World Languages and Cultures Faculty Books and Book Chapters

World Languages and Cultures

4-28-2022

# Nominal Incorporation in Shiwilu (Kawapanan): Nouns, Classifiers and the Deceased Marker =ku'

Pilar Valenzuela

chapter 24

# Nominal Incorporation in Shiwilu (Kawapanan): Nouns, Classifiers and the Deceased Marker *=ku'*

*Pilar Valenzuela*

## 1        Introduction

Shiwilu (a.k.a. Jebero) is a critically endangered language of Northeastern Peru and one of the two members of the Kawapanan family. Shiwilu is fluently spoken by ca. 25 elders, most of who live in and around the town of Jeberos or the neighboring city of Yurimaguas (Alto Amazonas Province, Loreto Region). Today, all Shiwilu speakers are bilingual in Spanish and employ this language in their daily lives almost exclusively. Intergenerational transmission of Shiwilu ceased several decades ago (Valenzuela 2010, 2012).

Shiwilu is a good representative of the Andes-Amazonia transitional zone, in that it exhibits a mixture of phonological and grammatical traits that are typical of the languages of these two regions (Valenzuela 2015, 2018). The present article addresses a phenomenon that is common in Amazonian languages but absent in the Central Andean families Quechuan and Aymaran: nominal incorporation (Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999: 10; Adelaar with Muysken 2004; Aikhenvald 2017: 296). In this work, 'nominal incorporation' is a cover term to designate the process of inserting into the verb a noun, a classifier, or the deceased marker *=ku'*.

Canonical noun incorporation can be defined as "the morphological construction where a nominal lexical element is added to a verbal lexical element; the resulting construction being a verb and a single word" (de Reuse 1994: 2842).[1] Use of this strategy may derive new lexical items, affect the syntactic relations in a clause, or have discourse ramifications (Mithun 1984, 1986, 1994; de Reuse 1994; Gerdts 1998; Aikhenvald 2007). Although noun incorporation is prominent in polysynthetic languages, the two must not be equated: incorporation takes place in languages with different morphological profiles (e.g. several Austronesian languages), and there are polysynthetic languages that lack this feature, strictly speaking (Eskaleut languages) (Mithun 2009; Aikhenvald

---

1   For a more encompassing definition of noun incorporation, see Johns (2017).

2007: 12). Noun incorporation is frequent in the Indigenous languages of North and South America, Austronesia, Northern Australia, and Siberia (Mithun 1994: 5024). Consider the following Shiwilu sentences involving the intransitive verb *iker-* 'ache'.2 In (1a), without incorporation, the possessed body part is realized as an independent np and is registered as clausal subject by means of the verbal suffix -*lli*. In (1b), the noun *mutu'* (stripped off possessive marking) is inserted in the verb, which allows the possessor to assume the subject function, as indicated by -*lek*.3

(1)  a. Mutu'wek ikelli
        **mutu'**=*wek*      *iker-lli*
        head=poss.1sg  ache-nfi.3sg
        'My head aches.'

     b. Ikermutu'lek
        *iker-***mutu'**-*lek*
        ache-head-n**f**i.1sg
        'I have a headache.'

Structures resembling (1b) have been analyzed as instances of possessor raising, whereby an erstwhile possessor is 'promoted' to core argument. However, (1a) and (1b) are two separate constructions, effecting distinct meanings

---

2  The Shiwilu data are given in the phonologically-based official orthography, which includes the following conventions: ⟨e⟩ = /ə/, ⟨d⟩ = /ḓ/, ⟨ll⟩ = /ʎ/, ⟨ñ⟩ = /ɲ/, ⟨ch⟩ = /tʃ/, and ⟨y⟩ = /j/. The diacritic ⟨'⟩ indicates a glottal stop after a vowel, but syllable break after a consonant. Primary stress falls on the first syllable of disyllabic words or the second syllable of words with three or more syllables; the addition of certain affixes results in modifications.

3  The following abbreviations are used throughout this paper: 1 first person, 2 second person, 3 third person, A transitive subject, abl ablative, add additive, adv adverbial, affect affective (benefactive/malefactive), and andative, appl applicative, assoc associative, caus causative, cl classifier, com comitative, comm commiserative, cont continuous, contrst contrastive, cop copula, decsd deceased, deprec deprecatory, des desiderative, dim diminutive, ds different subject, E exclusive, emph emphatic, fem female, foc focus, frust frustrative, fut future, hsy hearsay, I inclusive, imp imperative, incorp incorporation, infl inflection, instr instrumental, int interrogative, intr. intransitive, loc locative, masc masculine, mov movement, neg negative, nfi non-future indicative, nmlz nominalization, np noun phrase, O object, obl oblique, out outward movement, pl plural, poss possessive, prog progressive, ptcp participle, rec reciprocal, ref reflexive, rep repetitive, S intransitive subject, simil similative, sg singular, ss same subject, subj subjunctive, surp surprise, tr. transitive, V verb, val valency, vm valency modifier, voc vocative, w/o without.

or discourse consequences (Gerdts 1998: 86). Roughly speaking, in (1a) the focus is placed on the possessed body part, while in (1b) the focus lies on the affected possessor.

The purpose of this paper is two-fold. First, it provides an account of canonical nominal incorporation in Shiwilu, thus inaugurating the discussion on incorporation in Kawapanan linguistics.4 Secondly, this paper seeks to expand our knowledge of nominal incorporation in Amazonian languages and beyond. Before engaging in the analysis of Shiwilu nominal incorporation, selected grammar traits of the language are outlined in §2, by way of providing the necessary background for the subsequent discussion. The next three sections are structured according to the kind of material that gets incorporated. Section 3 is devoted to noun incorporation, largely along the lines of Mithun (1984). It deals with noun-verb compounds as well as the syntactic and discourse effects of noun incorporation constructions. The incorporation of classifiers is taken up in §4. After an introduction to the Shiwilu classifier system, this section focuses on compounds and a construction involving classifier incorporation and locative applicativization. Section 5 discusses a highly idiosyncratic feature of Shiwilu, the ability of the deceased marker =*ku'* to appear in the verb.

The purpose of §6 is to demonstrate that incorporated nominals assume different syntactic functions, including transitive subject. The conclusions and final remarks are presented in §7.


## 2      Selected Features of Shiwilu Grammar

Shiwilu is agglutinating with some fusion, polysynthetic, and predominantly head-marking. It uses more suffixes than prefixes. Both avo and aov are common orders in spontaneous speech. Nonetheless, the language has postpositions and the possessor precedes the possessum; this is compatible with the ov pattern (Dryer 2007). Bendor-Samuel (1981[1958]: 74–81) distinguishes four major word classes: nominal, verb, adverb, and particle. He subdivides nominal into: noun, adjective (including quantifiers and demonstratives), pronoun, and relative; all but pronoun are open classes. Additionally, Shiwilu has classifiers, but lacks noun classes or a gender system.

