

## TYPOLOGICAL CHARACTERIZATION OF SHIWILU

This section provides an overview of the typological profile of Shiwilu and is divided in three parts: morphological typology, constituent order typology, and other typologically-salient features. The features grouped in the third category are: consonant phonemes that are unusual crosslinguistically or unusual for the Western Amazon region, four person system, distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs, applicative affixes, instrumental/manner prefixes, classifier system, and promotional passive construction.

### *Morphological Typology*

Morphologically, Shiwilu can be characterized as a synthetic, inflecting, polysynthetic, incorporating language. Words tend to be complex, consisting of content root morphemes with one or more affixes (synthetic). It uses prefixes and suffixes. It is an “inflecting” language, in the sense that adjacent morphemes tend to cause phonological changes in one another through processes such as palatalization: *mutu’la* ‘penis’ + =*sha* DIM -> *muchu’llasha* ‘little penis’; *luwan-tu* ‘want’ + -*i’n* negative + -*lek* non future, first person singular subject > *luwanchi’nek* ‘I do not want.’

The morphological structure of verbs may be highly complex. In addition to subject and object, verbs may exhibit instrumental prefixes, noun/classifier incorporation, directional suffixes, and applicative affixes, among modifications.

### *Constituent Order Typology*

#### *Order of Major Clause Constituents*

The order of major clause constituents in main declarative clauses is grammatically free. No distinction has been observed in the arrangement of lexical versus pronominal noun phrases. The following constituent order patterns have been attested in both spontaneous and elicited data: SVO, SOV, OVS, and OSV. Preliminary evidence from a count of texts suggests that the SVO, SOV and OVS orders are relatively common.<sup>1</sup> A basic constituent order cannot be determined by

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<sup>1</sup> It is rare to find clauses with lexical subjects and objects in spontaneous speech. As can be observed in examples (2) and (3), a subject may be expressed through a sequence of lexical and pronominal means. In a preliminary analysis of narrative texts containing some seven hundred clauses, forty-one clauses with overt pronominal or lexical subject and object NPs were identified. The text frequency for each constituent order pattern is as follows:

resorting to native speakers' intuition, since SVO and SVO expressions are judged as equally "normal," and elicited, isolated sentences often exhibit OVS order. The following sentences, extracted from narratives, illustrate the three most common constituent order patterns found in Shiwilu:

SVO order with lexical and pronominal subjects:

- (1) Supai-lusa' ekketchu-llima unkuna....  
 evil.spirits-PL open-nFUT.3SG:REP door....  
 'The evil spirits opened the door.....'. (Text 6, 13)
  
- (2) Naneklan, pa'-nunta'-lusa', nawa' a'ka di't-etchuna' nana anaka'.  
 then go-again-PL 3PL indeed kill-FUT.3PL that beast  
 'Then, (the second group of) those who go (to Moyobamba), they indeed will kill the beasts'. (Text 11, 24)

SOV order with lexical and pronominal subjects:

- (3) Napi'pui'mi'na ñi nawa', asu' Shiwiluku'lusa'  
 long.time.ago-SIML:REP:FOC NEG 3PL this Shiwilu-CLF:now.dead-PL  
 samer-unta' luwetchi'ñina'.  
 fish-again know:NEG-3PL  
 'Long time ago, they, the Shiwilu now dead, did not know the different types of fish.'  
 (Text 8, 50)
  
- (4) Nu'unta'nmu'wa' ipa' Muyunpa luwetch-aterwa'.  
 some:1PL.I perhaps Moyobamba know-FUT.1PL.I  
 'Perhaps some of us will get to know Moyobamba.' (Text 11, 28)

OVS with lexical and pronominal subjects:

- (5) A'-laterkasi'ma ka'-inpu'kasu' ka'-lli  
 CAUS-fast:NMLZ:nFUT.3PL:REP eat-NEG:NMLZ. 3SG eat-nFUT.3SG  
 papa-sha-wek-ku'.  
 father-DIM-1SG.POSS-CLF:now.dead  
 'That which they had him fast, which he did not eat, my father ate.' (Text 6, 67)

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SVO (16 instances, 39%), SOV (11 instances, 27%), OVS (9 instances, 22%), OSV (4 instances, 10%), VOS (1 instance, 2%). The pragmatic considerations that guide the organization of constituents remain to be studied.

