-DIR palisade-DIR
    "After leaving, they arrived to an edge of the river, to a palisade." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:2)

mapet- "go up (obliquely)"

87) Inka-n   iná   ainbo-0   jene-merano-ax   mapé-ketian-ronki
    Inca-GEN servant woman-AB flowing.water-from-INTR go.up-PDS-hsy

    joni-n   yatá-ni-ke.
    man-ER catch-REM-CMPL
    "It is said that when the Inca's (female) servant went up from the water, a man caught her." (Loriot et alia 1993:247)

88) Xobo bochiki   mapé-ketian-ra   yometso-0   yatan-kan-ke.
    house on.top.of go.up-PDS-AS   thief-AB   catch-PL-CMPL
    "When the thief climbed on top of the house, he was caught." (Loriot et alia 1993:247)

<div align="center">Intransitive Verbs with Clausal Complements</div>

Intransitive verbs can take verbal or even clausal complements by suffixing the complement verb with the continuative marker *-i* (This morpheme seems to be the same as the same-reference marker glossed as "simultaneous, same-subject intransitive.")

ka-/bo- "go"

89) Ea-0-ra   mia-0   oin-i   ka-ke.
    1-AB-AS 2-AB   see-CONT go-CMPL
    "I went to see you." (Faust 1973:18)

90) Ja-0-ra   k-ai   jawen   wetsa bena-i.
    3-AB-AS go-INC POS3   sibling search-CONT
    "He is going to look for his brother." (Faust 1973:82)

91) Rama-ra nokon kabáyo-0, e-n   xawi wai   napo, nexa-i   ka-ai.
    now-AS POS1 horse-AB   1-ER cane garden middle tie-CONT go-INC

"Now I am going to tie my horse in the middle of the cane garden." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:18)

92) Jatian chaxo-0   masá shinan-shinan-bai-ni,   ka-a   iki, piti-0
    then   deer-AB   sad   think-think-all.day-REM go-PART AUX meat-AB

    bena-i.
    search-CONT
    "Then the deer feeling very sad went looking for meat." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:11)

93) Joni-0-ronki ka-a   iki   paro-n   yomera-i.
    man-AB-hsy   go-PART AUX river-DIR get.meat-CONT
    "It is said that long time ago a man went to fish to the Ucayali." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:2)

jo-/ *be-* "come"

94) Ea-0-ra   yákat-i   jo-ai.
    1-AB-AS   sit-CONT   come-INC
    "I come to sit down." (Faust 1973:18)

95) Oro-i-ra   jato-0   be-kan-ke.
    weed-CONT-AS   3p-AB   come:PL-PL-CMPL
    "They came to weed." (Faust 1973:82)

96) Ja   oxa-a   pekao, wasa-bo-ya   shino-bo-0
    DET sleep-PART after *frailecillo*-PL-with monkey-PL-AB

    be-ríba-kan-a   iki, xawi-0   koko-i.
    come:PL-REP-PL-PART AUX cane-AB suck-CONT
    "After (he) fell asleep, the *frailecillo* monkey and the other monkeys came back to suck the cane." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:18-9)

yakat- "sit"

97) Moa   bariapan senen-ketian, pi-i   yakat-a   iki.
    already noon   edge-PDS   eat-CONT sit-PART AUX
    "In the afternoon, he sat down to eat." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV
    1982:32)

napokoo- "enter"

98) Ja   oin-ax, koko-i   napo-koo-kan-a   iki.
    DET   see-PSSI suck-CONT   middle-DTRNZ-PL-PART   AUX
    "Seeing this, (they) entered it to eat the fruit." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV
    1982:3).

neet- "climb"

99) ...jiwi bochiki neet-a   iki,   bonko meran   jiki-i.
       tree up   climb-PART AUX foliage inside   enter-CONT
    "...(he) climbed up the tree to hide in the foliage." (Ministerio de Educación and
    ILV 1982:4)

100) Jatian ea-0   jiwi-n   neet-a   iki,   bochiki,
     then   1-AB   tree-OBL1   climb-PART AUX up

     jain-xon   paro oinn-i,   ben-ai.
     there-TRNS   river see-CONT   search-INC
     "Then I climbed the tree, up; then, I was searching to see the river."
     (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:17)

Intransitive Verbs with a Locative Object

     The intransitive verb *mapet-* "go up (obliquely)" can sometimes take a locative
object, thus becoming transitive. In the following examples 101) is treated as intransitive,
but 102a) as transitive:

101) Ea-0-ra   mapé-ke   jene-meran-oax.
     1-AB-AS   go.up-CMPL flowing.water-inside-from:INTR
     "I came up from the water."

102a) E-n-ra   xobo-0   mapé-ke.
      1-ER-AS   house-AB   go.up-CMPL

"I came up to the house." (Lit. "I came up the house.")

102b) *Ea-0-ra   xobo-0   mapé-ke.
        1-AB-AS   house-AB   go.up-CMPL
        "I came up to the house."

The opposite process is also possible. An inherently transitive verb with a semantically locative object can take a de-transitivizer suffix, thus becoming intransitive; the subject will be marked absolutive, and the former object will then be marked as oblique:

shita- "cross water"
shita-t- "cross by the water"

103a) Ja-n-ra   wean-0   shita-i.
        3-ER-AS   creek-0   cross.water-INC
        "He crosses the creek."

103b) Ja-0-ra   wea-man   shita-t-ai.
        3-AB-AS   creek-LOC/DIR   cross.water-DTRNZ-INC
        "He crosses by the creek."

104a) Ja-n-ra   wean-0   shita-ke
        3-ER-AS   creek-AB   cross.water-CMPL
        "He crossed the creek."

104b) Ja-0-ra   wea-man   shitá-ke.
        3-AB-AS   creek-LOC/DIR   cross.water:DTRANZ-CMPL
        "He crossed by the creek."

(The examples containing *shita-* above are taken from Faust 1973:146.)

Verbs with Sentential Subjects

Some intransitive predicates such as *a-ti-kon ik-* (make-INF-true be-) "be easy/possible," *a-ti-kon-ma ik-* (make-INF-true-NEG be-) "be difficult/impossible," *jakon ik-* (good be-) "be good," etc. require sentential subjects. In example 105) below, the sentential subject exhibits a non-finite form, and the participle suffix functions as a nominalizer. In the following complex sentence, the dependent clause following the main

clause contains the predicate *atikoma ik-* "be impossible", which requires a sentential subject *janbicho aká* "that he could do it by himself":

105) Jawen xono-0 taran-i ka-ax-bi-ra papa-0 jaki-ribi jo-
POS3 *lupuna*-AB roll-CONT go-PSSI-EMP-AS father-AB again come-

-ríba-ke [*ja-n-bicho ak-á* a-ti-ko-ma i-]ketian
REP-CMPL 3-ER-only make-PART make-INF-true-NEG be-PDS
"Father went to roll his *lupuna* tree, but he came back because it was impossible that he could do it by himself." (Loriot et alia 1993:97)

However, it is very common that this type of proposition is encoded by clause-chaining; that is, by putting two clauses together connected through switch-reference markers:

106) Mia-0 Kako-nko jo-aitian-ra jakon iki.
2-AB Caco-DIR come-SDS-AS good COP
"It is good that you come to Caco."

Meteorological/Nature Verbs

Meteorological/nature verbs constitute a small closed category in SC. They denote conditions of the weather or nature. In many languages these verbs have the peculiarity of being "subjectless" (Givón 1984:89); however, this is not a characteristic of SC meteorological/nature verbs. Three different constructions are used with weather/nature verbs: constructions with *be-/bo-* verb roots, constructions with the root *ik-* "be," and constructions with the copula *iki*.

Constructions with *be-* "come"/*bo-* "go" Verb Roots

The examples below illustrate meteorological/nature verbs expressed through the verb roots *be-* and *bo-*:

107a) Oi-0-ra be-ai.
rain-AB-AS come:PL-INC
"It is raining/the rain is coming."

107b) Oi-0-ra bo-ai.
rain-AB-AS go:PL-INC
"The rain is moving somewhere else."

108a) Koin-0-ra be-ai.
cloud-AB-AS come:PL-INC

108b) Koin-0-ra bo-ai.
cloud-AB-AS go:PL-INC

"The cloud is coming."   "The cloud is moving somewhere
                                        else."

109a) Niwe-0-ra   be-ai.   109b) Niwe-0-ra   bo-ai.
       wind-AB-AS come:PL-INC   wind-AB-AS go:PL-INC
       "The wind is coming."   "The wind is moving somewhere
                                              else."

110a) Jene-0-ra   be-ai.   110b) Jene-0-ra   bo-ai.
       water-AB-AS come:PL-INC   water-AB-AS go:PL-INC
       "It is flooding."   "The water level is lowering."

111a) Ani bechon-0-ra be-ai.   111b) Ani bechon-0-ra bo-ai.
       big wave-AB-AS come:PL-INC   big wave-AB-AS go:PL-INC
       "The big waves are coming."   "The big waves are moving
                                              somewhere else/passing."

112a) Wakanawa-ronki be-ai.   112b) Wakanawa-ronki   bo-ai.
       school.of.fish-hsy come:PL-INC   school.of.fish-hsy go:PL-INC
       "The school of fish is approaching." "The school of fish is passing."

The constructions above have three different potential interpretations:

A first possible interpretation would be to identify these verb roots as the transitive "bring" and "carry", *be-* and *bo-*, respectively (to be discussed below). According to this interpretation, the single argument, marked absolutive, would be the object; and the subject would be absent. Therefore, the verbs in question would fall under the "subjectless" category.

A second possibility would be to interpret these verbs as the plural roots for "come" and "go," also *be-* and *bo-*, respectively. In this case, it could be assumed that meteorological/nature things such as rain, wind, cloud, water, and waves are considered plural. Under this interpretation, we would be dealing with single argument verbs, but the expressed argument would be the subject. However, when the plural roots *be-* and *bo-* are used, the plural suffix *-kan* is obligatory elsewhere, and it is not present in these meteorological/nature constructions.

A third possibility is to interpret *be-* and *bo-* as a separate set of verb roots used exclusively in meteorological/nature constructions, meaning "get closer/come" and

"pass/move somewhere else," respectively.   Again, we would be dealing with single argument verbs, but the constructions would not be "subjectless."

　　　Shipibo speakers intuitively identify *be-* and *bo-* with the meanings "get closer/come" and "go/pass," and the single argument as the subject, thus rejecting the first interpretation. This intuition is reinforced when applying the "short answer to yes/no questions" test (see fuller discussion in chapters III and VII). While the short way to answer affirmatively or negatively to the verbs *be-* "bring" and *bo-* "carry" is *be-kin/be-*

ama and *bo-kin/bo-ama*, respectively, the short way to answer yes/no questions about these meteorological/nature verbs is *be-i/be-ama* and *bo-i/bo-ama*[9]. Consider the following examples:

113a) -Bita-n-ki   binon-0   be-ai?
　　　　 Bita-ER-INT *aguaje*-AB bring-INC
　　　 -"Is Bita bringing *aguaje* (kind of fruit)?"

113b) -Be-kin/be-ama
　　　　 bring-SSST/bring-NEG
　　　 -"(Yes/no) (he) is (not) bringing it."

114a) -Oi-ki   be-ai?
　　　　 rain-INT come-INC
　　　 -"Is it raining?"

114b) -Be-i/be-ama.
　　　　 come-SSSI/come-NEG
　　　 -"(Yes/no) It is (not) coming."

115a) -Bita-n-ki   binon-0   bo-ai?
　　　　 Bita-ER-INT *aguaje*-AB carry-INC
　　　 -"Is Bita carrying *aguaje*?"

115b) -Bo-kin/bo-ama.
　　　　 carry-SSST/carry-NEG
　　　 -"(Yes/no) (he) is (not) carrying it."

116a) -Oi-ki   bo-ai?
　　　　 rain-INT go-INC
　　　 -"Is the rain passing?"

116b) -Bo-i/bo-ama
          go-SSSI/go-NEG
       -"(Yes/no) It is (not) going."

Note that the same-reference markers in the yes/no answers to the meteorological/nature verbs show that their subjects are intransitive. In addition to this, the forms *be-i/be-ama* (come:PL-SSSI/come:PL-NEG) and *bo-i/bo-ama* (go:PL-SSSI/go:PL-NEG) are also used when answering yes/no questions with the plural roots of

the verbs "come" and "go." Therefore, I conclude that the verb roots *be- and bo-* which help express meteorological/nature predicates are the same as the plural roots for "come" and "go." Subjects such as "rain," "wind," "waves," or "school of fish" can be considered as non-countable, mass nouns (that is, neither singular nor plural); therefore, they take the plural root of the verbs "come" and "go," but are not required to take the plural suffix -*kan*.

<p align="center">Constructions with the Root Ik- "Be":</p>

In this second kind of weather/nature construction, the meteorological phenomenon is the subject of the intransitive verb *ik-* "be":

117)   Tirin   ik-ai.
        ONOM   be-INC
        "It is thundering."

118)   Kaná   biri   ik-ai.
        lightning flash be-INC
        "It is lightening."

<p align="center">Constructions with the Copula Iki</p>

In the third type of weather/nature construction the meteorological phenomenon is the subject of the copula *iki*, related to the verb *ik-* "be." Consider the following examples:

119)   Matsi   r-iki.
        cold   AS-COP
        "It is cold."

120)   Xana   r-iki.
        hot   AS-COP
        "It is hot."

121)   Niwe   r-iki.
        wind   AS-COP
        "It is windy."

122)   Koin   r-iki.
        cloud   AS-COP
        "It is cloudy."

123)   Bari   r-iki.
        sun   AS-COP
        "It is sunny."

<div align="center">

Derived Intransitive Verbs

</div>

SC distinguishes different word classes such as pronouns, nouns, determiners, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and postpositions. Besides verb roots, nouns, adjectives and some adverbs can take verb inflectional suffixes directly and function as verbal predicates. (Crucially, verb roots require nominalization suffixes such as *-ai, -a, -ti, -mis, -yosma, -kas* in order to work as nouns.) Most of these single-argument verbs derived from nouns and adjectives express a change of state undergone by the participant (that is, are inchoative), or a state. As will be shown below, some derived intransitive verbs exhibit particular transitivization properties.

<div align="center">

Intransitive Verbs Derived from Nouns

</div>

In SC, nouns can be used as verb roots just by adding inflectional verb suffixes, and without any other verbalizing device. Consider the following examples:

bimi   "fruit"   bimi-   "yield fruit"
ino   "tiger"   ino-   "become tiger"
kapé   "alligator"   kapé-   "become alligator"
yometso "thief"   yometso-   "become/be thief"

124)   Yoashi-ko   Inka-n   shinan-ketian-ronki rabe joni-0   *kapé*-ni-ke.
        Stingy-DIM Inca-ER   think-PDS-hsy   two man-AB alligator-REM-CMPL

"It is said that when the Stingy Inca concentrated on it, the two men turned into alligators."

The verb *yometso-* "become/be thief" turns out to be intransitive and not the transitive "steal." A second NP, corresponding to the thing stolen can be added; however, this would be encoded as an oblique rather than as a direct object. Consider the following example:

125) Nawa-*0*-ra   yometso-ke   nokon   santira-*nin.*
       outsider-AB-AS thief-CMPL   POS1   watermelon-OBL1
       "The outsider stole my watermelon." (Lit. "The outsider became/is a thief by
         means of my watermelon.") (Loriot et alia 1993:428)

Intransitive Verbs Derived from Adjectives

Adjectives in SC behave similarly to nouns in the sense that they also can function as verb roots without the addition of any verbalizing device other than the regular verb inflection:

xana	"hot"	xana-	"become hot, be hot"
ani	"big"	ani-	"become big"
joshin	"red"	joshin-	"become red, ripe"
bená	"new"	bená-	"become new"
siná	"angry, fierce, brave"	sinat-	"get/be angry"
raké	"fearful, scared"	raket-	"fear, be scared"
yoashi	"stingy"	yoashi-	"be stingy"

126) Nokon chopa payo-0 lejia-nin   ak-a-ra   *bená*-ke.
       POS1   clothes old-AB bleach-INSTR make-PART-AS new-CMPL
       "My old clothes washed with bleach became new."

127) Bari xana-ketian-ra ea-0   *xan*-ai.
       sun   hot-PDS-AS   1-AB   hot-INC
       "When it is summertime, I feel hot." (Loriot et alia 1993:394)

128) Nato bake-0-ra   bina-n   teka-a   *joshin*-kiran-ke   wini-kas-i.

this   child-AB-AS wasp-ER bite-PAB red-coming-CMPL cry-DES-SSSI
"This child became red wanting to cry because a wasp bit him." (Loriot et alia 1993:234)

129)   Ea-0-ra   *sinat*-ai.
          1-AB-AS angry-INC
          "I am angry."

130)   Ea-0-ra   *raket*-ai.
          1-AB-AS scared-INC
          "I am scared."

Intransitive Verbs Derived from Adverbs and Postpositions

A few adverbs and postpositions can also become verbs without requiring any extra verbalizing device:

ochó   "far"   ochó- "get far"
bebon "front" adverb, postposition   bebon- "to go ahead"
kexá   "at the edge, on the shore"   kexá- "get close to the edge, shore"
napon "in the middle"   napon-"go to the center, middle"

In SC at least some adverbs and postpositions seem to have a nominal origin. The root *kexá* means also "mouth," and the root *napo* is still used as a noun meaning "interior/content." The postposition *napo-n* might be the combination of *napo* plus the locative-directional -*n*. Consider the following examples:

Noun

131)   Jawen *napo*-0-ra   nata-kaa-ke.
        POS3 interior-AB-AS spill-DTRNZ-CMPL
        "Its content/interior (of the tree) spilled."

Adverb

132)   Aniwaporo-0-ra paro *napon*   reo-koo-ke   sama-man

ship-AB-AS river in.the.middle overturn-DTRNZ-CMPL whirlwind-ER

i-ma-a.
be-CAUS-PAB
"A ship sank in the middle of the river due to a whirlwind." (Loriot et alia 1993:280)

Verb

133) Ea-0-ra *napon*-ke.
   1-AB-AS go.to.the.center-CMPL
   "I went to the center (of the river or lake)."

<center>Derived Intransitive Verbs with Oblique Arguments</center>

  Some derived intransitive verbs show a strong tendency to co-occur with complements marked by *-ki* and *-n*, and therefore might be considered as (or on their way to becoming) two-argument intransitive verbs. This class includes verbs that encode emotions/sensations such as: *raket-* "be(come) afraid," *rabin-* "be(come) ashamed/embarrased," *raro-* "be(come) happy," *bene-* "be(come) happy," *sinat-* "be(come) angry," *keras-* "feel disgusted/sick," and *yometso-* "be(come) thief." In general, the suffix *-ki* seems to mark the participant towards whom one feels the emotion, while *-n* tends to mark the participant in whose interest one feels the emotion. Consider the following examples[10]:

sinat- "be(come) angry"

134) Ea-0-ra Yabi-*ki* sinat-ai.
   1-AB-AS Yabi-OBL2 get.angry-INC
   "I hate Yabi." (Lit. "I am angry at Yabi.")

135) Jose-kan-ra jawen wetsa-0 sinat-ai.
   Jose-OBL1-AS POS3 sibling-AB be(come).angry-INC
   "José's brother gets angry for him (José) (because somebody is bothering José)."
   (Lit. "His brother becomes angry on account of José.")

raket- "be(come) afraid"

136) Chonon Biri-0-ra   ochíti siná-*ki*   raké-ke.
      Chonon Biri-AB-AS dog   fierce-OBL2 be.afraid-CMPL
      "Chonon Biri was afraid of the fierce dog."

137) Bene ik-ax-a   noa-0   tso-*ki*-bi   raké-yam-ai.
      male be-PSSI-AS 1p-AB who-OBL2-EMP be.afraid-NEG-INC
      "Because we are men (being men), we are not afraid of anybody." (Loriot et alia 1993:360)

138) Nokon atapa-*nin*-ra   ea-0   raket-ai.
      POS1   chichen-OBL1-AS 1-AB   fear-INC
      "I am afraid because of my chickens."

    However, this complementary distribution of the oblique markers does not seem to be completely rigid. The example below shows the feared argument marked with -*n* instead of the expected -*ki*:

139) Ikaxbi-ronki ochó taxké-ti-*nin*   raké-katit-ai,   oi-n
      but-hsy   far   travel-INF-OBL1 be.afraid-IMP:REM-INC rain-ER

      a-na-ketian.
      make-WARN-PDS
      "However, she was afraid of travelling far, because the rain could kill her."
      (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:12)

rabin- "be(come) embarrased, ashamed"

140) Ea-0-ra   nokon bene-*n*   jato-*ki* rabin-ai,   kikin
      1-AB-AS POS1 husband-OBL1 3p-OBL2 be.embarrased-INC very

      yopa   i-ketian.
      bad.fisher/hunter bePDS
      "I feel embarrased in front of them (because) of my husband, since he is a bad fisher/hunter."

keras- "feel disgusted/sick"

141)   ...mi-*ki*-ra   keras-kan-ai
       ....2-OBL2-AS   feel.disgusted/sick-PL-INC
       "They feel disgusted/sick about you." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:5)

yoashi- "be(come) stingy"

The semantic frame of this verb includes three participants: the one denying, the thing denied and the person that thing is denied to. While the agent is always marked absolutive, and the (non)recipient is marked oblique, the thing denied shows alternative markings between oblique and absolutive:

142)   Nokon papa-shoko-*0*-ra   nokon wetsa-*ki*   mishkiti-*nin*
       POS1   father-DIM-AB-AS   POS1   sibling-OBL2 fishhook-OBL1

       yoashi-ke.
       be.stingy-CMPL
       "My grandfather denied my brother the fishhook." (Lit. "My grandfather was stingy towards my brother by means of the fishhook.") (Loriot et alia 1993:426)

143)   Jaweki yoká-kan-a-*0*-ronki   i-paoni-ke   ikon-bires-s   iki
       thing   ask-PL-PART-AB-hsy   be-REM-CMPL true-pure-AS   COP

       jato-*ki*   yoashi-i.
       3p-OBL2   be.stingy-CONT
       "He used to fully deny them the things they asked for." (Bardales 1979:10)

raro- "be(come) happy"

The verb *raro-* "be(come) happy" marks its second argument with the oblique -*n*:

144)   Ea-0-ra   raro-ai   nokon ochíti-*nin*   ano-0   bi-ketian.
       1-AB-AS   be.happy-INC POS1   dog-OBL1   *majaz*-AB   get-PDS
       "I feel happy because of my dog, because it caught a *majaz* (giant rodent)."

The Complement of Means/Interest Pronominal Set

Another property of the class of verbs discussed in the preceding section is that when the oblique complement (or argument) marked by *-n* is pronominal, it takes a special set of pronouns that has been called "complemento de medio" (Loriot et alia 1993:34). This complement codes "the person or thing in whom one is interested" (Faust 1973:81; the translation is mine). This set of pronouns is as follows:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	eon	noon
2	mion	maton
3	jaon	jaton/jabaon/jaboan

These pronouns differ from both the absolutive and the ergative paradigms:

Absolutive

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ea	noa
2	mia	mato
3	ja	jato/jabo

Ergative

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	en	non
2	min	maton
3	jan	jaton/jabaon/jaboan/jaboaon

The sentences below illustrate intransitive verbs that take this set of pronouns:

145) Tita-0-ra   *no-on*   raket-ai   noa-0 Rima-n   manó-na-
      mother-AB-AS 1p-OBL1 be.afraid-INC 1p-AB Lima-LOC get.lost-WARN-

      -ketian.
      -PDS
      "Mother worries for us, because we can get lost in Lima."

146) Ea-0-ra   *mi-on*   raket-ai.
      1-AB-AS 2-OBL1 be.afraid-INC
      "I am afraid for you."

