

## CASHINAHUA PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

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### 1. The group

The Cashinahua language belongs to the Panoan family, composed of nearly thirty languages spoken in the Amazonia Lowlands, on both sides of the Bolivian, Brazilian and Peruvian borders. Cashinahua is spoken by about 5.400 people (Ricardo 2001: 12) who live along the Brazilian-Peruvian border.

The Cashinahua refer to themselves as *huni kuin*<sup>1</sup> 'kuin man', translated as 'real man' (Kensinger 1994), and the name of their language is *hanca kuin* 'kuin language'. The term *kuin* refers to part of the Cashinahua socio-cultural system of classification (Deshayes & Keifenheim 1994, Erikson 1996, Lagrou 1998). Within the Cashinahua territory, they speak their language exclusively. Although they learn to read and write in their mother tongue, their whole school education is done in Portuguese, for those who live in Brazil, and in Spanish, for those who live in Peru.

### 2. The language

Cashinahua is an agglutinative language that uses almost exclusively suffixes and has no prefixes. The word order is verb-final and the basic sequence is SOV. In this language, the different classes of noun phrase have different morphological systems when they appear as S, A, or P of a clause. Thus, nouns ('man' *huni-n* A, *huni-ø* S/P) have an ergative-absolutive case marking system (1), pronouns (1st and 2nd person singular, and all non singular persons: 'we' *nu-n* A/S, *nuku-ø* P) have a nominative case marking system (2), and finally the 3rd person singular presents a neutral case system with only one form for all three functions (*ha* or *ø* as S/A/P) (3). This split ergativity system is shown in the table below:

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<sup>1</sup> This language has eighteen phonemes: (a) four vowels: /a/, /i/, /ə/ (noted "ɨ" in the examples), /u/, and (b) fourteen consonants: /p/, /t/, /c/ (regarded as an affricate /tʃ/), /k/, /b/, /d/, /ɟ/ (occlusive palatal sound), /s/, /ʃ/ (a voiceless fricative retroflex), /h/, /ts/, /m/, /n/, /w/. The data in this study are transcribed in accordance with the Cashinahua phonological system. It is worthy to note that <n> in coda position represents nasalization of the preceding vowel: <kaman> = [kamẽ] 'dog'.

System		Univalent verbs	Bivalent verbs	
			A- $\{a/i\}n^2$	P <sup>3</sup> - $\emptyset$
ergative-absolutive	nouns	S- $\emptyset$	A- $\{a/i\}n^2$	P <sup>3</sup> - $\emptyset$
nominative-accusative	pronouns SG (1st, 2nd) PL (1st, 2nd, 3rd)	S- $n$	A- $n$	P-a (SG) P- $\emptyset$ (PL)
neutral system	pronoun SG (3rd)	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$

Table 1: The split ergative system

- (1) a kaman -an bakɨ-  $\emptyset$  kɨju -mis -ki  
 dog -A child -P bite -HAB -ASS  
 ‘I assert that the dog bites the child.’
- b kaman  $\emptyset$  uʃa -mis -ki  
 dog -S sleep -HAB -ASS  
 ‘I assert that the dog is always sleeping.’
- (2) a mi -n ɨ -a kɨju -mis -ki  
 2SG -A 1SG -P bite -HAB -ASS  
 ‘I assert that you bite me.’
- b mi -n uʃa -mis -ki  
 2SG -S sleep -HAB -ASS  
 ‘I assert that you are always sleeping.’
- (3) a ( $\emptyset$ ) ( $\emptyset$ ) kɨju -mis -ki  
 (3SG.A) (3SG.P)bite -HAB -ASS  
 ‘I assert that s/he bites her/him.’
- b ( $\emptyset$ ) uʃa -mis -ki  
 (3SG.S)sleep -HAB -ASS  
 ‘I assert that he/she is always sleeping.’

<sup>2</sup> This case marker  $-n$  has two allomorphs  $\{-a/i\}n$  in different environments. These morphophonological changes occur only with nouns. Rule: (a) with final CV syllables,  $-an$  occurs if the final vowel is /u/: *ainbu* ‘woman’ > *ainbu-n* or *ainbu-an*. With the vowel /i/ it is only attested with the word *badi* ‘sun’ > *badi-an*. In all others contexts, the suffix  $-n$  appears; (b) in CVC final syllables, a rule of vowel harmony occurs with /i/: *ɟaiʃ-in* ‘armadillo’. With other vowels  $-an$  occurs: *kaman-an* ‘dog’, *amɨn-an* ‘capivara’ (currently the biggest rodent – *Hydrochoerus hydrochoeris* (L)), *bikun-an* ‘blind’. For a sketch of the split ergative system, see Camargo (2002).

<sup>3</sup> The glosses: S(ubject) of an intransitive, A(gent), and P(atient) of transitive constructions, identify the three semantico-syntactic roles.