- (6) Nerpi'la la'la' lun-pa-llina' nawa'.  
 different language speak-CONT-nFUT.3PL 3PL  
 'They speak a different language.' (Text 11, 10)

When the object is a third person, the subject NP may carry the clitic =*ler*. An important function of =*ler* is to indicate which participant plays the subject function in potentially ambiguous contexts, especially when there is linear precedence of the object over the subject in the clause. This is the case in the examples below, which display OSV and OSV orders:

- (7) Nu'su' papa-sha-wek-ku' La'pi Enmu'pinen=*ler* OSV  
 so father-DIM-1SG.POSS-dead stone man=TR.SUBJ  
 a'-lek-lli.  
 CAUS-ask-nFUT.3SG  
 'In this way the Man of the Stone taught my father (many things).' (Text 6, 58)
- (8) Kekki lupa'-lusa'=*ler* kunetch-apa-lli. OSV  
 sun planet-PL=TR.SUBJ go.around-CONT-nFUT.3SG  
 'The planets rotate around the sun.' (Shiwilu Dictionary, entry: *lupa'*)
- (9) Arakayu ima lun-tu-lli wa'an=*ler*. OVS  
 Arákayu REP speak-VAL-nFUT.3SG chief=TR.SUBJ  
 'The chief talked to Arákayu.' (Text 8, 92)

However, the presence of =*ler* in the context described above is not mandatory, as shown through the next example involving lexical object and subject:

- (10) Pinter ima sekmu'-lli papinku.  
 tobacco REP dilute-nFUT.3SG old.man  
 'The old man diluted tobacco.' (Text 11, 91)
- (11) Awinan panellina' Shiwilu-ku'-lusa' pista yanaku'pi'pu'.  
 white.monkey imitate:nFUT.3PL Shiwilu-dead-PL fiesta on.the.last.day  
 'The Shiwilu (now dead) used to imitate the white monkey on the last day of the fiesta.'  
 (Shiwilu Dictionary, entry: *panerapalli*)

Subordinate clauses also display variable constituent order. The next two sentences include nominalized, subordinate clauses with VO order. In (12) the nominalized clause functions as an adverbial clause depicting an event which takes place simultaneously to the event in the main clause. Also, the main clause precedes the subordinate clause. In

In it is not clear whether *Shawi taserpi* belongs to the matrix or the subordinate clause:

- (12) Kulla=sha ulen'-apa-lli  
 Julia=DIM pronounce.special.discourse-CONT-nFUT.3SG
- [teran shanchiya-sha-nen].  
 sow:PRTC.2/3SG watermelon-DIM-3SG.POSS  
 'Julita is pronouncing a special discourse [while sowing her watermelon] (so that it yields fruit).' (Shiwilu Dictionary, entry: *shanchiya*)

In (13), the subordinate clause precedes the main clause:

- (13) [Shawi taserpi uwan nana llintek] lutu'-lli.  
 Shawi old.man drink:PRTC:3SG that vine have.a.vision-nFUT.3SG  
 'The old Shawi man drank the beverage prepared with that vine and had a vision.'  
 (Shiwilu Dictionary: *llintek*)

The subordinate clause in (14) functions as an internally-headed relative clause, and the order of constituents is OSV:

- (14) [Samellala wila-lun-lusa'=ler luyerkasu']  
 k.fish child-class:female-PL=TR.SUBJ like:NMLZ:3PL
- aki-t-anna' ka'-llina'.  
 cook.in.patarashca-VAL-PRTC.3PL eat-nFUT.3PL  
 'The young women who like *samellala* fish cook it in *patarashca* and eat it.'  
 (Shiwilu Dictionary, entry: *samellala*)

To address the question about the relative order of object and verb in spontaneous speech, clauses involving lexical objects were examined in a text sample. A straightforward answer was



a fixed order which is compatible with the OV pattern. That is, Shiwilu exhibits postpositions (but also one preposition: *unku'la*), the possessor precedes the possessed nominal, the auxiliary *ñilli* follows its lexical verb, the copula *nuka'* follows the predicate, and adverbial subordinators occur at the end of the subordinate clause.