147) Ea-0-ra   *mi-on*   rabin-ai.
      1-AB-AS 2-OBL1 be.ashamed-INC

"I am ashamed of you."

148) Ea-0-ra   *mi-on*   raro-ai.
    1-AB-AS   2-OBL1   be.happy-INC
    "I feel happy because of you."

149) Ea-0-ra   *mi-on*   bene-ai.
    1-AB-AS   2-OBL1   be.happy-INC
    "I feel happy because of you."

150) Ea-0-ra   *mi-on*   sinat-ai.
    1-AB-AS   2-OBL1   be.angry-INC
    "I am angry for you (due to something that happened to you)."

151) Ea-0-ra   *mi-on*   wini-ai.
    1-AB-AS   2-OBL1   cry-INC
    "I am crying because of you."

<div align="center">Intransitive Verbs: Conclusions</div>

In this chapter I have presented the major types of intransitive verbs and their clause constructions. Firstly, I have described the different kinds of copular clauses (nominal, adjectival, locative, and possessive); in most cases, the zero copula construction is also possible. Secondly, I have described existential constructions, which show a different pattern for the affirmative and the negative forms. The negative-existential *yama* seems to function as a copular predicate and also as a regular intransitive verb root taking tense/aspect suffixes. *Yama* has also grammaticalized as the negative verb suffix. Thirdly, it has been shown that inherently directed motion verbs exhibit special properties: *jo-* "come" and *ka-* "go" have differentiated singular/plural roots (*be-* and *bo-*, respectively). Together with other motion verbs, these can also take locative and clausal complements. At least one of these motion verbs, *mapet-* "go up (obliquely)" has the alternative of taking a locative object. Furthermore, a few intransitve verbs such as "be possible/easy," and "be impossible/difficult" can take nominalized sentential subjects. In addition, I have distinguished three kinds of meteorological/nature verbs; in all three kinds the single argument is mapped onto the grammatical relation of subject. Finally, nouns, adjectives, and certain adverbs can function as intransitive verb roots without requiring any verbalizing device other than the simple addition of verbal inflectional morphology. These verbs tend to express change of states and states. A group of these derived verb roots referring to emotions/sensations might be on their way to becoming two-argument intransitive verbs because of the frequency with which they co-occur with an oblique

phrase. The oblique suffixes *-ki* and *-n* show a fairly consistent distribution when used with these predicates. While the former tends to code the recipient of the emotion/sensation, the latter tends to code the participant in whom the subject is interested. When the participant marked by *-n* takes a pronominal expression, a special oblique set, different from the absolutive and the ergative pronominal paradigms, is used. In chapter V, I will show that distinguishing between non-derived and the kinds of derived intransitive verbs discussed in this chapter might have consequences in understanding some transitivization processes in SC.

CHAPTER V

TRANSITIVIZATION STRATEGIES

In this chapter, I discuss a sub-categorization of Shipibo-Conibo intransitive verbs based on their behavior under transitivization.

Austin (1993) assumes that transitivization of an intransitive predicate involves the combination of its base argument structure with that of a higher predicate. In dealing with transitivity in Australian languages, Austin points out that there are two possible patterns of transitivization: causativization, and applicativization.

<u>Causativization</u>

As has been mentioned above, it is assumed that there are three basic syntactic-semantic primitives, A, S, and O. In the causativization process, "the derived O of the transitive stem corresponds to the S of the intransitive root and an A argument is introduced" (Austin 1993:3). According to Austin's view, causatives are accounted for as a higher predicate that takes two arguments: (1) the causer (Agent) and (2) the caused event (including its argument structure):

<div style="text-align:center">

higher predicate   caused predicate

---------------------------|

CAUSE   < agent   PRED < caused event >>

</div>

In causative constructions, and depending on the language, the causee may be treated more or less like the patient of the higher cause predicate. In SC, the causee is always treated as the absolutive of the cause predicate, regardless of whether the lower root is intransitive or transitive.

Shipibo-Conibo has a causative suffix, *-ma*, that can be added to intransitive and to transitive verb roots. Besides the causative *-ma*, there are two other transitivization markers in the language that seem to have a similar function, *-n* and *-a*. These two markers occur in complementary distribution with each other (with few exceptions). These transitivization markers are good candidates for distinguishing among different kinds of intransitive verbs, in that there are verbs which:

a) transitivize exclusively by adding the causative *-ma*,
b) transitivize by adding either *-ma* or *-n*; or
c) transitivize by adding either *-ma* or *-a*.

The Causative *-ma*

The causative *-ma* can be suffixed to intransitive and to transitive verbs. When attached to intransitive verbs, these become transitive through the addition of an agent participant. In Austin's terms, the derived O of the transitivized verb corresponds to what was the S of the intransitive root. The patient of the higher predicate (or causee) is co-referential with the single participant of the basic predicate. For example:

jo- "come"	jo-ma- "make someone come"
ka- "go"	ka-ma- "make someone go"
nono- "swim"	nono-ma- "make someone swim"
noya- "fly"	noya-ma- "make something fly"
ishto- "run"	ishto-ma- "make someone run"
choron- "jump"	choron-ma- "make someone jump"
yakat- "sit"	yaká-ma- "make someone sit"
oko- "cough"	oko-ma- "make someone cough"
jison- "urinate"	jison-ma- "make someone urinate"
poi- "defecate, oxidate"	poi-ma- "make someone/thing defecate/oxidate"
ransa- "dance"	ransa-ma- "make someone dance"
wini- "cry"	wini-ma- "make someone cry"
nashi- "take a bath"	nashi-ma- "make someone take a bath"
kai- "reproduce"	kai-ma- "make someone/thing reproduce"
teet- "work"	tee-ma- "make someone work"

152) E-n-ra   Sani-0   jo-*ma*-i.
     1-ER-AS   Sani-AB   come-CAUS-INC
     "I made Sani come."

153) E-n-ra   nokon poi-0   ka-*ma*-wan-ke.
     1-ER-AS   POS1   sister-AB go-CAUS-PST-CMPL
     "I made my sister go." (Faust 1973:70)

154) Ja-n-ra   ea-0   yaká-*ma*-riba-ke.
     3-ER-AS   1-AB   sit-CAUS-REP-CMPL
     "He made me sit again." (Faust 1973:70)

155) E-n-ra   choncho-0   kai-*ma*-ke.
     1-ER-AS chicken-AB reproduce-CAUS-CMPL
     "I made the chicken reproduce."

The marker -*ma* also functions as an indirect causation suffix, having the meaning of letting something happen. For example, the verb stem *mawá-ma-* ("die" + -*ma*) means to "let someone die," and not to "kill." This verb stem is employed, for instance, when somebody is taking care of a sick person and this person dies. The idea of "kill" is expressed through a different verb root, *rete-*. Consider the following example:

156) Rokotoro-iba bo-yama-xon-ra   mato-n, nato ainbo-0
     doctor-where carry-NEG-PSST-AS 2p-ER   this   woman-AB

     mawá-*ma*-kean-ke.
     die-CAUS-FRUSTR-CMPL
     "If you had not taken this woman to the doctor, you would have let her die."
     (Loriot et alia 1993:237)

With some verbs, the suffix -*ma* can be either a direct or an indirect causation marker, depending on the context:

157) Atapa   kene meran awápa-0   jiki-*ma*-yama-kan-we.
     chicken cage inside *tigrillo*-AB enter-CAUS-NEG-PL-IMP
     "Don't let the *tigrillo* (wildcat) enter the chicken coop." (Loriot et alia 1993:237)

158) E-n-ra   bake-0   xobo meran jiki-*ma*-ke.
     1-ER-AS   child-AB house inside   enter-CAUS-CMPL
     "I let the child enter the house/I made the child enter the house."

The Transitivizer -*a*: Unaccusative Verbs

There is a set of intransitive verbs that can also be transitivized by adding the suffix -*a*, which comes from the verb root *ak-* "make" These verbs are mostly derived from adjectives,[11] and their only argument can be characterized as having the patient-of-change semantic roles. In the intransitive use, it seems that the changes the participant goes through happen spontaneously and are out of his/her control. Consider the following verbs:

ako "thin"	ako- "become thin or dry"	ako-a- "make something get dry or skinny"
ani "big"	ani- "grow"	ani-a- "raise"
bená "new"	benat- "become new"	bená-a- "make something become new"
bene "happy"	bene- "become happy"	bene-a- "make someone happy"
bexmi "cross-eyed, one-eyed"	bexmi- "become cross-eyed, one-eyed"	bexmi-a- "make someone one-eyed"
keras "dirty"	keras- "feel repulsed"	keras-a- "make something dirty"
raké "fearful"	raké- "be scared"	raké-a- "scare/threaten someone"
xana "hot"	xana- "become hot"	xana-a- "heat something"
bata "sweet"	bata- "become sweet"	bata-a/bata-n- "sweeten something"
biin "sticky"	biin- "become sticky"	biin-a- "make something sticky" (also biin-ma-)
potá "muddy"	potá- "become muddy"	potá-a- "make water become muddy"
potó "full, sated"	potóti "get fed up"	poto-a- "fill something completely, make someone get fed up"
bebon (adv). "front"	bebon- "get to the front"	bebon-a- "put something in the front"

These verb roots, which can be considered as a set of unaccusative verbs, transitivize by taking the suffixes -*a* and -*ma*. In some cases, the stems transitivized with -*a* and the ones transitivized with -*ma* have the same meaning, as illustrated in sentences 159)-160); in other cases, a semantic distinction can be observed, as in 161)-162):

Same meaning

159a) Atsa   mari bichi-a-ra   *biin*-ke.
      manioc prepare.*tacacho*-PAB-AS become.sticky-CMPL
      "The manioc being prepared as *tacacho*[12] became sticky."

159b) Tita-n-ra   paranta *biin-a*-kin-shaman   chachi-ke.
      mother-ER-AS plantain become.sticky-TRNZ-SSST-DIM   mash-CMPL
      "Mother mashed the plantain making it sticky."

159c) Tita-n-ra   paranta *biin-ma*-kin-shaman   chachi-ke.

mother-ER-AS   plantain   become.sticky-CAUS-SSST-DIM   mash-CMPL
"Mother mashed the plantain making it sticky."

160a) Jene-0-ra   *potá*-ke.
     water-AB-AS   become.muddy-CMPL
     "The water became muddy."

160b) E-n-ra   jene-0   *potá-a*-ke.
     1-ER-AS   water-AB   become.muddy-TRNZ-CMPL
     "I made the water muddy."

160c) E-n-ra   jene-0   *potá-ma*-ke.
     1-ER-AS   water-AB   become.muddy-CAUS-CMPL
     "I made the water muddy."

Different meaning

161a) Bake-0-ra   *ani*-ai.
     child-AB-AS   become.big-INC
     "The child is growing."

161b) E-n-ra   bake-0   *ani-a*-i/*ani-ak*-ai.
     1-ER-AS   child-AB   become.big-TRNZ-INC
     "I raise the child."

161c) E-n-ra   bake-0   *ani-ma*-ai.
     1-ER-AS   child   become.big-CAUS-INC
     "I make the child grow (taking special care of him/her; i.e. by giving him special food or vitamins)."

162a) Ompax-0-a   *xana*-ai.
     water-AB-AS   become.hot-INC
     "The water heats."

162b) E-n-ra   ompax-0   *xan[a]-a*-ai/*xana-ak*-ai.
     1-ER-AS   water-AB   become.hot-TRNZ-INC
     "I heat the water (put it on the fire and probably leave it)."

162c) E-n-ra   ompax-0   *xana-ma*-ai.
            1-ER-AS   water-AB   become.hot-CAUS-INC
            "I heat the water (taking constant care of it)."

As the examples above show, when there is a semantic distinction between the verbs transitivized with *-a* and those transitivized with *-ma*, the forms that take *-ma* imply a greater involvement of the agent in getting the action executed, such as taking care while things undergo a change. However, the suffix *-ma* also seems to indicate that the agent is not the most immediate cause of the change the patient undergoes. Let us see another example with a derived intransitive verb which confirms this kind of indirect causation:

163a) E-n-ra   *bená-a*-i   soro-0.
            1-ER-AS   become.new-TRNZ-INC *sol*-AB
            "I make the coin (look) new."

163b) *E-n-ra   soro-0   *bená-ma*-i.
            1-ER-AS   *sol*-AB   become.new-CAUS-INC
            "I make the coin (look) new." (e.g. I exert some sort or effect such that the inner force or action of the coin itself produces the new appearance.)

Sentence 163b) is not acceptable since it would imply that the coin has some possibility of becoming new by itself, without the subject's direct causation. This unacceptability of 163b) is consistent with our interpretation of *-ma* with these kind of verbs as an indirect causation marker. On the other hand, the derived verb root *bimi-* "yield fruit" can take the causativizer *-ma* indicating indirect causation, but not the suffix *-a* since trees yield fruit by themselves without requiring of an external causer. However, the transitive stem *bimi-ma-* also indicates a greater involvement of the participant, in the sense of taking constant care while the patient undergoes the change:

164a) E-n-ra   kaimito-0   *bimi-ma*-i.
            1-ER-AS *caimito*-AB yield.fruit-CAUS-INC
            "I am taking care of the *caimito* till it yield fruits (I don't let anybody touch it)."

164b) *E-n-ra   kaimito-0   bimi-a-ai.
            1-ER-AS *caimito*-AB yield.fruit-TRNZ-INC
            "I made the *caimito* yield fruit".

Not all intransitive verbs derived from adjectives can take the *-a* transitivizer (for example, *benes* "lowered (referent to the water)" but **benes-a-*). At least one

unaccusative derived intransitives can take both the *-a* and *-n* transitivizers (*bata* "sweet," *bata-* "become sweet," *bata-a-/bata-n-* "sweeten"). Finally, some intransitive verbs derived from nouns can also transitivize by taking *-a* (*axe* "custom/use," *axe-* "get used to/learn," *axe-a-* "teach"; *bobon* "boil," *bobon-* "boils appear," *bobon-a-* "cause boils"; *bonko* "virgin forest," *bonko-* "grow impenetrable forest," *bonko-a-* "make forest grow").

<div align="center">The Transitivizer -n: Unergative Verbs</div>

There is a closed set of intransitive verbs that transitivize by adding the suffix *-n*. These verbs seem to refer to body movements or positions that can be intentionally assumed. However, this group includes a few derived intransitives coming from nouns and adjectives. When compared with the verbs that transitivize by adding the *-a* suffix, these verb roots seem to refer to activities more likely to be controlled by the participant, and more interestingly, the single argument of these verbs is semantically an agent, thus corresponding to the definition of unergative verbs as intransitive verbs whose single argument plays the semantic role of agent.[13] Consider the following verbs that take the suffix *-n*:

chankat- "stand on two feet"	chanka-n- "make something stand"
charot-"be standing (people)	charo-n- "stand (things)"
ashpat- "open the legs"	ashpa-n- "open the legs to somebody"
beba- "cross to the opposite side"	beba-n- "cross/trepass something"
oxa- "sleep"	oxa-n- "make somebody sleep"
wenit- "stand up"	weni-n- "make somebody/thing stand up"
rakat- "lie"	raka-n- "lay something"
mapet- "go up obliquely"	mape-n- "open/uncover something"
tsamat- "group oneself"	tsamá-n- "group, pile up" (tsamá "group")
bata- "become sweet"	bata-n- "sweeten something" (bata "sweet)
	bata-ma- "sweeten something"
	(*bata-* also transitivizes with *-a*).

Thererefore, these roots can be considered as a set of unergative verbs. Some verbs show no semantic distinction when transitivizing with *-n* or with *-ma*, as illustrated in 165):

165a) Bake-0-ra   *oxa*-ke.
      child-AB-AS sleep-CMPL
      "The child slept."

165b) E-n-ra   bake-0   *oxa-n*-ke.
       1-ER-AS child-AB sleep-TRNZ-CMPL
       "I made the child sleep."

165c) E-n-ra   bake-0   *oxa-ma*-ke.
       1-ER-AS child-AB sleep-CAUS-CMPL
       "I made the child sleep."

Other verbs show a different meaning when taking -*n* versus -*ma* (166-167). With the -*ma* form, the causation is again less direct thanwith the -*n* form:

166a) Ja-0-ra   *wení*-ke.
       3-AB-AS stand-CMPL
       "He is standing up."

166b) Ja-n-ra   Sani-0   *weni-n*-ke.
       3-ER-AS   Sani-AB   stand-TRNZ-CMPL
       "He made Sani stand up (physically)."

166c) Ja-n-ra   Sani-0   *wení-ma*-ke.
       3-ER-AS   Sani-AB   stand-CAUS-CMPL
        "He made Sani stand up (by asking/ordering him, not physically)."

167a) Ja-0-ra   *rakat*-ai.
       3-AB-AS   lie-INC
       "He is lying down."

167b) Ja-n-ra   Sani-0   *raka-n*-ai.
       3-ER-AS   Sani-AB lie-TRNZ-INC
       "He is making Sani lie down (physically)."

167c) Ja-n-ra   Sani-0   *raká-ma*-i.
       3-ER-AS Sani-AB lie-CAUS-INC
       "He is making Sani lie down (by asking/ordering him, not physically)."

However, the completive form of *raká-ma*- allows a direct causation interpretation:

168a) Ja-n-ra   Sani-0   *raka-n*-ke.

3-ER-AS Sani-AB lie-TRNZ-CMPL

"He made Sani lie down (physically)."

168b) Ja-n-ra   Sani-0   *raká-ma*-ke.
      3-ER-AS Sani-AB lie-CAUS-CMPL
      "He made Sani lie down (physically or not)."

We can conclude that while the stems transitivized with *-n* indicate that the agent is a direct causer, the stems transitivized with *-ma* tend to indicate indirect causation. This conclusion is compatible with the observations regarding the use of the *-a* transitivizer as opposed to the causative *-ma*.

Applicativization

Applicatives can be defined as a (generally) valence-increasing morphological device, that adds a verb argument with a semantically restricted object function. Kinya Rwanda (Bantu), Nez Perce (Sahaptian), and Nomatsiguenga (Arawakan) are languages which have rich sets of applicatives. When applicatives are added to an otherwise intransitive root, "the derived A of the transitive stem corresponds to the S of the intransitive root and an O argument is introduced" (Austin 1993:3).

Shipibo-Conibo has three applicatives: the benefactive (sometimes malefactive) *-xon*, the associative *-kin ~ -kiin*, and the malefactive *-(V)naan ~ -(V)n*. Interestingly, while the first two morphemes can be suffixed to both intransitive and transitive verbs, the third one can be attached to transitive verbs only.

The Benefactive *-xon*

The benefactive *-xon* can be added to intransitive or transitive verbs. When added to an intranstive verb it works as a transitivizer, adding a second participant; in these cases, the subject or derived A (fromerly the S) takes the ergative marker, and the beneficiary is marked absolutive. When attached to intransitive verbs the applicative *-xon* can function either as a benefactive or as a malefactive, depending on the context. As will be described below, the reason for this double function is that intransitive verbs cannot take the malefactive suffix. The following are examples of intransitive verbs taking the benefactive (sometimes malefactive) *-xon*:

169a) Nokon   wetsa-*0*-ra   tee-ke.
      POS1   sibling-AB-AS work-CMPL
      "My brother worked (in the garden)."

169b) Nokon wetsa-*n*-ra   ea-*0*   tee-*xon*-ke.
       POS1   sibling-ER-AS 1-AB   work-BEN-CMPL
       "My brother worked for me/for my benefit (in my garden)." (Loriot et alia
         1993:400)

170a) Pexe Piko-*0*-ra   ka-ke.
       Pexe   Piko-AB-AS go-CMPL
       "Pexe Piko left."

170b) Pexe Piko-*n*-ra   ea-*0*   ka-*xon*-ke.
       Pexe Piko-ER-AS   1-AB   go-BEN-CMPL
       "Pexe Piko left (and this affects me either positively or negatively)."

171a) Nokon   bake-*0*-ra   jo-ke.
       POS1   child-AB-AS   come-CMPL
       "My son came."

171b) Nokon   bake-*n*-ra   ea-*0*   jo-*xon*-ke.
       POS1   child-ER-AS   1-AB   come-BEN-CMPL
       "My son came for me (i.e. my benefit)." (Faust 1973:71)

172a) Ja-*0*-ra   mapet-ai.
       3-AB-AS   go.up-INC
       "(S)he is going up."

172b) Ja-*n*-ra   ea-*0*   mape-*xon*-ai.
       3-ER-AS 1-AB   go.up-BEN-INC
       "He goes up for me." (Faust 1973:71)

    Derived intransitives can also take the benefactive applicative:

shino   "monkey"
shino-   "turn into a monkey"
shino-xon-   "turn into a monkey/behave like a monkey for someone else's benefit" (for
                    instance, to make someone laugh)

173)   Rano-man-ra   bake-bo-0   shino-*xon*-ke.
       young.man-ER-AS   child-PL-AB   trun.into.monkey-BEN-CMPL
       "The young man behaves like a monkey to please the children."

As mentioned above, transitive verbs can take the applicative -*xon* also. However, in these instances -*xon* functions as benefactive exclusively:

174)   Ea-0   bimi-0   pota-*xon*-we!
        1-AB   fruit-AB throw-BEN-INC
        "Throw me some fruits!" (Loriot et alia 1993:400)

175)   Meráya-nin-ra   ea-0 nama-*xon*-ke   nokon machíto-0   e-n
        shaman-ER-AS 1-AB dream-BEN-CMPL POS1 machete-AB 1-ER

        manó-ma-yantan-a.
        get.lost-CAUS-PST3-PART
        "The shaman found through his dream the machete I had lost." (Lit. "The shaman dreamed me (to my benefit) the machete I had lost.")

176)   Nokon papa-n-ra   ea-0 Kesten Beso-0   jawen baba-0
        POS1   father-ER-AS 1-AB Kesten Beso-AB POS3 grand.child-AB

        yoká-*xon*-ke,   nokon awin a-ti.
        ask-BEN-CMPL POS1   wife-TRNZ-PURP
        "My father asked Kesten Beso his granddaughter (to my benefit), so that I make her my wife."

<div align="center">The Associative -*kin* ~ -*kiin*</div>

Another applicative that can be added to both intransitive and transitive verbs is the associative -*kin* ~ -*kiin*. When added to an intransitive verb, this suffix adds a second argument, generally interpreted as an "accompanied" or "helped" participant. Derived intransitives also take the associative applicative. Consider the following examples:

177a) Papa-0-ra   mapé-ke.
        father-AB-AS go.up-CMPL
        "Father went up."

177b) Papa-n-ra   jawen bake-0   mapé-*kiin*-ke.

father-ER-AS   POS3   child-AB   go.up-ASSOC-CMPL
"The father went up with his son"[14]. (Faust 1973:71)

178a) Ja-0-ra   pasian-ke.
      3-AB-AS   go.for.walk-CMPL
      "He went for a walk."

178b) Ja-n-ra   ea-0   pasian-*kin*-ke.
      3-ER-AS   1-AB   go.for.walk-ASSOC-CMPL
      "He accompanied me to go for a walk." (Faust 1973:71)

179a) Jawen   baba-0-ra   yaká-ke.
      POS3   granddaughter-AB-AS   sit-CMPL
      "Her granddaughter is sitting."

179b) Jawen   baba-n-ra   jawen   yoxan-0   paxkin-ketian
      POS3   granddaughter-ER-AS   POS3   old.woman-AB   tired-PDS

      yaká-*kin*-ke.
      sit-ASSOC-CMPL
      "Since her grandmother was tired, the granddaughter sits with her."

180a) Ea-0-ra   bachi-n   jiki-ai.
      1-AB-AS   mosquito.net-DIR   enter-INC
      "I am going into the mosquito net."

180b) E-n-ra   nokon   wetsa   chiní-0   bachi-n   jiki-*kin*-ai.
      1-ER-AS   POS1   sibling   youngest-AB   mosquito.net-DIR   enter-ASSOC-INC
      "I go into the mosquito net with my little brother."