This paper is concerned with the personal pronoun system and its irregular morphology. The irregularity depends on the case marking associated with the pronouns. Grammatical relations are indicated by different suffixes: (a) *-n* marks the nominative case on pronouns (and ergative on nouns<sup>4</sup>), and the genitive case (and the locative, and vocative cases<sup>5</sup>) on both nouns and pronouns. It is notable that the accusative and dative case marking show different morphological markers for nouns and singular and plural pronouns. A zero-morpheme, *-∅*, marks the nouns (*huni-∅* 'man' P) and the person plural (*nuku* 'us', *matu* 'you', *hatu* 'them' P), while in modern Cashinahua the 1st and 2nd person singular are marked by *-a*; (b) *-wɨn* marks the the argument of reason and the 3rd person singular in a genitive construction (and the instrumental case when associated with a noun); (c) *-ki* indicates the dative as subject of a state; (d) *-bɨ* (and *-bɨtan*) comitative; (e) *-anu* marks the allative, and (f) *-anua* the ablative case. These different syntactic functions and the representation of their semantic roles and pragmatic status are exemplified by the data collected in Peru during different field trips (1994-1999).

In section 3., a sketch of the personal pronoun morphology and the different case markers is put forward. In section 4. I present some peculiar uses of the 1st and 2nd person singular, and a particular combination between these two persons, in a genitive construction. In section 5. the uses of the 3rd person either of the singular or of the plural are also shown, with special attention to the neutral system. In section 6. a summary of the morphology of the pronouns is presented, and in section 7. the neutral system is shown. In section 8. Dixon's and Payne's analysis of the Cashinahua split system is presented and discussed.

### 3. Personal pronouns

The Cashinahua personal pronoun system is composed of seven forms, including two third-person: *hatu* and *habu*. The *hatu* form refers to a homogenous concept of person. The *habu* form relates to a heterogeneous concept of person, as described in section 5. Table I summarizes these forms, and presents the morphology of Cashinahua pronouns in the three basic semantico-syntactic roles, termed S(ubject of intransitive), A(gent of transitive) and P(atient of transitive).

<sup>4</sup> The suffix *-{a/i}n* marks the ergative:

(i)	<i>huni-n</i>	<i>nami-∅</i>	<i>pi-mis</i>	(ii)	<i>huni-∅</i>	<i>daɟa-mis</i>
	man-A	meat-P	eat-HAB		man-S	work-HAB
	'The man usually eats meat'				'The man usually works'	

<sup>5</sup> The vocative case marking appears on nouns and it is represented by the suffix *-n*. It is used on proper nouns *madia-n* 'hey Maria!' and especially on kinship terms: *huci-n* 'hey oldest brother!', *cai-n* 'hey brother-in-law!'.

		free form		P-a, $\emptyset$ (SG), - $\emptyset$ (PL)	S/A-n
		Intr	Trans		
SG	1.	<i>i</i> -a	<i>i</i> -a-n	<i>i</i> -a	<i>i</i> -n
	2.	mi-a	mi-a-n	mi-a	mi-n
	3.	ha (*ha-a)	ha	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$
PL	1.	nuku- $\emptyset$	nuku-n	nuku- $\emptyset$	nu-n
	2.	matu- $\emptyset$	matu-n	matu- $\emptyset$	ma-n
	3(ho).	hatu- $\emptyset$	hatu-n	hatu- $\emptyset$	(hatu-n) <sup>6</sup>
	3(he).	habu- $\emptyset$	habu-n	habu- $\emptyset$	(habu-n)

Table 2: Personal pronoun morphology as S/A and P

### 3.1. The topic forms

The free pronominal form represents a left-dislocated, stressed participant. It occurs in the initial position of the sentence, cf. (4-7):

- (4) **nuku**, nu -n ka -ai, ikis -dan  
 1PL, 1PL -S go -PROG, today -*dan*<sup>7</sup>  
 ‘We are going today.’ (lit. ‘we, we are going today’)
- (5) **ha** inun **ia**, nu -n ka -ai, bai -anu-dan  
 3SG and 1SG, 1PL -S go -PROG slash and burn-ALL-*dan*  
 ‘He and me, we are going to the plantation.’

In a transitive construction, the ergative marker *-n* is associated with the free form (6b-c), except in the 3rd person singular, is not expressed by overt morphology (7b).

- (6) a **ia** -di, *i* -n ka -ai mi -bi daja -i -dan  
 1SG -also, 1SG -S go -PROG 2SG -SOC work -INF -*dan*  
 ‘Me too, I am going to work with you.’
- b **ia** -n-di, *i* -n bi -ai mabu -dan  
 1SG -A-also, 1SG -A take -PROG stuff -*dan*  
 ‘Me too, I am buying things.’ (lit. ‘me too, I am taking things’)
- c **ia** -n bisti, *i* -n şinan -ai  
 1SG -A only, 1SG -A think -PROG  
 ‘Only I am thinking about him. (lit. ‘only me, I am thinking’)

<sup>6</sup> The parentheses indicate that the use of these forms as S/A is optional.

<sup>7</sup> Morphemes with glosses in italics are still under study.

- (7) a **ha**,  $\emptyset$  **daja** -paki -mis -ki  
 3SG, 3SG.S work -paki -HAB -ASS  
 ‘He works continuously.’ (lit. ‘him, he works continuously’)
- b **ha** (-dan),  $\emptyset$  **atsa** - $\emptyset$  pi -mis -ki  
 3SG (-dan) 3SG.A manioc-P eat -HAB -ASS  
 ‘He eats manioc.’ (lit. ‘him, he eats manioc’)

### 3.2. The nominative subsystem

In the nominative subsystem, which concerns all pronouns (except 3rd person singular), both S (2b, 4-5, 6a, 7a, 8) and A (2a, 6b-c, 7b, 9, 10), semantic roles are marked by the suffix *-n*. Nevertheless, in the accusative case, the P argument (2a, 7b, 9, 10) is not expressed by overt morphology.