*Head Nominal – Postposition.* - With one exception (see below), adpositions follow the head nominal. In (17)-(19) below, the postpositions *malek*, *wilenkek*, and *adipi* follow the nouns:

- (17) Kua sakek-lek                      Pulu malek.  
 1SG be.happy-nFUT.1SG Pablo because.of  
 'I am happy because of Pablo.' (elicited)
- (18) Misitu du'-apa-lli                      misa' wilenkek.  
 cat sit-CONT-nFUT.3SG table under  
 'The cat is sitting under the table.' (Topological Relations Questionnaire)
- (19) Arakayu aku'-dek-lli                      pidek-nen                      adipi Shiwilu-lusa'.  
 Arákayu put-3PL.OBJ-nFUT.3SG house-3SG.POSS out.of Shiwilu-PL  
 'Arákayu kept the Shiwilu people out of his house.' (Shiwilu Dictionary, entry: *adipi*)

*Preposition-Head Nominal*

One preposition is found in the language: *unku'la* ~ *enku'la* 'before' (*unku-* 'close the door'). Unlike constructions involving postpositions, the verb occurs in its finite form:

- (20) Unku'la wadek-lek                      peksa'-dun-chek.  
 before give.birth-nFUT.1SG wash-CLF:clothes-FUT.1SG  
 'Before going into labor I will wash the clothes.'  
 (Shiwilu Dictionary, entry: *unku'la*)

*Possessor – Possessed.* - In possessive constructions, the genitive or possessor modifier precedes the possessed noun. The latter commonly takes a pronominal possessive suffix:

- (21) Pulu=ler                      Dañir kulliketñen                      apelli.  
 Pablo=TR.SUBJ Daniel money:3SG.POSS steal:nFUT.3SG  
 'Pablo stole Daniel's money.' (elicited)

There is no constituent order distinction between lexical genitives and pronominal genitives.

It is possible for the Shiwilu possessive construction to display the case-marker =*ki(n)* ‘of, for, about’ on the genitive construction simultaneously to the obligatory pronominal possessive marking on the possessed element, as illustrated below:<sup>4</sup>

- (22) Kua=ki’na          suda-wek          yu-tek.  
1SG=OBL:FOC husband-1SG.POSS be.bad.tempered-HAB.NMLZ  
‘My husband is bad-tempered.’  
‘De mí mi marido es rabioso’. (Julita, confirmado por Emérita y Lourdes).

A less commonly attested structure combines a marked possessor with an unmarked possessed nominal.

*Lexical Verb - Auxiliary Verb.*- In verb phrases involving a lexical verb and the auxiliary *ñilli* (which is the non-future, third person singular form of the existential verb *ñi-*) the former precedes the latter necessarily. In fact, the auxiliary occurs in clause final position. Consider the example below:

[Check whether the auxiliary occurs in clause final position necessarily]

- (23) Arakayu yunsui’npu’-a’su’          ñi-lli,  
Arákayu go.out:NEG-NMLZ.3SG exist-nFUT.3SG  
  
enpu’nipa’          kenmu’wa’ samer-wan-pa-nansu’wa’.  
much:probably 1PL.INC fish-HAVE-COND?.1PL.INC  
‘If Arákayu had not left (the banks of the Pampayacu river), today we would probably have a lot of fish.’ (Text 8, 185-186)

*Predicate – Copula Verb.*- Predicate nominal constructions in the present tense may involve the copula verb *nuka’-*, which must follow the predicate, as shown in the example below:

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<sup>4</sup> The result is a possessive construction of the Quechua type: [POSSESSOR-GEN POSSESSED-POSSESSIVE SUFFIX]. When translating into Spanish example (20) for me, Shiwilu speakers resorted to a syntactic calque: “De mí mi marido es rabioso” (Mrs. Julia Inuma, confirmed by Mrs. Emérita Guerra and Mrs. Lourdes Inuma).