181a) Jawen   baba-0-ra   nashi-ke.
      POS3   granddaughter-AB-AS   take.a.bath-CMPL
      "Her granddaughter took a bath."

181b) Jawen   baba-n-ra   yoxan-0   nashi-*kin*-ke.
      POS3   granddaughter-ER-AS   old.woman-AB   take.a.bath-ASSOC-CMPL
      "Her granddaughter accompanied the grandmother to take a bath."

182a) Sani-0-ra   teet-ai.
      Sani-AB-AS work-INC
      "Sani is working (in the garden)."

182b) Sani-n-ra   Wexá-0   tee-*kin*-ai
      Sani-ER-AS Wexá-AB   work-ASSOC-INC
      "Sani works with Wexá (but for Sani's benefit, probably in Sani's garden)."

In the sentence below, the switch-reference marker indicates that the subject of *jawe ayamai it*- "have nothing to do," the son, is different from the subject of the main verb, the father:

183) Papa-n-ra   jawen bake-0   jawe a-yam-ai   it-*aintian*
      father-ER-AS POS3 son-AB   what   make-NEG-INC be-SDS

      tee-*kin*-ai.
      work-ASSOC-INC
      "Because his son has nothing to do, the father is working with him."

In contrast, the same-reference marker in 184) below indicates that the subject of "want to go" is co-referential with the subject of the main verb:

184) Wesna-n-ra   ishton ka-kas-*kin*   Rama tee-*kin*-ai.
      Wesna-ER-AS   soon   go-DES-SSST Rama   work-ASSOC-INC
      "Wesna is working with Rama because she (Wesna) wants to leave soon."

The preceding examples illustrate addition of the associative applicative to basic intransitive roots, yielding transitives. But the same applicative can be added to a basic transitive root. When this happens the added associated participant becomes the direct object. Two different syntactic options are available for the patient of the basic clause; either it is encoded as an oblique as in 182b), thus maintaining the clause as transitive, but changing the semantic role of the direct object, or it is encoded as a (probably less topical) second object as in 183b).

182a) E-n-ra   jatíbi jawéki-0   ak-ai.
      1-ER-AS   all   thing-AB   make-INC
      "I make everything."

182b) E-n   mia-0 jatíbi jawéki-*nin*   a-*kin*-ti   iki.

1-ER 2-AB   all   thing-OBL1 make-ASSOC-INF AUX
"I will help you with everything"

183a) E-n-ra   pei-0   bi-ai   xobo   a-ti.
       1-ER-AS   leave-AB get-INC house make-PURP
       "I am bringing leaves in order to build a house."

183b) Maistoro-0-ra   e-n   pei-*0*   bi-*kin*-ai   xobo a-ti.
       teacher-AB-AS 1-ER leaf-AB get-ASSOC-INC house make-INF
       "I am helping the teacher to bring leaves in order to build a house." (Loriot et alia
       1993:349)

184) E-n-ra   Kea-0   xantó-0   bi-*kin*-ke.
      1-ER-AS   Kea-AB beached.fish-AB   get-ASSOC-CMPL
      "I got the beached fish with Kea."

185) E-n-ra   nokon chai-0   manxaman   kawáti-0
      1-ER-AS   POS1   brother.in.law-AB *manxaman   kawáti*-AB

      kinan-*kin*-ke.
      vomit-ASSOC-CMPL
      "I invited my brother in law to consume (and then throw up) *manxaman kawáti*
      (kind of herb that men take to become good fisher/hunter)." (Lit. "I vomited
      manxaman kawáti with my brother in law,")

<center>The Malefactive -*(V)naan ~ -(V)n*</center>

        A third applicative is the malefactive or detrimental -*(V)naan ~ -(V)n*. This suffix
represents just the opposite of the benefactive; it means that the event or action was in
detriment of someone else. This suffix, unlike the previous two applicatives, can be
attached to transitive verbs only. Therefore, it will be used to distinguish between
intransitive and transitive verbs, rather than sub-classes of intransitive verbs. For
example:

186a) Nokon atapa-bo-0-ra   maxo-kan   pi-ke.
       POS1   chicken-PL-AB-AS opossum-ER eat-CMPL
       "The opossum ate my chickens."

186b) Nokon   atapa-bo-*0*-ra   maxo-kan   ea-0   pi-*anaan*-ke/pi-*an*-ke.
       POS1   chicken-PL-AB-AS   opossum-ER 1-AB   eat-MAL-CMPL
       "The opossum ate me my chikens." (Loriot et alia 1993:293)

187a) Nokon   ochíti-0-ra   rete-ke.
       POS1   dog-AB-AS   kill-CMPL
       "(He) killed my dog."

187b) Nokon   ochíti-0-ra   ea-0   rete-*n*-ke/rete-*naan*-ke.
       POS1   dog-AB-AS   1-AB   kill-MAL-CMPL
       "(He) killed me my dog." (Faust 1973:72)

188a) Ja-n-ra   ochíti-0   bo-ke.
       3-ER-AS dog-AB   carry-CMPL
       "He took a/the dog."

188b) Ja-n-ra   ea-0   ochíti-0 bo-*onaan*-ke/bo-*on*-ke.
       3-ER-AS 1-AB   dog-AB   carry-MAL-CMPL
       "He took me the dog (to my detriment)." (Faust 1973:72)

      Note that two applicatives can co-occur in the same predicate. In 189) below, the direct object <u>Rono</u> plays the associative role, while the benefactive argument *mia* "you" underwent equi-deletion:

189)   E-n-ra   Rono-0   shinan-*kin-xon*-ke   [mia-0   jaská-kin
       1-ER-AS   Rono-AB think-ASSOC-BEN-CMPL   2-AB   so-TRNS

       a-*xon*-ti].
       make-BEN-PURP
       "I gave Rono the idea so that he made it that way for you."

    In 190), the associative refers to the son and the malefactive to the owners of the canoe:

190)   [Kesten Beso-n   jawen bake-0   [jaton nonti yoká-ti]   raan-a-ra]
       Kesten Beso-ER POS3 child-AB POS3p canoe ask-PURP send-PART-AS

      e-n   yoká-*kin-naan*-tan-ke.
      1-ER ASSOC-MAL-go.and.come.back-CMPL
    "Kesten Beso sent his son to ask for their canoe, and I accompanied him to do it in
    their detriment (probably they did not want to lend their canoe)."

Finally, the causative -*ma* can co-occur with applicative suffixes in the same predicate:

191)   Moa-ra   mi-n ea-0   chomo-0 toe-*ma-anaan*-ke/toe-*ma-an*-ke.
         already-AS 2-ER 1-AB jar-AB   break-CAUS-MAL-CMPL
         "Already you made the jar break (to my detriment)."

192)   E-n-ra   mi-n   bake-0 mia-0 nonti-0   a-*ma-xon*-ke.
         1-ER-AS 2-GEN child-AB 2-AB canoe-AB make-CAUS-BEN-CMPL
         "On your behalf I made your son construct a canoe."

193)   Iskon Kopi-n-ra   yoi-ke   Betel joni-bo-0:   "Nashko betan Simon-0
         Iskon Kopi-ER-AS say-CMPL Betel man-PL-AB Nashko with Simon-AB

         rabi-*ma-kin-xon*-kanon   wetsa jema-bo-0."
         flatter-CAUS-ASSOC-BEN-EXH other   village-PL-AB
         "Iskon Kopi told the people from Betel: 'Let's join Nashko in flattering Simon to
         influence the other villages'."

<div align="center">Transitivization Strategies: Conclusions</div>

Transitivization processes include causativization and applicativization. Most inherently intransitive verbs transitivize exclusively by adding the causative morpheme -*ma*. With certain verbs, this suffix indicates indirect rather than direct causation. There are two other transitivization suffixes, -*a* and -*n*, that have a causative meaning. While the former is mostly employed with intransitive verbs derived from adjectives, -*n* can be suffixed to a closed set of verbs, generally inherently intransitive ones dealing with body movements, positions or states. The transitivizers -*a* and -*n* arguably correspond to a set of unaccusative and unergative verbs, respectively, and they are (with very few exceptions such as "sweeten") mutually exclusive alternatives. When two possible transitivization devices are possible (-*ma* and -*a* or -*n*), -*ma* tends to indicate indirect rather than direct causation: "helping something happen" or "taking care of something while it undergoes a change." On the other hand, -*a* and -*n* tend to indicate direct causation, including physical intervention.

There are three applicative suffixes in SC: the benefactive (also malefactive when attached to intransitive verbs) -*xon*, the associative -*kin* ~ -*kiin*, and the malefactive -*(V)naan* ~ *(V)n*. As indicated above, while -*xon and -kin* ~ -*kiin* can be added to intransitive and transitive verbs, the malefactive can be added to transitive verbs only; therefore, this is an additional criterion for distinguishing between intransitive and transitive verbs. It is possible for a predicate to take two different applicatives simultaneously.

There seems to exist a major difference between Australian aboriginal languages and Shipibo-Conibo with regard to transitivization strategies. According to Austin (1993:5), there are some Australian languages with two or more suffixes; one used with unaccusative verbs to form causatives, and the other with unergative verbs to form applicatives. Other Australian languages have one affix only, that forms either causatives or applicatives depending on the type of verb root to which it is attached. On the other hand, Shipibo-Conibo has different causative and applicative suffixes, and these two different transitivization devices can be attached to all intransitive verbs, even in the same clause. In these latter cases, the causative always precedes the applicative.

CHAPTER VI

TRANSITIVE VERBS

As discussed above, transitivity is a graded phenomenon that depends on a cluster of associated properties. According to Givón (1984:96), "there are two properties that single out the prototypical transitive verb": a) an agent subject, and b) a patient-of-change object. The prototype transitive verb has an initiating, volitional, controlling, salient agent subject, and involves a "physical, obvious, concrete, accessible to observation" change in the state of its patient object. Non-prototypical transitive verbs are those that, although requiring two core arguments, deviate from one or both properties. In this chapter, I discuss the properties of prototypical transitive verbs in SC. Also, I describe transitive verbs with experiencer subjects, complement-taking verbs, and di-transitives. In addition, I present non-prototyical transitive verbs such as cognate object verbs, the verbs *keen-* "want" and *shinanbenot-* "slip the mind," and transitive verbs with low frequency objects.

<u>Properties of Prototypical Transitive Verbs</u>

In this section, I will present the morpho-syntactic properties of transitive verbs in SC. Firstly, a prototypical transitive verb inherently calls for two arguments, a subject and a direct object (which prototypically correspond to the semantic roles of agent and patient, respectively), and imposes an ergative-absolutive case-marking frame <ER AB>:

194)   Pena-*0*-ra   make-*n*   natex-ke.
         Pena-AB-AS   piraña-ER   bite-CMPL
         "The piraña bit Pena."

195)   Pena-*n*-ra   make-*0*   yoa-ke.
         Pena-ER-AS   piraña-AB   cook.CMPL
         "Pena cooked the piraña."

Secondly, a transitive verb will trigger the same-subject markers *-xon, -kin,* and *-no(n)xon*) in multi-clausal sentences (for more examples, see the section on switch-reference system, chapter III):

196) Pena-0   repinti-ain   nokó-*xon*-ra   winti-0   yatan-ke.
      Pena-AB harbour-DIR arrive-PSST-AS   paddle-AB catch-CMPL
      "After arriving to the harbour, Pena held the paddle."

197) Pena-0   repinti-ain   nokot-*ax*-a   paké-ke.
      Pena-AB harbour-DIR   arrive-PSSI-AS fall-CMPL
      "After arriving to the harbour, Pena fell."

Thirdly, a transitive verb requires adverbial transitivity agreement in mono-clausal sentences. In examples 198) and 200) below, the locative takes the transitive suffix -*xon* obligatorily when the verb is transitive. Locatives in clauses with intransitive verbs (examples 199 and 201) take no marker:

198a) Tita-0-ra   xobo-n-*xon*   bina-n   teka-ke.
       mother-AB-AS house-LOC-TRNS   wasp-ER bite-CMPL
       "Mother was bitten by a wasp in the house."

198b) *Tita-0-ra   xobo-n   bina-n   teka-ke.
        mother-AB-AS house-LOC wasp-ER   bite-CMPL
        "Mother was bitten by a wasp in the house."

199a) Tita-0-ra   xobo-n   iki.
       mother-AB-AS   house-LOC COP
       "My mother is at home."

199b) *Tita-0-ra   xobo-n-*xon*   iki.
        mother-AB-AS house-LOC-TRNS COP
        "My mother is at home."

200a) Sanke-man-ra   bebon-*xon*   atsa   xea-ti-0   xea-ai.
       Sanken-ER-AS   in.the.front-TRNS manioc drink-NLZ-AB drink-INC
       "Sanken is drinking manioc beer in the front (row)."

200b) *Sanke-man-ra   bebon   atsa   xea-ti-0   xea-ai.
        Sanken-ER-AS   in.the.front manioc drink-NLZ-AB drink-INC
        "Sanken is drinking manioc beer in the front (row)."

201a) Nonti-0-ra   bebon   iki.
      canoe-AB-AS in.the.front COP
      "The canoe is in the front."

201b) *Nonti-0-ra   bebon-*xon*   iki.
      canoe-AB-AS in.the.front-TRNS COP
      "The canoe is in the front."

    The adverbs in the examples below take the markers *-ax* and *-xon* with intransitive and transitive verbs, respectively (Again, exchanging these markers would produce ungrammatical sentences.):

Intransitive

202)   Rawa-0-ra   paro reboki-ri-kea-*ax*   noko-iba-ke.
      Rawa-AB-AS river up.the.river-by-from-INTR   arrive-PST2-CMPL
      "Rawa arrived from up the river."

Transitive

203)   Rawa-n-ra   paro reboki-ri-*xon*   ninka-iba-ke.
      Rawa-ER-AS river up.the.river-by-TRNS   hear-PST2-CMPL
      "Rawa heard it up the river."

Intransitive

204)   Jain-oa-*ax*   jo-a   iki   jawen patoron-0.
      there-from-INTR   come-PART   AUX   POS3   master-AB
      "His master came from there." (Loriot et alia 1993:214)

Transitive

205)   Jain-*xon*-ra   mi-n   sotan-ti   iki.
      there-TRNS-AS   2-ER   spy-INF   AUX
      "From there you will spy him." (Loriot et alia 1993:214)

    According to Loriot et alia (1993:213), the locative adverb "there" also shows different forms when co-occurring with intransitive and transitive verbs:

206) *Jain* i-ketian ishton jo-non kena-we.
  there:INTR be-PDS soon come-FDS call-IMP
  "If he is there call him so that he comes soon."

207) *Jainoa*-ra   no-n waporo-0 noko-a iki.
  there:TRNS-AS 1p-ER ship-AB find-PART AUX
  "There we found a ship."

The adverb of place *jain* "there" is also used to express sequencing of events. Therefore, it can function as an interclausal connector meaning "then"; in these cases, it takes different markers for intransitive and transitive verbs:

Intransitive

208) *Jain-oa-[a]x*-ra Pani-0 siná-ke.
  there-from-INTR-AS Pani-AB get.angry-CMPL
  "Then, Pani got angry."

Transitive

209) *Jain-xon*-ra Pani-n yapa-0 chachi-ke.
  there-TRNS-AS Pani-ER fish-AB stab-CMPL
  "Then, Pani stabbed the fish."

Intransitive

210) Kachio ka-ketian-ra joni-0 iná-baon yatan-a iki.
  forest go-PDS-AS man-AB savage-PL:ER catch-PART AUX

  Jain-oa-[a]x ja joni-0 sai ik-á iki.
  there-from-INTR DET man-AB ONOM be-PART AUX
  "A man went to the forest and was captured by savage people. Then, the man cried." (Loriot et alia 1993:214)

Transitive

211)   'Mia-0-ki   jaweran-oa-[a]x   jo-a?,'   a-kin   ak-á-ra
        2-AB-INT   where-from-INTR   come-CMPL:INT make-SSST make-PART-AS

        jain-xon   e-n   yoiy-a   iki.
        there-TRNS 1-ER   say-PART AUX
        "'Where did you come from?,' then I said." (Loriot et alia 1993:214)

        Fourthly, a transitive verb (given certain appropriate animacy requirements) can take the de-transitivizer and the reciprocal markers. Intransitives cannot take the de-transitivizer suffix (which includes the reflexive function). Although this last statement might seem redundant, in different languages some intransitive verbs that take an indirect object may have a reflexive form; consider, for example, the English sentences *I talked to myself* and *I laughed at myself*. Most intransitves cannot take the reciprocal either. Sentences 212)-214) illustrate the transitive root *bachin-* "pull by the hair" occuring without any derivational device, with the de-transitivizer suffix, and with the reciprocal:

Transitive verb

212)   E-n-ra Wesna-0   *bachin*-ke   nokon bene   betan mera-xon.
        1-ER   Wesna-AB pull.by.the.hair-CMPL POS1 husband with   find-PSST
        "I pulled Wesna by the hair because I found her with my husband."

Transitive verb + de-transitivizer (reflexive) suffix

213)   Nokon mapo-nko   ia-0   chaba chaba ik-aitian, bi-ti   shinan-i-ra
        POS1   head-LOC   lice-AB itch   itch   be-SDS   get-INF think-SSSI-AS

        ea-0   *bachi-mee*-res-ke
        1-AB   pull.by.the.hair-DTRNZ-just-CMPL
        "Since the lice was making my head itch and itch, trying to catch it, I pulled myself by the hair."

Transitive verb + reciprocal suffix

214)   Ainbo rabé-0-ra   jawen bene-n   paranan
        woman two-AB-AS POS3   husband-GEN because.of

        bachin-*anan*-ke.

pull.by.the.hair-REC-CMPL
"The two women pulled each other by the hair because of her husband."

As discussed in chapter V, a transitive verb can take the detrimental applicative. Let's look again at examples 186a) and 186b):

186a) Nokon   atapa-bo-0-ra   maxo-kan   pi-ke.
       POS1   chicken-PL-AB-AS opossum-ER   eat-CMPL
       "The opossum ate my chickens."

186b) Nokon   atapa-bo-0-ra   maxo-kan   ea-0   pi-*anaan*-ke.
       POS1   chicken-PL-AB-AS opossum-ER   1-AB   eat--MAL-CMPL
       "The opossum ate me my chikens." (Loriot et alia 1993:293)

Finally, while most intransitive verbs will have the forms *ik-í/ik-ama* (from the pro-verb *ik-* "be") as short answers for yes/no questions, most transitive verbs will have the forms *a-kin/ak-ama* (from the pro-verb *ak-* "make"):

215a) - Mi-n-ki   moa   beten-0   pi-a?
       2-ER-INT already fish.soup-AB eat-CMPL:INT
       -"Did you eat the fish soup already?"

215b) -A-kin/ak-ama.
       make-SSST/ make-NEG
       -"Yes/no."

215c) *-Ik-í/ik-ama.
       be-SSSI/be-NEG
       -"Yes/no."

216a) -Nachi-0-ki   moa   nokot-a?
       paternal.aunt-AB-INT   already arrive-CMPL:INT
       -"Did aunt arrive already?"

216b) -Ik-í/ik-ama.
       be-SSSI/be-NEG
       -"Yes/no."

216c) *-A-kin/ak-ama.

make-SSST/make-NEG
-"Yes/no."

As has been mentioned and illustrated in chapter III above, there is no semantic restriction as to the kind of participant that can be encoded as subject of a transitive verb. This is typologically relevant when distinguishing ergative-absolutive systems from active-stative ones. Consider the verb *chexa-* "ache" in which the part of the body and the owner are mapped onto subject and object, respectively:

217) Nokon peka-*kan*-ra ea-0 chexa-ai.
POS1 back-ER-AS 1-AB ache-INC
"I have a back ache." (Lit. "My back aches me.")

A possible interpretation of the sentence above might lead us to consider *chexa-* as an intransitive verb with a single argument marked absolutive and an oblique complement marked by *-n*; literally, "I am aching towards/because of my back." However, in example 218) below the switch-reference marker indicates that the subjects of the main and the dependent clauses are not co-referential; therefore, the only possible subject of *chexa-* is *xeta-n* "tooth," and *chexa-* is a transitive verb imposing the <ER AB> frame:

218) Ea-0 xeta-n chexa-*ketian*-ra, e-n rokotoro-0 tseka-ma-ke.
1-AB tooth-ER ache-PDS-AS 1-ER doctor-AB pull.out-CAUS-CMPL
"Because my tooth was aching, I had the dentist pull it out." (Loriot et alia 1993:162)

<u>Transitive Verbs with Experiencer Subjects</u>

Perception and cognition/memory verbs such as *oin-* "see/look," *ninkat-* "hear/listen to," *xete-* "smell," *onan-* "know/understand," *shinan-* "think of/believe/remember" and *beno-* "forget" violate both the "agent-subject" prototype and the "patient-object" prototype principles. Their second argument shows no discernible impact or change, and it is their experiencer-first argument which registers some internal/cognitive change (Givón 1984:100-1). However, in SC these verbs are metaphorically construed as prototypical transitive predicates, with an <ER AB> frame:

219) Joni-baon-ronki oinn-a iki ani jawéki-0-ki ikaxbi jimpan-ya.
man-PL:ER-hsy see-PART AUX big thing-AB-DM but fin-with
"It is said that the men saw a big thing that had fins."

220) Ja-bicho-shoko ii-kin-ki, ninkat-a-ronki ik-á iki

       3-alone-DIM   be-SSST-DM hear-PART-hsy be-PART AUX

       wiso ino-0-ki.
       black tiger-AB-DM
       "It is said that being by herself the woman heard a black puma." (ILV 1979:28)

221)   Papa-n   tashin"anka pisi-ketian-ra e-n   xete-ke.
       father-GEN salted   stink-PDS-AS 1-ER smell-CMPL
       "I smelt father's stinky salted fish." (Loriot et alia 1993:398)

222)   Pao Ia-man   ka-xon-ra   e-n   mi-n   tita-shoko-0
       Pao Ian-DIR go-PSST-AS 1-ER 2-GEN mother-DIM-AB

       onan-yantan-ke.
       know-PST-CMPL
       "A couple of years ago, when I went to Pao Ian, I met your grandmother."

223)   Bake-n-ra   jawen tita-0   icha shinan-ai.
       child-ER-AS POS3 mother-AB much think.of-INC
       "The child misses his mother very much."

224)   E-n-ra   beno-ke   nokon yabe-0.
       1-ER-AS forget-CMPL POS1 key-AB
       "I forgot my key."

Complement-Taking Verbs

     In this section I present transitive verbs whose direct object is a verbal or even a clausal complement. Complement-taking verbs are grouped into different sub-classes, depending on the form of their complement clause. Another possible way of organizing this section would be from a semantic perspective such as modality, aspectual, manipulation, and cognition-utterance verbs (Givón 1984:chapter 4). However, the verb classes that would arise from such a semantic classification do not coincide with the classes that arise from structural criteria. It must be pointed out that further research is necessary in order to fully describe complement-taking verbs in SC.

The -*ti* Complement-Taking Verbs

     In this sub-class I group complement-taking verbs whose complement verbs are marked with the infinitive/nominalizer suffix -*ti* (glossed as NLZ). With the exception of

the verb *keen-* "want" whose subject can be either co-referential with that of the complement verb or not, complement-taking verbs in this group seem to require non-coreferentiality of the subjects.

