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Abstract

This paper studies four grammatical markers of emotions in Tacana, an Amazonian language from the Takanan family spoken in Northern Bolivia. Two markers express positive emotions, *chidi* 'affection' and *ichenu* 'compassion'. The other two express negative emotions: *base* 'depreciation 1' and *madha* 'depreciation 2'. The paper also provides a historical-comparative study of similar morphemes in the other Takanan languages (Araona, Cavineña, Ese Ejja and Reyesano). The Tacana affection morpheme is probably reconstructible to a diminutive marker in proto-Takanan. The compassion and two depreciation morphemes are not reconstructible but recent grammaticalizations of lexical items still used in the different Takanan languages. Interestingly, these lexemes do not display any synchronic or diachronic link with the expression of "diminutivization" or "augmentativization". Therefore, this paper suggests that the morphological expression of emotions should be studied in its own right, and not necessarily as a subtype of the evaluative field of research.

Keywords: Takanan languages; Amazonian languages; emotions; evaluative morphology.

1 Introduction

All five Takanan languages, from the Amazonian lowlands of Northern Bolivia and Southeastern Peru (Araona, Cavineña, Ese Ejja, Reyesano and Tacana), have bound grammatical morphemes (affixes or clitics) which express the emotions of the speaker (affection, tenderness, love, empathy, pity, compassion, depreciation, anger, revulsion, disgust, contempt, etc.). In this paper, emotions are defined as "psychological states distinct from sensations (pain, hunger…) and from purely 'intellectual' judgements (knowing, believing…)" (Ponsonnet this volume; see also 2014:9–17). To date, these morphemes have received little attention and no publication to

date has explored the interest that they represent for the field of general-typological linguistics. This paper presents the first description of four emotion markers in one of these languages, Tacana. Two of these markers express positive emotions, ***chidi*** 'affection' and ***ichenu*** 'compassion'. The other two express negative emotions: ***base*** 'depreciation 1' and ***madha*** 'depreciation 2'. The paper also provides a synthesis of similar morphemes documented in the other Takanan languages and an attempt at reconstructing their history. It shows, among other things, that the affective morpheme ***chidi*** is probably reconstructible to a diminutive marker **tsi* in proto-Takanan. The compassion and depreciation morphemes appear to be recent grammaticalizations in the four languages.

In current typological work, morphemes of this type are typically discussed under the rubric of "evaluative morphology", the core of which concerns the expression of "diminutivization" (small size or quantity) and "augmentativization" (big size or quantity) (see for example Jurafsky 1996; Bauer 1997; Grandi & Körtvélyessy 2015; Ponsonnet this volume). From that perspective, emotion morphemes are either construed as "diminutive" or "augmentative" markers with emotional ("pejorative" or "ameliorative") extensions or as having at least a diachronic link to "diminutive" or "augmentative" morphemes. As this paper shows, this interpretation is justified in the case of the Tacana affective morpheme *chidi*, which has among its possible readings the expression of small size or quantity and which likely originated in a diminutive marker in proto-Takana. But it is not justified in the case of the three other Tacana emotion morphemes (those expressing compassion and depreciation), which do not display any synchronic or diachronic link with the expression of "diminutivization" or "augmentativization". Therefore, this paper suggests that the morphological (grammatical) expression of emotions should be studied in its own right, and not necessarily as a subtype of the evaluative ("diminutive" and "augmentative") field of research.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 is a brief introduction to the Tacana language, the Takanan family and the data used for this study. Section 3 provides a description of the four Tacana emotion morphemes: *chidi* 'diminutive-affection' in §3.1, *ichenu* 'compassion' in §3.2, *base* 'depreciation 1' in §3.3 and *madha* 'depreciation 2' in §3.4. In each section, the morphemes are described according to their syntactic distribution, their meanings, their productivity and their likely diachronic origin. Finally, Section 4 compares these suffixes to similar markers in the other Takanan languages (Araona, Cavineña, Ese Ejja and Reyesano) and attempts a historical reconstruction. This section is organized according to the three broad semantic meanings expressed by the markers: affection (§4.1), compassion (§4.2) and depreciation (§4.3). The paper ends with a summary and conclusions (§5).