- (8) uʃi badi -n **ma** -n hiki -ai  
 moon sun -LOC 2PL -S arrive -PROG  
 ‘You are coming home in the moonlight.’
- (9) **mi** -n nuku - $\emptyset$  bicipai haida -ai  
 2SG -A 1PL -P like much -PROG  
 ‘You like us very much.’
- (10) a i -n **matu** - $\emptyset$  bicipai haida -ai  
 1SG -A 2PL -P like much -PROG  
 ‘I like you very much.’
- b ma -n **hatu** - $\emptyset$  bicipai -ai  
 2PL -A 3PL -P like -PROG  
 ‘You like them.’

In the nominative case, the third person singular does not have to occur overtly, whether it is S (11), A (12a, 13) or DAT (12b):

- (11) ni midan  $\emptyset$  ka -mis -ki  
 jungle inside 3SG.S go -HAB -ASS  
 ‘He always goes in the deep jungle’
- (12) a  $\emptyset$  **atsa** - $\emptyset$  pi -mis -ki  
 3SG.A manioc-P eat -HAB -ASS  
 ‘He eats manioc.’

- b    huni -n     $\emptyset$             baka- $\emptyset$     inan -mis    -ki  
       man -A    3SG.DAT fish -P    give -HAB    -ASS  
       ‘The man is used to give (her/him) fish.’

(13) is extracted from the narrative about the character Basnen Pudu (BP). It tells the story of a woman who used to weave beautifully and quickly. Nobody could understand how she could weave so quickly. When she got some cotton thread, she very quickly wove a hammock. BP’s sister-in-law was wondering where BP kept the thread<sup>8</sup>. This example shows the sequence 3rd person A and 1st person P. In this order, the 3rd person does not appear overtly either:

- (13)    hani     $\emptyset$         **i**    -a    a        -kain    -minkain  
       where 3SG.A 1SG -P    range -MOT -INTER  
       ‘I wonder where she could have put (my cotton)?’

Absence of an overt third person pronoun usually suggests that it is singular. If a plural is meant, then the 3rd-person plural forms have to be used: P (10b, 14), and optative in A (15) and S semantic roles:

- (14)    ikis,    **i**    -n    **hatu**    - $\emptyset$     nuku    - $\text{\textcircled{S}}$     -ki  
       today, 1SG -A 3PL    P    meet -COMPL -ASS  
       ‘I met them today.’

- (15)    **hatu-n**    b $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ti b $\text{\textcircled{S}}$     - $\text{\textcircled{S}}$             -ki     $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ uinaka    -dan,  
       3PL -A    only take -COMPL -ASS game        -dan,  
  
       ha    b $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ti -tu    -n    pi    -iki    -ki  
       3SG.P    only -PL -A    eat -EVID -ASS  
       ‘Only they took game, (it seems that) only they eat it.’

In (15), the 3rd person singular represented by *ha* refers to the game. It is an anaphoric pronoun.

### 3.3. The dative case

Trivalent propositions normally involve an A, a P and a DAT(ive). If the dative represents an argument of ‘reason’ of a state<sup>9</sup>, it is marked by a special suffix: *-ki* (16). However, if the dative is the actual receiver of the patient in a transfer-of-possession predicate, then it is not morphologically marked in the third person (17):

<sup>8</sup> *Basn $\text{\textcircled{S}}$  Pudu*’s sister-in-law is wondering where BP put all the cotton thread she gave her to weave. She looks everywhere and is unable to find it, as BP put the cotton in the space stretching from her womb to her navel. As the sister-in-law mistrust BP’s skill of weaving, BP got ashamed.

<sup>9</sup> Note Givón (1984: 88) about the dative argument of a state: “*that state is most likely to be mental*”.

- (16) a nu -n **mi -ki** datɨ -ai  
 1PL -S 2SG -DAT afraid -PROG  
 'We are afraid of you.'
- b ɨ -n **hatu-ki** bɨnima -mis -ki  
 1SG -S 3PL -DAT happy -HAB -ASS  
 'I am happy with them.'
- c ɨ -n **ha -ki** nama -mis -ki  
 1SG -S 3SG -DAT dream -HAB -ASS  
 'I usually dream of him/her.'

The examples below show that the pronouns marked by Dative (DAT) elements may have a Benefactive (BEN) or Indirect Object (IO) function.

- (17) a ɨ -n **mi -a** baci -ø inan -ai  
 1SG -A 2SG -DAT dress -P give -PROG  
 'I am giving you a dress.'
- b ɨ -n **hatu-ø** baci -ø inan -ai  
 1SG -A 3PL -DAT dress -P give -PROG  
 'I am giving them a dress.'
- c Esperansa -anua, ø ɨ -a baci -ø bɨ- -ai  
 Esperanza -all, 3SG.A 1SG -DAT dress -P bring -PROG  
 'She is bringing me a dress from Esperanza.'

### 3.4. The comitative case

The suffix *-bɨ* marks the case role with the meaning of 'together with':

- (18) a ɨ -n **mi -bɨ** tadi hanca -ai  
 1SG -S 2SG -COM private talk -PROG  
 'I am talking in private with you.'
- b bai -anu mi -n **ha -bɨ** ka -ai  
 slash and burn -ALL 2SG -S 3SG -COM go -PROG  
 'You are going with her to the plantation.'