Shiwilu distinguishes four persons (first exclusive, first inclusive, second, third) and two numbers (minimal and augmented, labeled singular and plural

---

4   A relatively early record of Shiwilu noun incorporation appears in Rivet and Tastevin (1931: 241). For Shawi, see Hart (1988: 274).

table 24.1   Shiwilu personal pronouns, possessives, and unipersonal verb suffixes

| Person | Personal pronouns | Possessives | Unipersonal verb markers |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1sg(.e) | kua | =wek | -lek |
| 1sg.i | kenmu' | =mapu' | -lek |
| 2sg | kenma | =pen | -la |
| 3sg | nana | =nen | -lli |
| 1pl.e | kuda | =widek | -llidek |
| 1pl.i | kenmu'wa' | =mapu'wa' | -lekwa' |
| 2pl | kenmama' | =penma' | -lama' |
| 3pl | nawa' | =nenna' | -llina' |

table 24.2   Shiwilu bipersonal suffixes, non-future-indicative

| | 1sg | 1sg.i | 2sg | 1pl.e | 1pl.i | 2pl |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1sg | -- | -- | -llen | | | -llenma' |
| 2sg | -lun | | | -lundek | | |
| 3sg | -llun | -llenmu' | -llen | -llundek | -llenmu'wa' | -llenma' |
| 1pl.e | -- | | -lliden ~ -lliyen | | | -llidenma' ~ -lliyenma' |
| 2pl | -lama'uku | | | -lama'ukudek | | |
| 3pl | -llinerku | -llinerkenmu' | -llinerken | -llinerkudek | -llinerkenmu'wa' | -llinerkenma' |

for simplicity). Table 24.1 presents Shiwilu personal pronouns, possessive modifiers, and the verb 'unipersonal' suffixes corresponding to the non-future indicative (the most frequent inflectional paradigm). 'Unipersonal' suffixes are portmanteau morphemes that encode (tense-)mood and the subject of intransitive verbs, or the subject and object of transitive verbs with a 3rd person object.

'Bipersonal' suffixes convey (tense-)mood and index subject and primary object. They are mandatory on transitive verbs with a 1st or 2nd person O. Table 24.2 contains the bipersonal suffixes corresponding to the non-future indicative. Vertically listed categories refer to the A and horizontal ones to the O.

There are several additional paradigms of verb inflectional suffixes; two of them mark switch-reference. Each paradigm has unipersonal and bipersonal sets.

```
des va l2 va l1 adv2 adv1 [stem] all.night.long/at.night app l1
think.of.doing incorp1 app l2  vm incorp2 dim cont mov1 mov2 adv1
adv2 comm frust 3pl.o neg infl
```

figure 24.1    Structure of the Shiwilu verb

When a 3rd person (patient) object is plural, the verb requires the suffix *-dek*, which precedes the negative marker, if present, and the bipersonal suffix.

Minimally, a verb consists of a root and a unipersonal or bipersonal suffix. However, verbs can be very complex. Bendor-Samuel

over 25 slots that he organizes into (a) verb expanding prefixes, (b) stem, (c) verb extending suffixes, and (d) inflectional suffix. Verb forms comprising up to ten morphemes can be attested (pp. 88–89). Prefixes include the desiderative, causativizers, the reflexive/reciprocal, and adverbial-like morphemes.

Shiwilu features a prolific applicative system comprising seven constructions with distinct affixes. In 'double applicative' constructions the verb must take the valency modifier *-tu* simultaneously with a dedicated applicative, regardless of the base transitivity value (Valenzuela 2016a).

Depending on the verb to which it applies, the valency modifier *-tu* (*-t* before a vowel) may function as applicative, adding an object (2a), or as antipassive, suppressing an object (2b).

(2)   a. pasun- 'stick' > pasun-tu- 'stick to' (7)
      b. lli'- 'see'      > lli'-tu- 'appear, see' (w/o overt 0)

Figure 24.1 schematizes the structure of the Shiwilu verb. Slots for incorporated items are bolded. For further details on the Shiwilu verb and argument encoding, consult Bendor-Samuel (1981[1958]) and Valenzuela (2011a, 2016a).

Argument nps are unmarked for case. However, when 0 is the 3rd person, =*ler* may encliticize to the A under certain conditions (roughly, to highlight an unexpected A or to disambiguate the identity of participants). When both A and 0 are 3rd person, and 0 precedes A in the clause, =*ler* is mandatory. Although the distribution of =*ler* is superficially ergative, there is no syntacticized ergative-absolutive alignment with regard to the Shiwilu np (Valenzuela 2011a).

# 3    Incorporation of Nouns

## 3.1    *Shiwilu Nouns*

Most Shiwilu nouns, including those conveying body parts or kinship relations, can stand as free words by themselves, without possessive marking or any other additional morphology. The following extract belongs to a narrative centering around *Uwi'lunsha* 'Little Miss Spider', the first Shiwilu woman to learn how to manufacture and wear clothes. A young girl accompanies her father to the jungle, unaware that he plans to get rid of her. Once abandoned in the jungle, the girl is visited in dreams by protective spirits who teach her how to spin the thread and weave clothes. Sometime later, she grows additional limbs and turns into a spider. Example (3) contains three body-part nouns. While *chi'tek* takes possessive morphology, the bare nouns *tanpa'* and *tula* are independent words.

(3)    a. Nanek ima…ma'pu'siklinpi'ma asu' chi'tekñiklima ipa' ali'la tanpa' yunsu'pilalli

      *nanek ima ma'pu'si=kla=inpu=ima asu' **chi'tek**=nen=kla=ima*

      then    hsy    how=abl-neg=hsy        this chest=poss.3sg=abl=hsy

      *ipa'        ali'la    **tanpa'** yunsu'-apa-ila-lli…*

        already other arm        come.out-cont-pass.outward-nfi.3sg

      'Then … who knows how, another arm began to grow out of her chest …'

    b. Inkatu' tula a'ñilli, inkatu' tanpa' a'ñilli.

     *inkatu' **tula**    a'ñi-lli        inkatu' **tanpa'** a'ñi-lli*

     four    thigh have-nfi.3sg four    arm    have.nfi.3sg

     'She had four legs and four arms.' (Author fieldnotes: *Uwi'lunsha*)

Alongside free-standing, alienable nouns, Shiwilu features a set of monosyllabic, inalienably possessed nouns that denotes the body or its parts, i.e., these nouns must take possessive marking to function as words: *pi-* 'body' > *pinen* 'his/her/its body', *tek-* 'skin' > *teknen* 'his/her/its skin', *llin-* 'vine' > *llinen* 'its vine/tail', *mek-* 'leaf' > *meknen* 'its leaf', etc. Most monosyllabic nouns are phonologically reduced versions of semantically equivalent alienable nouns: *chip-itek* 'skin', *lullin* 'wild vine' or *llintek* 'tail', *lalumek* 'leaf'. Monosyllabic nouns and classifiers often share the same form (see Table 24.3). <sub>adjusted</sub>

## 3.2    *Incorporation of Free-Standing Nouns*

In a seminal paper, Mithun (1984) puts forward a crosslinguistic typology of noun incorporation constructions focusing on their diachronic development. According to this author, the first type of noun incorporation to arise in a language is lexical compounding, i.e., the combination of a verb stem and a noun stem to yield a complex predicate denoting a recognizable, unitary concept. Typically, incorporated nouns do not refer to a specific entity but narrow the scope of the verb. The purpose of this construction is to create new labels for activities or states that are 'name-worthy' and more specific than those denoted by the verb stems alone. The compounded verbs below involve various body-part nouns. The host verb may be intransitive or transitive.