2   Background information on Tacana, the Takanan family and the data for this study

Tacana is a critically endangered language only spoken fluently, in two dialects, by a few dozen elderly people, and only in a very limited range of contexts. It is also basically undescribed. Apart from a short formal grammar cast in the non-transparent tagmemic framework (Ottaviano & Ottaviano 1967), the only grammatical study is a grammar sketch centered essentially on verbal morphology (Guillaume 2013). The data used for this study are primarily textual narratives (about 3,300 sentences in Toolbox) and elicited utterances (about 700 sentences in Toolbox). These come from about four months of fieldwork that I conducted on the Tumupasa dialect (Tumupasa village) between 2009 and 2013. Secondarily, the data are supplemented by published materials on the same dialect produced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)

in the 1980s. These materials include a collection of texts (Ottaviano 1980; about 980 sentences in Toolbox) and a dictionary with illustrative sentence examples (Ottaviano & Ottaviano 1989; about 3,000 entries). Note that no controlled elicitation with native speakers was conducted specifically on the topic of the present paper, which means that the study relies exclusively on my own interpretation of the available corpus – in particular of the native speakers' translations in local Bolivian Spanish of the examples which contain the emotion morphemes in the corpus.

The Takanan language family consists of five extant languages, all neighbors to each other in the Amazonian lowlands of northern Bolivia and southeastern Peru. The languages are listed in Table 1, together with information on their location, the estimated number of speakers and ethnic group members, and the main grammatical studies available.

Table 1. Takanan languages (figures from Crevels & Muysken 2009 for Cavineña, Araona, Tacana and Reyesano; and from Vuillermet 2012; this volume for Ese Ejja)

name	location	no. speakers	no. ethnic group members	main grammatical studies on the languages
Cavineña	Bolivia	601	1683	Guillaume (2008)
Ese Ejja	Bolivia, Peru	1500	1700	Vuillermet (2012)
Araona	Bolivia	111	158	Pitman (1980), Emkow (2006)
Tacana	Bolivia	50	7345	Guillaume (2013; fieldnotes 2009-2013)
Reyesano	Bolivia	12	4019	Guillaume (2009; 2012; fieldnotes 2004-2008)

Figure 1 gives Girard's (1971) internal classification of the family. This classification is based on a phonological reconstruction from word lists collected by travelers in the 19th century and missionary linguists from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in the 1950s-1960s. The classification consists of three branches (Kavinik, Chamik and Takanik), all placed at the same level within the family tree, with Tacana classified within the Takanik sub-branch, together with Araona and Reyesano.
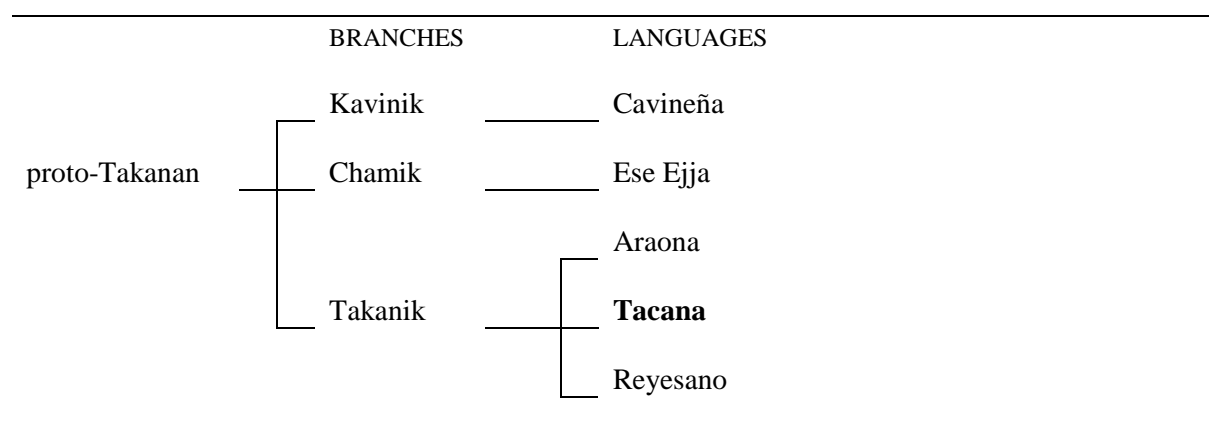

Figure 1. Internal classification of Takanan languages (Girard 1971:197)

3   Emotion morphemes in Tacana

The Tacana emotion morphemes to be discussed in this paper are listed in Table 2, together with information on their meanings, their locus of marking and their likely etymologies.