- (24) Suda-wek                    i'na alakanter' / apisadatutek nuka'a.  
 husband-1SG.POSS FOC mayor / jealous.man COP-3SG  
 'My husband is the mayor / a jealous man.' (elicited)

\*nuka'a alakanter' / apisadatutek

Alternatively, predicate nominal constructions in the present tense may contain the existential verb *ñi-* playing the copula function. Unlike *nuka'* - which only combines with a special set of person markers, the existential behaves like other verbs in the language in that it takes regular verbal morphology. The existential is mandatory in non-present, non-declarative expressions, and its relative order *vis-á-vis* the predicate is somewhat variable in these instances (see section on copular constructions).

*Adverbial Subordinators.* - Adverbial subordinators such as *malek* 'because,' *walek* 'until,' and *supinak* 'after' occur at the end of the subordinate clause:

- (25) Dekñiñi' i'na lupa' lupa' pa'api'ñi,  
 cougar FOC land land walk-CONT:NEG:nFUT.3SG  
 lalume=ler perku'-lantek-t-a'su' malek.  
 leaf=TR.SUBJ stick-foot-VAL-NMLZ.3SG because.of  
 'The cougar does not walk through dry land because the leaves (that fall from the trees) get stuck to his feet.' (Shiwilu Dictionary, entry: *dekñiñi'*)

*Head Nominal and Relative Clause.* - Relative clauses are dominantly postnominal; that is, they tend to follow their head nominal:

- (26) Rubisha kektapa-lli terek  
 Robertina roast:CONT-nFUT.3SG k.fish  
 [Pancho kench-a-'a'su' Erpinakla].  
 Pancho bring:coming.back-NMLZ.3SG Aipena.river:ABL  
 'Robertina is roasting the *palometa* fish that Pancho brought from the Aipena river.'  
 (Shiwilu Dictionary, entry: *kektapalli*).



It is also possible for the head nominal to occur embedded in the relative clause, as is the case of *wilalunlusa'ler* 'the young women' in example x, repeated below for convenience:

- (27) [Samellala wila-lun-lusa'=ler luyerkasu']  
 k.fish child-clf:female=PL=TR.SUBJ like:NMLZ.3PL  
 akit-anna' ka'-llina'.  
 cook.in.patarashca-PRTC.3PL eat-nFUT.3PL  
 'The young women who like *samellala* fish cook it in *patarascha* and eat it.'  
 (Shiwilu Dictionary, entry: *samellala*)

[Double check whether the NP-Rel. Cl. order is possible]

Crucially, most of the fixed constituent order patterns found in Shiwilu correspond to those exhibiting a strong correlation with the OV order (Dryer 2007). The fact that relative clauses are postnominal does not constitute a counter-example, since the order of relative clause and head nominal does not correlate with that of object and verb. In addition to this, it has been observed that internally-headed relatives rarely occur outside of OV languages (Dryer 2007:108). Based on this evidence, it can be argued that Shiwilu exhibits flexible constituent order at the clause level, but displays important characteristics of OV languages at lower syntactic levels.

#### *Head-Dependent Pairs with Flexible Constituent Order*

Several head-dependent pairs allow alternate constituent order patterns within the noun phrase and particularly in the verb phrase.

*Adjective and Head Noun.*- Adjectives may precede or follow their head nominal, as shown by the alternate orders of the adjective *a'llupi* 'large' and the noun *kaluñi* 'ocelot' in the next examples:

- (28) a. A'llupi kaluñi'=ler wa'dantek-wek pilli'tu-lli.  
 large ocelot=TR.SUBJ chicken-POSS.1SG catch-nFUT.3SG  
 b. Kaluñi' a'llupi=ler wa'danterk-wek pilli'tu-lli.  
 ocelot large=TR.SUBJ chicken-POSS.1SG catch-nFUT.3SG  
 'The large ocelot caught my chicken.' (elicited)



white-lipped.peccary:CLF:meat:ABL

‘The pacca agouti meat is softer than the white-lipped peccary meat.’