### 3.5. The genitive case

In a genitive construction, all the personal pronouns are marked by *-n* (19), except the 3rd person singular which is marked by an instrumental morpheme *-wɨn* (20):

- (19) a **i -n** hiwĩ  
1SG -GEN house  
'My house.'
- b **mi -n** hiwĩ  
2SG -GEN house  
'Your house.'
- c **nuku -n** hiwĩ  
1PL -GEN house  
'Our house.'
- d **matu -n** hiwĩ  
2PL -GEN house  
'Your house.'
- e **hatu -n** hiwĩ  
3PL -GEN house  
'Their house.'

Comparing the case-marking morphology of (19a-b) and (2, 6, 9-10a, 14, 16b-c, 17a, 18), note identical personal pronoun forms for 1st and 2nd person singular (*i-n* '1SG', *mi-n* '2SG') in the genitive construction and in S/A semantic roles. The difference between genitive case-marking in singular and plural is that in the plural, number is specific for each person: *-ku* characterizes the 1st person *nu-ku*; *-tu* shows the 2nd person and the 3rd person homogeneous: *ma-tu* and *ha-tu*; and *-bu* marks the 3rd person heterogeneous: *ha-bu*, i.e. a generic plural. Plural pronouns in the genitive case have the same form as those in S/A semantic role. The 3rd person singular is represented by *ha*, and the morpheme *-win* is attached to it:

- (20) a **ha -win** hiwĩ  
3SG -GEN house  
'his/her house.'
- b **ha -win** bakĩ -bu  
3SG -GEN child -PL  
'his/her children.'
- c **ha -win** ibu huni piaja ka -ai -dan  
3SG -GEN genitor man/male hunting go -PROG -dan  
'His father is going hunting.'



### 3.6. The genitive case with the function of 'reason'

As shown above, the suffix *-win* functions as a genitive case marker only in the 3rd person singular. With the others persons, it indicates a reason adjunct 'because (of)':

- (21) mi **-win** tai -a diti -nami -dabi -kan -iki -ki,  
 2SG -GEN begin -STAT hit -REC -DU -PL -EVID<sup>10</sup> -ASS,

tomas inun jakobo -dan

tomas and jakobo -dan

'Tomas and Jacobo, they hit each other because of you.'

(lit. 'having started with you, they hit each other, Tomas and Jacobo')

### 3.7. The allative and ablative cases

The allative case is marked by *-anu*, which, together with pronouns, indicates motion towards 'the place where one lives' (22)<sup>11</sup>. Pronouns with *-anu* can also have a locative meaning referring to the 'inside' of a person (23):

- (22) a mi **-anu** i -n hu -şian -ki  
 2SG -ALL 1SG -S arrive -PAST -ASS  
 'I arrived at your place.'

- b nuku **-anu** ka -şan -ai  
 1PL -ALL go -PROSP -PROG  
 'He is going to our place.'

- (23) i **-anu** juşin pipa, hiwi -a -ki  
 1SG -ALL "soul" good, live -STAT -ASS  
 'In me lives a good soul.'

The suffix *-anua* marks the ablative case which indicates a motion 'from' (25). Example (24) comes from a dialogue, and means literally "no noise is heard from one's place", i.e., "it is very calm at one's place".

- (24) mi **-anua** unan -uma haida -ki  
 2SG -ABL know -PRIV much -ASS  
 'It is very calm where you live.'  
 (lit. 'from your place, there is not much noise')

<sup>10</sup> A preliminary study on evidentials in Cashinahua is presented in Camargo (1996a).

<sup>11</sup> It also occurs with nouns:

- (i) ikis bai-anu mi-n ka-ai  
 today slash and burn-ALL 2sg-S go-PROG  
 'Today, you are going to the plantation.'

- (25) a mi **-anua** † -n hu -di -ai  
 2SG -ABL 1SG -S arrive -quick -PROG  
 ‘I’ve just com from your place.’
- b bai **-anua** † -n hu -ai  
 slash and burn -ABL 1SG -S arrive -PROG  
 ‘I am arriving from the plantation.’

#### 4. Semantic uses of 1st and 2nd person singular

I would now like to turn to some special situations involving 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns. In many cases in dialogues, the pronoun in S/A function can be omitted (26-27). On the other hand, the P pronoun is obligatory. The relation between the narrator and his audience is marked only by the 2nd person P pronoun, like *mia* in the examples below, extracted from the story about *Basnen Pudu*:

- (26) b† -w† şuntış -w† **mi -a** a -şun -dan, ak -a  
 bring -IMPER hull -IMPER 2SG -P make -OR -dan, say -STAT  
 ‘Bring it! Do the hulling! (I’ll) weave it for you, she said.’

Example (27) shows a conventional formula used to start narratives:

- (27) işka -ni -kiaki **mi -a** jui -nun, ninka -w†  
 so -INDF.PAST -PAST.EVID 2SG -P tell -nun listen -IMPER  
 ‘(lit.) That was so, (I) tell you, listen!’