Table 2. Morphemes with expressive meanings in Tacana

morphemes	Meanings	locus of marking	plausible etymology
chidi	diminutive & affection	nouns, verbs, adverbs	unknown
ichenu	compassion	nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjective	adj. 'poor'
base	depreciation 1	nouns, pronouns, verbs	vb. 'be mistaken'
madha	depreciation 2	verbs	adj. 'bad'

Since this article focuses on the expression of emotions, I won't be discussing 'evaluative' morphemes which do not have emotional meaning, such as, for example the 'pure' diminutive/attenuative marker *pad'i*. And since the article only deals with the grammatical expression of emotions, I will not be presenting morphemes whose status is not bound, boundedness (lack of autonomy) being taken here as a good formal indicator of the grammaticalized status of an element.

The four morphemes to be discussed, *chidi*, *ichenu*, *base* and *madha*, are bound elements from both morphosyntactic and phonological perspectives. They cannot stand alone as free words; they can only be used in combination with a free word host, and they cannot receive independent stress. As illustrated in (1a,b), (2a,b), (3a,b) and (4a,b), the four morphemes must attach to a preceding word which has phonological independence, such as the nouns given in isolation in the a-examples. Together, they form a phonological word with a single stressed syllable, as in the b-examples; the syllable that is stressed is determined according to the standard stress rules of the language.[1] If the emotion morphemes were not bound in the sequences exemplified here, the illustrated sequences would have displayed two stressed syllables, as in the c-examples which are ill-formed (as indicated by the '*' symbol).[2]

(1) *chidi* 'affection'

    a. [ebákʷa]   b. [ebakʷátɕiḍi]   c. *[ebákʷa tɕíḍi]
       ebakwa   *ebabwa=**chidi***
       'child'   child=DIM
                 'small / dear child' ye146

(2) *ichenu* 'compassion'

    a. [ḍéha]   b. [ḍehájtɕenʊ]   c. *[ḍéha itɕénʊ]
       deja   *deja=**ichenu***
       'person'   person=COMPAS
                 'poor / pitiable person' lo001

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[1] Phonologically free lexical or grammatical words in Tacana are underlyingly stressed on the 3rd mora (i.e., vowel or semi-vowel [j]) counting from the left. The 3rd mora stress pattern shows up on the surface when the word heads a phonological word which consists of at least four moras, as in all the b-examples. When the word heads a phonological word with three or less moras, stress falls on the penultimate mora, as in the a-examples.

[2] A list of abbreviations is given in §7. The Tacana consonant phonemes are *p*, *b*, *t*, *d* [ḍ], *d'* [d͡t/°d͡t], *dh* [ð], *ts* [tṣ], *ch* [tɕ], *s* [ṣ], *sh* [ɕ], *k*, *kw* [kʷ], *r* [ɾ], *m*, *n*, *j* [h], *w* [w/ß] and *y* [j]. The vowel phonemes are *a*, *e*, *i* [i/j] and *u* [ʊ/w]. Note that the illustrative examples include the free translation in local Bolivian Spanish that was given by the native speakers who helped me transcribe and translate the texts. The codes that follow the translation lines (e.g., ye146) correspond to the place of the example in my (Toolbox) databases. Unless explicitely specified, the exemples come from texts.