Keen- "want"

The verb *keen-* "want" does not behave as a prototypical transitive verb in terms of its case-marking, in that it imposes either an <AB AB> or an <AB OBL> frame. (This is discussed in a following section of this chapter dealing with non-prototypical transitive verbs.) As mentioned above, the subject of *keen-* can be co-referential with the subject of the complement clause. This co-referentiality allows for "equi-subject deletion"; that is, the dependent clause does not have an overtly expressed subject. In these cases, *keen-* functions as a modality verb. Consider the following illustrative sentences

225) Ompi-0-ra   [to'ati-n   maro-*ti*-nin]   keen-ai; monso-0-ra
      Humberto-AB-AS shotgun-OBL1 buy-NLZ-OBL1 want-INC mestizo-AB-AS

      kochi-n   keen-ai.
      pig-OBL1   want-INC
      "Humberto wants to buy the shotgun, and the *mestizo* wants the pig." (Loriot et alia 1993:336)

226) Ea-0-ra   keen-ai [Rima-n   ka-*ti*-n].
      1-AB-AS   want-INC Lima-DIR go-NLZ-OBL1
      "I want to go to Lima." (Loriot et alia 1993:409)

227) Inka-0   [manan-xawe pi-*ti*-n]   keen-a   iki.
      Inca-AB hill-turtle   eat-NLZ-OBL1 want-PART AUX
      "The Inca wanted to eat the tortoise." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:1)

Also, the verb *keen-* can function as a manipulation verb in sentences with non-coreferential subjects:

228) Ea-0-ra   [Sani-0   rete-kan-*ti*-0]   keen-ai.
      1-AB-AS Sani-AB kill-PL-NLZ-AB   want-INC
      "I want them to kill Sani."

229) Ea-0-ra   [mia-0   bakish   jo-*ti*-n]   keen-ai.
     1-AB-AS   2-AB   a.day.from.today come-NLZ-OBL1 want-INC
     "I want you to come tomorrow."

230) Ea-0-ra   keen-ai   [mi-n   kirika meni-*ti*-nin].
     1-AB-AS   want-INC   2-ER   book   give-NLZ-OBL1
     "I want you to give (me) the book." (Faust 1973:83)

Raan- "send (someone to do something)"

231) [Onibirisitaro a-*ti*-ra]   nokon bake-0 e-n Rima-n   raan-ke.
     university   make-NLZ-AS POS1   child-AB 1-ER Lima-DIR send-CMPL
     "I sent my son to Lima in order to study at the university." (Loriot et alia
     1993:354)

232) Moa   basi   manat-a-bi   jo-yam-aitian, jawen chiní   bake-0
     already long.time wait-PART-EMP   come-NEG-PDS   POS3   youngest child-AB

     raan-ribi-a   iki,   [jawen   wetsa   bena-*ti*].
     send-REP-PART AUX   POS3   sibling search-NLZ
     "Since [he] didn't come, after waiting for a long time, [he] sent his youngest son
     to look for his brother." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:33).

Yono- "order/send someone (to work), ask for something"

233) Ja-n-ra   yono-ke   [paranta bi-*ti*].
     3-ER-AS   order-CMPL   plantain get-NLZ
     "He ordered (them) to bring plantain." (Loriot et alia 1993:428)

234) Ii-kin-bi-ronki   beskon-0   yono-kan-a   iki,   [jaa   chii bi-*ti*].
     be-SSST-EMP-hsy *chirriclés*-AB order-PL-PART AUX   DET   fire   get-NLZ
     "So, (they) ordered the *chirriclés* (kind of bird) to bring the fire."
     (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:27).

Axea- "teach, make someone get used to do something"

235) Ja-n-ra   ea-0   [atapa   chachi-ti]   axea-a-[a]i.
      3-ER-AS 1-AB chicken prick-NLZ get.used-TRNZ-INC
      "(S)he will teach me how to vaccine chickens." (Faust 1973:83)

The *-ti*/Participles Complement-Taking Verbs

        In this sub-class I group complement-taking verbs whose complement verbs are
marked either with *-ti*, or with the suffixes *-ai* and *-a*. Further research is necessary in
order to determine when either *-ai/-a* or *-ti* are used. The suffix *-ai* is the incompletive
aspect marker for declarative and interrogative sentences; the suffix *-a* is the completive
aspect marker for interrogative sentences and also the participle in the narrative past
constructions root-*a iki*. In addition to these functions, Faust (1973:84) considers *-ai* as a
"present-active" marker and *-a* as a "past-passive" marker. Consequently, the suffix *-ai*
is used when the action referred to in the dependent clause has not been completed at the
point in time set up in the discourse, while the suffix *-a* is used for completed
actions/events. (In the following examples, these two morphemes continue to be glossed
as incompletive INC and as participle PART, respectively.)

Yoi- "say to, tell (someone to do something)"

236) Tso-n-ki   mia-0 yoiy-a   [ja   axan   bi-*ti*]?
      who-ER-INT 2-AB   say-CMPL:INT DET poison get-NLZ
      "Who ordered you to go get the fish I had poisoned?" (Bardales 1979:21)

237) Nita-n-ra   ea-0 yoi-ke   [mia-0 pelota-nin   ik-*ai*].
      Nita-ER-AS 1-AB say-CMPL 2-AB   ball-INSTR   be-INC
      "Nita told me that you know how to play soccer."

238) Nita-n-ra   ea-0 yoi-ke   [wakanawa-0   be-*ai*].
      Nita-ER-AS 1-AB say-CMPL school.of.fish-AB   come-INC
      "Nita told me that the school of fish is coming up."

239) Nita-n-ra   ea-0 yoi-ke   [mi-n bakish   chaxo-0 rete-ibat-*a*].
      Nita-ER-AS 1-AB say-CMPL 2-ER one.day.away deer-AB   kill-PST-PART
      "Nita told me that you killed a deer yesterday."

Onan- "know"

The following are examples with the verb *onan-* "know" (taken from Faust 1973:83, 88 and 89):

240) Mi-n-ki   onan-a   [oro-*ti*]?
      2-ER-INT know-CMPL:INT weed-NLZ
      "Do you know how to weed?"

241) Ja-n-ra   [raké-*ti*]   onan-yama-ke.
      3-ER-AS get.scared-NLZ   know-NEG-CMPL
      "He never gets scared." (Lit. "He doesn't know how to get scared.")

242) E-n-ra   onan-ke   [Jose-kan chomo-0   toe-*a*].
      1-ER-AS know-CMPL José-ER   big.jar-AB crush-PART
      "I know that Jose crushed the big jar."

243) E-n-ra   onan-ke   [nato ochíti-nin bake-0   natéshama-*a*].
      1-ER-AS know-CMPL this   dog-ER   child-AB bite:NEG-PART
      "I know that this dog did not bite the child."

Shinan- "think, remember, plan"

244) Jainoa-ki Yoáshiko Inka-n,   niweaba-ya   oi   kexto be-ma-a
      then-DM   Stingy   Inca-ER strong.wind-with rain thick come-CAUS-PART

      iki [ja   chii noka-a-*ti*]   shinan-kin.
      AUX DET fire turn.off-TRNZ-NLZ think-SSST
      "Then, the Stingy Inka sent a thick rain and strong winds, planning to turn off the fire." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:27)

245) Jain-oa-ki   ja   joni-n, [bimi jan-tsé-*ti*]   shinankin,
      there-from-DM DET man-ER fruit tongue-take.out-NLZ think-SSST

      jawen metoti iso   ja-ni-a   iki.
      POS3   finger   spidermonkey tongue-walk-PART AUX
      "Then, the man planning to take the fruit out of the spidermonkey's mouth, put his finger in it." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:4).

246) Jatian-bi-ki,   ino-0   jabat-a   iki, [jaa-ribi rete-*ti*]   shinan-ax.
     then-EMP-DM tiger-AB run.away-PART AUX 3-REP   kill-NLZ think-PSSI
     "Then, the tiger ran away, thinking that he (the deer) could kill him too."
     (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982 8:11)

247) E-n-ra   shinan-ai [mi-n   wetsa-0   Rima-n   ka-*ai*].
     1-ER-AS think-INC 2-GEN sibling-AB Lima-DIR go-INC
     "I think that your brother is going to Lima." (Faust 1973:88)

248) E-n-ra   shinan-ai [nokon papa-n   nonti-0   be-*a*i].
     1-ER-AS think-INC POS1   father-ER canoe-AB bring-INC
     "I think that my father is going to bring the canoe." (Faust 1973:89)

The Participles Complement-Taking Verbs

In this group I include complement-taking verbs whose complement verbs are
marked either with the present participle marker -*ai*, or with the past participle marker -*a*:

Namat- "dream"

249) [Wakanawa   be-*ai*-ra]   e-n namá-ke.
     school.of.fish   come-INC-AS 1-ER dream-CMPL
     "I dreamt that the school of fish is coming."

250) [Mi-n Sani rete-*a*-ra]   e-n   namá-ke.
     2-ER Sani kill-PART-AS 1-ER dream-CMPL
     "I dreamt that you killed Sani."

Ninkat- "hear/listen/understand"

251) E-n-ra   ninká-ke   [wakanawa-0   be-*ai*].
     1-ER-AS hear-CMPL school.of.fish-AB   come-INC
     "I heard that the school of fish is coming."

Oin- "see/realize"

252)   Wetsa nete-n-ki,   ja nonon rabe-kan oinn-a   iki, [jaton   ian-0
       other   day-TEMP-DM DET duck two-ER   see-PART AUX POS3p lake-AB

       tsosin-*ai*], moa   ompax xea-ti   jakon-ma.
       lower-INC already water   drink-NLZ good-NEG
       "One day, the two ducks realized that the water from their lake was getting lower
       and lower; it was not good to drink water anymore."

Verbs with aspectual meaning such as *peo-* "start/beging," *keyo-* "finish," and *jene-* "stop doing something" are transitive in SC. Sentences 253)-255) show these aspectual verbs imposing an <ER AB> case-frame:

253)   Paranta-xea-ti-0-ra   ochíti-nin keyo-ke.
       plantain-drink-NLZ-AB-AS dog-ER   finish-CMPL
       "The dog finished the plantain drink." (Loriot et alia 1993:348)

254)   Nokon xobo-0-ra e-n moa peo-ke.
       POS1 house-AB-AS 1-ER already start-CMPL
       "I started (building) my house already." (Loriot et alia 1993:321)

255)   Rama-n-ra   Kopi-0   jene-ke.
       Rama-ER-AS   Kopi-AB   leave-CMPL
       "Rama left Kopi."

In addition to imposing an <ER AB> case-frame, these aspectual verbs can take the de-transitivizer suffix *-t* (to be discussed in chapter VII) which is a characteristic of transitive verbs. In spite of behaving like prototypical transitive verbs, and in spite of occurring in multi-clausal constructions, these aspectual verbs are not considered within the complement-taking verbs class because their dependent verbs are marked with simultaneous same-reference markers, the same as other intransitive and transitive verbs[15]:

256)   Joni-n-ra   atapa rete-*kin*   keyo-ai.
       man-ER-AS   chicken kill-SSST finish-INC
       "The man is killing all the chickens." (Loriot et alia 1993:348)

257)   Moa   tashi bi-*kin*   jene-kan-a   iki.
       already salt   get-SSST stop-PL-PART AUX
       "They stopped taking the salt (from the mountain)."

Furthermore, these aspectual transitive verbs can "exchange positions" with the semantically main verb, thus occurring as dependent verbs:

258a) E-n-pari-ra   chicha   xea-*kin*   peo-ke.
   1-ER-first-AS maize.drink drink-SSST   begin-CMPL
   "I was the first one to begin drinking chicha." (Loriot et alia 1993:321)

258b) E-n-pari-ra   chicha   peo-*kin*   xea-ke
   1-ER-first-AS maize.drink   begin-SSST   drink-CMPL
   "I started to drink the chicha first." (Loriot et alia 1973:321-1)

Verbs with Direct Quote Complements

SC allows direct-quote complements with utterance verbs such as *yoi-* "say/tell," *yokat-* "ask," *yono-* "ask for, order," and *saí ik-* "cry":

259)   Jo-xon-ki,   ak-á   iki *yoká*-kin: "Jawe-ak-i-ki   mia-0
   come-PSST-DM make-PART AUX ask-SSST   what-make-CONT-INT 2-AB

   iit-ai,   chaikoní manan-xawe?," a-kin   *ak*-á   iki.
   be-INC compadre hill-turtle   make-SSST make-PART AUX
   "After he came, he asked (him): 'What are you doing, *compadre* Tortoise?'
   (ILV 1979:26)

260)   Ja   bake-0   *saí*   *ik*-á   iki: "Ea-0 bi-wé,   koká,"
   DET child-AB ONOM be-PART AUX 1-AB   receive-IMP uncle:VOC

   ik-á   iki.
   be-PART AUX
   "The child cried: 'Receive me, uncle,' he said." (ILV 1979:55)

Di-transitive Verbs

Di-transitive verbs constitute a sub-class of transitive verbs that take two nominal semantically-obligatory objects. Many languages have morpho-syntactic means of distinguishing between the direct object and the indirect object of a di-transitive verb. In some of these languages indirect object advancement, also known as "dative-shift," is

possible (for example, English and Indonesian). There is another group of languages that treat the two objects of a di-transitive verb alike. In SC there does not seem to exist any morpho-syntactic basis for grammatically distinguishing direct objects from indirect objects. As mentioned in chapter III above, the patient and the dative of a di-transitive verb such as *meni-* "give" are both marked absolute. Furthermore, both objects can exchange positions without undergoing any morpho-syntactic change:

261a) Papa-n-ra   ainbo-0   koríki-0   meni-iba-ke.
        father-ER-AS woman-AB money.ABS   give-PST2-CMPL
        "Father gave money to the woman."

261b) Papa-n-ra   koríki-0   ainbo-0   meni-iba-ke.
        father-ER-AS   money-AB woman-AB give-PST2-CMPL
        "Father gave money to the woman."

    To mark either the dative or the patient with any oblique suffix would make the sentence ungrammatical. In addition, it is possible to relativize on both objects:

262) Koriki   nokon   papa-n   ainbo-0   meni-ibat-a-0-ra   icha iki.
      money   POS1   father-ER woman-AB give-PST2-PART-AS   much COP
      "The money that my father gave to the woman yesterday was a lot."

263) Ainbo   nokon   papa-n   koriki-0   meni-ibat-a-0-ra   nokon
      woman POS1   father-ER money-AB give-PST2-PART-AB-AS   POS1

      nachi   iki.
      paternal.aunt COP
      "The woman to whom my father gave money yesterday is my aunt."

    Since SC lacks a canonical promotional passive, a test such as passivization for direct objecthood is not available[16]. Examples with other di-transitive verbs follow. Note that some di-transitive verbs are derived from mono-transitive ones:

264) E-n-ra   nokon papa-0   koriki-0   yoká-ke.
      1-ER-AS POS1 father-AB money-AB ask-CMPL
      "I asked my father for money."

265) E-n-ra   mato-0 nokon   joi-0   yoiy-ai.
      1-ER-AS 2p-AB   POS1   word-AB say-INC
      "I will tell you my opinion."

266) Ino-n-ra   xae-0   jawen bichi kené-ya-0   bane-yama-ni-ke.
     tiger-ER-AS anteater-AB POS3 fur   design-with-AB return-NEG-REM-CMPL
     "The tiger didn't return the anteater his designed fur."

267) E-n-ra   westíora koton-0 nokon papa-0   inan-ai.
     1-ER-AS one   shirt-AB POS1 father-AB give.present-INC
     "I am giving my father a shirt as a present."

268) E-n-pari   nokon tsabe-0   atsa-0   a-ma-ba-tan.
     1-ER-yet POS1 sister.in.law-AB manioc-AB make-CAUS-EXH-go.and.do
     "First, I am going to offer my sister in law manioc."

269) E-n-ra   piti tashianka-0 nokon tita-0   bo-ma-ke,
     1-ER-AS fish salted-AB   POS1 mother-AB carry-CAUS-CMPL

     nawa-betan.
     outsider-ASSOC
     "I sent salted fish to my mother with the outsider."

270) E-n-ra   nokon foto-bo-0   jato-0   oin-ma-ke.
     1-ER-AS POS1   photo-PL-AB 3p-AB   see-CAUS-CMPL
     "I showed them my photos."

     Austin (1993:25) mentions that in a few Australian aboriginal languages, di-transitive verbs like "give" take two NPs marked like transitive objects; however, these verbs constitute a very limited set. Diyari, for example, has only three verbs showing this characteristic. The majority pattern in Australian languages is to mark the goal as an oblique with dative case. Unlike the languages described by Austin, SC seems to treat the objects of all di-transitive verbs like transitive objects.

<div align="center">Non-Prototypical Transitive Verbs</div>

     We have already seen some instances of semantically non-prototypical transitive verbs, such as "see," "smell," and "forget," that are morpho-syntactically coded as prototypical transitive predicates. In this section, I discuss non-prototypical transitive verbs that morpho-syntactically deviate from proto-typical transitive ones; namely, cognate object verbs, the verbs *keen-* "want" and *shinanbenot-* "slip the mind," and verbs with low frequency objects.

Cognate Object Verbs

Cognate object verbs are those that take as their object an NP which does not contribute to the meaning of the sentence. The overt expression of their object tends to be more acceptable when these objects are somehow modified. In some of these cases, the modifiers contribute to the meaning of the clause, functioning rather like an adverbial (Levin 1993:95-6). The name "cognate object verbs" is due to the fact that the object is a noun-form of the verb (and thus "cognate"), or of a semantically-related verb. In general, clauses with cognate object verbs tend to conform to the agent-subject and patient-object syntactic case-marking pattern, thus resembling a transitive clause (Givón 1984:105). In this paper the notion of "cognate object verb" has been extended to instances where their object NPs are very restricted semantically and do not contribute to the meaning of the sentence, even though the verb roots and their objects are not genetically related. Some SC cognate object verbs are: *baken-* "deliver (a baby)," *bewa-* "sing," *ae ik-* "eruct," *joti-* "smoke (tobacco)," *bekan-* "spread (cotton)," *axan-* "poison (fish)," *beax-* "mix (the new manioc beer with the fermented one)," and *beten-* "cook beten (kind of thick soup)." The examples below illustrate the use of these cognate object verbs with created objects.

Some cognate object verbs impose an <AB AB> case frame:

271) Nokon awin-0-ra   westiora benbo-0   *baken-ke*.
      POS1   wife-AB-AS   one   male-AB   give birth-CMPL
      "My wife gave birth to a baby boy."

272) Papa-shoko-0-ra   mashá-0   *bew-ai*.
      father-DIM-AB-AS   *mashá*-AB   sing-INC
      "Grandfather is singing a *mashá* (kind of traditional song)."

The sentences below show that a verb such as *ae ik-* "burp, belch" does not allow an unmodified direct object:

273a) Ea-0-ra   naranshi-0-bires   *ae*   *i-ke*.
      1-AB-AS pop.drink-AB-pure ONOM be-CMPL
      "I burped pure pop drink."

273b) *Ea-0-ra   naranshi-0   *ae*   *i-ke*.
      1-ER-AS   pop.drink-AB   ONOM   be-CMPL
      "I burped pop drink."

274) Ea-0-ra   ino pisi-0   *ae   i-ke*.
     1-AB-AS   tiger stinky-AB   ONOM   be-CMPL
     "I belched the stinky tiger." (i.e., I ate a lot of tiger meat and belched giving off
     the smell of stinky tiger meat.) Loriot et alia 1993:86)

     Alternatively, some cognate object verbs impose an <ER AB> case frame. These
include:

275) Tita-n-ra   waxmen-0 *bekan-ai*.
     mother-ER-AS   cotton-AB   spread (cotton)-INC
     "My mother is going to spread the cotton."

276) E-n-ra   picha,   boe,   moxo baton-0 *axan-ke*.
     1-ER-AS *palometa boquichico lisa*-AB   poison (fish)-CMPL
     "I poisoned *palometa*, *boquichico* and *lisa* fish."

277) E-n-ra   atsa   xea-ti-0   *beax-ke*.
     1-ER-AS   manioc drink-NLZ-AB   mix (new w/fermented manioc beer)-CMPL
     "I mixed the manioc beer."

278) E-n-ra   wanin xea-ti-0   *beax-ke*.
     1-ER-AS   *pijuayo* drink-NLZ-AB   mix (new w/fermented beer)-CMPL
     "I mixed the *pijuayo* (kind of fruit) beer."

279) E-n-ra   leba-n   nokon xea-ti-0   *beax-ke*.
     1-ER-AS   draft.beer-INSTR POS1   drink-NLZ-AB mix (manioc beer)-CMPL
     "I mixed my drink with draft beer."

     Another cognate object verb that imposes an <ER AB> case-frame is *beten*- "cook
beten (kind of thick soup)." This verb root has the same form as the noun root *beten*,
which is a kind of thick soup; however, differently from other noun roots (described in
the section on derived intransitives, chapter IV), *beten*- has the peculiarity of being able to
function as a transitive root directly, without requiring any transitivization device. Here
are some examples:

280a) Tita-n-ra   *beten-ke*.
      mother-ER-AS   cook.beten-CMPL
      "Mother cooked *beten*."

280b) *Tita-0-ra   *beten-ke*
        mother-AB-AS   cook.beten-CMPL
        "Mother cooked *beten.*"

As 280a) shows, the root *beten-* by itself functions as a transitive one, thus requiring its subject to be marked ergative. 280b) is not acceptable since it would mean that a third person cooked the mother. The following examples show this verb taking a direct object:

281)   Tita-n-ra   chaxo-0 *beten-ke.*
        mother-ER-AS deer-AB   cook.beten-CMPL
        "Mother cooked deer *beten.*"

282)   Tita-n-ra   make-0   *beten-ke.*
        mother-ER-AS piraña-AB cook.beten-CMPL
        "Mother cooked piraña *beten.*"

Although an intransitive verb would result in a weird meaning, "turn into *beten* soup," this is possible by suffixng the de-transitiver marker to the transitive root *beten-*:

283)   Ja-0-ra   bete-*mee*-ke.
        3-AB-AS   cook.beten-DTRNZ-CMPL
        "He turned into *beten.*"

When applying the transitivity tests to these cognate object verbs, we get some differences among them that suggest distinct degrees of intermediate transitivity status. As shown above, while the verbs *baken-* "deliver a child," *bewa-* "sing" and *ae ik-* "eruct" impose an <AB AB> case frame, *joti-* "smoke," *bekan-* "spread cotton," *axan-* "poison fish," *beax-* "mix the new drink with the fermented one," and *beten-* "cook *beten* soup" call for an <ER AB> frame. Within the former group, the verb root *bewa-* "sing" shows two idiosyncracies: it can have an alternative <AB OBL> case frame (as do two-argument intransitive verbs, and as do the non-prototypical transitives "want" and "slip

the mind," to be presented below); and it can still take the detrimental applicative suffix, generally restricted to transitive verbs (as shown in chapter V above):

284)   Ea-0-ra   shiro bewa-*kan*   bew-ai.
        1-AB-AS   love.song-OBL1   sing-INC

"I am going to sing a love song."

285) Mi-n-ra   ea-0 i-kas-ai   bewá-0-ribi   mi-n-pari   ea-0
      2-ER-AS   1-AB be-DES-INC   song-AB-REP   2-ER-first   1-AB

      bewa-*naan*-ke.
      sing-MAL-CMPL
      "You sang first the same song I wanted to sing (to my detriment)."

Verb roots pertaining to the group that imposes an <ER AB> frame show almost all properties of transitive verbs, except for the impossibility of taking the de-transitivizer and reciprocal suffixes.

The Verbs *Keen-* and *Shinanbenot-*

The verbs *keen-* "want, love" and *shinanbenot-* "slip the mind" constitute two-argument non-prototypical transitive verbs that, unlike others, allow two alternate case-marking frames <AB AB> and <AB OBL>.

The verb *keen-* "want, love"

There are two different *keen-* lexical entries. One of them corresponds to the prototypical transitive predicate "call," which imposes an ergative absolutive case-marking frame. This is not the one we are concerned with here. A separate lexical entry *keen-* "want, love" always requires two noun phrases; this verb alternates between an <AB AB> and an <AB OBL> case-marking frame with no obvious differences in meaning. This alternation is illustrated in the examples below:

286a) Ea-0-ra   keen-ai   westiora   xobo-*0*.
       1-AB-AS   want-INC   one   house-AB
       "I want a house."