(4)   a. wa'danpin- 'be crazy'  mutu 'head'      wa'danpin**mutu'** 'feel dizzy'
     b. nanpi- 'live'              lada 'face'      nanpi**lada**- 'stay up all night'
     c. wellek- 'cry'              kankan 'liver'   wellek inside
     d. u'wa- 'inhale'            netchek 'nose'   uwa'**netchek**- 'suck from the nose' it is mutu'
     e. usu'- 'pull out'          latek 'tooth'    usu'**latek**- 'pull out a tooth'
     f. usu'- 'pull out'          kadu'la 'testicles'  usu'**kadu'la**- 'castrate'
     g. dekpa'-tu- 'cut down'  enchek 'hair'    dekpa'**enchek**tu- 'cut a woman's hair'

Verbs like *pamu'-* 'wash' frequently carry reflexive prefixing and body-part incorporation.

(5)   a. in-pamu'-itekla-    [ref-wash-hand-]        'wash one's hands'
     b. in-pamu'-enchek-  [ref-wash-hair-]        'was one' hair'
     d. in-pamu'-lada-      [ref-wash-eye/face-]  'wash one's face'
     e. in-pamu'-latek-     [ref-wash-tooth-]       'wash one's teeth'5

A second type of noun incorporation construction posited by Mithun (1984) involves the manipulation of case, i.e., a change in the syntactic roles of participants, often accompanied by a decrease in or the rearrangement of the verb's valency (Aikhenvald 2017: 298). As expected, this process has concomitant semantic or pragmatic consequences. Body-part nouns incorporate very

---

5   In preparing manioc beer, Shiwilu women carefully rinse their mouths and rub their teeth with their fingers before chewing the boiled manioc.

often, which allows the possessor to be encoded as a core argument, usually O or S, rather than oblique. This strategy is a means to foreground a participant and is motivated by the general fact that the affected possessor is of greater overall interest than their body part (recall example (1b)). The alternate non-incorporation expression would be favored, for instance, if the speaker seeks to focus on the location of an injury (Mithun 1984, 1994).6 Sentences (6)–(7) involve the noun *landu'* 'lower part of the leg'. (6) was uttered by a woman who sadly explains that she can no longer walk and work in the garden due to her limp. The speaker's focus is on herself and incorporating *landu'* permits the affected participant be kept as subject.

(6)  Ma'pu'sui'na ikellandu'mu innichi'nek dekkunta'kasu'.
     *Ma'pu'su'=i'na iker-**landu'**-amu      innit-i'n-lek*
     how=foc      ache-lower.leg-ptcp.ss.1sg   can-neg-nfi.1sg
     *dekkunt-a'kasu'*
     walk-nmlz.1sg
     'Since now I suffer from leg pain, I cannot walk.' (Valenzuela 2012: 95)

In contrast, (7) belongs to the entry for *landu'* in the Shiwilu Dictionary. The focus is now on the body part, where the leech is found.

(7)  Tata'lu'tek pasuntullun landu'wekkek.
     *tata'lu'tek   pasun-tu-llun          **landu'**=wek=kek*
     leech      stick-vm-nfi.3sg>1sg    lower.leg=poss.1sg=loc
      'The leech stuck to my lower leg.' (Valenzuela et al. 2013: *landu'*)

In sum, constructions like (6) and (7) are not mere paraphrases of each other but serve different discourse functions.

Incorporated nouns appear in their full form even when compounded or derived (the only attested exception is *wi'wek* 'ear', which adopts the truncated form *wek*). Aikhenvald (2007: 14–15) reports that some languages can incorporate whole nps (possessive np, attributive np, comitative np). This is not possible in Shiwilu.

A third type of noun incorporation corresponds to the regulation of information in discourse. Its function is to background a participant that is an established part of the scene, incidental, predictable, or devoid of special focus.

---

6  The predicates in (5) also involve the 'manipulation of case relations' in the sense that *pamu'*-appears in non-incorporation constructions.

Coding this participant with an independent np might interfere with the flow of information and distract the listener's attention (Mithun 1984: 859, 1994: 5025).7 Let us examine some instantiations of *pidek* 'house' in a narrative featuring the ancient Shiwilu and Arakayu, the spiritual owner of fish and river animals in general. At the beginning of the story, a group of men are walking in the jungle and catch sight of smoke emanating from a fire. Next, they see a house. Intrigued, they decide to approach the house and find out who lives there. It turns out to be Arakayu, who comes out of his home and welcomes the men. Up to this point, the narrator is building the story. The house, which codes new information, is referred to by two locative phrases.

(8)  a. Penwanpasik pidekñik …
      *pen-wan-pa-sik*                 ***pidek-ñik***
      fire-have-cont-ptcp.ds.3sg  house-poss.3sg:**loc**
      'Somebody was lighting a fire in a house …'

     b. "Enchuku' luwetchunta'wa' den'ipa'tek."
      *enchuku'  luwer-tu-unt-a'wa'*        *den=ipa'=tek*
       let's.go   know-vm-and-imp.1p**l**.i    who=perhaps=deprec?
      '"Let's go meet whoever it might be."'

     c. Tanni'ma kawinta'llini'ma yunsu'lli pidekñikla.
      *t-anna'=ima*            *kawi'=nta'-llina'=ima*          *yunsu'-lli*
      say-p**t**cp.ss.3p**l**=hsy  get.close-and-nfi.3p**l**=hsy  came.out-nfi.3sg
      ***pidek=ñikla***
      house=p**o**ss.3sg:ab**l**
      'Saying that, they approached (the house) and Arakayu came out of his house (to greet them).' (Valenzuela 2012: 117)

Then a conflict emerges. Spurred on by curiosity to find out what kind of being Arakayu is, the men demand to see his house, to which Arakayu does not agree. Yet the men do not give up and utter the expression in (9) below. This time, *pidek* 'house' is incorporated in the verb, which permits Arakayu to be cast into the core role of O instead of possessor. This choice is motivated by the fact that the men are ultimately interested in Arakayu rather than his house.

───────

7  (6) might be interpreted as an instance of Type 3 noun incorporation. The woman's physical impediment is obvious from the situational context and it could be argued that noun incorporation backgrounds this piece of information.