(3)　*base* 'depreciation 1'

    a. [ebákʷa]　　b. [ebakʷábaṣe]　　　c. *[ebákʷa báṣe]
       ebakwa　　　*ebabwa=base*
       'child'　　　　child=DEPREC1
               'damned / despicable child' n4.0348

(4)　*madha* 'depreciation 2'

    a. [manʊ́jtja]　　b. [manʊmáðajtja]　　　c. *[mánʊ máðajtja]
       manu-iti-a　　　*manu-madha-iti-a*
       die-PFV-PST　　die-DEPREC2-PFV-PST
       'someone died'　'someone bad died' ci199

Emotion morphemes can be either clitics (marked by the equal sign '=', as with *=chidi*, *=ichenu* and *=base* in the above examples) or suffixes (marked by the hyphen sign '-' in with -*madha* as in the above example). As will be shown several times below, some morphemes can have both statuses, clitic or affix, depending on the construction they are used in. Due to this dual status, when mentioning the morphemes in the text of the paper, I will not use the symbols '=' and '-'.

3.1 **Affection: *chidi* [tɕiɗi]**

The first emotion morpheme, *chidi*, is the most frequent of the four, found 177 times in the corpus. In a majority of the examples available, it is used to modify nouns. But there are also a number of cases, which include some from natural speech, where it is found modifying verbs and adverbs.[3] Its function and grammatical status (clitic or affix) is slightly different depending on the word class it modifies. With nouns and adverbs, it is a clitic with diminutive or emotional values (affection). By contrast, with verbs, it is a suffix with attenuative and politeness values.[4] The morpheme *chidi* must be a very old morpheme. There is no known etymology but part of it, the syllable *chi*, is reconstructible to proto-Takanan (see §4.1).

When *chidi* is used with nouns it can first express small size, as in (5a,b), or a small quantity, as in (5c). The diminutive meaning of *chidi* is probably the more frequent in the data. Besides, as argued in §4.1, diachronically, diminution is probably the original meaning of the suffix. For these reasons, I gloss *chidi* as DIM in the examples. Note that in (5a-c), the meaning of small-ness (of size or quantity), expressed by the diminutive suffix *-ito* / *-ita* in the translation lines in local Bolivian Spanish, is not part of the initial semantic content of the nouns ('house', 'bag', 'money'); it must therefore be a contribution of *chidi*.

(5)　*chidi* modifying nouns, diminutive meanings

    a. …*mekwana-sa　ete=chidi=kwana　ani-(i)na*
       3PL-DAT　　　house=DIM=PL　　sit-PST.HAB
    '(… en el monte) tenían sus ca<u>sitas</u> (donde ellos dormían).' pe005

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[3] It is unknown whether *chidi* can appear with pronouns.
[4] In the SIL dictionary from Ottaviano & Ottaviano (1989), *chidi* is classified as an adjective and its meaning defined as "diminutivo (cariñoso), intensificador" (p. 25).

'(… in the forest) they had <u>small</u> houses (where they would sleep).'

    b. *Kema   mariku=**chidi**   ani-(i)na.*
       1SG.GEN bag=DIM   sit-PST.HAB
       '… tenía (yo) un mariqu<u>ito</u>…' du038
       '… I had a <u>small</u> bag.'

    c. *Yechu yama   chipilu=**chidi** ina-piru-iti-a.*
       finally 1SG.ERG money=DIM   grab-START-PFV-PST
       'Recién yo he podido agarrar / recibir plat<u>ita</u>.' (n4.0185 / elicited)
       'Recently I managed to get <u>a little bit of</u> money.'

With nouns, *chidi* can also express affection, tenderness or compassion, as in (6a-c). In the translation lines in Spanish, these meanings are expressed either by the diminutive suffix *-ito / -ita* or the adjective *pobre* 'poor' preposed to the noun. In the contexts where these examples have been uttered the small size/quantify meanings would not make sense; the father in (a), the husband in (b) and the (adult) child in (c) are not particularly small persons, as far as one can tell from the narratives where these examples occurred.