As mentioned above, the basic order of the constituents is SOV, and the sequence *†-n mi-a* (I you) can usually be treated as transitive. However, in some cases, this sequence has a different meaning. It refers to a possessive construction as shown in (28) by the sequence *†-n mi-a* ‘I you’, which in this case means ‘my possessed element/hammock made by you’. Extracted from the “BP” narrative, this sentence describes how the hammocks, woven by Basnen Pudu, are very much appreciated by her sister-in-law, who asks her to weave one as soon as possible. This kind of possessive indicated by the sequence *†n mia* expresses a distant family relationship, cf. (28), the literal reading of which seems to suggest ‘(for) you, I am a distant family’. However the sequence *†n min* (29) refers to a close relationship, the literal interpretation of which suggests ‘my family is your family’.

- (28) † **-n mi -a** †nawai  
 1SG -GEN 2SG -P distant family  
 ‘You are my distant family.’

- (29) a **i -n mi -n** nabu kajabi  
 1SG -GEN 2SG -GEN family 'real'  
 'You are my next of kin.'
- b **i -n mi -n** caita kajabi -ki  
 1SG -GEN 2SG -GEN potential husband 'real' -ASS  
 (lit.) 'My potential husband is yours.'

5. *Semantic uses of the 3rd person pronouns: ha, hatu and habu.*

The third person form is *ha*. This form, representing the 3rd person singular, appears as a free form and is always placed at the head of the sentence:

- (30) **ha** (-dan), atsa -ø pi -mis -ki  
 3SG (-dan) manioc-P eat -HAB -ASS  
 'He, he usually eats manioc.' (lit. Him, he eats manioc.)

This form does not appear in the syntactic-semantic roles S/A and P, as shown above (7, 11-12). However, in any syntactic-semantic role where the 3rd person form *ha* appears, it is anaphoric:

- (31) mai -n **ha** misti hu -mis -ki  
 land -LOC 3SG.S only come -HAB -ASS  
 'The one [we are talking about] comes on foot by land.'

In contexts where it is used anaphorically, *ha* can refer to an A, as in (32a), or refer to a P, as in (32b-c) and in (15).

- (32) a **ia -ø ha** a -mis -ki, hancawan **i -n** ain -nan -dan  
 1SG -P 3SG.A do -HAB -ASS speak.strongly 1SG -GENwife -nan -dan  
 'She does so to me, my wife speaks (to me) strongly.'  
 (lit. She, whom we are talking about, does so to me)
- b **i -n ha** a -mis -ki, hancawan **i -n** ain -dan  
 1SG -A 3SG.P do -HAB -ASS speak.strongly 1SG -GEN wife -dan  
 'I do so to her, (I) speak strongly to my wife.'
- c **mi -n ha** haska wa -ma -i -dan,  
 2SG -A 3SG.P so do -FAC -ASP -dan  
  
 jusin ninka -mis -ma -ki  
 learn listen -HAB-NEG -ASS  
 'You must do so, (you) don't listen to learn.'

In the extract below, *ha* in (33) is used anaphorically as the Agent of the sentence. This myth tells the story of a man (*Mana Dumeya* - MD) who has to take care of his child (his married daughter) as his son-in-law is lazy. In order to get food, MD becomes a jaguar when he goes hunting. In this extract, it is almost dawn, so MD tells himself that it is time to go home. In (33), *ha* refers to MD when he is (already) back home putting away his arrows :

- (33) — ka -di -tan -nun, iʃun, hu -iki -dan  
 — go -quick -MOT -nun, he.thinks, come -EVID -dan

**ha** ha -win pia adu -bain -a -dan  
 3SG.A 3SG -INSTR arrow put.away -MOT -STAT -dan  
 ‘— It’s time to go home quickly, he thinks. He’s back home, (where) he puts away his arrow.’

Concerning the 3rd person, in other Panoan languages such as Capanahua (Loos 1999), Shipibo (Valenzuela 1997), the 3rd person singular marker is *ha* (or *haa*), or *a* in Marubo (Costa 1997)<sup>12</sup>. It receives the case suffix *-n*, to mark the nominative (S/A). In modern Cashinahua, the nominative and the accusative case marking, *-n* and *-a* respectively, are linked to the 3rd person singular only in a specific combination which appears sentence initially. Both constructions express ‘also’. The nominative case marking *-n* appears with the term *tsidi* ‘also’: *ha-n tsidi* (3sg-nom also) ‘he too’, cf. (34)<sup>13</sup>. The accusative marking *-a* appears in the combination with the imminent suffix *-di*: *ha-a-di* ‘he too’, cf. (35). The data obtained with these forms show that with the nominative case marking, the first participant and/or agent is focused, and with the accusative, attention is focused on the benefactive.

- (34) **ha -n tsidi**, (ø) bi -ai, mabu -dan (referring to A)  
 3SG -A too, (3sg) buy -PROG, stuff/thing -dan  
 ‘Him too, he is buying things.’

- (35) **ha -a -di**, (ø) bi -ai, mabu -dan (referring to P)  
 3SG -P -too, (3sg) buy -PROG, stuff -dan  
 ‘(For) him too, he is buying stuff (for himself).’

<sup>12</sup> Capanahua and Shipibo are spoken in Peru, and Marubo in Brazil.

<sup>13</sup> This combination covers all the personal pronouns:

- (i) *mi-n tsidi pi-ju-wi*  
 2sg-A also eat-ju-IMPER  
 ‘So do you, eat!’