(9) "Nu'pachi yalli'llen. Yaluwerpidektullen".
   *nu'pachi ya-lli'-llen*         *ya-luwer-**pidek**-tu-llen*
     then    des-see-nfi.1pl.e>2sg   des-know-house-vm-nfi.1pl.e>2sg
   '"We want to visit you. We want to see your house" (lit. We want to know
   you with regard to your house).' (Valenzuela 2012: 118)

While standing outside Arakayu's house the men spot a river they have not seen before and ask Arakayu for fish. The river turns out to be Pampayacu, the core of Shiwilu ancestral territory. Arakayu calls out to the fish and, to the men's dismay, all sorts of highly valued fish species come to them, along with turtles, dolphins, etc. The men return to their village and spread word about Arakayu. After this encounter, the Shiwilu would visit Arakayu often and ask him for fish, which he would always give them. However, Arakayu remains firm in not letting anyone inside his house. One day, the chief of the Shiwilu invites Arakayu to come to their village on the main day of the carnival. Arakayu accepts the invitation and brings his wife with him. While the couple are dancing the *pandilla* (traditional dance), a group of wicked men decide to burn Arakayu's house. The men conjecture that, once homeless, Arakayu will move out of Pampayacu and they will have all the fish to themselves. This is a crucial moment in the story and, according to the narrator, the consequences affect the well-being of the Shiwilu up to this day.

(10) Nana nu'apasik ima di'serpidektullina'.
   *Nana nu'-apa-sik*              *ima di'ser-**pidek**-tu-llina'*
     that  be.so-cont-ptcp.ds.3sg  hsy  burn-house-vm-nfi.3sg>3sg
   'While that (the carnival celebration) was taking place, they set the house
   on fire.'

Once the celebration concludes, Arakayu and his wife return home only to find that their house has been burned down. Arakayu becomes extremely angry and, furious with rage, screams the following.

(11) "¿Kenmama'a'cha u'pidekta'mama'u'kusu' kua musu' nu'tapallenma'?"
   *kenmama' a'cha      u'-**pidek**-t-a'mama'u'kusu'      kua musu'*
     2pl          emph.int  do.so-house-vm-nmlz.2pl>1sg  1sg  good
   *nu'-t-apa-llenma'*
   be.like-vm-cont-nfi.1sg>2spl
   '"Who the hell are you to do this to my house (lit. doing this to me with
   regard to my house), even though I treated you well?!' (Valenzuela 2012:
   125)

In (11), the incorporation of *pidek* coincides with another instance of direct speech and, more importantly, begins the denouement of the story. Feeling very disappointed and upset, Arakayu decides to leave Pampayacu, as anticipated by the wicked men. However, he takes all the best fish and other river animals with him and makes the lakes dry up. In this way, Shiwilu oral tradition accounts for the relative scarcity of fish and the lack of highly valued river species in their territory. In closing the story, Shiwilu elders recall the events that led to Arakayu's departure with deep sorrow and console each other.

(12) a. "¿Ma'kin nu'tullinerkenmu'wa' chi?" tullina' taserpiku'lusa'.
　　　*ma'kin nu'-tu-llinerkenmu'wa'　　chi　　　　tu-llina'*
　　　 why　be.like-vm-nfi.3pl>1pl.i　surp.masc　say-nfi.3pl
　　　*taserpi=ku'=lusa'*
　　　old.man= decsd=pl
　　　'"Why did they (wicked men) do this to us?" the late old men said saddened.'

　　b. Tanna' nerpi'pu', kumarinenna'lek inpilli'iteklatanna', inmusha'itekla-tanna', wellekllina'.
　　　*t-anna'　　　　nerpi'pu'　kumari=nenna'=lek*
　　　say-ptcp.ss.3pl sometimes *comadre*8=poss.3pl=com
　　　*in-pilli'-**itekla**-t-anna'　　　　in-musha'-**itekla**-t-anna'*
　　　rec-grab-hand-vm-ptcp.ss.3pl　　rec-kiss-hand-vm-ptcp.ss.3pl
　　　*wellek-llina'*
　　　cry-nfi.3pl
　　　'Saying this, sometimes, with their *comadres* they would hold hands, kiss each other on the hands, and cry.' (Valenzuela 2012: 132)

In (12b) *itekla* 'hand' appears incorporated twice. Suffixation of *-tu* makes the inherently intransitive *pilli'-* become transitive (a patient object is added) and the inherently transitive *musha'-* become ditransitive (a locative object is added). Next, prefixation of the reciprocal *in-* takes place. Hence the translations 'hold hands' and 'kiss each other on the hand'. These actions, along with a somewhat formulaic dialogue, are part of the Shiwilu traditional greeting. The text portion above shows that they are also performe  other contexts.

　The fourth and last type of incorporation contemplated in Mithun (1984) involves classifier nouns. While this exact construction is not available in Shiwilu, the incorporation of classifiers is common.

---

8　In this usage, the Spanish loan *comadre* translates as 'fellow Shiwilu women'.

## 4 Incorporation of Classifiers

Noun categorization devices have been given a significant amount of attention in Amazonian linguistics (a recent volume on the topic is Aikhenvald and Mihas 2019). Several languages of the region possess classifiers that appear in various morphosyntactic loci, including the verb (Aikhenvald 2000: 149–171, 204–240, 2012: 292–298).

### 4.1 *Classifiers in Swihilu*

Shiwilu has a system of over twenty classifiers that combine with nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers, interrogative words, and personal pronouns. Furthermore, Shiwilu classifiers may incorporate in the verb. But despite their ability to adhere to various syntactic hosts, Shiwilu classifiers are not grammatically mandatory in any of these contexts.

The semantic organization of Shiwilu classifiers is represented in Table 24.3. <sub>adjusted</sub> First, a distinction is made between animate and inanimate classifiers. Animate classifiers divide into female and male biological gender.9 Inanimate classifiers are structured according to salient dimensionality, constitution, function, and arrangement. Not all nouns fall under the scope of a classifier, and there is no default classifier (Valenzuela 2016b, 2019a).

Most inanimate classifiers appear to be phonologically reduced versions of free-standing nouns and/or are formally identical to the inalienable, monosyllabic nouns alluded to in §3.1.

### 4.2 *Classifier Incorporation*

Like noun incorporation, classifier incorporation is used to create new vocabulary or manage the presentation of information in discourse (Mithun 1994: 5025). The verbs offered below diachronically involve classifier incorporation; synchronically, alternative predicates without the classifier are non-existent. The lexicalizations in (13d)–(13e) contain the classifier *-dan*, which applies to manioc, the main crop of the Shiwilu people.