(Shiwilu Dictionary, entry: *dekkananlu*)

*Manner Adverb and Verb.*- An adverb may precede or follow the verb, as illustrated through the declarative and imperative sentences below, taken from the Shiwilu Dictionary:

Manner adverb and verb in declarative clauses

(34) Lu’lek kitek-lle<sup>mu</sup>’ iker-su’.  
k.ant bite-nFUT.3SG>1SG.I hurt-ADV LZ  
‘The *ishchimi* ant bites us very bad.’ (Shiwilu Dictionary, entry: *ikersu*)

(35) Tekkua-su’ pa’-llidek tanak.  
be.afraid.of-ADV LZ walk-nFUT.1PL.E jungle:LOC  
‘We walk with caution in the jungle.’ (Shiwilu Dictionary, entry: *tekkuasu*)

Manner adverb and verb in imperative clauses

(36) ;Nun=kek<sup>lan</sup> yunchin-ker’ wiwek-su’!  
canoe-ABL disembark-IMP.2SG hurry-ADV LZ  
Get out of the canoe quickly! (Shiwilu Dictionary, entry: *wiweksu*)

(37) ;Iker-su’ dekkunter’!  
hurt-ADV LZ walk:IMP.2SG  
‘Walk fast/intensely!’ (Shiwilu Dictionary, entry: *ikersu*)

*Verb and non-Argument Noun Phrases.*- Noun argument noun phrases may either precede or follow the verb. Consider the following examples involving the instrumental/comitative =lek:

(38) Sadin=lek=si’ma chu’kenñi.  
his.wife=COM=only:REP dance.the.pandilla:nFUT.3SG  
‘He danced the *pandilla* only with his wife.’ (Text 8, 95)

(39) Sekkankat-an indi’dektu-lli sadin=lek.  
jump-PRTC.3SG jump.into.the.water-nFUT.3SG his.wife=COM  
‘He jumped into the wáter with his wife.’ (Text 8, 120)



Negation is expressed by the word *ma'sha*, which tends to occur at the beginning of the sentence and thus before the verb:

- (43) Ma'sha kua luwanchi'nek asu' uran sanek'a'su'.  
 ma'sha kua luwan-tu-i'n-lek asu' uran sanek'-a'su'  
 not 1SG want-VAL-NEG-nFUT.1SG this food be.cold-NML.3SG  
 'I don't want the cold food.' (Shiwilu Dictionary: *sanek'a'su'*)

A noun phrase may be fronted for contrastive focus purposes and thus precede *ma'sha* in the sentence:

- (44) Unma' samer, sapani'na ma'sha.  
 Pirarucu fish river.dolphin:FOC not  
 'Pirarucus are fish, but river dolphins are not.'

The intensifier *enpu'ni* precedes the modified adjective, but *=inchi*, which also functions as intensifier, follows it.

The modal verb *innit-* 'be able to' occurs in a finite form before the nominalized lexical verb with which it forms a verb phrase; by contrast, *ninchi-* 'know' precedes a lexical verb stem forming a single verb form.

#### *Other Typologically-Salient Features*

The phonology of Shiwilu includes a typical Amazonian system of four vowels: /i, ə, a, u/ (Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999:8-9). In contrast, its consonant system exhibits characteristics that are unusual in the languages of the region, such as the presence of a **palatal lateral /ʎ/** and a functional distinction between **simple vs. glottalized alveolar rhotics**: /'mərpi/ 'belly' vs. /'məʔrpi/ 'ripe banana.' The **glottal stop** is ubiquitous and may occur up to four times in the same word as in /maʔ'puʔsiʔpaʔ/ 'How, perhaps.' Some minimal pairs based on the absence/presence of this consonant are: /k<sup>w</sup>a/ 'I' vs. /k<sup>w</sup>aʔ/ 'kinkajou,' /'lala/ 'hole' vs. /'laʔlaʔ/ 'language,' /'ʎiʎi/ 'lizard' vs. /'ʎiʔʎi/ 's/he saw,' /'kənma/ 'you' vs. /'kənmaʔ/ 'Indian,' /'tata/ 'father' vs. /'tataʔ/ 'wound.' The most idiosyncratic phoneme is the **denti-alveolar approximant /ɬ/**, which is absent not only in the languages of the region but even in Shawi, Shiwilu's only sister language. "The tongue front is somewhat convex with raised tip and sides, as for /t/ or /n/, with the sides approximating the lateral gums and the tip approximating the area of the alveolar ridge and front teeth, without making contact. It is never interdental..." (Valenzuela & Gussenhoven, to appear). Spanish speakers tend to identify this consonant with

the alveolar lateral /l/, but these are clearly two distinct phonemes as shown through the minimal pair /'lala/ 'hole' vs. /'laʃa/ 'face, eye, seed.'