The sentences below show that in a transitive construction, the nominative case marker *-n* is restricted to the 3rd person plural (36). This case marker, *-n*, does not involve the 3rd person singular (30) (repeated here for convenience):

- (36) **hatu -n** (-dan), (haut -n) atsa -∅ pi -mis -ki  
 3PL A (-dan), (3PL.ho -A) manioc-P eat -HAB -ASS  
 ‘Them, they eat manioc.’

- (30) **ha** (-dan), ∅ atsa -∅ pi -mis -ki  
 3SG (-dan) 3SG.A manioc-P eat -HAB -ASS  
 ‘Him, he eats manioc.’

The plural form is a combination between *ha* and plural values: *ha-tu* (homogenous plural) and *ha-bu* (heterogeneous plural). In fact, with *hatu*, the speaker refers to people he is in a close relationship with - for instance people from his village or his next of kin. With *habu*, the speaker refers to the people he is in a close relationship with (those he refers as *hatu*) and also with his/her distant kinship and/or with people from outside of his/her village. In some case, it can be interpreted as a collective morpheme. Contrary to the 3rd person singular, plural person markers are required in a P semantic role. In (37), for instance, the narrator refers to a cotton weaver who teaches people how to make weaving patterns. The pronoun *habu* indicates that the weaver taught everybody how to weave patterns.

- (37) ∅ **habu** -∅ uin -ma -a -ki  
 3SG.A 3pl (he) -P see -FAC-STAT -ASS  
 ‘She showed them (how to make the weaving patterns).’

However it is optional in S/A semantico-syntactic roles. In this case, they appear to avoid ambiguities, as shown in (37). In a transitive construction, the 3rd person plural receives the nominative case marker, *-n*:

- (38) a **hatu-n**, tama bīdu a -kan -iki -ki  
 3PL -A, peanut seed do -PL -EVID -ASS  
 ‘Them, (it seems that) they peel peanut.’ (homogeneous plural)  
 (The speaker refers to the people of his/her village)
- b **habu -n**, tama bidu a -kan -iki -ki  
 3PL -A, peanut seed do -PL -EVID -ASS  
 ‘Them, (it seems that) they peel peanut.’ (heterogeneous plural)  
 (The speaker refers to the people in general, those from his/her village,  
 and those from other Cashinahua villages)

Normally, the plural (*-bu* or *-kan*) is associated with the predicate, as in (39b). In this case, the argument in the nominative case represented by the 3rd person plural is not required, cf. (38b). However, as mentioned before, the 3rd person plural in a S/A function appears to avoid ambiguities and to distinguish whom the speaker is referring to: either members of his next of kin (38a) or persons who are not necessarily of his kin (38b). Comparing (39a-b), I note that in (39a) the argument, which is not expressed morphologically, refers to a 3rd person singular. In (39b), the predicate is marked by the plural suffix *-bu*, which indicates that the subject argument is the 3rd person plural. In (39c), the predicate is not marked by the verbal plural suffix (*-bu* or *-kan*), but there we find a 3rd person plural pronoun:

- (39) a **∅** tama bidu a -mis -ki  
 3SG peanut seed do -HAB -ASS  
 ‘She usually peels peanuts.’
- b tama bidu a -mis **-bu** -ki  
 peanut seed do -HAB -PL -ASS  
 ‘They usually peel peanuts.’
- c **hatu -n** tama bidu a -mis -ki  
 3PL.ho -A peanut seed do -HAB -ASS  
 ‘They usually peel peanuts.’

#### 6. Summary of personal pronoun morphology

In the examples presented above, morphological variations of the personal pronouns have been examined. Below, all the pronoun forms are shown in detail to indicate the loss of the final syllables. The two forms of the plural, *hatu* and *habu*, are not included in this syllable reduction.

#### The 1st and 2nd person singular

The 1st and the 2nd person singular root is: *ɨ-* and *mi-* to which each different case-marking attaches.

SG	S/A, gen <b>-n</b>	Free form <b>-a</b> (univalent) <b>-an</b> (bivalent)	P, dat/ben <b>-a</b>	dat(subj) <b>-ki</b>	soc <b>-bi</b>	gen <b>-win</b>	abl/all <b>-anu(a)</b>
1.	<b>ɨ-</b>						
2.	<b>mi-</b>						

Table 3: 1st and 2nd person singular

*The 1st and 2nd person plural*

The 1st and 2nd person present a syllabic variation only in the nominative case: *nuku* → *nu-*, *matu* → *ma-* only in S/A case marking.

PL	S/A	Free form, P, dat/ben	gen	dat(subj)	soc	gen	abl/dir
	<b>-n</b>	<b>-ø</b>	<b>-n</b>	<b>-ki</b>	<b>-bi</b>	<b>-win</b>	<b>-anu(a)</b>
1.	nu-	nuku-					
2.	ma-	matu-					

Table 4 : 1st and 2nd person plural

*The 3rd person singular and plural*

Especially in narrative, the 3rd person singular is represented formally in the three basic syntactic-semantic roles, S, A and P. In discourse, it is normally not represented. It does, however, occur to mark an anaphoric relation, which refers either to A or to P. Elsewhere its form *ha* appears and receives the different case markers.