---

9  These classifiers exclusively apply to animates, whereas *-lanser* [cl.skeleton] also applies
   to inanimates.

table 24.3 Shiwilu classifier system (from Valenzuela 2019a)

| Parameter | | | | Classifier | Category (gloss in parenthesis) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a n i m a c y | a n i m a t e | s e x | female | **-lun** | female (**fem**)<br>*Shiwilu**lun*** 'Shiwilu woman' |
| | | | male | **-pen** | male (**male**)<br>*Shiwilu**pen*** 'Shiwilu man' |
| | i n a n i m a t e | d i m e n s i o n a l i t y | one-dimensional (long) | **-na(n)** | long, rigid, wooden (**trunk**)<br>*pentu**nan*** 'log used as a bridge' |
| | | | | **-la** | long, not large, non-wooden (**bone**)<br>*pinte**lla*** 'cigarette' |
| | | | | **-llin** | long, thin, flexible (**vine**)<br>*du**llin*** 'intestine' |
| | | | two-dimensional (flat) | **-mek** | flat, thin, extended (**leaf**)<br>*ker'**mek*** 'manioc leaf' |
| | | | | **-tek** | flat, used to cover or wrap (**skin**)<br>*ket**chek*** 'manioc peel' |
| | | | three-dimensional (round, tubular) | **-la** | round, small (**seed**)<br>*wisek**la*** 'Amazon grape' |
| | | | | **-pi** | round, not small (**fruit**)<br>*lawa'**pi*** 'jungle cacao fruit' |
| | | | | **-si** | tubular (**cane**)<br>*illapa**si*** 'shotgun barrel' |
| | | | | **-pi** | body, bulky entire object (**body**)<br>*wa'na**pi*** 'metal object (car, airplane, radio)' |
| | | | | **-du'** | bulky w/bumpy surface (**corncob**)<br>*kala**du'*** 'three corncobs, ice-cream bean fruits, war grenades' |
| | | | | **-u'pi** | oval, bulky object like the bract of a banana tree (with an overhanging open petal) (**bract**) |

table 24.3  Shiwilu classifier system (*cont.*)

| Parameter | | | Classifier | Category (gloss in parenthesis) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Constitution | **-dek** | liquid **(liquid)**<br>*chiter'**dek*** 'corn drink' |
| | | | **-lu'** | powdery, pasty, land **(soil)**<br>*kaset**llu'*** 'sugar' |
| | | | **-lu'** | meat, flesh **(meat)**<br>*dekkana**lu'*** 'paca meat' |
| | | function | **-dan** | elongated, thick tuber **(manioc)**<br>*utek**dan**tu-* 'harvest manioc' |
| | | | **-dun** | clothing **(clothes)**<br>*pi'pi'**yun**-* 'sew clothes' |
| | | dimensionality and constitution | **-lek** | long, made of flesh **(penis)**<br>*kala**lek*** 'three snakes, three eels' |
| | | | **-lanser** | skinny animal or person; branches of a dead tree **(skeleton)**<br>*widuna**lanser*** 'old broom (made from a leafless bush)' |
| | | arrangement | **-luwa** | elongated, wrapped in leaf, pressed, and tied w/vine fiber **(shicana**10)<br>*chin**luwa*** 'dish made of salted small fish wrapped in leaf, pressed, tied w/vine fiber, and cooked in the fire' |

(13)       a. ka**lu'**- (tr.) [-lu' cl.meat]      'cook meat in broth or soup'
      b. aka'**lu'**- (intr.)    [-lu' cl.soil]      'mix clay with *apacharama*'11
      c. dinpa**nan**- (intr.)  [-nan cl.tree.trunk]    'for a tree to fall (due to the wind)'
      d. utek**dan**-tu- (intr.)  [-dan cl.manioc]  'harvest manioc'
      e. pau**dan**-tu- (tr.)    [-dan cl.manioc]  'replant (a manioc garden)'

---

10   *Shicana* is the Spanish term for the Shiwilu dish *chinluwa*. The classifier *-luwa* applies to objects arranged in a similar fashion.
11   Tree bark that is burned, ground, and mixed with clay to make durable pottery.

In contrast, the following compounded verbs are analyzable; i.e., the stems can function as verbs without the classifier.

(14)  a. mu-**pen-**        ['be good'-cl.male]            'be handsome (a man)'
      b. ñi-**la**-tu-       ['exist'-cl.seed-vm]          'bear a small fruit'
      c. peksa'-**dun-**     ['wash'-cl.clothes]           'wash clothes'
      d. pipek-**lu'**-      ['carry.on.the.back'-         'carry meat on the back'
                             cl.meat]
      e. pankuer-**llin**-tu-  ['roll up'-cl.vine-vm]       'make a skein'
      f. ma-**dek**-tu-      ['catch'-cl.liquid-vm]        'collect manioc/corn beer'

A small set of compounded verbs consist of an intransitive or transitive stem, the incorporated classifier *-dek* (cl.liquid), and the locative applicative *-tu*.

(15)  a. chimi[n]-**dek**-tu-  ['die'-cl.liquid-**l**oc.app**l**]       'drown'
      b. ekkuan-**dek**-tu-   ['spear'-cl.liquid-**l**oc.app**l**]     'fish with arrow'
      c. a'-dan-**dek**-tu-   [caus-'enter'-cl.liquid-              'fish with basket'
                             **l**oc.app**l**]

In (15), the incorporated classifier is syntactically an object but semantically a location. Literally, these verbs translate as 'do x in the water/river.' However, they have undergone lexicalization and constitute the only way to convey the corresponding events.

Analogous complex verbs involving classifier incorporation and locative applicativization are present in the following extract, which brings us back to the story of Arakayu. After cursing the Shiwilu for having burned his house, Arakayu prepares to leave Pampayacu taking the most valued fish species with him. He jumps into the river with his wife, stands in the water, and, submerging himself, disappears laughing. The motivation for incorporating *-dek* might be that the location is evident from the context. But, crucially, these actions represent the resolution of the story.

(16)  a. Sekkankatan indi'dektulli sadinlek.
         *sekkankat-an*        *in-di'-**dek**-tu-lli*
         jump-ptcp.ss.3sg      ref-throw-cl.liquid-**l**oc.app**l**-nfi.3sg
         *sadin=lek*
         his.wife=com
         'Jumping up, he threw himself into the water with his wife.'

b. Wanersu' anudektullina'.
   *Waner-su'    anu-**dek**-tu-llina'*
   stand-nmlz  fall-cl.liquid-loc.appl-nfi.3pl
   'They fell into the water, standing.'

c. Yamer'apila'su'pi'la dankumer'apilalli.
   *yamer'-ap-il-a'su'=pi'la              dankumer'-ap-ila-lli*
   laugh-cont-prog-nmlz.3sg=same  submerge-cont-prog-nfi.3sg
   'As he was submerging himself in the water he laughed.'

d. Tuna'sik welli.
   *tuna'-sik                    wer-lli*
   become.silent-ptcp.ds.3sg   get.lost-nfi.3sg
   'Then it became silent and he disappeared.' (Valenzuela 2012: 126)

Let us close this section by examining (17), which contains two reflexive-marked verbs and incorporation of the classifier *-pi* (cl.body). The context is as follows. The Shiwilu organize a communal fishing excursion and two little brothers try to join it. However, since the children have the pox, they are rejected and sent away by the adults. As the boys walk away in tears, they come upon a man who asks them why they are crying. Learning about the incident, the man directs the children towards a stream with crystal-clear water and instructs them to drink from it, and then wash and rub their bodies with it.