286b) Ea-0-ra   keen-ai   westiora   xobo-*n*.
       1-AB-AS   want-INC   one   house-OBL1

"I want a house."

287a) Ea-0-ra   [Sani rete-kan-ti-*0*]   keen-ai.
      1-AB-AS   Sani kill-PL-NLZ-AB want-INC
      "I want them to kill Sani."

287b) Ea-0-ra   [Sani rete-kan-ti-*tonin*]   keen-ai.
      1-AB-AS   Sani kill-PL-NLZ-OBL1 want-INC
      "I want them to kill Sani."

The following examples are extracted from a narrative text about the "Stingy Inca." These examples suggest that the case-marking alternation exhibited by *keen-* may not be pragmatically significant:

288)   Jaska-ra ninkat-ax; [jawen jimi-*n*,   tawi-*n*,   taka-*n*,   poko-*0*;
        so-AS   hear-PSSI POS3   blood-OBL1 bilis-OBL1 liver-OBL1 stomach-AB

        ja-*baon*]   keen-i   be-kan-a   iki; jatíbi yoina-bo-0.
        3-PL:OBL1 want-SSSI come.PL-PL-PART AUX all   animal-PL-ABS
        "Hearing that, wanting his blood, bilis, stomach, all that, they came, all the animals." (Bardales 1979:11-12)

The example above lists the things that the animals wanted (blood, bilis, liver, and stomach); that is, we can assume that all these props have the same discourse-pragmatic status. However, even within the same sentence, a second argument of *keen-* can be marked either oblique or absolutive.

The examples below are extracted from the same story, and refer to what men wanted to get from the Stingy Inca. While "plantain" and "fire" are marked oblique, "pineapple" is marked absolutive:

289)   [Paranta-*nin*-ra]   noa-0 keen-ai   papa, no-n-ra   atsa-0
        plantain-OBL1-AS   1p-AB want-INC father 1p-ER-AS   manioc-AB

        a-yama-ke,   bona-0   icha-yora   i-ketian.
        make-NEG-CMPL *isula*.ant-AB much-INTNS   be-PDS
        "We want plantain father, we didn't take the manioc because there were very many isula ants." (Bardales 1979:15)

290) Bo-xon   kankan-0   yoka-ribi-kan-a   iki: [-Kankan-*0*-bicho-
     go:PL-PSST pineapple-AB ask-REP-PL-PART AUX pineapple-AB-single-

     -res-sa] noa-0 keen-ai   papa- a-kin   a-kan-a   iki.
     only-AS 1p-AB want-INC father make-SSST make-PL-PART AUX
     "Coming back, they asked for pineapple too: 'At least we want pineapple,
father,'   they said." (Bardales 1979:15)

291) Ja-tian-ronki ja   Inka-bicho-res-ki   chii-a   i-paoni-ke.
     3-TEMP-hsy DET Inca-single-only-DM fire-with be-IMPF:REM-CMPL

     Ja   chii-*kan*-kaya-ronki   ikon-bi-res   iki keen-kati-kan-ai
     DET fire-OBL1-instead-hsy true-EMP-only COP want-IMPF:PST-PL-INC
     "At that time, the Inca was the only one who had fire. It is said that (they) really
     wanted it." (Bardales 1979:15)

     Similarly to the two-argument intransitive verbs expressing emotions/sensations
(described in chapter IV above), when the second argument is expressed through a
pronoun, it takes the oblique pronominal set. Consider the examples below:

292) Ea-0-ra *mi-on*   keen- ai.
     1-AB-AS 2-OBL1 want-INC
     "I love you."

293) Nokon tita-0-ra   *e-on*   keen-ai.
     POS1   mother-AB-AS 1-OBL1 want-INC
     "My mother loves me."

The verb *shinanbenot-* "slip the mind"

     Shinabenot- (<*shinan* "thinking" + *beno-t* "get lost, get confused, forget") is a two-
argument verb. Similarly to the verb *keen-* "love, want," the predicate *shinabenot-* shows
the <AB AB>/<AB OBL> case-marking alternation. Consider the following examples:

294) Nokon papa-n   Rima-n   ka-ni-ra   moa   noa-0 ja-*n*
     POS1   father-OBL1 Lima-DIR go-REM-AS already 1p-AB 3-OBL1

     shinanbeno-ke.
     slip.the.mind-CMPL
     "Our father that went to Lima long time ago, we already forgot him."

As with the verb *keen-* "want," the pairs of alternative sentences below show no obvious difference in meaning:

295a) Ea-0-ra   kirika-*nin*   shinanbeno-ke.
      1-AB-AS   book-OBL1   slip.the.mind-CMPL
      "I forgot the book."

295b) Ea-0-ra   kirika-*0*   shinanbeno-ke.
      1-AB-AS   book-AB   slip.the.mind-CMPL
      "I forgot the book."

296a) Ea-0-ra   shinanbenot-a   picha-*0*/bewa-*0*/joni-*0*.
      1-AB-AS   slip.the.mind-PART   bag-AB/song-AB/man-AB
      "I forgot the bag/song/man."

296b) Ea-0-ra   shinanbenot-a   picha-*n*/bewa-*kan*/joni-*n*.
      1-AB-AS   slip.the.mind-PART   bag-OBL1/song-OBL1/man-OBL1
      "I forgot the bag/song/man."

The next example shows that the second argument of the predicate *shinanbenot-* takes the oblique pronominal set also:

297)   Ea-0-ra   *mi-on*   shinanbeno-ti   atipan-yam-ai.
      1-AB-AS 2-OBL1 slip.the.mind-NLZ can-NEG-INC
      "I cannot forget you."

It has been shown above that both roots, *keen-* and *shinanbenot-*, allow alternate <AB AB> and <AB OBL> case-marking frames. These two verbs resemble two-argument intransitive verbs expressing emotions/sensations (described in chapter IV above) in three important ways. Firstly, *keen-* and *shinanbenot-* allow the <AB OBL> frame (which actually seems to be the preferred one). Secondly, when the second argument takes a pronominal expression, *keen-* and *shinanbenot* take the oblique set of pronouns. In addition to this, *keen-* and s*hinanbenot-* have the pro-verb forms *ik-í/ik-ama* as short answers to yes/no questions, thus following the intransitive pattern. However, differently from two-argument intransitive verbs which take only <AB OBL>, these two roots allow the alternative options of an overt second argument marked absolutive; i.e. <AB AB>.

When applying other transitivity tests, *keen-* and *shinanbenot-* exhibit different behaviors from one another. While *shinanbenot-* can take both the de-transitivizer and the

malefactive suffixes (which can be attached to transitive stems only), *keen-* cannot. The examples below show the verb *shinanbenot-* taking the de-transitivizer and the malefactive suffixes:

298) Oa-bo-0-res   topon-i-ra   ea-0   enbix-bi
        that-PL-AB-only   count-SSSI-AS   1-AB   myself-EMP

        shinanbeno-*kaa*-ke.
        slip.the.mind-DTRNZ-CMPL
        "Counting them only, I forgot (to count) myself."

299) Mi-n ea-0 mishkiti bi-xon-ti   yo-ibat-a-0-ra   e-n   mia-0
        2-ER 1-AB fishhook get-BEN-INF say-PST2-PART-AB-AS 1-ER 2-AB

        shinanbeno-*naan*-ke.
        slip.the.mind-MAL-CMPL
        "I forgot the fishhook you asked me to bring yesterday (to your detriment)."

However, the same proposition can be encoded by using the benefactive *-xon* with a malefactive function, thus resembling intransitive verbs (see sections on applicativization, chapter V):

300) Mi-n   ea-0   mishkiti bi-xon-ti   yo-ibat-a-0-ra   e-n   mia-0
        2-ER   1-AB   fishhook get-BEN-INF say-PST2-PART-AB-AS 1-ER 2-AB

        shinanbeno-*xon*-ke.
        slip.the.mind-BEN-CMPL
        "I forgot the fishhook you asked me to bring yesterday (to your detriment)."

The analysis of the verb roots *keen-* and *shinanbenot-* shows that transitivity is gradient phenomenon, and that there is not a clear-cut boundary between them and two-argument intransitive verbs. Furthermore, it is even possible to find different degrees of morpho-syntactic transitivity between *keen-* and *shinanbenot-*, in terms of the number of transitive properties that can be applied to them; the former is lower in transitivity than the latter. As mentioned in the section on transitivity (chapter III above), I adopt the possibility of an overt second argument marked absolutive as the final criterion to group a given verb as "transitive" or not. However, this is a practical and rather arbitrary decision; including a verb such as *keen-* within the transitive verb category is evidently questionable.

The Verbs "want," "love," and "forget" in Western Muskogean Languages

      Given that verbs such as "want," "love" and "forget" are neither prototypically transitive nor prototypically intransitive, it is not surprising that cross-linguistically there is a tendency to code them by making use of peculiar case-marking frames. In this section I briefly describe how Chickasaw, a genetically non-related and typologically different language from SC, codes these verbs in a comparable way.

      Chickasaw is a Western Muskogean language dialectically related to Choctaw. Chickasaw has three sets of pronominal affixes which Munro and Gordon (1982) refer to as I, II, and III. Overgeneralizing, Set I is used to mark the first argument of a transitive verb and the only argument of an active intransitive verb. Set II is used to mark the second argument of a transitive verb and the only argument of a stative verb. "The most important use of the III afixes is to mark Datives of verbs, with I arguments. These may include semantic Recipients, Benefactives, Goals, and Ablative" (Munro and Gordon 1982:84). Interestingly, these authors point out that many two-argument stative verbs mark the first argument either with II or with III affixes. An example of a two-argument stative verb that marks the first argument with II affixes is *banna* "want"; a two-argument stative verb that marks the first participant with III affixes is *alhkaniya* "forget." This situation is comparable to the Shipibo-Conibo verbs *keen-* and *shinanbenot-* that mark first participants absolutive instead of ergative (recall from chapter III that there is no morpho-syntactic distinction between patient and dative in SC). Furthermore, in Chickasaw, while transitives involving physical action mark an affected patient with a II prefix, most non-active transitive verbs with I first arguments mark the second argument with III. An example of the latter is *hollo* "love." There is also a class of "more-or-less active verbs" that mark a non-affected patient with a II prefix (1982:85-6). Although the marking of the first argument differs from that of the Shipibo-Conibo equivalent verbs, the fact that second arguments can be marked with either II or III pronominal affix sets is reminiscent of the alternation between the <AB AB> and <AB OBL> case-marking frames in Shipibo-Conibo. As a conclusion, the possibility of alternate expression of arguments in SC reflects the intermediate transitivity status of these kinds of verbs and their clauses, something to which case-marking seems to be sensitive in many languages.

Transitive Verbs with Low Frequency Objects

      Wina- "row" and *jono-* "pull the boat" can be considered as transitive verb roots. Both allow an object argument and impose the <ER AB> case-marking frame:

301)   Rawa-n-ra   nonti-0   wina-ai.
        Rawa-ER-AS canoe-AB row-INC
        "Rawa is rowing the canoe."

302) Rawa-n-ra   tapan-0   jono-ai.
      Rawa-ER-AS   raft-AB   pull-INC
      "Rawa is pulling the raft."

Also, both verbs can take the malefactive applicative and have the forms *a-kin/ak-ama* as short answer for yes/no questions; these properties imply transitivity. However, while *wina-* can also take the de-transitivizer and the reciprocal suffixes, *jono-* cannot. There does not seem to exist any semantic restriction for this lack of analogy. Both roots can take two kinds of objects: one can either row/pull the boat, the canoe, or the raft, or one can row/pull somebody. Consider the following examples:

301) Rawa-n-ra   nonti-0   wina-ai.
      Rawa-ER-AS   canoe-AB   row-INC
      "Rawa is rowing the canoe."

303) Rawa-n-ra   Kaisi-0   wina-ai.
      Rawa-ER-AS   Kaisi-AB   row-INC
      "Rawa is rowing Kaisi."

302) Rawa-n-ra   tapan-0   jono-ai.
      Rawa-ER-AS   raft-AB   pull-INC
      "Rawa is pulling the raft."

304) Rawa-n-ra   Kaisi-0   jono-ai.
      Rawa-ER-AS   Kaisi-AB   pull-INC
      "Rawa is pulling Kaisi."

But:

305) Ea-0-ra   *wina-kaa*-ke.
      1-AB-AS   row-DTRNZ-CMPL
      "I am rowing myself."

306) *Ea-0-ra   *jono-kaa*-ke.
       1-AB-AS   row-DTRNZ-CMPL
      "I am pulling myself."

307) Oa rabé-0-ra   *wina-kanan-kan*-ke.
      that two-AB-AS   row-PL:REC-PL-CMPL

"Those two rowed each other (i.e. they took turns)."

308)   *Oa rabé-0-ra   *jono-kanan-kan*-ke.
       that two-AB-AS   pull-PL:REC-PL-CMPL
       "Those two rowed each other (i.e. they took turns)."

    In spite of allowing an overt second argument marked absolutive, and of exhibiting other properties that imply transitivity, I consider *wina-* and *jono-* to be non-prototypical

transitive verbs because they show a very strong tendency to occur as predicates with only one overt NP, as in the following examples:

309)   Niweaba-0   be-aitian-ra   no-n koshi-n   wina-wan-ke.
       strong.wind-AB come-SDS-AS 1p-ER strong-OBL1 row-PST1-CMPL
       "When a strong wind came, we began to row with vigor." (Loriot et alia
       1993:189)

310)   Ochó   bo-kin-ki,   winti ispi-n-res   wina-kati-kan-ai.
       far   go:PL-SSST-DM paddle edge-INSTR-only row-IMPF:REM-PL-INC
       "When going far away, (they) rowed only with the edge of the paddle."
       (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:6)

    Therefore, although speakers know that it is possible for these verb roots to take a second argument, the probability that they produce this kind of two-argument clauses seem to be low. This infrequency of using the verb roots *wina-* and *jono-* with two overt arguments may eventually lead to a categorical change.

<u>Transitive Verbs: Conclusions</u>

    In this chapter I first discussed the properties of prototypical transitive verbs, particularly those that were not addressed in chapter III. The transitivity associated properties in SC are: <ER AB> case-marking frame, same-subject transitivity agreement in the switch-reference system or multi-clausal sentences, adverbial transitivity agreement in mono-clausal sentences, the possibility of taking the de-transitivizer and reciprocal

markers as well as the detrimental applicative, and having the forms *a-kin/ak-ama* as short answers for yes/no questions. Verbs expressing perception, cognition and memory violate the semantic principles of prototypical transitive verbs; semantically, they have an experiencer subject (rather than agent) and a second participant that does not undergo any change. However, the formal pattern for coding prototypical transitive verbs has been metaphorically extended to the members of this class.

Complement-taking verbs have been structurally organized into different sub-classes depending on the form of their complement clause. A first sub-class of complement-taking verbs (*keen-* "want," *raan-* "send someone to do something", *yono-* "order," *axea-* "teach, make someone get used to do something") marks the complement verbs with the infinitive/nominalizer suffix *-ti*. In a second sub-class of complement-taking verbs (*yoi-* "say/tell," *onan-* "know," *shinan* "think/plan"), the complement verbs can be marked either with *-ti*, or with the present and past participle suffixes, *-ai* and *-a*, respectively. Finally, a third sub-class of complement-taking verbs (*namat-* "dream," *ninkat* "hear/ listen/understand," *oin-* "see/realize") seems to mark the complement verbs with the participle suffixes only. Further research on the distribution of *-ti* as opposed to *-ai/-a* remains to be done. Transitive verbs with aspectual meaning are not grouped as complement-taking verbs since the dependent verbs in these aspectual sentences take simultaneous same-subject markers, like other intransitive and transitive verbs do. Furthermore, these aspectual verbs can occur as dependent verbs, and thus be marked with simultaneous same-reference markers, while the semantically main verb functions as the independent verb. The group of SC verbs that allow direct quote complements includes *yoi-* "say/tell," *yokat-* "ask," *yono-* "ask for, order," and *saí ik-* "cry."

Di-transitive verbs are a sub-class of transitive verbs that take two NP objects. A characteristic of di-transitive verbs in this language is that there does not seem to exist any morpho-syntactic difference between the two objects; both are marked absolutive, they can exchange word order without changing the meaning of the clause; and it is possible to relativize on both of them. Passivization for direct objecthood is not available as a test for SC.

Cognate object verbs are non-prototypical transitive verbs. When applying the transitivity tests to the members of this class, the results show their intermediate transitivity status. For example, while some cognate object verbs impose the <ER AB> frame (as prototypical transitive verbs do), others take an <AB AB> or even an <AB OBL> frame. Further, although some of these verbs can take the malefactive applicative, none of the cognate object verbs take either the de-transitivizer or the reciprocal suffixes.

The verbs *keen-* "want" and *shinanbenot-* "slip the mind" also show intermediate transitivity status. In spite of not marking the most agent-like participant with the ergative morpheme, both verbs can have an object NP, thus imposing an <AB AB> case-marking frame. However, in terms of their inherent possibilitites, these verbs can also take an alternative <AB OBL> frame. For these verbs, when the second argument is

pronominal, the special set of oblique pronouns is used. The verb *shinanbenot-* exhibits more transitive properties than the root *keen-*.

There are certain transitive verbs, such as *wina-* "row" and *jono-* "pull" that, in spite of marking their subjects ergative and in spite of structurally allowing an object second argument, statistically occur with just one overt argument. A question that arises is whether the infrequency of making use of the two-argument frame will ultimately result in a change in the grammatical transitivity status of these verbs, giving rise to an unergative sub-class of intransitive verbs; that is, marking the beginning of a split-S system.

CHAPTER VII

SPLIT-ERGATIVITY AND DE-TRANSITIVIZATION

The present chapter discusses what can be considered as the instances of split-ergativity in SC, as well as the de-transitivization strategies available. These two topics are grouped together since phenomena such as lack of control of the subject, absence of a second argument, and non-individuation of the object relate to a decrease in transitivity of the clause, and also are relevant when dealing with split-ergativity in SC.

Split-Ergativity

Most morphologically ergative languages have some degree of split-ergativity; that is, they exhibit an ergative pattern in one part of their grammar, but a non-ergative one in some other parts. Shipibo-Conibo shows a dominantly ergative-absolutive case-marking system, depending on the inherent transitivity of the verb used. However, there is a marginal group of constructions that deviate from this fairly rigid pattern. Some deviations suggest a different logic based on the properties of the clause and/or on the semantic/pragmatic context. Firstly, there is a dominantly transitive verb root that is

sensitive to an agenthood-based logic, since an unmodified object (that is, an object that lacks a modifier) is only allowed when the agent is a controller of the action. Secondly, there are a couple of verb roots that cannot take an object but nevertheless require that their single argument be marked ergative instead of absolutive. Thirdly, certain transitive verbs make use of alternate case-marking frames in desiderative constructions depending on the individuation of referential objects. These kind of clauses deviate from the quite rigid syntactically-based ergative-absolutive pattern described in the preceding chapter, and illustrate that there is some (minimal) degree of split-ergativity in Shipibo-Conibo.

The Controller vs. Non-Controller Distinction

We can say that *kinan-* "vomit" is an inherently transitive verb, based on the following criteria: Its subject is marked ergative, it requires inter-clausal and intra-clausal transitivity agreement, it takes the *a-kin/ak-ama* pro-verb forms as short answers to yes/no questions, it can take the malefactive, de-transitivizer, and reciprocal suffixes. However, *kinan-* has the peculiarity of not allowing the presence of an unmodified object (typical of cognate object verbs), unless the subject controls the action. Consider the examples below:

311)   E-n-ra   kinan-ke.
       1-ER-AS   vomit-CMPL
       "I vomited."

312a) *E-n-ra   kinan-ke   aros-0.
        1-ER-AS   vomit-CMPL rice-AB
       "I vomited the rice."

313a) *E-n-ra   kinan-ke   yapa-0.
        1-ER-AS   vomit-CMPL fish-AB
       "I vomited the fish."

But:

312b) E-n-ra   kinan-ke   aros-*bires*.
       1-ER-AS   vomit-CMPL rice-only
       "I vomited pure rice"

313b) E-n-ra   kinan-ke   yapa-*bires*.
       1-ER-AS   vomit-CMPL fish-only
       "I vomited pure fish."

     In Amazonian cultures beverages that induce vomiting are drunk to acquire desired qualities or skills. Interestingly, when *kinan-* refers to a provoked action, it allows the presence of an unmodified object, as shown below:

314)   Inon Sina-kan-ra   kinan-ke   manxa-man kawá-ti-0.
       Inon Siná-ER-AS   vomit-CMPL heron-GEN   bridge-AB
       "Inon Siná vomited *manxaman kawáti* (kind of herb prepared as beverage and drunk to become good fisher/hunter)."

315)   Bake-n-ra   kinan-ke   atsa-n   tita-0.
       child-ER-AS vomit-CMPL manioc-GEN mother-AB
       "The child vomited the *atsan tita* (kind of herb prepared as beverage and given to children to make them become fatter)."

     I conclude that according to traditional practices, *kinan-* is primarily conceived of as a transitive verb, whose subject has control over the action as in 314) and 315). When

its subject lacks this feature as in 312a) and 313a), its decrease in agentivity, which is also a decrease in transitivity of the clause, is shown by restricting the presence of an unmodified object.

<div align="center">The Verbs join- "breathe" and rebes- "die"</div>

The verbs *join*- "breath" and *rebes*- "die" do not allow an object, in spite of requiring their subjects to be marked ergative. The verb root *join*- "breathe" can be considered as closer to the intransitive prototype, since except for case-marking and the agreement properties associated to it, *join*- lacks other characteristics of transitive roots such as the possibility of taking the malefactive, de-transitivizer, and reciprocal suffixes. Let us recall sentence 21) which shows the verb *join*- with a single overt argument, the subject, marked ergative:

21)   Nato jene-n   rete-a   *ainbaon*-ra   moa   *join*-ai.
        this   flowing.water-ER kill-PART woman.ER-AS   already breath-INC
        "This woman who was had almost drowned is breathing already." (Lit. "The woman whom the flowing water killed is breathing already.") (Loriot et alia 1993:230)

The sentences below illustrate that the subject of *join*- cannot be marked absolutive, and that a second overt argument is not possible:

316a) E-n-ra   join-ai.
        1-ER-AS breathe-INC
        "I breathe."

316b) *Ea-0-ra   join-ai.
        1-AB-AS breath-INC
        "I breathe."

317)   *E-n-ra   niwe-0   join-ai.
        1-ER-AS   air-AB   breath-INC
        "I am breathing air."

Although sentence 316b) above is ungrammatical when wanting to say "I breathe," the form is grammatical with a different meaning and morpho-syntactic analysis:

318)   Ea-0-ra   joi-n-ai.
        1-AB-AS   word-TRNZ-INC
        "(S)he is kidding me (and this bothers me)."

Therefore, to mark the presumed subject of *join-* absolutive, as expected, would cause a potential confusion between 316a) and 318), and this might be solved by requiring the subject of *join-* to be marked ergative. However, example 318) above also suggests that *joi-* "word" might be the ultimate root in the verb "breath" to which the causitivizer *-n* is added, making it into a transitive verb. If this second hypothesis is correct, the history of the form would explain the ergative case-marker.

Similarly to the verb root *join-* described above, the verb *rebes-* "die" requires its subject to be marked ergative, in spite of allowing no object:

319)   Moa-ra   papa-*n*   rebes-ke.
        already-AS   father-ER   die-CMPL
        "My father died already."

In this case, the probable explanation of the unexpected case-marking is different. The intransitive verb *rebes-* "die" seems to originate from the transitive one *rebes-* "reach the end of ," illustrated in the following example:

320)   Moa-ra   e-n   paro-0   rebes-ke.
        already-AS   1-ER   river-AB   reach.the.end-CMPL
        "I reached the end of the river already."