(6)   *chidi* modifying nouns, affection meanings

    a. *Be   ema   tata=**chidi**.*
       PFV   1SG   father=DIM
       'Ya me voy donc<u>ito</u>.' tm023
       'I'm going, my <u>dear</u> sir.'

    b. *Jid'iu-pe-ta-iti-a=wekwana   mida   yawe=**chidi**.*
       peal-COMPL-A3-PFV-PST=3PL   2SG   husband=DIM
       '(Las ranas) te pelaron todo el cuero, marid<u>ito</u>," le dijo su esposa.' rn060_ott (Ottaviano 1980:14)
       '(The frogs) skinned you completely, my <u>dear</u> / <u>poor</u> husband.'

    c. *Ai,   kema   ebakwa=**chidi**=we ye epuna=base=ja   mu   beju*
       INTERJ 1SG.GEN child=DIM=RESTR   this woman=DEPREC1=ERG CONTR   PFV
        jana   a-netia-ta-iti-a.
        cook   AUX.TR-STANDING-A3-PFV-PST
       '¡Ai, <u>pobre</u> hijo, esa maldita nuera le cocinó!' es102_ott (Ottaviano 1980:50)
       'Ahh, my <u>poor</u> child, this damned woman cooked (and killed) him.'

Because of the pragmatic proximity between small size and affection, when *chidi* modifies nouns which generally refer to small entities or nouns which can refer to small entities in the context of particular utterances, it is not always possible to unambiguously distinguish between the small size/quantity meanings and the affective meanings. In the following examples, for instance, *chidi*, translated by the Spanish diminutive suffix *-ito / -ita*, could have either or both meanings.

(7)   *chidi* modifying nouns, ambiguous readings (diminutive or affection)

   a. *Ebakwa=**chidi**   mesa   y-ani.*
      child=DIM   3SG.DAT   IPFV-sit
      'Tenía dice su hij<u>ito</u>.' ye020
      'He had a <u>small</u>(?) / <u>dear</u>(?) child.'

   b. *… jaitiana-idha,   mesa   uchi=**chidi**=neje...*
         pass-PST.REM   3SG.GEN   dog=DIM=ASSOC
      '… ha pasado con su perr<u>ito</u>…' pe006
      '… he passed with his <u>small</u>(?) / <u>dear</u> / <u>poor</u>(?) dog…' (following context: the dog will be eaten up by peccaries)

   c. *Emud'u=**chidi**   da   pisa-iti-a.*
      cub=DIM   TOP   shoot-PFV-PST
      '(Capibara) maltonc<u>ito</u> he cazado.' mc022
      'I killed a <u>small</u>(?) / <u>poor</u>(?) (capibara) cub.'

In some examples, as in (8), the translation in Spanish provided by my Tacana consultants do not include any 'trace' of the contribution of *chidi* (by way of a diminutive or some other expression). In this example, the modified noun, *tata* 'sir', refers to myself, in which case *chidi* must have an affective meaning, since I am not small.

(8)   *chidi* modifying a noun, not translated

   *Jewe ura=teje   tata=**chidi** Antonio tueda yama,   ye   cuento mi,*
   now time=until   sir=DIM   Antonio that   1SG.ERG this story   2SG
      e-kisa-inia,   amigo.
      IPFV-relate-IPFV.SITTING.1/2 friend
   'Hasta hoy en día, don Antonio, eso yo este cuento le estoy contando.' mq063
   'Until now, <u>my dear</u> sir Antonio, I have told you this story, my friend.'

As a noun modifier, *chidi* is analyzed as a clitic, rather than a suffix, because it does not need to be directly attached to the modified noun. This can happen when the noun is followed by an attributive adjective, in which case *chidi* attaches to the adjective, as in (9a). It can also happen when the head noun is not overtly expressed, in which case *chidi* attaches to a noun modifier such as the numeral word in (9b) or a demonstrative in (9c).