(17) a. Nana iteklashapenma'lek inshen'anma' ukku'.
       *Nana itekla=sha=penma'=lek       inshen-anma'      uk-ku'*
       that   hand=dim=poss.2pl=instr  scoop-ptcp.ss.2pl  drink-imp.pl
       'Scoop up this water with your little hands and drink it.'

    b. Nu'anma' nanalek'i'la inpamu'piku', inpanka'piku'
       *nu'anma'  nana=lek=i'la      in-pamu'-**pi**-ku'*
       then.2pl   that=instr=same   ref-wash-cl.body-imp.pl
       *in-panka'-**pi**-ku'*
       ref-rub-cl.body-imp.pl
       'With the same (water) wash and rub your bodies.'

c. "Nanek iñer asu' sa'la' apu'tetchun" itudekllima.
*nanek iñer asu' sa'la' apu'-t-etchun"* ■non-matching quotation mark
there all this pox put.away-vm-fut.3sg
*itu-dek-lli=ima*
tell-3p**l**.o-nfi.3sg>3sg=hsy
'"Then the pox will go away completely", he told them.' (Valenzuela 2012: 111)

Interestingly, incorporated classifiers may be accompanied by derivational morphemes. This is shown in the next two sections.


## 5       Incorporation of the Deceased Marker *=ku'*

Kawapanan languages (and various genetically unrelated Amazonian languages (Valenzuela 2019b)) have a grammatical marker indicating that the animate entity to which it applies has ceased to exist at the time of utterance or at another point in time established in the discourse. In Shiwilu and Shawi this deceased marker is *=ku'* (Valenzuela 2011b). Especially when referring to a dead human, the addition of *=ku'* is fairly consistent in spontaneous speech and elicitation. Consider the following text portion, where the speaker blames herself for the imminent loss of Shiwilu traditional culture.

(18) a. Kui'na usha'wanek wilaweklusa' a'lek'inpu'dek'amu
   *kua=i'na  usha'-wan-lek        wila=wek=lusa'*
   1sg=**f**oc guilt-have-nfi.1sg child=poss.1sg=p**l**
   *a'-lek-inpu'-dek-amu*
   caus-ask-neg-3p**l**.o-p**t**cp.ss.1sg
   'It's me who is to blame for not teaching my children'

   b. iñer ñinchita'kudeksu' napi'ku'lusa'ki,
   *iñer ñinchi-t-a'kudeksu'      napi'=**ku'**=lusa'=ki*
   all   know-vm-nm**l**z.1p**l**.e long.ago=de**c**sd=p**l**=ob**l**
   'everything we know of the elders who have already passed,'

   c. kaikku'lusa'ki,
   *kaik=**ku'**=lusa'=ki*
   woman's.sister=decsd=pl=obl
   'of the women already dead,'

d. inetchaku'lusa'ki
   *inetcha=**ku'**=lusa'=ki*
   paternal.aunt=decsd=pl=obl
   'of the late (paternal) aunts.'

e. Taker'apilallina' iñer.
   *taker-ap-ila-llina'          iñer*
   die.out-cont-prog-nfi.3pl     all
   'Everyone is dying off.' (Valenzuela 2012: 83)

The deceased marker may also apply to animals and even some plants: *kusher=ku'* 'the pig now dead', *lalansha'=ku'* 'the orange tree now dead'.

It must be clarified that *=ku'* is not a nominal tense marker, comparable to those found in several languages spoken in Amazonia and elsewhere (Aikhenvald 2003: 183–188, (2012: 158–163; Mihas 2014; Rodrigues and Cabral 2012: 521; Campbell 2012: 285–288; Nordlinger and Sadler 2004; among others). This morpheme does not provide any temporal (aspectual/modal/evidential) information, is not productive across different types of nouns or other np constituents, and is not in a paradigmatic relationship with morphemes coding temporal values. Therefore, *=ku'* cannot be used in expressions like 'my ex-husband', 'my husband who is not present at the moment', 'a dog that was mine but is not anymore', 'a former canoe that is now destroyed, lost or stolen', etc.

At first sight, the deceased marker resembles the classifiers *-lun* (cl.fem) and *-pen* (cl.male):[12] it is a monosyllabic bound root that specifies a property of animate entities, it occurs in multiple morphosyntactic environments, and can incorporate in the verb. Consider (19), where *=ku'* combines with various types of hosts.

(19) a. ami=ku'=lusa'      'late grandmother/old woman'
     b. Antuñu=ku'         'the late Antonio'
     c. asu'=ku' / nana=ku' 'this / that dead entity'
     d. ínkatu'=ku'=lusa'  'four dead entities'
     e. dudinpu'=ku'=lusa' 'different types of dead entities'
     f. aperku'tek=ku'     'the stingy one (now dead)'
     g. enpu'du=ku'=lusa'  'how many dead entities?'

---

12   Chipewyan (Athabaskan) has a classifier that applies to dead beings (Aikhenvald 2000: 298).

Nonetheless, the deceased marker and classifiers differ in important respects. Crucially, they occupy different positions in the np, as shown below.

(20) Ñiñi'walunshawekku' malek enpu'nipa' welleklek.
    *ñiñi'wa-**lun**-sha=wek=**ku'***          *malek*     *enpu'nipa' wellek-lek*
    dog-cl.fem-dim=poss.1sg=decsd   because.of   much      cry-nfi.1sg
    'I cried a lot for my little female dog (now dead).' (Valenzuela et al. 2013: =*ku'*)

Furthermore, only the classifiers can serve an agreement function or be exploited to track participants in discourse (Valenzuela 2016b). =*ku'* may also attach to proper names ((19b)), whereas classifiers cannot.13

The deceased marker may be added to different types of verbs: inactive intransitive (21a–b), active intransitive (21c–f), and transitive (21g–h).

(21) a. uka-ku'-lli      ['have.fever'-decsd-      'he/she (now dead) had
                          nfi.3sg]                  feve
     b. susu'-ku'lli    ['grow.up'-decsd-nfi.3sg]   'he/she (now dead) grew up'
     c. wellek-ku'-lli ['cry'-decsd-nfi.3sg]          'he/she (now dead) cried'
     d. tu-ku'-lli      ['say'-decsd-nfi.3sg]          'he/she (now dead) said'
     e. tekka'-ku'-lli ['run'-decsd-nfi.3sg]          'he/she (now dead) ran'
     f. di'-ku'-lli      ['kill'-decsd-nfi.3sg]          'he/she (now dead) killed'
     g. ka'-ku'-lli      ['eat'-decsd-nfi.3sg>3sg] 'he/she (now dead) ate'
     h. lli'-ku'-lek     ['see'-decsd-nfi.1sg>3sg] 'I saw him/her (now dead)'

The next verb forms contain an animate classifier alongside the deceased marker.

(22) a. *uka-**pen-ku'**-lli*
       have.fever-cl.male-decsd-nfi.3sg
       'the late man had fever'

     b. *di'-**lun-ku'**-lli*
       kill-cl.fem-decsd-nfi.3sg
       'the late woman killed (someone)'

---

13     Though very rare, a language may incorporate proper names (Johns 2017: 18).

In sum, a Shiwilu verb may carry the deceased marker either by itself or in combination with a coreferential animate classifier.