3sg	S/A,P, dat/ben	Free form	gen	dat(subj)	soc	gen	abl/all
	<b>-ø</b>	<b>-ø</b>	<b>-win</b>	<b>-ki</b>	<b>-bi</b>	<b>-win</b>	<b>-anu(a)</b>
speech situation	-	ha-					
narrative situation	ha-						

Table 5 : 3rd person singular

In Loos' overview on Pano languages (1999: 236), it is said that “*All Pano languages are characterized by a distinctive transitivity concord system*”. His examples (25a-b), probably from Capanahua, cannot be compared to modern Cashinahua. In these examples, the 3rd person singular form is *haa*, which receives the ergative case marking *-n*: in transitive (25a) *haa-n ta his-i-ki* (3-A / decl / see-pres-fact) ‘He sees (it)’, but not in reflexive (25b) *haa ta his-it-iQ-ki* (3S / decl / see-refl-pres-fact) ‘He sees himself (in a mirror)’. In modern Cashinahua the forms *ha-n* and *ha-a* occur with the adverbial expression ‘him/her too’ as indicated above (34-35). Historically speaking, it may be the case that in earlier Cashinahua the 3rd person singular form was *ha*. In modern Cashinahua, it acts as an anaphoric or cataphoric pronoun in the context of storytelling, representing either S, A or P. However, similar to Cashinahua, the form *haa* in Capanahua also refers to an anaphoric pronoun: “*haa ‘that’, whatever has been referred to before in the context*”, writes Loos (1999: 248).

The 3rd person plural keeps its full form while marking all cases:

	Free form - $\emptyset$ (univalent) -n (bivalent)	S/A, gen -n	P, dat/ben - $\emptyset$	dat(subj) -ki	soc -bi	gen -win	abl/dir -anu(a)
3ho 3he	hatu- habu-						

Table 6: 3rd persons plural

### 7. The neutral system

As mentioned before, Cashinahua has a split ergative system, characterized by the ergative-absolutive case marking system for noun phrases and by the nominative-accusative system for pronouns. In the examples presented, all the pronouns operate on a nominative-accusative basis, except the 3rd person singular as shown in Table 4. When the latter appears in its form *ha* it does not carry the marker of the ergative case in A role. Thus, the examples (31-32) show that *ha* in S (31), A (32a) and P (32b-c) is indeed morphologically unmarked. The three primitives (A, P and S) have the same form: “*this is tantamount to lack of case marking for these relations*” which is a neutral system “*widespread in the languages of the world*”, writes Comrie (1989:125). So, in the Cashinahua argument hierarchy diagram, the noun phrases are on the right and the pronouns on the left. In the middle of this hierarchy there is an overlap where the 3rd person singular A or P is unmarked. This diagram refers to the type of arguments which are more likely in A than in O function, as suggested by Dixon (1994: 85):

pronouns > nouns		
nominative > neutral > ergative		
1st > 2nd	> 3rd >	Proper and common nouns: animate and some inanimate such as ‘wind’ and ‘sun’.
	(including demonstratives)	

Table 7: The Cashinahua argument system hierarchy diagram

In the Cashinahua system, an overlap in the split ergative system happens when the ergative marking stops at the place where the accusative begins. That is, the middle portion of the hierarchy will have the same form for all three of the core functions S, A, O. The third person singular shows the same case-marking form for all these different syntactic-semantic roles.

### 8. Dixon’s and Payne’s analyses of the Cashinahua system

The examples show that the full form for the singular pronouns are: *ɨ*- 1st, *mi*- 2nd, *ha* 3rd. Dixon (1994: 85-87) analyses the form *-a* as a suffix which associates with all these persons in O function: *ɨ* → *ɨa*, *mi*- → *mia*, *ha*- → *haa*, which is valid only for the 1st and 2nd person, as I have shown above. The data show that the form *haa* does not correspond to the O function in modern Cashinahua. The 3rd person singu-



lar, as an argument, does not have any phonological realization. The 3rd person analysis as presented by Dixon (see Table 8) suggests that there are three different forms for each of the A, S, P semantic roles. The form *habu* as it is presented, may indicate the 3rd person singular form in A/S function, when it corresponds to one of the two 3rd persons plural. In fact, *habu* refers to the plural, while *ha* refers to the singular anaphorically. The A marking is not a nasalisation, but a nasal consonant *-n*, that on proper and common nouns shows a morphological variation  $-{a/i}n$ , depending on the final syllable of the lexeme to which is attached (see the rules in note 2). The nominative case is marked only in the 3rd person (plural), *habun*, in A function, but the morpheme *-n* is also attached to the 1st and 2nd persons, respectively *ɨ-n*, *mi-n*. In short, all the persons in the singular and plural forms, except the 3rd person singular, are marked in the nominative case.

A	-∅	habu~	nasalisation
S	-∅	habu	-∅
O	-a	haa	-∅
	1st and 2nd person pronouns	3rd person pronoun	proper names and common nouns

Table 8: Dixon's sketch of the Cashinahua system (1994: 86)

R. Dixon's analysis is pertinent when he says that "*A and O markings overlap for some part of the middle of the hierarchy, rather than ergative marking stopping at the place where accusative begins*" (Dixon 1994:87). However, the overlap occurs in the 3rd person singular which shows the same morphology for S/A/O functions; thus, it is a neutral system and not a tripartite one. This same contradiction is shown in Payne's analysis of the Cashinahua system. Payne (1997: 156) also analyses the Cashinahua 3rd person as "*a tripartite system, in which each of the three primitives has distinct cases*". Like Dixon's, Payne's analysis refers to Cashinahua data (Table 6) obtained indirectly. Nevertheless these data do not correspond to modern Cashinahua<sup>14</sup>.