(9)   *chidi* modifying nouns, hosted by different types of noun modifiers

   a. *… yama   jei   a-idha,   [ede   ania]=**chidi** ba=putsu.*
         1SG.ERG believe AUX.TR-PST.REM   young_person nice=DIM   see=TMP.SS
      '… yo le acepté, viéndolo un lindo joven.' au146
      '… I believed him, seeing that he was a nice young man.'

   b. *Depue da   beta=**chidi**=we   beju eid'e pu-iti-a.*
      then   TOP   two=DIM=RESTR   PFV alive be-PFV-PST
      'Sólo dos chicos se salvaron.' in013_ott (Ottaviano 1980:80)

'Only two small (children) survived.'

c. …*da=**chidi*** *etse,* *jana* *y-a-saseuti=puji...*
   this=DIM   1DL   cook   IPFV-AUX.TR-ARRIVE=PURP
   '… es<u>ita</u> para llegar a cocinar…'
   '… in order for us to cook this <u>small</u> (bird) .' lo016

Note that when *chidi* is used simultaneously with other noun modifying clitics, it is placed closer to the modified noun than the other clitics, as can be seen in (5a), with *=kwana* 'PL' and (6c), with *=we* 'RESTR'.

The diminutive marker *chidi* is also found modifying verbs. In the available corpus, I have only a few examples of this use (seven in total) and in most of them, the verb is in the imperative mood. In that context, the diminutive is analyzed as a suffix (rather than a clitic), since its position is between the verb root and other verbal suffixes. As for its function, it has an attenuative effect, expressing the fact that the verb action is done 'a little bit' or 'a short time', as in (10a), which corresponds to a verb stem (i.e., a non-inflected form) provided as an entry of Ottaviano & Ottaviano's (1989) dictionary. In the examples from my own corpus, in the imperative mood, the attenuative effect appears to be accompanied by a politeness function, used to soften an order, as in (10b) and (10c).

(10) *chidi* modifying verbs

a. *pa-**chidi***
   cry-DIM
   'llor<u>iquear</u>' (Ottaviano & Ottaviano 1989:90)
   'whine, cry <u>a little bit</u>'

b. *Baja-**chidi**-icha-ke   kema*!
   buy-DIM-REITR-IMP   1sg.DAT
   '(Ya se está terminando mi coca, don Antonio.) Cómpramelo <u>un poquito</u> más otra vez!)' n2.0248 (participant observation)
   '(I'm running out of coca leaves, don Antonio.) Could you again buy <u>a little bit</u> for me / <u>please</u>!'

c. *Pue-**chidi**-ke !*
   come-DIM-IMP
   '¡Vení!' n2.0175
   'Come <u>a little bit</u> / <u>please</u>!'

The analysis of *chidi* as a suffix when hosted by verbs is based on morphosyntactic, rather than phonological, grounds. In that use, as already commented, *chidi* can be followed by other verb suffixes which can only be used with verbs. In addition, as far as I can tell on the basis of the available examples, the position within the morphological structure of the verb appears to be fixed: it occurs between the verb root and final TAM suffixes.

Finally, the diminutive marker *chidi* can be used with adverbial-like elements. This use is attested in two examples in the corpus, with *sai-da* 'well' (11a) and *biakwawa* 'río arriba' (11b). In the Spanish translation, *chidi* is rendered again via the diminutive suffix *-ito* / *-ita*. With *sai-*

da 'well', *chidi* seems to have an intensifying meaning ('very', 'properly', 'carefully')[5] or perhaps an affective sense 'affectionately, lovingly'. By contrast, with *biakwawa* 'río arriba', *chidi* seems to have an opposite attenuation meaning ('a little bit'). It is unclear whether *chidi* has additional emotional meanings here.

(11)   *chidi* modifying adverbial-like elements

    a. *Pamapa, sai-da=**chidi**, babu,   dhiri   ped'u=neje   babu.*
       all   well-ASF=DIM wrap_body_of   clothes piece=ASSOC   wrap_body_of
       'Ya todo bien<u>cito</u> se lo envuelve con trapo (el bebé recién nacido).'
       '(The recently born baby) is entirely and <u>very</u>(?) well wrapped with a piece of cloth.'
       pa018

    b. *Biakwawa=**chidi**   ba-(a)na beu   bute-taji.*
       upriver=DIM   see-PST PFV   go_down-ABIL
       'Arrib<u>ita</u> he visto como bajar.' lp020
       '<u>A little bit</u>(?) upriver (from where I was) I saw how I could go down.'