## 6       Nominal Incorporation and Syntactic Relations

There is a very robust crosslinguistic tendency for incorporated nouns and classifiers to encode non-agentive participants serving as clausal objects or inactive intransitive subjects; additionally, they may correspond to obliques like locative or instrumental. Conversely, it is exceptional for incorporated items to refer to active intransitive subjects or transitive subjects (Mithun 1984: 865; Gerdts 1998: 87; Aikhenvald 2000: 162, 2012: 196, 2017: 378; among others). Notably, this syntactic restriction does not apply to Shiwilu classifier incorporation constructions (Valenzuela 2016b, 2019a).

In (23)–(24) below, inanimate and animate classifiers act as the subjects of active intransitive verbs. The root *di'-* in (24) is intransitive; i.e., the clause cannot have an overt object. The transitive version is *di'-tu-* (see (27)).

(23)  Tekka'deklli La'pir'.
      *tekka'-**dek**-lli*           *La'pir'*
      run-cl.liquid-nfi.3sg     Rumiyacu.river
      'The Rumiyacu river has a torrential flow (Lit. 'runs').' (Valenzuela 2019a: 137)

(24)  Di'penñi.
      *di'-**pen**-lli*
      kill-cl.male-nfi.3sg
      'The man has killed (someone).'

When a single classifier incorporates into a transitive stem, its interpretation as either O or A depends on different factors such as verb semantics, animacy, linguistic and non-linguistic contexts, and speech-act participants' knowledge of the world (Valenzuela 2016b: 368). The next causative expression contains the base *chinku'-* 'cough'. Since the causee must be animate, the incorporated classifier, being inanimate, can only be read as the causer and syntactic A.

(25)  A'-chinku'lu'palli.
      *a'-chinku'-**lu'**-pa-lli.*
      caus-cough-cl.soil-cont-nfi.3sg>3sg
      'The dust is making him/her cough.' (Valenzuela 2019a: 138)

The expression in (26) is potentially ambiguous since -*mek* may be interpreted as either A or O.

(26) Sekwa'meklli.
 *sekwa'-**mek**=lli*
 scratch-cl.leaf-nfi.3sg>3sg
 'She/he scratched the leaf.' / 'She/he was scratched by the leaf.' (e.g., the leaf has tiny thorns) (Valenzuela 2019a: 138)

Example (27) contains the transitive verb *di'-tu-* 'kill'. Interestingly, the incorporated animate classifier is necessarily interpreted as realizing the A function.

(27) Di'luntullen.
 *di'-**lun**-tu-llen*
 kill-cl.fem-vm-nfi.1sg>2sg
 'I (woman) killed you' (talking to a deceased person). / *'I killed you (woman).' (Valenzuela 2019a: 137)

The data in (28) belongs to a narrative from the late 1950s, about a boy who kills a black jaguar. The spear (*rejón* in Spanish) functions as clausal A and the incorporated classifier (-*nan* cl.trunk) is selected in semantic agreement with it.

(28)       Da'suketñantapilalli  rejón.
  *da'-suker'-**nan**-tu-apa-ila-lli*                    *rejón*
  entering-pierce-cl.trunk-vm-cont-out-nfi.3sg>3sg     spear
  'The spear pierced (the black jaguar's throat) and penetrated it completely.' (Bendor-Samuel 1981[1958]: 155, in Valenzuela 2019a: 139)

It is possible for two different classifiers to incorporate in a single transitive verb,14 as illustrated by (29). *Tekkua-* 'be afraid' becomes transitive after taking -*tu*. This suffix is preceded by the classifier representing the O and followed by the one representing the A. (The object np contains a second instance of -*tek* (cl.skin), this time serving a derivational function: *ishek* 'bat' > *ishek-tek* 'vampire'.)

---

14  These data, though elicited, were carefully confirmed by different native speakers and by the same speakers on separate occasions. Nevertheless, not all speakers find expressions with two incorporated classifiers grammatical (Valenzuela 2016a: 335).

(29) Tekkuatektuluñina' ishektek asu' wilalunlusa'.
*tekkua-**tek**-tu-**lun**-llina'*                                   *ishek-tek*        *asu'*
fear-cl.skin-vm-cl.fem-nfi.3p**l**>3sg   bat-cl.skin   this
*wila-lun=lusa'*
child-c**l**.**f**em=p**l**
'These young girls fear vampires.' (Valenzuela 2019a: 140)

Similarly, in (30) below the intransitive *di'ser*'- 'burn' increases its valency after the suffixation of *-tu*. However, this time the incorporated items are a noun and a classifier. The noun corresponds to the O and precedes *-tu;* the classifier corresponds to the A and occurs after *-tu*. The diminutive suffix accompanying the classifier adds a mocking overtone to the expression.

(30) Di'setpidektupenchañina'.
*di'ser'-**pidek**-tu-**pen**-sha-llina'*
burn-house-vm-cl.male-dim-nfi.3p**l**>3sg
 'The little men burned the house.' (with mocking overtone)
(Valenzuela 2019a: 140)

In (31), *-tu* functions as locative applicative. The classifier *-mek* (cl.leaf) metonymically refers to the jungle and serves as O. The male classifier alongside the deceased marker refer to the A. Unexpectedly, both classifiers precede *-tu*.

(31) Tekka'mekpenku'tulli.
*tekka'-mek-**pen-ku'**-tu-lli*
run-cl.leaf-cl.male-decsd-**l**oc.app**l**-nfi.3sg>3sg
'The late man ran in the jungle.'

Unlike classifiers and the deceased marker, incorporated nouns serving as syntactic A have not (so far) been attested.


## 7       Conclusions and Final Remarks

Noun incorporation has been attested in numerous Amazonian languages belonging to distinct genetic assemblages including Arawak, Carib, Tupían, Yanomami, Bora, and Takanan (Aikhenvald 2012, 2017). The present study puts Kawapanan on the map of Amazonian languages displaying this interesting feature and expands our knowledge of how incorporation is realized in language. These findings also contribute to a better characterization of the lan-

guages from the Andes-Amazonia transitional zone, where noun incorporation seems uncommon. In fact, in a chapter on polysynthetic languages of Lowland Amazonia Aikhenvald (2017: 297) reports that Jivaroan and Urarina, the two languages in her survey that are geographically closest to Kawapanan, lack productive incorporation of any sort. As mentioned in § 1, incorporation is absent in the neighboring Quechuan languages.

Aikhenvald (2012: 194–197) notes that most Amazonian languages only incorporate inalienably possessed nouns, which most often correspond to body parts. Furthermore, the incorporated noun precedes the verb root, even in dominantly suffixing languages. Shiwilu deviates from these generalizations. First, verbs can host nouns that do not convey a body part, such as house, clothes, money, canoe, name, language, and village. One may be argue, nonetheless, that these items semantically imply some type of 'owner'. Secondly, incorporated nouns immediately follow the verb stem, preceding valency-affecting suffixes. Therefore, in compounded verbs the modifier (the noun) follows its head (the verb), while the opposite order is predominant in compounded nouns. All incorporated nouns in the data have inanimate referents; this agrees with the observation that nouns lower in animacy incorporate more easily due to the less central role they play in discourse. Incorporated nouns are almost always realized in full form, even when derived or compounded. The host verb can be transitive or inactive intransitive and the incorporated noun represents the O, S, or a sort of oblique. Noun incorporation does not diminish the clause valency.