	S	A	P	
1, 2 pronoun	-0	-0	-a	nominative/accusative
3 pronoun	-0	~	-a	tripartite
Full NPs	-0	~	-0	ergative/absolute

Table 9: Payne's sketch of the Cashinahua system (1997: 156)

In Payne's Cashinahua data, the 1st and 2nd persons as A are unmarked, but the 3rd person is marked by *-n* (noted as a nasal). According to our data, the only situation where *ha-n* can appear, is in the combination *ha-n tsɨdi*, as seen above. We can see

<sup>14</sup> During the 20 months I was in the field the forms *\*ha-n* as A and *\*ha-a* as P were never attested.

this morpho-syntactic rule in the other Panoan languages as in Marubo (Costa 1997) where *a* '3sg' receives  $-n \rightarrow an$  in P function. In Capanahua, a double "haa" indicates the 3rd person (Loos 1999: 236).

This discrepancy between grammatical relations and morphological case is marked only in the 3rd person, which I have indicated below as  $\emptyset$  and *ha*. The latter appears more frequently in narratives than in discourse situations. Table 9 shows that the neutral system applies only to the 3rd person singular, so the morphology treats the three functions homogeneously. The complete data showing the three basic syntactic-semantic roles of the split system is proposed below.

	1st and 2nd person pronouns	3rd person pronoun Singular	3rd person pronoun Plural	proper names and common nouns
A	$-n$	$\emptyset$ , ha	hatu- <i>n</i> , habu- <i>n</i>	$-i$ , $-a$
S	$-n$	$\emptyset$ , ha	hatu- <i>n</i> , habu- <i>n</i>	$\emptyset$
P	$-a$ (SG) $\emptyset$ (PL)	$\emptyset$ , ha	hatu- $\emptyset$ , habu- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$

Table 10: Camargo's proposal for diagram of the Cashinahua split ergative system

### 9. Conclusion

In this study the Cashinahua personal pronoun system was discussed, which contains seven forms, and its morphology varies depending on the case markers. I have tried to show that this language presents a split ergative system where the pronouns are characterized by the nominative-accusative system. The nominative case is marked by the  $-i$  suffix. However, contrary to what has been reported in the literature (Dixon, Payne), the 3rd person singular form does not form a tripartite system, but rather a neutral one, with no morphological indication of the three semantic roles (A, P, S). They have the same form. However, example (34) shows *ha-* suffixed by *-n* in the combination with *tsidi* 'also'  $\rightarrow$  *han tsidi* 'he/she too' or 'so does he/she'. The accusative case marking appears with the suffix *-di* 'imminent', referring to the benefactive: *ha-a-di* '(for) him too'.

Therefore, it is possible that in ancient Cashinahua, the 3rd person singular in S/A semantic roles also received the nominative case marker suffix: *ha-n* (S/A) or a semantic role distinction, as data from the Capanahua language suggest. In this language, the 3rd person receives the same morphological treatment as proper and common nouns: *haa* (S) and *haa-n* (A).

It is possible that, in Cashinahua, *ha* is a relic from an earlier stage of the language when it had a nominative-accusative system for the 3rd person. Nowadays, the 3rd person singular is not marked as an argument in a discourse situation. The form *ha* appears indeed as anaphoric pronoun. And in this case it is unmarked in its semantic role of S, A or P. So, it overlaps the nominal hierarchy where, morphologically, the pronouns are characterized by the nominative-accusative case system and the

nouns are marked by the ergative-absolutive case system. The 3rd person singular pronoun is outside this system.

Another issue that was raised in this paper is the construction with the 1st and 2nd person singular with an embedded genitive: *i-n mi-n nabu* (1SG-GEN / 2SG-GEN / family), literally ‘your family is my family’. The context-dependent occurrence of this construction in the examples in (29), for instance, reflects sociocultural factors.

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#### Abbreviations

1	first person	LOC	locative
2	second person	MED	mediative/evidential
3	third person	MOD	modal
A	agent	MOT	motion
ABL	ablative	NEG	negative
ALL	allative	O	object (of a transitive construction)
ANAPH	anaphoric		
ASP	aspect	OR	valency increaser
ASS	assertive	P	patient
BEN	beneficiary	PAST	past (aspect)
COM	comitative	PAST.EVID	past evidential
COMPL	completive (aspect)	PL (HE)	heterogeneous plural
DAT	dative	PL (HO)	homogeneous plural
DO	direct object	PL	plural
DU	dual	PREF	preferential
EVID	evidential	PRIV	privative
FAC	factive	PROG	progressive
FOC	focalisation	PROSP	prospective
GEN	genitive	REC	reciprocal
HAB	habitual (aspect)	S	subject
HIST PAST	historical past	SG	singular
IMM	imminent	SOC	sociative
IMPER	imper	STAT	state
INDF PAST	indefinite past	TOP	topicalisation
INF	infinitive	VOC	vocative
INSTR	instrumental	V	verb
INTER	interrogative		