Shiwilu has a system of **four persons** (first exclusive, first inclusive, second, third) and two numbers (singular/minimal and plural/augmented), which manifests itself in the personal pronouns, possessive modifiers, and verb inflection. The table below is taken from Valenzuela (2011).

Table 1. Shiwilu Personal Pronouns, Possessive Modifiers, and non-Future Verb Inflection

	PERSONAL PRONOUNS	POSSESSIVE MODIFIERS	NON-FUTURE SUBJECT MARKERS
1SG.EXCL.	k <sup>w</sup> a	-wək	-lək
1SG.INCL.	kənmuʔ	-mapuʔ	-lək
2SG	kənma	-pən	-la
3SG	Nana	-nən	-ʎi
1PL.EXCL.	kuʃa	-wiʃək	-ʎiʃək
1PL.INCL.	kənmuʔwaʔ	-mapuʔwaʔ	-ləkwaʔ
2PL	kənmamaʔ	-pənmaʔ	-lamaʔ
3PL	nawaʔ	-nənnaʔ	-ʎinaʔ

Shiwilu has various finite and subordinate verb paradigms; the latter may be marked for **switch-reference**. Most verbs are inherently intransitive or transitive and require explicit derivation or a specific construction in order to modify their valency. Alternatively, a different lexical item may be used to express the equivalent predicate with a different transitivity value: *ukun-* 'hang (int.)' > *a'-ukun-* 'hang (tr.),' *susu-* 'grow' > *tek-susu-* 'raise,' *sekki-* 'hide (tr.)' > *in-sekki-* 'hide (intr.),' *lli-* 'see' > *lli'-tu* 'appear, open the eyes, see (with unexpressed object),' *uchen-tu* 'stretch (tr.),' straighten (tr.)' > *yunchen-tu* 'stretch (intr.), become straight,' *chimin-* 'die' vs. *di-* 'kill/cut (with an unexpressed object),' *di'-tu* 'kill/cut sb. or sth.' > *in-di'-tu* 'commit suicide/cut oneself,' etc. The suffix *-tu* is peculiar since it may increase or decrease the valency of a verb, in addition to having a verbalizing function.<sup>5</sup> Consider the following data:

Increase of verb valency

- (45) da'wilek- 'be a replacement' > da'wilek-tu 'replace sb.'  
lanpi'- 'swallow (unexpressed object)' > lanpi'-tu 'swallow sth.'  
da'iyā- 'become accustomed' > da'iyā-tu 'become accustomed to sb.'  
kuer- 'be heavy, weigh' > kuer-tu 'be heavy to sb., overcome sb. with its weight'  
lun- 'speak (about sth.)' > lun-tu 'speak to sb. (about sth.)'

<sup>5</sup> The Native North American language Bella Coola (Salishan family) has a functionally similar marker which has been characterized by Beck (2000:218) as "one of the most desconcertantes verbal suffixes" in this language.

## Decrease of verb valency

(46)	apu'- 'abandon'	>	apu'-tu 'disappear, become loose or detached'
	lulen- 'cure sb.'	>	lulen-tu 'cure (unexpressed object)'
	wer- 'sting/bite'	>	wer-tu 'sting/bite (unexpressed object)'
	lli'- 'see'	>	lli'-tu 'appear, open one's eyes, see (unexpressed object)'
	panu- 'give sth. as a present to sb.'	>	panu-tu 'give sth. as a present'

## Verbalization of a noun

(47)	tunla 'worm'	>	tunla-tu 'grow worms'
	ami 'grandmother'	>	ami-tu 'become a grandmother'
	ǰəkkun 'path'	>	ǰəkkun-tu 'walk'
	pəksaʔ 'bed'	>	pəksaʔ-tu 'make a bed'
	silu 'panpipe'	>	silu-tu 'play the panpipe'
	kankan 'liver'	>	kankan-tu 'be happy'

A verb consists minimally of a root followed by a *portmanteau* suffix which encodes tense-mood and argument co-reference, following a predominantly **nominative-accusative** distribution: S on intransitive verbs and S>O (i.e., the first term operating as subject and the second term as object) on transitives. With ditransitive verbs like 'give' the *portmanteau* morpheme refers to the recipient rather than the patient.