3.2 Compassion: *ichenu* [itɕenʊ]

The second emotion morpheme, *ichenu*, occurs 33 times in the available corpus. It is found marking animate[6] nouns, pronouns, verbs and adjectives. Depending on its use, it is analyzed either as a clitic or a suffix. It is used to express empathy, pity or compassion.[7] Its meanings are exclusively emotional. Its etymology appears to be the adjective *ichenu* 'poor'.

    The most frequent use of *ichenu* is with animate nouns, which can refer to humans (12a,b) or animals (12c). In the Spanish translations, *ichenu* is expressed by way of the adjective *pobre* 'poor' preposed to the head nouns.

(12)   *ichenu* modifying animate nouns

    a. *Beu jichu   deja=**ichenu** mu   chue e-tsiatsia-bade*
       PFV   that.DIST man=COMPAS CONTR there IPFV-shout-IPFV.HANGING
         jusia-badiana-ti-ta=su.
         throw-HANGING-GO-A3=TMP.DS
       'Allá el <u>pobre</u> hombre está gritando porque lo ha dejado arriba.' lo032
       'There (on top of the tree) the <u>poor</u> man was shouting, having been abandoned (lit. thrown).'

    b. *Daja pu-idha,   tata=**ichenu**=kwana=sa asease=kwana   biawa tiempo...*
       thus be-PST.REM   father=COMPAS=PL=GEN hunting=PL   old   time
       'Así ha sido la cazería de los taitas así antes (cuando eran bravo los chanchos).
       'So was the hunting of our <u>poor</u> fathers in the old time (when the peccaries were very dangerous and attacked them or their dogs). ' pe047

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[5] In Ottaviano & Ottaviano's (1989) dictionary, the sequence *saida chidi* is translated as 'very good/well' (Span. *muy bueno*) (p. 25).
[6] It is unknown whether *ichenu* can appear with non-animate nouns.
[7] In the SIL dictionary from Ottaviano & Ottaviano (1989), *ichenu* is not listed, but the (probably related) morpheme *chenu* 'deceased' is (p. 25). See further comments on *chenu* below.

c. *Da=putsu   da   iche-ta-idha=wekwana   jida   uchi=**ichenu**=kwana.*
   thus=TMP.SS thus   hit-A3-PST.REM=3PL   that   dog=COMPAS=PL
   'Por eso (porque los perros no se los habian cazado nada) así lo pegaron esos <u>pobres</u> perros.' ha016
   'For that reason they would whip these <u>poor</u> dogs (because the dogs had not been able to hunt anything).'

Ichenu is also found modifying independent pronouns (a word class distinct from nouns in Tacana), as illustrated with the two examples in (13), with first person referents.[8] These examples come from the same narrative where the speaker relates her childhood when she and her sister once got beaten by their violent older brother. Even though *ichenu* is not overtly expressed in the Spanish translation lines, the contexts compare with the ones above, in which a participant finds themselves in a situation that triggers empathy, pity or compassion.

(13) *ichenu* modifying pronouns

a. *Etseju=**ichenu**   y-ani   wapese   e-pu-ani   beu.*
   1DL.EXCL=COMPAS IPFV-sit   clean_cotton IPFV-AUX.ITR-IPFV.SITTING PFV
   'Nosotros (con mi hermana) nomás estabamos, algodón estamos despalando.' tm026
   '<u>Poor</u> us (me and my sister) were there, cleaning cotton seeds (when my brother arrived, drunk and very bad-tempered).'

b. *Ya-di=**ichenu**   iche.*
   1SG-ALSO=COMPAS   hit
   'A mi también me pegó.' tm034
   '(After beating my sister, my brother) beat <u>poor</u> me as well.'

From a morphosyntactic perspective, the fact that *ichenu* can attach to both nouns and pronouns, which correspond to distinct word classes, suggests an analysis in terms of a clitic, rather than an affix. This analysis is further supported by one example where *ichenu* is separated from its host by a short pause (14).[9]

(14) *ichenu* modifying an animate noun, separated by a pause

*Dia-dia-ja   pa   beu   jida   deja,   =**ichenu**.*
eat-REDUP-DESID QUOT PFV   that   man   =COMPAS
'Quería comer dice ese hombre <u>pobrecito</u>.' os051
'He was hungry, the <u>poor</u> man (because his wife would not make food for him).'