Therefore, the use of this verb root with the meaning "die" might be considered as the lexicalization of an antipassive construction.

Case-Marking Alternation to Indicate a Referential Individuated Object

The Desiderative *-kas*

One way of forming desiderative constructions is by adding the suffix *-kas* to the verb root. This morpheme can be attached to both intransitive and transitive verbs. When added to transitive verbs, the case-marking of the subject changes from ergative to absolutive. This case-marking change can be accounted for by recalling Hopper and Thompson's notion of clause-level transitivity discussed in chapter II. According to their transitivity parameters, desiderative clauses are lower in transitivity than non-desiderative ones. Among other characteristics, a prototypical transitive clause refers to a real action,

in which A is an initiator and controller, acting purposefully on an affected and individuated O. Differently from this, a desiderative clause is an irrealis non-action, whose subject is semantically a dative (rather than an agent), and whose patient is non-affected. (We will go back to the desiderative -*kas* in the following section on de-transitivization.) Examples 321a)-322c) show that the subject of a transitive verb goes from ergative to absolutive when this verb takes the suffix -*kas*:

321a) Bima-n-ra xenan-0 koko-ai.
     Bima-ER-AS *guaba*-AB suck-INC
     "Bima is eating *guaba* (fruit)."

321b) *Bima-0-ra xenan-0 koko-ai.
     Bima-AB-AS *guaba*-AB suck-INC
     "Bima is eating *guaba*."

322a) Bima-0-ra xenan-0 koko-*kas*-ai.
     Bima-AB-AS *guaba*-AB suck-DES-INC
     "Bima wants to eat *guaba*."

322b) *Bima-n-ra xenan-0 koko-*kas*-ai.
     Bima-ER-AS *guaba*-AB suck-DES-INC
     "Bima wants to eat *guaba*."

However, as the sentences below show, case-marking alternation on the subject of desiderative clauses can still be used to distinguish between a non-referential object as opposed to a referential one:

323a) Ea-*0*-ra yapa-0 pi-kas-ai.
     1-AB-AS fish-AB eat-DES-INC
     "I want to eat fish (referential or non-referential)."

323b) E-*n*-ra yapa-0 pi-kas-ai.
     1-ER-AS fish-AB eat-DES-INC
     "I want to eat the fish (referential only)."

The next sentence could be heard from a Shipibo speaker who is in the capital city, Lima, where the kind of fish referred to (*paiche*) does not exist; therefore, the subject necessarily has to be marked absolutive:

324a) Ea-0-ra   wame-0   pikas-kiran-ke.
       1-AB-AS *paiche*-AB eat-DES-coming-CMPL
       "I would like to eat *paiche* when I come." (But there is no *paiche* in the place
       where I am now).

324b) *E-n-ra   wame-0   pi-kas-kiran-ke.
        1-ER-AS *paiche*-AB eat-DES-coming-CMPL

    The ergative case-marking on the subject of desiderative clauses seems to be even
more acceptable when choosing between two or more things; that is, when the goal is to
more clearly individuate the object from surrounding items:

325)   E-n-ra   wame-0   pi-kas-ai,   wetsa piti-bo-0-ra   ea-0
       1-ER-AS *paiche*-AB eat-DES-INC other   food-PL-AB-AS 1-AB

       a-kásham-ai.
       make-DES:NEG-INC
       "I want to eat *<u>paiche</u>*, other kind of food I don"t want."

    While the coding of the non-referential/referential distinction in desiderative clauses
through case-marking alternation does not seem to operate with other transitive verbs, the
use of this case-marking device for individuation of a referential object has been attested.
The following desiderative sentences with the transitive verbs *xea-* "drink," *koko-* "eat
fruit" and *bi-* "get" show that absolutive case-marking on the subject is required when -
kas occurs:

326a) Bima-*0*-ra   paranta xea-ti-0   xea-kas-ai.
       Bima-AB-AS plantain drink-NLZ-AB drink-DES-INC
       "Bima wants to drink (the) plantain drink (referential or non-referential)."

327a) Bima-*0*-ra   xenan-0   koko-kas-ai.
       Bima-AB-AS *guaba*-AB   suck-DES-INC
       "Bima wants to eat (the) *guaba* (kind of fruit) (referential or non-referential)."

328a) Bima-*0*-ra   xawi-0   bi-kas-ai.
       Bima-AB-AS cane-AB   get-DES-INC
       "Bima wants to go get (the) cane (referential or non-referential)."

Differently from the verb stem *pi-kas-* "want to eat" (sentences 323-325 above), the stems *xea-kas-* "want to drink", *koko-kas-* "want to suck fruit," and *bi-kas* "want to get" do not allow the alternate <ER AB> case-marking frame:

326b) *Bima-*n*-ra   paranta xea-ti-0   xea-kas-ai.
       Bima-ER-AS plantain drink-NLZ-AB drink-DES-INC
       "Bima wants to drink (the) plantain drink."

327b) *Bima-*n*-ra   xenan-0   koko-kas-ai.
       Bima-ER-AS *guaba*-AB suck-DES-INC
       "Bima wants to eat (the) *guaba* (kind of fruit)."

328b) *Bima-*n*-ra   xawi-0   bi-kas-ai.
       Bima-ER-AS cane-AB get-DES-INC
       "Bima wants to go get (the) cane."

However, *xea-kas-*, *koko-kas-*, and *bi-kas-* do make use of the <ER AB> frame to accomplish a contrastive effect:

329) Bima-*n*-ra   paranta xea-ti-0   xea-kas-ai,   wetsa jawéki-bo-0
      Bima-ER-AS plantain d rink-NLZ-AB drink-DES-INC other   thing-PL-AB

      a-káshama[a]i.
      make-DES:NEG-INC
      "Bima wants to drink <u>plantain drink</u>, but not anything else."

330) Bima-*n*-ra   xenan-0   koko-kas-ai,   wetsa   jawéki-bo-0
      Bima-ER-AS *guaba*-AB   suck-DES-INC other   thing-PL-AB

      a-káshama-ai.
      make-DES:NEG-INC
      "Bima wants to eat <u>*guaba*</u>, but not anything else."

331) Bima-*n*-ra   xawi-0   bi-kas-ai,   wetsa jawéki-bo-0 bi-káshama-ai.
      Bima-ER-AS cane-AB get-DES-INC other   thing-PL-AB get-DES:NEG-INC
      "Bima wants to go get <u>cane</u>, but not anything else."

It is important to point out that even the same speaker does not treat all transitive verbs alike. For instance, a speaker from the Middle Ucayali who agreed with the

sentences and interpretations above, still considered the following sentences with case-marking alternation of the subject to be acceptable in any context:

332a) Bima-*0*-ra   aros-0   bana-kas-ai.
      Bima-AB-AS   rice-AB sow-DES-INC
      "Bima wants to sow rice (non-referential)."

332b) Bima-*n*-ra   aros-0   bana-kas-ai.
      Bima-ER-AS rice-AB sow-DES-INC
      "Bima wants to sow rice (non-referential)."

333a) Kate-*0*-ra   choncho-0   xeki-0   pi-ma-kas-ai.
      Kate-AB-AS   chicken-AB   maize-AB   eat-CAUS-DES-INC
      "Kate wants to feed the chicken (referential)."

333b) Kate-*n*-ra   choncho-0   xeki-0   pi-ma-kas-ai.
      Kate-ER-AS chicken-AB   maize-AB eat-CAUS-DES-INC
      "Kate wants to feed the chicken (referential)."

     A thorough account of the function of such case-marking alternations in discourse context remains to be undertaken.

<u>De-transitivization Strategies</u>

     In the previous section we introduced the desiderative transitivity decreasing *-kas*. Also, inherently transitive verbs can become de-transitivized by taking the suffix *-t*, and the reciprocal *-(ana)nan ~ -anan*. The de-transitivized clauses with *-t* and *-(ana)nan ~ -anan* mark their single argument absolutive. Unlike transitivization, de-transitivization does not result in morpho-syntactically distinct verb sub-classes. (The reflexive effect of the suffix *-ik* "be" in onomatopoeic verbs will be dealt with in chapter VIII.)

The Desiderative Transitivity Decreasing *-kas*

     As shown earlier in this chapter, the addition of the desiderative suffix *-kas* to a transitive verb causes a decrease in transitivity, in Hopper and Thompson's sense, manifested through case-marking change on the subject from ergative to absolutive. A desiderative clause is lower in transitivity than a non-desiderative one since it encodes a non-implicative proposition that refers to an irrealis non-action, with a semantically dative subject (rather than an agent), and with a non-affected patient. Furthermore, the implicative/non-implicative parameter might also be relevant to this decrease of

transitivity; that is, while a prototypical transitive clause (be it affirmative or negative) encodes a proposition with a truth value, a desiderative clause codes an intent. As an illustration compare the prototypical transitive clause *Sani killed a deer* with its corresponding desiderative one *Sani wanted to kill a deer*. While the former sentence implies that Sani did kill the animal, the latter does not assign any truth value to the complement clause (Givón 1984:118). Let us recall sentences 321a)-322b) which illustrate this case-marking change on the subject :
.

321a) Bima-n-ra   xenan-0   koko-ai.
         Bima-ER-AS *guaba*-AB suck-INC
         "Bima is eating *guaba* (fruit)."

321b) *Bima-0-ra   xenan-0   koko-ai.
         Bima-AB-AS *guaba*-AB suck-INC
         "Bima is eating *guaba*."

322a) Bima-0-ra   xenan-0   koko-*kas*-ai.
         Bima-AB-AS *guaba*-AB suck-DES-INC
         "Bima wants to eat *guaba*."

322b) *Bima-n-ra xenan-0 koko-*kas*-ai.
         Bima-ER-AS *guaba*-AB suck-DES-INC
         "Bima wants to eat *guaba*."

       However, the affirmative and negative short answer to yes/no questions forms do not change into the intransitive ones when using the desiderative construction; that is, desiderative clauses retain certain characteristics associated with transitive verbs:

334a) -Bima-n-ki   xenan-0   koko-ai?
          Bima-ER-DM *guaba*-AB suck-INC
          -"Does Bima eat *guaba*?"

334b) -A-kin/ak-ama
          make-SSST/make-NEG
          -"Yes/no."

334c) *Ik-i/ik-ama.
          be-SSSI/be-NEG

-"Yes/no."

335a) -Bima-0-ki   xenan-0   koko-kas-ai?
        Bima-AB-DM   *guaba*-AB   suck-DES-INC
       -"Does Bima want to eat *guaba*?"

335b) -A-kin/ak-ama.
        make-SSST/make-NEG
       -"Yes/no."

335c) *Ik-i/ik-ama.
        be-SSSI/be-NEG
       -"Yes/no."

The De-transitivizer *-t*

As mentioned above, inherently transitive verbs can become intransitive by taking the suffix *-t*. This marker has been called "reflexive" by Loriot et alia (1993:67), although the authors acknowledge that the resulting stem does not always have a reflexive meaning. Therefore, I will just call it a de-transitivizer instead. The morpheme *-t* has different allomorphs and their distribution has a historical motivation that will not be discussed in this study[17]. The allomorph *-t* is added to bi-syllable roots ending in an open syllable. With some of these roots, *-t* triggers a quality change in the last vowel. When a verb stem formed by root-*t*- precedes a suffix starting with a consonant, the /t/ is deleted and the last vowel of the root gets a compensatory stress. Consider the following examples:

meno-	meno-t-	menó-ke
burn	burn-DTRNZ	burn:DTRNZ-CMPL
"burn"	"burn oneself"	"burned oneself"
piko-	piko-t-	pikó-ke
take.out	take.out-DTRNZ	take.out:DTRNZ-CMPL
"take out"	"go out"	"went out"
choka-	chokit-	chokí-ke
wash	wash:DTRNZ	wash:DTRNZ-CMPL
"wash"	"wash oneself"	"washed oneself"
xoka-	xokot-	xokó-ke

peel	peel:DTRNZ	peel:DTRNZ-CMPL
"peel"	"peel oneself"	"peeled oneself"

Other allomorphs of *-t* are: *-meet, -(k)oot, -(k)eet, -(k)iit,* and *-kaat*.

In SC the addition of the suffix *-t* to a root may result in a reflexive, middle and/or passive sense(s). Reflexive constructions are two-argument (or more) predicates in which the A and the O participants are the same entity; that is, the A acts upon itself. Reflexive markers can be free or bound.

Middle voice refers to a patient-oriented event or state, with little or no implication or sense of an agent participant. Lyons (1969) gives a semantic characterization of middle voice as indicating that "the 'action' or 'state' affects the subject of the verb or his interests" (Kemmer 1993:1). In her cross-lingusitic study on middle voice, Kemmer (1993) concludes that:

> "The middle is a semantic area comprising events in which (a) the Initiator is also an Endpoint, or affected entity and (b) the event is characterized by a low degree of elaboration...Middle marking is in general a morphosyntactic strategy for expressing an alternative conceptualization of an event in which aspects of the internal structure of the event that are less important from the point of view of the speaker are not
made   reference to in the utterance" (1993:243).

The verbs associated with middle morphology can be grouped into different semantic classes, such as: grooming or body care, non-translational motion, change in body posture, indirect middle (self-benefactive middle), natural reciprocals, translational motion, emotion middle, cognition middle, spontaneous event, and logophoric middle (Kemmer 1993:16-19). The same author proposes a typology of middle and reflexive markers in which she establishes three distinctions:

a) One-form middle systems.- the same marker functions as both a reflexive and a middle morpheme (Guugu Yimidhirr, Changana, Pangwa, and German).

b) Two-form cognate systems.- the reflexive and the middle are similar, historically related markers. The middle marker has less phonological "body" than the reflexive marker (Djola, Russian, Old Norse, and Surselvan (Rhaeto-Romance)).

c) Two-form non-cognate systems.- the reflexive and the middle markers are two different, historically non-related forms (Latin, Turkish, Bahasa Indonesia, Classical Greek, Hungarian,and Sanskrit).

According to Kemmer's typology presented above, SC can be grouped within the one-form (reflexive)-middle type, since the stem resulting from the addition of *-t* may

have both a reflexive and/or a middle sense. There is also a set of "reflexive pronouns" in this language; however, in most cases the presence of these pronouns is not required. The following examples show the presence of the de-transitivizer allomorph *-kaa* in both reflexive and middle clauses, as well as the optionality of the reflexive pronoun. Note also that an inherently transitive verb becomes intransitive when this suffix is added:

Transitive

336) E-n-ra   rera-ke.
      1-ER-AS cut-CMPL
      "I cut it (down)."

Reflexive

337) Ea-0-ra   rera-*kaa*-ke.
      1-AB-AS cut-DTRNZ-CMPL
      "I cut myself."

Reflexive with optional pronoun

338) Ea-0-ra   *enbix*   rera-*kaa*-ke.
      1-AB-AS   myself   cut-DTRNZ-CMPL
      "I cut myself (by my own action)." (Faust 1973:152)

Middle

339) Nokon papa-n   tari-0-ra   niwe-n   ak-á
      POS1   father-GEN *cushma*-AB-AS wind-OBL make-PART

      kato-*kaa*-ke.
      fold-DTRNZ-CMPL
      "My father's *cushma*[18] folded due to the wind."

According to Givón (1990:chapter 14), passive voice is a fundamentally pragmatic notion. It indicates that the non-agent is the most topical participant, and thus overrides the agent. The three components of the canonical promotional passive are: a) agent demotion, b) non-agent promotion, and c) verb stativization. All three components have a de-transitivizing effect[19].

In the three clause-types discussed above, all the expressed/non-demoted participants are affected, the predicates tend to be more stative than in the active transitive clause, and no participant overrides the non-agent in topicality. Certain verbs seem to allow more than one interpretation when taking the suffix -*t*. The following examples show transitive clauses and their de-transitivized counter-parts:

Osan- "laugh at"

Transitive

340)   Bake-n-ra   oa   pae-n-a-bo-0   osan-ai.
       child-ER-AS that   ferment-TRNZ-PART-PL-AB laugh.at-INC
       "The child is laughing at those drunk ones".

De-transitivized reflexive sense

341)   Espejo-nin   oin-*meet*-ax-ra   ea-0   osa-*mee*-ke.
       mirror-LOC   look-DTRNZ-PSSI-AS 1-AB   laugh.at-DTRNZ-CMPL
       "Looking (at myself) in the mirror, I laughed at myself."

De-transitivized passive sense

342)   Nokon kené-0   jakon-ma-shoko   icha   napon piko-ax-a   ea-0
       POS1   design-0 good-NEG-DIM   many   middle take.out-PSSI-AS 1-AB

       osa-*mee*-ke.
       laugh.at-DTRNZ-CMPL
       "Because I ended up with a little ugly pottery design in front of many people, I was laughed at."

In the sentence immediately above, the first person singular is the subject of the two clauses, as indicated by the same-reference marker -*ax*. This suffix also indicates that the main verb is intransitive. Therefore, in the main clause we have a patient-subject of an

intransitive clause and an unexpressed agent. Compare the sentence above with the next example in which the plural marker on the verb indicates that the main clause has a third person plural subject. Also, the switch-reference marker -*ketian* indicates that the subjects of the two clauses are non-coreferential:

343) [Nokon kené-0   jakon-ma-shoko icha napon piko-*ketian*-ra]   ea-0
      POS1   design-AB good-NEG-DIM many middle take out-PDS-AS 1-AB

      osan-*kan*-ke.
      laugh.at-PL-CMPL
      "For ending up with a sort of ugly pottery design in front of many people, (they) laughed at me."

Bachin- "pull by the hair"

Transitive

344) Nato ainbaon-ra   jawen bene-n   mera-ti-0   bachin-ke.
      this   woman:ER-AS POS3 husband-GEN date-NLZ-AB pull.by.hair-CMPL
      "This woman pulled her husband's mistress by the hair." [20] (Loriot et alia 1990:99)

De-transitivized reflexive sense

345) Nokon mapo-nko   ia-0   chaba chaba ik-aitian, bi-ti   shinan-i-ra
      POS1   head-LOC lice-AB itch   itch   be-DS   get-INF think-CONT-AS

      ea-0   bachi-*mee*-res-ke.
      1-AB   pull by the hair-DTRNZ-just-CMPL
      "Since the lice was making my head itch and itch, trying to catch it, I pulled myself by the hair."

De-transitivized passive sense

346) Yanka-bi-res-a   ea-0 bachi-*mee*-ke   ikon-tani
      in.vain-EMP-only-AS 1-AB   pull by the hair-DTRNZ-CMPL true-barely

      i-ken-ma-bi.
      be-PDS-NEG-EMP

"I was pulled by the hair unfairly, without it being true."

Potsi- "squeeze"

Transitive

347)   Nokon tita-n-ra   waka-xoma-0 potsi-ai.
       POS1   mother-ER-AS   cow-udder-AB squeeze-INC
       "My mother is milking the cow." (Loriot et alia 1990:334)

De-transitivized reflexive sense

348)   Xepoti-ain winó-kas-i-ra   ea-0   pots*í*-ke.
       door-DIR   pass-DES-SSSI-AS 1-AB squeeze:DTRNZ-CMPL
       "I squeezed myself trying to pass through the door."

De-transitivized passive sense

349)   Yamékiri-tibi-ra waka-xoma-0   potsi-*t*-ai.
       dawn-each-AS   cow-breast-AB squeeze-DTRNZ-INC
       "Every day at dawn the cow is milked." (Loriot et alia 1993:334)

Miin- "bury"

Transitive

350)   Joni-n-ra   koríki-0   miin-ke.
       man-ER-AS silver-AB   bury-CMPL
       "The man buried the money".

De-transitivized reflexive sense

351)   Ea-0-ra   mashi-n   mii-*mee*-ke.
       1-AB-AS sand-OBL1   bury-DTRNZ-CMPL
       "I buried myself in the sand."

De-transitivized middle sense

352)   Mashi-n   meosoti pake-kan-a-0-ra   mii-*mee*-ke.
       sand-OBL1   ring   drop-PL-PART-AB-AS bury-DTRNZ-CMPL

"The ring they dropped in the sand buried."

Mishki- "fish with hook"

Transitive

353) Nima-n-ra   sipan-0   mishki-xon-ai   jawen wetsa-shoko-0.
     Nima-ER-AS sardine-AB fish.w/hook-BEN-INC POS3 sibling-DIM-AB
     "Nima is fihing sardines for his little brother." (Loriot et alia 1990:269)

De-transitivized reflexive sense

354) Yomer-ai k-ai-ra   ea-0 enbix-bi   mishki-*kaa*-ke.
     fish-INC   go-INC-AS 1-AB   myself-EMP fish.with.hook-DTRNZ-CMPL
     "While going fishing I hooked myself (I had the hook hanged on the shoulder).

De-transitivized middle sense

355) Ea-0-ra boe-n   xao-n   mishkí-ke/mishki-*kaa*-ke.
     1-AB-AS *boquichico* bone-INSTR   fish.with.hook-:DTRNZ-CMPL
     "I choked with the *boquichico*'s (kind of fish) bone."

Noko- "meet"

The verb *noko*- "meet" shows two alternate de-transitivized forms, each one with a distinct specific meaning:

noko- "meet, find"   noko-t- "arrive"
                                                      noko-kaa- "be found"

Transitive

356) Kachio ka-xon-ra   kimisha yawa   tsama-0 no-n   noko-a iki.
     forest   go-PSST-AS three   troop.peccary troop-AB 1p-ER find-PART
AUX
     "Going to the forest, we found three troops of peccaries." (Loriot et alia
     1990:293)

De-transitivized middle sense

357) Ea-0-ra   yamé nokó-wan-ke.
     1-AB-AS dark   arrive-PST1-CMPL
     "I arrived at night."

De-transitivized passive sense

358) Kachio jabat-i   ka-[a]x-bi-ra   ea-0   noko-*kaa*-ke.
     forest   hide-CONT go-PSSI-EMP-AS 1-AB   find-DTRNZ-CMPL
     "I hid in the forest, but I was found (by others)."

The Reciprocal Marker

The verb suffix *-(ana)nan ~ -anan* indicates that two like events are taking place, with the agent of the first event being the patient of the second one, and viceversa. In other words, the two participants act on each other, reciprocally. The reciprocal has a de-transitivizing effect, since (generally) the clause becomes objectless and the plural subject of the resulting stem is marked absolute. Consider the following examples:

359) Yawish betan mari-0-ra   atsa   wai-nko   noko-*ananan*-ke.
     armadillo and   agutí-AB-AS manioc garden-LOC meet-REC-CMPL
     "The armadillo and the agutí met each other in the manioc garden."

360) Nato rabé-0-ra   be-choki-*ananan*-kan-ke.
     this   two-AB-AS face-wash-REC-PL-CMPL
     "These two washed the faces of each other."

361) Sontaro-bo betan   sendero-bo-0-ra   keyo-*ananan*-ke.
     soldier-PL   and   Shining.Path.terrorist-PL-AB-AS finish-REC-CMPL
     "The soldiers and the Shining Path terrorists exterminated each other."

362) Sanken betan Kopi-0-ra   osan-*anan*-ke.
     Sanken   and Kopi-AB-AS laugh.at-REC-CMPL
     "Sanken and Kopi laughed at each other."

363) Wano betan Kaisi-0-ra   ese-*anan*-ai.

Wano   and   Kaisi-AB-AS   advise-REC-INC
"Wano and Kaisi advise each other."

364)   Kesten Beso-0-ra   Wano-betan   pota-*ananan*-ke.
Kesten   Beso-AB-AS   Wano-ASSOC   leave-REC-CMPL
"Kesten Beso and Wano separated."

365)   Ainbo   rabé-0-ra   nane-n   be-ski-*ananan*-ke.
woman   two-AB-AS   genipa-INSTR   face-paint-REC-CMPL
"The two women painted each other the face with genipa."