Noun and classifier incorporation serve two main purposes: forming new vocabulary for nameworthy concepts and providing speakers with alternative expressions to help regulate the information in discourse (Mithun 1984, 1986, 1994). A function more specific to Shiwilu might be adding agility and excitement to a narrative, since this grammatical strategy coincides with the points of highest tension and drama.

Of special typological interest is the fact that incorporated classifiers, inanimate and animate, can function as clausal O, S (inactive or active), and even A; this characteristic is very rarely attested in the world's languages. Additionally, a transitive verb may host two classifiers, or a noun and a classifier; the O necessarily precedes the A.

Finally, it was shown that the morpheme =*ku'*, indicating that the entity to which it applies has ceased to exist, also incorporates in the verb, either by itself or alongside a coreferential animate classifier. Like classifiers, =*ku'* assumes different syntactic functions when joining the verb, including active intransitive subject and transitive subject.

## Acknowledgements

## References

Adelaar W.F.H. with Pieter C. Muysken (2004). *The languages of the Andes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2000). *Classifiers: ATypology of Noun Categorization Devices.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2003). *A Grammar of Tariana, from Northwest Amazonia*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2007). Typological dimensions in word formation. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol. iii: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon*, 1–65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2012). *The languages of the Amazon.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2017). Polysynthetic structures of Lowland Amazonia. In Michael Fortescue, Marianne Mithun and Nicholas Evans (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Polysynthesis*, 284–311. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. and Elena Mihas (eds.) (2019). *Genders and classifiers, a cross-linguistic typology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bendor-Samuel, John T. (1981[1958]). *The structure and function of the verbal piece in the Jebero language*. Lima: Ministerio de Educación and ilv.

Bendor-Samuel, John T. (n.d.). Fieldnotes. Ms.

Campbell, Lyle (2012). Typological characteristics of South American indigenous languages. In Lyle Campbell and Verónica Grondona (eds.), *The Indigenous languages of South America, A comprehensive guide*, 285–288. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

De Reuse, Willem (1994). Noun incorporation. In R. Asher (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, Vol. 5, 2842–2847. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Dixon, R.M.W. and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (1999). Introduction. In R.M.W. Dixon and

Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (eds.), *The Amazonian Languages*, 1–21. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dryer, Matthew S. (2007). Word order. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol. 1: Clause Structure*, 61–131. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gerdts, Donna B. (1998). Incorporation. In Andrew Spencer and Arnold Zwicky (eds.), *The Handbook of Morphology*, 84–100. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.

Gerds, Donna B. and Stephen Marlett (2008). Introduction: The Form and Function of Denominal Verb Constructions. Special Issue on Denominal Verbs in Languages of the Americas. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 74 (4): 409–422.

Hart, Helen (1988). *Diccionario chayahuita-castellano (Canponanquë nisha nisha non-acaso')*. Yarinacocha: Ministerio de Educación and Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Johns, Alana (2017). Noun incorporation. In Martin Everaert and Henk C. Riemsdijk (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax, Second Edition*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118358733.wbsyncom093

Mihas, Elena (2014). Nominal and verbal temporal morphology in Ashéninka Perené (Arawak). *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 45 (1): 1–30. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/037404 63.2014.883724

Mithun, Marianne (1984). The evolution of noun incorporation. *Language* 60 (4): 847–895.

Mithun, Marianne (1986). On the nature of noun incorporation. *Language* 62 (1): 32–38.

Mithun, Marianne (1994). Word-formation: Incorporation. In R.E. Asher (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, Vol. 9, 5024–5026. Oxford: Pergamon.

Mithun, Marianne (2009). Polysynthesis in the Arctic. In Marc-Antoine Mahieu and Nicole Tersis (eds.), *Variations on Polysynthesis: The Eskimo-Aleut Languages*, 3–17. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Nordlinger, Rachel and Louisa Sadler (2004). Nominal tense marking in crosslinguistic perspective. *Language* 80 (4): 776–806.

Rivet, Pierre and Constant Tastevin (1931). Nouvelle contribution à l' étude du groupe Kahuapana. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 6: 227–271.

Rodrigues, Aryon Dall'Igna and Ana Suelly Arruda Câmara Cabral (2012). Tupían. In Lyle Campbell and Verónica Grondona (eds.), *The Indigenous languages of South America, A comprehensive guide*, 495–574. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Valenzuela, Pilar (2010). Ethnic-racial reclassification and language revitalization among the Shiwilu from Peruvian Amazonia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 202: 117–130.

Valenzuela, Pilar (2011a). Argument Encoding and Pragmatic Marking of the Transitive Subject in Shiwilu (Kawapanan). *International Journal of American Linguistics* 77: 91–120.

Valenzuela, Pilar (2011b). Contribuciones para la reconstrucción del proto-cahuapana:

Comparación léxica y gramatical de las lenguas jebero y chayahuita. In W.F.H. Adelaar, P. Valenzuela and R. Zariquiey (eds.), *Estudios en lenguas andinas yamazónicas. Homenaje a Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino*, 271–304. Lima: pucp.

Valenzuela, Pilar (2012). *Voces Shiwilu: 400 Años de Resistencia Lingüística en Jeberos.* Lima: Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Valenzuela, Pilar (2015). ¿Qué tan "amazónicas" son las lenguas kawapana? Rasgos centro-andinos y evidencia para una posible sub-área lingüística. *Lexis* 39 (1): 5–56.

Valenzuela, Pilar (2016a). "Simple" and "Double" Applicatives in Shiwilu (Kawapanan). *Studies in Language* 40 (3): 513–550.

Valenzuela, Pilar (2016b). Classifiers in Shiwilu (Kawapanan) in Northwestern Amazonian Perspective. *Anthropological Linguistics* 58 (4): 333–380.

Valenzuela, Pilar (2018). Difusión de rasgos andinos y elementos para una sub-área lingüística intermedia Andes-Amazonia en el norte del Perú. In Alejandra Regúnaga, Silvia Spinelli and María Emilia Orden (eds.), *iv Encuentro Internacional de Lenguas Indígenas Americanas. Libro de Actas*, 657–684. Santa Rosa, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de la Pampa.

Valenzuela, Pilar (2019a). Classifiers in Shiwilu (Kawapanan): Exploring Typologically Salient Properties. Alexandra Aikhenvald and Elena Mihas (eds.), *Genders and classifiers, a cross-linguistic typology*, 67–102. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Valenzuela, Pilar (2019b). Towards an Andes-Amazonia linguistic sub-area in the Marañón and Huallaga river basins. 22nd Workshop on American Languages, University of California Santa Barbara, May 10–11, 2019.

Valenzuela, Pilar, Meneleo Careajano, Emérita Guerra, Julia Inuma and Fernando Lachuma (2013). *Kirka' Llawer'lla'la' Ñak: Diccionario Shiwilu-Castellano y Castellano-Shiwilu*. Lima: Federación de Comunidades Nativas de Jeberos.