Noun phrases that correspond to arguments do not require case markers (except for the stimulus of certain clauses involving extended intransitive verbs). However, the subject indicator **=ler** exhibits a **superficially ergative distribution**, since it may attach to a transitive subject according to discourse-pragmatic motivations and/or to disambiguate the identity of subject and object participants when more than one interpretation is plausible. The clitic **=ler** only occurs when the object is a third person (Valenzuela 2011).

Shiwilu has **seven different applicative constructions** that can be grouped in two major categories based on a formal distinction: (a) those that display simple derivation on the verb and (b) those that display double derivation. In constructions that belong to the first category, the verb takes a semantically specialized applicative affix such as the associative *ek-*, the relinquitive *-lapi* (do sth. leaving sb. behind, Peterson 2007), or the assistive *-pa'*; alternatively, the verb may take the suffix *-tu* which, in addition to the valency-related functions described above (data in (1)-(3)) may work as a locative applicative. The second category comprises constructions where the base verb obligatorily takes the suffix *-tu* as well as a specialized applicative: *-i* benefactive/malefactive, *-wa* approaching, and the multifunctional *-nan* 'to sb.'s detriment, in the presence of sb., skipping an entity.' Sentence (46), extracted from a personal narrative, illustrates applicative constructions with simple derivation. The assistive *-pa'* and the relinquitive *-lapi* appear in the subordinate and main clauses, respectively. Analogously to the situation described

for ditransitive verbs, in applicative constructions involving a transitive base the verb codifies the applicative object rather than the patient.

- (48) Tek-susu-**pa**'-nku  
CAUS-grow-**assistive**-PRTC.3SG>1SG

tata-nenna'                      chimin-**lapi**-llun  
father-POSS.3PL              die-**relinquitive**-nFUT.3SG>1SG  
'Helping me to raise them (my children) their father died leaving me alone.'

Sentence (49) is an **applicative construction** involving double derivation. Note that the sequence *-nan-tu* has the **meaning 'skipping an entity.'** To my knowledge, this function has not been previously described for other languages having an applicative system:

- (49) Ñiñi'wa                      kitek-**nan-tu**-llun  
dog                                  morder-*nan*-VAL-nFUT.3SG>1SG  
'The dog bit (someone who was with me) skipping me (i.e., it did not bite me)'

Since the suffix *-tu* may have the effect of adding an object to the clause (recall the data in (45)), it is plausible that applicative constructions with double derivation might have developed due to the need to specify the semantic role of this newly introduced argument (Valenzuela, ms.). In addition to produce formally marked expressions, the phenomenon of double derivation is not part of the definition of a prototypical applicative construction. Applicative constructions involving the locative *-tu* and the benefactive/malefactive *-i-tu* constitute "dynamic systems" (Donohue 2001), since they have a semantically equivalent non-applicative counterpart. An important question awaiting investigation concerns the motivations that lead to the selection of each of these alternatives.

Instrumental prefixes are a feature found in several Native North American languages but actually rare in South America. Shiwilu has a closed set of approximately twenty **instrumental/manner prefixes**. The list below has been taken from Bendor-Samuel (1961:68-69). According to this author, the meanings assigned to the prefixes must be taken as provisional:

- (50) a-            perform action with the foot but not by kicking  
da'-            action performed by falling  
dan-            action associated with entering  
dek-            action performed by pressing  
din-            action associated with one object crossing another  
dun-            action associated with hunting  
i-                action associated with thrusting one object behind or into another object  
la-                action performed by the teeth  
lli-                action performed by striking, with a stick or another instrument  
nu-                action performed without visible cause  
pa-                action performed by stabbing  
pada'-            action performed by throwing



pan-	action performed by a brushing motion
pek-	action performed with considerable force
pi-	action performed using the palm of the hand
sek-	action performed with the hands
su’-	action performed by rubbing
tu’-	action performed by kicking
u-	action performed by pulling
wi-	action performed by embracing

In addition to the prefixes introduced above, Bendor-Samuel (op. cit.) lists three valency changing prefixes: *ek-* ‘accompany an action’ (which I treat as applicative), *in-* ‘reflexive action,’ and *tek-* “the meaning of this prefix is indefinite, but it is connected with actions done a good deal” (which may work as causative). Example (52) below contains a verb bearing an instrumental/manner prefix.