The sentence below has the peculiarity of exhibiting a second participant:

366)   Oa rabe-0-ra   jaton   santira-0   kaxke-*ananan*-ke.
DEM two-AB-AS   POS3p   watermelon-AB   cut.along.in.the.middle-REC-CMPL
"Those two cut along their watermelons (for) each other."

As mentioned in chapter IV dealing with intransitive verbs, the reciprocal applies to some two-argument intransitive verbs. As illustration, consider the unaccusative verb *raket- ~ raké-* "be scared, be afraid of ." This verb derives the adjective *raké* "afraid, fearful, coward," and transitivizes by taking the suffix -*a*, as in the stem *raké-a-* "scare somebody." Although the root *raket-* takes two arguments as transitive verbs do, it occurs in an <AB OBL> case-frame, it cannot take either the de-transitivizer or the malefactive suffixes, it triggers inter-clausal and intra-clausal intransitivity agreement, and it takes the intransitive pro-verb forms ikí/ikama in short answers to yes/no questions. Examples 367)-369) (taken from Loriot et alia 1993:360) illustrate the adjective *raké*, the intransitive root *raket- ~ raké-*, and the transitive stem *raké-a-*:

367)   Mia-0 r-iki   raké; ea-0 r-iki   raké-ma.
2-AB   AS-COP coward 1-AB AS-COP coward-NEG
"You are a coward; I am brave." (Loriot et alia 1993:360)

368)   Ea-0-ra   nokon rawi-ki   raket-ai.
1-AB-AS   POS1 enemy-OBL2 be.afraid.of-INC
"I am afraid of my enemy." (Loriot et alia 1993:360)

369)   Ea-0-ra   ino-n   raké-a-ke.
1-AB-AS   tiger-ER be.afraid.of-TRNZ-CMPL
"The tiger scared me."

The following sentence presents the intransitive *raket- ~ raké-* in a reciprocal clause:

370)   Joni rabé-0-ra   tima-nan-kas-i-bi   raké-*anan*-ke.
           man two-AB-AS   hit-REC-DES-SSSI-EMP   be.afraid.of-REC-CMPL
           "The two men, wanting to fight, became afraid of each other."

Sentences 371) and 372) show other intransitive verbs that can take the reciprocal suffix:

371)   Oa rabé-0-ra   rabin-*ananan*-ke.
           that two-AB-AS   be.embarrased-REC-CMPL
           "Those two felt embarrassed at each other."

372)   Bea Benxo-betan   wini-*ananan*-ke.
           Bea   Benxo-ASSOC cry-REC-CMPL
           "Bea and Benxo cried for each other."

Unexpectedly, the verb *raro-* "be(come) happy (about)," also included in the two-argument intransitive verb group, cannot take the reciprocal suffix:

373)   *Oa rabé-0-ra   raro-*ananan*-ke.
             that two-AB-AS   become.happy-REC-CMPL

<center>Split-Ergativity and De-transitivization: Conclusions</center>

In this chapter, I discussed the marginal instances of split-ergativity in Shipibo-Conibo. I showed that at least for one transitive verb root, *kinan-* "vomit," the controller vs. non-controller distinction proved to be relevant. In this case, the notion of inherent or lexicalized transitivity by itself could not account for this distinction. Also, I offered two plausible hypotheses to account for the fact that a couple of verb roots require their subjects to be marked ergative in spite of not allowing an object. In addition, certain inherently transitive roots make use of case-marking alternation in desiderative constructions (that is; they take an <ER AB> case-marking frame, instead of the expected <AB AB>) if there is a highly referential individuated object, or in order to accomplish a contrastive effect. The choice of the <ER AB> frame in these instances is in accordance with Hopper and Thompson's (1980) claim, that clauses with a highly individuated object rate higher in transitivity and this is then reflected in the syntax.

   De-transitivization strategies in SC include the desiderative transitivity decreasing -*kas*, the de-transitivizer *-t*, and the reciprocal *-(ana)nan ~ -anan*. The addition of the desiderative suffix *-kas* to a transitive verb results in a case-marking change on the subject from ergative to absolutive. This case-marking change can be accounted for by Hopper and Thompson's notion of clause-level transitivity, according to which desiderative clauses rank lower in transitivity than the prototypical transitive ones. This decrease of transitivity responds to the fact that a desiderative clause violates all the semantic principles of a prototypical transitive clause, since it refers to an irrealis non-action, with a non-agent subject, and a non-affected patient. It can also be added that a desiderative clause, unlike a non-desiderative one, encodes a non-implicative proposition.

   According to Kemmer's typology on the cross-linguistic coding of middle and reflexive clauses, SC falls within the one-form (reflexive)-middle type, since the same suffix is used for both functions. There is also a set of "reflexive pronouns," but these are not required in most reflexive clauses. When the de-transitivizer suffix *-t* is attached to a verb root, the resulting SC construction can have not only a reflexive or middle meaning, but also a passive one, probably due to the analogical extension of the reflexive-middle construction to a passive-voice. The reciprocal *-(ana)nan ~ -anan* also has a de-transitivizing effect, since (generally) the clause becomes objectless and the plural subject of the resulting stem is marked absolutive. Unlike the de-transitivizer *-t*, the reciprocal applies to most of the roots grouped within the two-argument intransitive verbs class (chapter IV).

CHAPTER VIII

OTHER VERB TYPES

Up to this point, I have made use of the transitivity parameter in order to distinguish verb sub-classes. In this chapter I will discuss verb types that either cannot be classified as intransitive or transitive, or that have both intransitive and transitive members but deserve treatment as a unified verb class. While some of the verb types considered in this chapter have not been mentioned before (auxiliary, onomatopoeic, and fluid verbs), others part-take in sub-classes of intransitive and transitive verbs already described in previous chapters.

The Auxiliary Verbs *atipan-* "can" and *ja-* "exist/have to"

Atipan- "can" and *ja-* "exist/have to" differ from other verbs that can take clausal complements in that they lack an argument structure of their own; the case-marking assigned to their subjects depends on the transitivity value of the accompanying verb. Therefore, *atipan-* and *ja-* are auxiliaries rather than matrix verbs, and their subjects are

arguments of the verb phrase composed by the auxiliary plus the semantically main verb. Similarly to the complements of the verb *keen-* "want," and other complement-taking verbs, in these verb phrases the semantically main verb takes the non-finite suffix *-ti*.

Atipan- "can"

374) Rama-*0*-ra   ka-ti   atipan-ke.
     Rama-AB-AS   go-NLZ   can-CMPL
     "Rama can go."

375) Rama-*n*-ra   bi-ti   atipan-ke.
     Rama-ER-AS   get-NLZ   can-CMPL
     "Rama can get it."

376) Rama-*n*-ra   kirinko-nin   joi-0   ninká-ti   atipan-yama-ke.
     Rama-ER-AS   blond-GEN   language-AB   understand-NLZ   can-NEG-CMPL
     "Rama cannot understand English."

Ja- "exist/have to"

377) Kesin Beso-*0*-ra   ka-ti   ja-ke.
      Kesin Beso-AB-AS go-NLZ have.to-CMPL
      "Kesin Beso has to go."

378) Kesin Beso-*n*-ra   oro-ti   ja-ke.
      Kesin Beso-ER-AS weed-NLZ have.to-CMPL
      "Kesin Beso has to weed it."

<div align="center">Onomatopoeic Verbs</div>

Onomatopoeia constitutes a highly productive strategy for coining new words in SC. Several verbs are formed by combining onomatopoeic words plus the verb roots *ak- ~ a-* "make," and *ik- ~ i-* "be," which actually seem to be grammaticalizing as verbalizing suffixes. The *-ak* forms are transitive, while the *-ik* forms are intransitive. Let us see some examples:

teash-ik- "break"
teash-ak- "break something by stepping on it"

379) Xena-0-ra   bochiki-ax   pake-t-i   teash-i-ke.
      worm-AB-AS up-from:INTR drop-DTRNZ-SSSI ONOM-be-CMPL
      "Falling from upwards, the worm died producing a noise."

380) E-n-ra   xena-0   teash-a-ke.
      1-ER-AS worm-AB ONOM-make-CMPL
      "I stepped on the worm producing a noise."

Note that in the examples above the meanings "died" and "stepped" are completely inferred. Literally, these sentences could be translated as "Falling from upwards, the worm produced a noise (dying)"; and, "I caused the worm to produce a noise (by stepping on it)."

tii-ik- "the horn blows"
tii-ak- "blow a horn"

381) Moa-ra   tii-i-ke.
     already-AS ONOM-be-CMPL
     "(The horn) blew already."

382) E-n-ra   moa   tii-a-ke.
     1-ER-AS already   ONOM-make-CMPL
     "I made the horn blow already."

jojó-ik- "bark"
jojó-ak- "bark at"

383) Ochiti-0-ra   joni mera-[a]x   jojo-ik-ai.
     dog-AB-AS man find-PSSI   ONOM-be-INC
     "The dog is barking because it found the people."

384) Ochíti-nin-ra joni-bo-0   be-ai   jato-0 jojo-ak-ai.
     dog-ER-AS   man-PL-AB come:PL-INC   3p-AB ONOM-make-INC
     "The dog is barking at the people that are arriving."

biski -ik- "shake oneself"
biski-ak- "shake something"

385) Ochiti jene-nko   pota-kan-a   mapet-ax-a   biski biski-ik-ai.
     dog   water-DIR   throw-PL-PAB climb-PSSI-AS ONOM-be-INC
     "The dog that was thrown into the water climbed and is shaking."

386) Tita-n-ra   paranta xea-ti-0   biski biski-ak-ai.
     mother-ER-AS   plantain   drink-NOM-AB ONOM-make-INC
     "Mother is beating the plantain drink."

mox-ik- "creak"
mox-ak- "chew"

387) Ronon ewa-n peká-0-ronki mox-ik-ai   no-n   jamat-a.
     boa-GEN   back-AB-hsy ONOM-be-INC 1p-ER step.on-PAB
     "It is said that the boa's back creaks if we step on it." (Loriot et alia 1993:274)

388) E-n-ra   paranta xo-0   mox-a-ke.
     1-ER-AS plantain   raw-AB ONOM-make-CMPL
     "I chewed the raw plantain."

Observe that the verb shown immediately below cannot be used in an intransitive clause. Sentence 388) is unacceptable since it would mean that the egg broke itself; that is, by its own action.

*moish-ik- "break (producing noise)"
moish-i-ma- "cause something to break (producing noise)"
moish-ak- "break something (producing noise) by stepping on it"

389) *Atapa bachi-0-ra   moish-i-ke.
        hen   egg-AB-AS   ONOM-be-CMPL
      "The chicken egg broke (producing noise)."

390) E-n-ra   atapa bachi xaká-0   moish-i-ma-ke.
      1-ER-AS hen   egg   shell-AB ONOM-be-CAUS-CMPL
      "I broke the chicken egg's shell (making noise)."

391) Yoxa-man   waran-0   moish-a-ke.
      old.woman-ER squash-AB ONOM-make-CMPL
      "You stepped on the squash (producing noise)."

On the other hand, the two verbs immediately below do not allow the transitive form with the verb -ak "make," but use the intransitive "be" plus the causative suffix for transitive meanings:

toko toko-ik- "the motor is sounding/making the noise "toko toko""
*toko toko-ak-
toko toko-i-ma- "make the "toko toko" (boat) motor work"

ron-ik- "the airplane or boat big motor is sounding/making the noise "ron""
*ron-ak-
ron-i-ma- "make the airplane or boat big motor work"

The suffix -ik- "be" may function as a reflexive:

be-tsó-ak- "kiss (Western style)" (mouth-ONOM-make)
be-tsó-ik- "kiss oneself"

too'-ak- "shoot"
too'-ik- "suicide, shoot oneself"

392) Koman-bimi-0   pi-aitian-ra   papa-n   kanan ewa-0
      shihuahuaco.tree-fruit-AB eat-SDS-AS   father-ER kanan ewa-AB

      too-a-ke.
      ONOM-make-CMPL
      "While the *kanan ewa* (kind of macaw) was eating the *shihuahuaco* tree fruit
      father shot it." (Loriot et alia 1993:412)

393) Joni-0-ra   too-i-ke.
      man-AB-AS   ONOM-be-CMPL
      "The man shot himself." (Loriot et alia 1993:412)

     There is also a sub-set of verbs which has a direct quote functioning as the lexical
root:

kawé-ak- "say 'good-bye,' take somebody by telling him/her 'let's go'"
kawé-ik- "say 'let's go'"

394) E-n mia-0   ka-wé-ak-ai
      1-ER 2-AB   go-IMP-make-INC
      "I am taking you." (Lit. "I am telling you 'Let's go!'").

395) Ja-0-ra   ka-wé-ik-ai   moa.
      3-AB-AS   go-IMP-be-INC   already
      "He is leaving." (Lit. "He is saying 'Let's go!' already").

kai-ak- "say good-bye to somebody leaving"
kai-ik- "say good-bye when leaving"

396) Ja-n-ra   moa   noa-0   ka-ai-ak-ai.
      3-ER-AS already 1p-AB   go-INC-make-INC
      "He is saying 'Good-bye!' to us already."

397) Ja-0-ra   moa   ka-ai-ik-ai.
      3-AB-AS already go-INC-be-INC
      "He is saying 'Good-bye!' already."

bewé-ak- "ask/order someone to bring something"

398) E-n-ra   be-wé-a-ke   yami rabé-0.
      1-ER-AS bring-IMP-make-CMPL ax   two-AB
      "I ordered (him/her) to bring the two axes." (Lit. "I told (him/her) 'Bring!' the
      two axes").

<u>Fluid Verbs[21]</u>

        Most SC verbs are inherently transitive or inherently intransitive. However, there
is a limited set of roots that can be used in transitive or intransitive clauses without formal
marking of a change in transitivity. The actual valence of these roots in a given clause is
recognized by the number of verb arguments, and through case-marking. Below I present
pairs of instances that illustrate the intransitive and the transitive uses of these few fluid
roots:

bepo- "have sleep in the eye" <patient>
bepo- "cover somebody's eyes" <agent patient>

399) Nato   bake-0-ra   *bepo-ke*.
      DET   child-AB-AS   have.sleep-CMPL
      "This child has sleep in his eyes."

400) E-n-ra   bake-0   *be-po-ke*   nisa-kan.
      1-ER-AS   child-AB   eye.cover-CMPL   little.sticks/leaves-INSTR
      "I covered the child's eyes with little sticks/leaves."

beso- "awake" <patient>
beso- "scrub somebody's face" <agent patient>

401) Ea-0-ra   beso-ke.
      1-AB-AS   wake.up-CMPL
      "I woke up."

402) E-n-ra   nokon bake-0   beso-ke.
      1-ER-AS   POS1   child-AB   face.scrab-CMPL

"I washed/scrubbed my child's face."

mapet- "climb" <agent>
mapet- "climb something" <agent patient/goal>

403a) Sani-0-ra   mapé-ke.
       Sani-AB-AS   climb-CMPL
       "Sani is climbing."

403b) Sani-n-ra   mapé-ke.
       Sani-ER-AS   climb-CMPL
       "Sani climbed it."

404a) Sani-n-ra   xobo-0   mapé-ke.
       Sani-ER-AS   house-AB   climb-CMPL
       "Sani climbed the house."

404b) *Sani-0-ra   xobo-0   mapé-ke.
        Sani-AB-AS   house-AB   climb-CMPL
       "Sani climbed the house."

The instances of this kind of lexical transitivity alternation are very limited in Shipibo-Conibo.

Body-part Prefixed Verbs

SC is a suffixing language, except for a group of prefixes that refer to parts of the body and that are usually formed by taking the first syllable of the correspondent nouns. These prefixes can be attached to nouns, adjectives, and to verb roots. They do not occupy the object slot, but add information about particular parts of the body, thus forming a sort of compound noun, adjective, and verb. The prefixes are the following:

Prefix	Probable root source	
be-	bero	"eye"
	benaman	"face"
bo-	boo	"hair"
chi- ~ tsi-	chixo	"buttocks"

in-	inpéiti	"temple"
jan-	jana	"tongue"
ka-	kaxo	"spinal column"
ke-	kexá	"mouth"
	kebí	"lips"
ki-	kishi	"upper leg"
ko-	koi	"jaw, lower jaw"
ma-	mapo	"head"
me-	meken	"hand"
	metoti	"finger"
no-	noi	"abdomen
pa-	pabíki	"ear"
pe-	peká	"back"

pi-	pishi	"rib"
pon-	ponyan	"arm"
ra-	yora[22]	"body"
ran-	rantonko	"knee"
re-	rekin	"nose"
ta-	tae	"foot"
tan-	tamo	"cheek"
	tampexko	"jaw"
te-	texo	"neck"
wi-	witax	"leg"
xe-	xeta	"tooth"
xo-	xochi	"chest"

Although the topic of this paper is verb sub-classes, I would like to add that body part prefixes also can be attached to nouns and adjectives. The addition of these prefixes does not trigger a change in word class. Below, I present instances of body part morphemes prefixed to nouns, adjectives, and verb roots:

Prefix + noun

be-wins	"face/eye-mole	chi-wins	"buttock-mole"
ke-wins	"mouth/lip-mole"	ki-wins	"upper leg-mole"

ma-wins	"head-mole"	me-wins	"hand/finger-mole"
pa-wins	"ear-mole"	pe-wins	"back-mole"
pon-wins	"arm-mole"	re-wins	"nose-mole"
xo-wins	"chest-mole"	ta-wins	"foot/toe-mole"
tan-wins	"cheek-mole"	te-wins	"neck-mole"
wi-wins	"leg-mole"	be-tonko	"face/eye-swelling"
chi-tonko	"buttock-swelling"	in-tonko	"temple-swelling"
jan-tonko	"tongue-swelling"	ka-tonko	"columm-swelling"
no-tonko	"abdomen-swelling"	ra-tonko	"swellings all over"
xe-kini	"tooth-hole"		

Prefix + adjective

panshin	"yellow"	ma-panshin	"yellow-head"
keras	"dirty"	ma-keras	"dirty-head"
toró	"round"	ma-toró	"round-head"

Prefix + verb

rishki- "hit with stick"	ma-rishki-	"hit in the head"
	ta-rishki-	"hit in the foot"
	te-rishki-	"hit in the neck"
	ka-rishki-	"hit in the column"
	ra-meno-	"burn all over"
	po-meno-	"burn in the arm"
	bo-meno-	"burn in the hair"

Body part prefixes can be attached to a set of intransitive and transitive verbs by prefixing the first syllable of the body part to the verb, as a sort of noun incorporation. There does not seem to exist a single criterion to distinguish verbs that take body part prefixes from those that do not. However, this class of verbs might be accounted for by considering a cluster of meaning components, such as contact, motion/position, causation, and (change of) state.

Some of these verbs present a shorter root form when prefixed. Therefore, in these cases the verb stem is composed of a body part prefix and a reduced verb root. Consider the following list of verbs that take body part prefixes:

Intransitive roots

a) (change of) state

bexa- "have boils all over"   ma-bex- "have boils on the head"
jotit- "have a tic"   be-otit- "have a tic in the eye"
nene- "have a pain from a burn"   ma-nen- "have a pain from a burn on the
                                        head"

rabin- "be ashamed/embarrased of"   xe-rabin- "feel embarrased about the teeth"
tsokas-   "feel uncomfortable"   ra-tsokas- "feel uncomfortable in your
entire   body"
pisi- "be(come) stinky"   tsi-pis- "fart"
soo-i- "swell/be swollen"   tan-soo-i- "have a swelling on the cheek"
shinan- "get dry"   pon-shinan- "get dry in the arm"
tsina- "the swelling goes down"   ran-tsin- "the swelling on the knee goes
                                        down"

xaki- "grate"   chi-xkit- "drag along sitting on the ground"
xoxo- "shoot forth"   chi-xox- "grow in the back of an old cracking
                                        canoe"

b) motion/position

jiki- "enter"   pa-iki- "ear-enter"
ni- "stand"   pe-ni- "stand on the back/on the suface"
yaka- "sit"   re-yaka- "sit in the prow"
wake-t- (lift-DTRNZ) "rise"   ka-wat- "walk on the surface of"
wekit- "bend/fold in the middle"   ma-wet- "stretch/tighten a bow"

Transitive roots

   These transitive verbs seem to bear the causation and contact components:

bena- "search"   ma-bena- "search (lice) on somebody's
                                       head; search on the surface of the ground."
betsa- "finish completely"   ma-bes- "poke somebody all over the head,
                                       finish covering the crown of the head
                                       of somebody, finish roofing the house,
                                       reach the top of a mountain"

chaka- "smash/pummel/pound" ra-chat- "pummel/pound somebody all over"

chaxa- "carve the handle (of a paddle) ma-chax- "carve the top of a stockade"

choka- "wash" me-chot- "wash someone's hand"

chosha- "smash/squeeze" ma-chosh- "squeeze somebody on the head"

kawa- "wrap, fold" ra-kawa- "wrap somebody's body"

kené-a- "paint design on" be-kené-a- "paint design on someone's face"

meno- "burn" bo-meno- "burn somebody's hair"

mexa- "cut" pe-mex- "cut/take out the feathers of the wing"

motsa- "crush/squash" ma-mos- "crush the top of something (ex. a hat)"

nexa- "tie" pa-nex- "tie something by the handles, edges"

nichin- "make something stand, put on" pe-níchin- "put on top of"

pana- "hang something" ma-pan- "cover something"

peka- "make hole" ke-pet- "make hole in the lips of"

renka- "burnish" ke-ren- "burnish the edge of something with a small special stone"

rishki- "hit with a stick" ma-rishki- "head-hit someone(w/stick)"

sika- "paint" be-ski- "paint someone in the face"

taxo- "lick" ke-tax- "lick somebody's lips"

tima- "hit" chi-tin- "bump against an obstacle"

tseke- "take out" be-tset- "take out someone's eye"

tsitsi- "suck" pe-tsi- "suck someone in the shoulder (i.e.
the shaman during a healing session)"

tsoa- "make noise with the lips" pe-tso- (pe- in the outside) "suck from one's own finger"

xate- "cut" pon-xte- "cut someone's arm/cut something's branch"

xoka- "peel" pon-xot- "peel someone in the arm"

wasan- "clean (i.e. dust) ta-wasan- "clean someone's feet"

wea- "take out/clean/dust" ma-we- "clean the surface of something with a pitchfork"

weme- "hook" pa-mewe- "ear-hook someone"(metátesis)

wexa- "scrape, scratch" pon-wex- "scratch somebody in the ear"

wexe- "scratch" bo-ex- "comb somebody"

wino- "pass by" ma-win- "pass somebody, beat somebody"

 ra-win- "pass somebody after catching up"

405) Ea-0-ra   *be*-otit-ai.
     1-AB-AS eye-have.a.tic-INC
     "I have a tic in the eye."

406) Reshin Kena-0-ra   *xe*-rabin-ai.
     Reshin Kena-AB-AS   tooth-feel embarrased-INC
     "Reshin Kena feels embarrased about her teeth."

407) Nima-n-ra   ea-0   *ma*-rishki-ke   jiwi-n.
     Nima-ER-AS 1-AB   head-hit-CMPL stick-INSTR
     "Nima hit me in the head with a stick."

408) Ja-pekao-ronki, ja   ochíti-0 no-n   mecha   a-kas-ai-bo-ki
     DET-after-hsy   DET   dog-AB   1p-ER good.hunter   make-DES-INC-PL-DM

     yatan-ti   iki   nishi-n,   *ta*-nex-nonxon.
     catch-INF   AUX   rope-INSTR   feet-tie-FSST
     "It is said that after all this, the dogs we want to make good hunters have to be
     held with a rope, in order to tie them on their feet."

409) Ainbo rabé-0-ra   nane-n   *be*-kené-a-nanan-ke.
     woman two-AB-AS   genipa-INSTR face-design-make-REC-CMPL
     "The two women designed each other's face with genipa."

The following examples are taken form Faust (1973:144-5):

410) Ja-n-ra   bake-0   *ma*-chosh-ke.
     3-ER-AS   child-AB   head-squeeze-CMPL
     "He squeezed the child on the head."

411) Tita-n-ra   bake-0   *me*-chó-ke.
     mother-ER-AS   child-AB   hand-wash-CMPL
     "The mother washed the child's hands."

412) Ja-n-ra   bake-0   *pon*-xot-ai.
     3-ER-AS   child-AB   elbow-peel-INC
     "He peels the child in the elbow."

413) Ja-n-ra   *ke*-pé-ke.

3-ER-AS   lip-perforate-CMPL
"(S)he perforated him/her in the lips."

414)   Jaino-ax-ra   *pon*-wex-eet-ax,   *me*-xt-ee-iba-ke.
       there.from-INTR-AS arm-raspar-REF-PSSI   hand-cut-REF-PST-CMPL
       "Then, he scratched in the arm, and cut his hand."

415)   Ja-n-ra   bake-0   *be*-ski-ai.
       3-ER-AS   child-AB face-paint-INC
       "He paints the child in the face."

416)   Jain-oa-ki   ja joni-n, bimi *jan*-tsé-ti   shinankin,
       there-from-DM DET man-ER fruit   tongue-take.out-INF think-SSST

       jawen   metoti iso   *ja*-ni-a   iki.
       POS3 finger   spidermonkey tongue-walk-PART AUX
       "Then, the man planning to take the fruit out of its mouth put his finger in the
       spidermonkey's mouth." (Ministerio de Educación and ILV 1982:4)

       Once the body part has been prefixed, the resulting verbs tend to keep the
transitivity value of the basic root; however, there are exceptions to this rule. In the
following example, the intransitive root *ik*- "be" becomes transitive when taking the body
part prefix, as indicated by the ergative marker on its subject:

it- "be"   ma-it- "put something on one's head"

417)   [E-*n*   panyon-0   *ma*-i-ketian-ra],   ea-0 joni-baon   osan-ke.
        1-ER   kerchief-AB head-be-FDS-AS   1-AB   people-PL:ER laugh-CMPL
        "When I put a kerchief on my head people laughed at me." (Loriot et alia
        1993:241)

       Generally the transitive action is performed on a non-coreferential participant (i.e.
the subject is not the owner of the body part), as in *ki-pas*- "pad somebody's thigh";
however, with some verbs such as *ki-pish*- "to have one's own thigh joint dislocated," the
subject and the owner of the body part are co-referential:

ki-pas- (*ki*- in the thigh, *patsa*- pad) "pad somebody's thigh"
ki-pish- (*ki*- in the thigh, *pisha*- unhook) "to have one's own thigh joint dislocated, to
   experience thigh joint dislocation"

Since both verb roots, *pisha-* and *patsa-* are transitive, there is no clue as to whether the action of the resultative stem will be performed reflexively or on a non-coreferential participant.

There are also other combinations such as two body part prefixes and a root, two body part prefixes without any verb root, a body part prefix and an onomatopoeic root, etc.:

ma-me-pas- (head-hand-pad-)   "pad somebody else's head"
pe-chi- (back-buttocks-)   "turn the back on somebody, disdain
                                        somebody"
me-chi- ("hand"-"buttocks"-)   "wave (ex. to indicate a certain
                                        direction), aim/shoot an arrow."

418)   Rima-meax   jo-xon-ra   papa-shoko-n   jawen   baba-bo-0
        Lima-from:TRNS   come-PSST-AS   father-DIM-ER POS3   grandchild-PL-AB

        ma-me-pas-ke.
        head-hand-pass-CMPL
        "Coming from Lima, grandfather put his hands on his grandchildren's heads."
        (Loriot et alia 1993:241-2)

419)   E-n-ra   jasin-0   tska-kin kene-ke,   wetsa-ori-res   *me-chi*-xon.
        1-ER-AS *paujil*-AB   shoot-SSS miss-CMPL other-by-only   hand-buttocks-
PSST
        "Shooting the arrow towards the wrong point, I missed the *paujil* (kind of
        Amazonian turkey)." (Loriot et alia 1993:257)

<u>Verbs That Do Not Take Pro-Verb Forms</u>

As mentioned in chapters III and VI above, when giving short answers to yes/no questions, most verbs with absolutive subject marking take the "be"-based forms <u>*ik-í*</u> (be-SSSI)/<u>*ik-ama*</u> (be-NEG) for yes/no, respectively; and most verbs with ergative subject marking take the "make"-based forms <u>*a-kin*</u> (make-SSST)/<u>*ak-ama*</u> (make-NEG) instead[23]. However, there is a closed set of intransitive and transitive motion verbs that does not follow this pattern. Instead of making use of the pro-verbs *ik-/ak-*, these few verbs keep their own roots in short answers to yes/no questions:

Intransitive roots	Short answers	
ka- "go"	ka-i/k-ama	*ik-í/ik-ama
bo- "go.PL"	bo-i/bo-ama	*i-kan (PL)-í/i-kan (PL)-ama
jo- "come"	jo-i/jo-ama	*ik-í/ik-ama
be- "come.PL"	be-i/be-ama	*i-kan (PL)-í/i-kan (PL)-ama
Transitive roots	Short answers	
bi- "get, receive"	bi-kin/bi-ama	*a-kin/ak-ama
be- "bring"	be-kin/be-ama	*a-kin/ak-ama
bo- "carry"	bo-kin/bo-ama	*a-kin/ak-ama

420a) -Mia-0-ki   moa   Rima-n   ka-[a]i?
      2-AB-INT   already Lima-DIR   go-INC
      -"Are you going to Lima already?"

420b) -Ka-i/k-ama
      go-SSSI/go-NEG
      -"Yes/No"

421a) -Moa joni-bo-0-ki   be-kan-a?
      already man-PL-AB-INT   come:PL-PL-CMPL:INT
      -"Did the men come already?"

421b) -Be-i/Be-ama
      come:PL-SSSI/come:PL-NEG
      -"Yes/No"

422a) -Mi-n-ki   paranta-0   bi-a?
      2-ER-INT   plantain-AB   get-CMPL:INT
      -"Did you receive the plantain?"

422b) -Bi-kin/Bi-ama
      get-SSST/get-NEG
      -"Yes/No"

Similarly to the set of motion verbs presented above, the existential and negative existential *ja-* and *yama* (also used in possessive clauses) employ their own roots in short answers to yes/no questions. However, differently from the motion verbs presented

above, *ja-* takes the incompletive and completive suffixes *-ai*/*-ke*, thus resulting in its usual finite forms; *yama* is not marked for the incompletive aspect but takes the suffix *-ke* for the completive:

Roots   Short answers incompletive/completive

ja- "exist, have"   ja-[a]i (exist-INC)/ ja-ra-ke (exist-AS-CMPL)
yama negative existential   yama/yama-ra-ke (negative existential-AS-CMPL)

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

In this study I have made use of the notion of transitivity as the main criterion for establishing major verb classes in SC. Morpho-syntactic transitivity has been described as having a multi-componential nature, since it involves a set of properties, namely the possibility of taking a direct object, the imposition of an ergative-absolutive case-marking frame, the requirement of transitivity agreement in same-reference markers and certain adverbs, the possibility of taking the malefactive, de-transitivizer, and reciprocal suffixes, and making use of the transitive pro-verb *ak-* "make" in short answers for yes/no questions. Some of these properties are more strongly associated with each other; for instance, there is even an implicatory relationship between ergative-marking of the subject, ergative agreement in the switch-reference system and intra-clausal adverbials, and the use of the transitive pro-verb. However, the case-marking frame is not necessarily associated with the possibility of taking the reciprocal suffix, nor does this latter property imply the possibility of taking the de-transitivizer suffix. Also, some of these properties seem to be more central to the definition of transitive verbs than others; the possibility of taking a direct object, as well as taking the de-transitivizer suffix, have surfaced the strongest criteria for identifying a transitive verb. Not all verb roots necessarily bear the whole set of properties assigned to their class; therefore, there are prototypical members of a category and non-prototypical ones. On the other hand, some verb roots bear characteristics that pertain to more than a single class, thus falling into different categories and constituting instances of double membership.

The notion of inherent transitivity accounts for the dominant patterns in SC; that is, most verb roots are lexicalized as either intransitive or transitive in that certain properties are either true, or not true, for all instances of use of the root in question. However, clause-level transitivity has allowed us to account for some non-prototypical members, and for what I am calling the instances of split-ergativity in the language such as case-marking alternation in desiderative clauses to signal a highly referential individuated object, or in order to accomplish a contrastive effect. The choice of the <ER AB> frame in these cases, instead of the expected <AB AB> frame, seems to support Hopper and Thompson's (1980) claim, that clauses with a highly individuated object rate higher in transitivity and this is then reflected in the syntax. Another instance of split-ergativity that cannot be accounted for by the notion of inherent or lexicalized transitivity is the controller vs. non-controller distinction with the verb root *kinan-* "vomit." Certain irregularities may be better explained by the need to avoid conflation between two different verbs (such as the use of an unexpected case-marking frame in order to

differentiate *join-ai* as opposed to *joi-n-ai*), or due to the derivational history of the verb in question.

Intransitive verbs include the copula and existentials, motion verbs, verbs with sentential subjects, meteorological/nature verbs, noun/adjective/adverb-derived verbs, and two-argument intransitives (i.e. <AB OBL> frame). Copular clauses show alternative zero copula forms. The negative existential *yama* behaves both as a copular predicate and also as a regular intransitive verb root taking tense/aspect suffixes (*yama* has also grammaticalized as the verb negative suffix). Inherently directed motion verbs take locative and clausal complements; closed sub-sets of this group also have differentiated singular/plural roots, and the alternative of taking a locative object. Also, a few intransitve verbs can take nominalized sentential subjects. In all three kinds of meteorological/nature verbs, the single argument is mapped onto the grammatical relation of subject. It is possible to get intransitive roots derived from nouns, adjectives, and certain adverbs, without requiring any verbalizing device. These verbs tend to express (change of) states. A group of these derived verb roots referring to emotions/sensations seem to be on their way to becoming two-argument intransitive verbs. These verbs might be considered as non-prototypical intransitives, since they tend to occur in two-NP clauses and, most interestingly, they tend to allow the attachment of the reciprocal suffix. The verb *mapet-* "go up (obliquely)," has the possibility of taking a locative object and, therefore, constitutes another instance of a non-prototypical intransitive.

In SC, transitivization processes include causativization and applicativization; causative and applicative suffixes are different. The distinction between inherently intransitive verbs and noun/adjective-derived intransitives accounts for the different causativization possibilities that apply to each verb sub-class. While inherently intransitive verbs take the causative morpheme *-ma* only, noun/adjective-derived intransitives add the possibility to causativize by taking either *-a* or *-n*. The transitivizers *-a* and *-n* correspond to a set of unaccusative (descriptive inchoatives and descriptive states) and unergative (body movements, positions, and states) verbs, respectively; and they are, with very few exceptions, mutually exclusive alternatives. When two transitivization devices are possible (*-ma*, and either *-a* or *-n*), *-ma* tends to indicate indirect rather than direct causation. On the other hand, *-a* and *-n* tend to indicate direct causation, including physical intervention. Applicatives are the "benefactive" (also malefactive when attached to intransitive verbs) *-xon*, the associative *-ki(i)n*, and the malefactive *-(V)naan ~ (V)n*; while the first two can be added to both intransitive and transitive verbs, the malefactive applies to transitive verbs only. In SC a predicate can combine two applicatives, a causative and an applicative, or even a causative and two applicatives simultaneously; the causative always precedes the applicative(s) in the verb string.

Prototypical transitive verbs have been semantically defined as having an initiator, volitional, controller agent, that causes a physical, obvious, concrete, observable change in

the state of its patient. In the prototypical case, agent and patient are mapped onto the grammatical relations of subject and direct object, respectively, and take the <ER AB> case forms. Prototypical transitive verbs in SC bear all the transitivity properties described above. This pattern has been metaphorically extended to perception, cognition and memory verbs, in spite of having an experiencer subject (rather than agent) and a non-patient second participant.

Complement-taking verbs have been organized according to the form of their complement clause. A first sub-class of complement-taking verbs (*keen-* "want," *raan-* "send someone to do something", *yono-* "order," *axea-* "teach, make someone get used to do something") marks the complement verbs with the infinitive/nominalizer suffix *-ti*. With the exception of *axea-* "teach," these verbs correspond to the semantic class of manipulation verbs. However, the verb *keen-* "want," functions as a modality verb also when the subjects of the main and dependent clauses are co-referential. A second sub-class of complement-taking verbs (*yoi-* "say/tell," *onan-* "know," *shinan* "think/plan"), marks the complement verbs either with *-ti*, or with the present and past participle suffixes, *-ai* and *-a*, respectively. Finally, a third sub-class of complement-taking verbs (*namat-* "dream," *ninkat* "hear/ listen/understand," *oin-* "see/realize") seems to mark the complement verbs with the participle suffixes only. Although further research on the distribution of *-ti* as opposed to *-ai/-a* remains to be done, an hypothesis to be tested is whether the infinitive suffix *-ti* is used in clauses with a more irrealis sense, while the participles *-ai* and *-a* are used in clauses with a more realis sense. Transitive verbs with aspectual meaning (*peo-* "start," *keyo-* "finish," and *jene-* "stop doing something") are not grouped as complement-taking verbs since the dependent verbs take simultaneous same-subject markers, like other intransitive and transitive verbs do. Furthermore, these aspectual verbs can "exchange positions" with the semantically main verbs; that is, aspectual verbs can also occur as dependent verbs, and thus be marked with simultaneous same-reference markers, while the semantically main verb functions as the independent verb. The group of SC verbs that allow direct quote complements includes *yoi-* "say/tell," *yokat-* "ask," *yono-* "ask for, order," and *saí ik-* "cry."

Di-transitive verbs are a sub-class of transitive verbs that take two NP objects. In SC, there does not seem to exist any morpho-syntactic difference between the two objects; both are marked absolutive, they can exchange word order without changing the meaning of the clause; and it is possible to relativize on both of them. Passivization for direct objecthood is not available as a test for SC.

The non-prototypical transitive verb class includes cognate object verbs, the roots *keen-* "want" and *shinanbenot-* "slip the mind," and predicates that tend to occur with a single overt argument. These verbs differ from the prototypical transitive class in that they may impose a different or an alternate case-marking frame, which may cause intransitive rather than transitive agreement properties, as well as the intransitive pro-verb forms. Also, some of these verbs do not allow an unmodified direct object NP,

and/or may not take the malefactive, de-transitivizer or reciprocal suffixes. Some verbs in this class exhibit more transitive properties than others.

De-transitivization strategies include the desiderative *-kas*, the de-transitivizer *-t*, the reciprocal *-(ana)nan ~ -nan*, and the "be" verb *-ik* (discussed within onomatopoeic verbs). The desiderative *-kas* lowers the transitivity of a predicate, since it refers to an irrealis, non-implicative non-action, with a non-agentive subject and an unaffected object. When the de-transitivizer suffix *-t* is attached to a verb root the resulting construction can have a reflexive, middle, or passive meaning. A hypothesis to be tested is that these resulting effects depend on semantic components of the verb such as event or state, physical contact, and anymacy of the participants. Several verbs allow more than one interpretation. The reciprocal *-(ana)nan ~ -anan* also has a de-transitivizer effect, since (generally) the clause becomes objectless and the plural subject of the resulting stem is marked absolutive. As mentioned above, most of the roots grouped within the two-argument intransitive verbs class (chapter IV) can also take the reciprocal suffix, suggesting their higher transitivity status with respect to prototypical intransitives. As for the de-transitivizing function of *-ik* "be", it makes certain onomatopoeic verbs have a reflexive meaning.

Finally, certain verb-types are grouped independently from the notion of transitivity. The auxiliaries *atipan-* "can" and *ja-* "have to" lack an argument structure of their own. Onomatopoeic verbs are very productive in SC; generally, they are formed by attaching *-ik* "be" or *-ak* "make" to onomatopoeic words in order to form intransitive and transitive verb roots, respectively. Also, there is a closed set of fluid verbs which can occur in either an intransitive or transitive frame without taking any derivational device. Furthermore, a set of verb roots take body part prefixes; the prefixed stems usually keep the transitivity value of the root. Intransitives that take these body part prefixes seem to bear motion/position, (change of) state semantic components; while transitives seem to code events involving cause and contact. In addition, a few inherently directed motion verbs do not take the intransitive/transitive pro-verb forms for short answers to yes/no questions, but use forms based on their own roots instead. Besides these motion verbs, also the existential and negative existential use their own roots for short answers to yes/no questions; however, differently from motion verbs, existentials exhibit usual finite forms.

APPENDIX

<u>Shipibo-Conibo Abbreviations</u>

1	first person singular
2	second person singular
3	third person singular
1p	first person plural
2p	second person plural
3p	third person plural
AB	absolutive
AS	aseverative
ASSOC	associative
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CMPL	completive
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
DET	determiner
DES	desiderative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
DM	discourse marker
DTRNZ	detransitivizer
EMP	emphatic
ER	ergative
EXH	exhortative
FDS	subsequent different subject
FRUSTR	frustrative
FSSI	subsequent same subject intransitive
FSST	subsequent same subject transitive
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
hsy	hearsay
IMP	imperative

IMPRF:REM	imperfect remote -kati
INC	incompletive
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental
INT	interrogative
INTNS	intensifier
INTR	intransitive
LIM	limitative
LOC	locative
MAL	malefactive
NEG	negative
NLZ	nominalizer -ti
OBL1	oblique -n, means/interest
OBL2	oblique -ki
ONOM	onomatopeya
PAB	previous absolutive
PART	participle
PDS	previous different subject
PL	plural
POS1	possessive first person singular
POS2	possessive second person singular
POS3	possessive third person singular
POS1p	possessive first person plural
POS2p	possessive second person plural
POS3p	possessive third person plural
PRF:REM	perfect remote -kato
PRIV	privative
PROC	procedence
PSSI	previous same subject intransitive
PSST	previous same subject transitive
PST1	past, earlier the same day
PST2	past, yesterday/some days ago
PST3	past, some months/years ago
REC	reciprocal

REM	remote past -<u>ni</u>
REP	repetitive
SDS	simultaneous different subject
SSSI	simultaneous same subject intransitive
SSST	simultaneous same subject transitive
TEMP	temporal
TRNZ	transitivizer
TRNS	transitive
VOC	vocative

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[1] For a general basic description of the Shipibo, refer to Eakin et alia (1989). For a general bibliography on Panoan peoples and their languages, see Erikson et alia (1994).

²   The glosses for the Yup'ik examples include the following: ABS "absolutive," INTRNS "intransitive," 3SG "third person singular," TRNS "transitive," ERG "ergative," 3SG/3SG "third person singular acting on third person singular," INSTR "instrumental".

³   The glosses for the Panare examples include the following: NEU "neutral," DETRANS "detransitivizer," IMPERF:I "imperfective intransitive," NONSPEC:I "non-specific intransitive," TRNS "transitive," IMPERF:T "imperfective transitive," 1SG "first person singular," OI "object initial sentence."

⁴ The glosses for the Spanish examples include the following: 1PL "first person plural," FEM "femenine," DET "determiner," MASC "masculine," OBJ "object".

⁵ A glossary for the Shipibo-Conibo sentences can be found in the Appendix, at the end of this paper.

⁶ *Arapaima gigas,* also known as "pirarucú" in other Amazonian regions. This is the largest scaled fish in the Amazon.

⁷   The switch-reference markers are glossed in accordance to the following conventions:

Order of the event of the dependent clause with respect to that of the main clause
P   "previous"
S   "simultaneous"
F   "subsequent (following)"

Co-referentiality/non-coreferentiality
SS   "same subject"
DS   "different subject"

Intransitivity/transitivity of the main verb
I   "intransitive"
T   "transitive"

⁸ Besides the instances of transitivity agreement presented in the chart below, other Panoan languages have different infinitive forms for transitive and intransitive verbs (Amahuaca, Hyde 1980:145), as well as different associative case markers based on the same distinction (Yaminahua, Eakin 1991:68).

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[9] Although *-kin* and *-i* are clearly the transitive and intransitive same-reference forms, respectively, I cannot explain their occurrence in these sentences lacking a second clause.

[10] Recall that *-n* has several allomorphs such as *-kan*, *-nin* and *-n* itself.

[11] Some noun-derived intransitives can also transitivize by taking the suffix *-a*. Consider the verb root *yometso-* "be(come) thief" illustrated in 125) above. This verb transitivizes by adding the suffix *-a*, in which case the resulting meaning is the transitive stem "steal." This transitive stem imposes an <ER AB> case-marking frame that links to the agent and the dative semantic roles, respectively. The thing stolen is marked either as absolutive, or as oblique with *-n*:

Ainbo-0-ra   yometso-baon jawen pisha-0   yometso-a-ke.
woman-AB-AS thief-PL:ER   POS3 purse-AB thief-TRNZ-CMPL
"The thieves stole the woman her purse." (Loriot et alia 1993:428)

Ainbo-0-ra   yometso-baon jawen pisha-n   yometso-a-ke.
woman-AB-AS thief-PL:ER   POS3 purse-OBL1 thief-TRNZ-CMPL
"The thieves stole the woman her purse." (Loriot et alia 1993:428)

[12] Ball of green plantain or manioc cooked in the fire and ground with animal fat.

[13] Note that most of these verb roots end in *-t*, and that this *-t* is lost when adding the transitivizer *-n*! An alternative analysis would be to consider these roots as neutral in terms of inherent transitivity, requiring either *-t* or *-n* in order to function as intransitive or transitive verbs, respectively. The fact that *-t* is a de-transitivizer suffix (as shown in chapter VI below) supports this interpretation.

[14] I am including the interpretation given to me by a Shipibo speaker, although Faust (1973:71) translates the sentence above as "The father helped his son go up."

[15] Modality distinctions such as the English "may," "might," and "must" are also expressed by making use of dependent verbs marked with same-reference suffixes and adding particular markers on the main verb *ik-* "be":

Ea-0   natex-kas-i-ra   i-bir-ai.
1-AB-AS bite-DES-SSSI-AS be-uncertain-INC
"It might/may be willing to bite me."

No-n   bo-*á*-ra   mia-0   yoyo i-ti-ma   iki.

1p-ER carry-PAB-AS 2-AB   speak-INF-NEG AUX
"When we carry you, you must not speak!" (ILV 1979:48)

[16] Note that relativization seems to be a more permisive process than passivization. The following English sentences show that, while it is possible to relativize on "the book" when it is a direct object and also when it is not, passivization requires direct objecthood.

Relativization

"book" is direct object: The book [she gave to him] is mine.
"book" is not direct object: The book [she gave him] is mine.

Passivization

"book" is direct object: The book that was given to him is mine.
"book" is not a direct object: *The book that was given him is mine.

[17] For a discussion on the "reflexive" marker in Panoan languages, see Loos (1973).

[18] Traditional men's clothes.

[19] Although research on the notion of voice in SC still remains to be undertaken, it seems that a way to accomplish the passive function is by agent suppression.

[20] If a woman finds out/thinks that her husband is cheating on her, it is very common for the wife to pull her husband's lover by the hair.

[21] Also known as labile verbs.

[22] This is the only instance where the second syllable is employed instead of the first one.

[23] The roots *ik-* "be" and *ak-* "make" also function as pro-verbs with the meaning "say" in clauses with direct quote complements. In these clauses, the pro-verbs usually co-occur with verbs such as *yoi-* "say/tell." Both, the verbs that take direct quote complements or the pro-verbs, can occur either as the dependent or as the main verb. Examples 259) and 260) partially illustrate this function of the pro-verbs *ik-* and *ak-*.