Another typologically salient characteristic of Shiwilu is a classifier system. According to my current knowledge of the language, Shiwilu has 17 classifiers. Most of them can be associated to an independent noun in the language, thus suggesting their relatively recent grammaticalization. Shiwilu classifiers are used to derive new vocabulary:

- (51) Kaser’-            ‘be sweet’  
kaser’**lla**            ‘candy’            (\*la = small, roundish object; cf. lada ‘seed’)  
kaser’**llu**’            ‘sugar’            (\*lu’ = paste, powder; *lu’pa* ‘soil’)  
kasi’**yek**            ‘soda drink’      (\*dek ~ \*yek = liquid; cf. *dek* ‘water’)

In addition to occurring on nouns, Shiwilu classifiers are attested on numerals and other quantifiers, demonstratives, adjectives, and verbs. Furthermore, classifiers play an agreement-like function since the same classifier may occur more than once in the sentence:

- (52) Mila’**la**                      mer’**lla**                      ka’apalli                      mu’chi’lek.  
mila’-la                      mer’-la                      ka-apa-lli                      mu’chi’lek  
ayrambo.weed-clf:seed    be.ripe-clf:seed    eat-CONT-nFUT.3SG    torcasita.dove  
‘The ripe little fruit of the “ayrambo” weed is eaten by the “torcasita” dove.’

**Classifiers that combine derivational and inflectional functions** have been previously described for other languages of Western Amazonia, and might constitute a special type of nominal classification system (Seifart & Payne). Another interesting fact of Shiwilu classifiers is the **various syntactic functions** that they may play **when incorporated in the verb, including transitive subject**:

Place

- (53) Wichi’-**mek**-tu-lek.  
sleep-clf:leaf-VAL-nFUT.1SG  
‘I slept on the leaves/on the sheet.’

## Object

- (54) Lli' - **dek**-lli  
see-liquid-nFUT.3SG  
'S/he saw the water.'

## Intransitive Subject

- (55) Inchilalak                      dinpanañi.  
Inchilala=k                      din-pa-**nan**-lli  
road=LOC/ALL                  instr.prefix: one object crossing another-?-**clf:stick**-nFUT.3SG  
'On the road a tree fell.'

## Transitive Subject

- (56) Di'ser'penñina'.  
Di'ser'-**pen**-llina'  
burn-**clf:male**-nFUT.3PL  
'estos (hombres) lo quemaron''

The sentence in (57) consists of just a verb with two incorporated classifiers; these encode the stimulus and the experiencer arguments of *tekkua*- 'be afraid of sth.'

- (57) Tekkua-dek-tu-penñina'.  
tekkua-**dek**-tu-**pen**-llina'  
be.afraid.of-clf:liquid-VAL-clf:male:nFUT.3PL  
'Those men/male animals are afraid of the water.'

## *Passive Construction*

In the Shiwilu passive construction the transitive verb is nominalized by taking the morpheme -*pi*<sup>6</sup> and combines with the copula *nuka*'-, which serves as auxiliary. The object of the active construction is promoted to subject. Example (58) is an active sentence, whereas (59) is its passive equivalent. The latter belongs to a text about a young girl whose father abandons her in the jungle due to the scarcity of food in their home. After wandering alone for a few days, the girl comes upon a man who asks her where she is from, to which the girl answers (59). Note that the nominalized verb may carry a predicative suffix.

- (58) Tatawek                      dinda'tullun.  
tata-wek                      dinda'-tu-llun  
father-POSS.1SG              cause.to.get.lost-nFUT.3SG>1SG  
'My father made me get lost (in the jungle).'

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<sup>6</sup> This morpheme might be diachronically associated to the classifier -*pi* 'entity' and the independent noun *pi* 'body.'