The morpheme *ichenu* is also found attached to a verb in two distinct constructions. In the first construction, which corresponds to the majority of the examples available, and illustrated in (15a,b,c), *ichenu* occurs between the verb root and the final suffixes, in a position similar to that of the diminutive *chidi* in (10b) and (10c). Like *chidi*, in this construction, *ichenu* is analyzed as a suffix. Note that in (15a,b,c), *ichenu* is not expressed in the Spanish translation line.

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[8] Note that these are the only examples I have of *ichenu* appearing with a pronoun. It is therefore unknown whether *ichenu* can be used with non-singular pronouns.

[9] It is unknown whether *ichenu*, like *chidi*, can attach to a noun modifier such as, for example, an adjective.

But again, the situations depicted involve a pitiful participant, which suggests that in this context, *ichenu* expresses the same meanings of empathy, pity or compassion. For instance, the man who is 'climbing down' in (15a) is the same poor abandoned fellow who was shouting in (12a). And the dogs who are poorly fed in (15c) are the same as those that are beaten in (12c).

(15) *ichenu* marking verbs (construction 1)

a. *Enekita pa   beu   bute-**ichenu**-iti-a   beu.*
   really   QUOT PFV   go_down-COMPAS-PVF-PST   PFV
   'Ya en verdad dice que se bajó.' lo054
   'He climbed down (from the tree, the <u>poor</u> man who had been abandoned).'

b. *Ase-tsawa-**ichenu**-ke   pa   da*!
   walk-SOC.CAUS-COMPAS-IMP   QUOT TOP
   '¡Ayúdale dice andar (a ese inválido que pasa en la calle)! n4.0130 (spontaneous / volunteered)
   'Help him walk (this <u>poor</u> disabled person who is passing in the street)!'

c. *Etsau=kama=we   pamapa   tsine e-tia-**ichenu**-ta-ani*
   bone=RESTR=RESTR   all   day   IPFV-offer-COMPAS-A3-IPFV.SITTING
       mesa   uchi=kwana.
       3SG.GEN   dog=PL
   'Puro hueso nomás todos los días les daba a sus perros.' ha010
   'Everyday they would give only bones to their dogs, <u>the poor ones</u>.'

In the second construction, attested in only one example in the corpus, reproduced in (16), *ichenu* occupies a distinct position, occurring after the verb final suffixes. This example comes from the text about the poor abandoned fellow who was shouting (12a) and who climbed down from the tree (15a). Despite its three distinct positions, the semantic contribution of *ichenu* appears to remain the same in the three examples.

(16) *ichenu* marking a verb (construction 2)

   *Dapia pa   beu   e-tsiatsia-bade=**ichenu**,*
   there   QUOT PFV   IPFV-shout-IPFV.HANGING=COMPAS
       bute-yu-ja=putsu.
       go_down-REITR-DESID=TMP.SS
   'Estaba gritando por bajarse.'
   'He was shouting, the <u>poor</u> (man), wanting to go down (from the tree).' lo026

Finally, the same text provides an additional example of *ichenu*, this time in a construction where it is attached to an adjective, *beidaji* 'happy', in predicative function (17). Here, once again, in spite of a different position, the semantics of *ichenu* appears to be the same as above, namely that of expressing the empathy, pity or compassion on behalf of the speaker about a protagonist of the story (here the subject of the predicative adjective).

(17) *ichenu* marking an adjective

> *Beidaji=**ichenu** beu daja y-a-ta-ani=su.*
> happy=COMPAS   PFV   thus   IPFV-tell-A3-IPFV.SITTING=TMP.DS
> 'Contento se quedó cuando le estaba diciendo.'
> 'He was happy, the <u>poor</u> (man), when he was told (how to climb down from the tree).'
> lo041

In both (16) and (17), *ichenu* is analyzed as a clitic for lack of evidence that it could be a suffix (such as, for instance, available examples where *ichenu* would be followed by another suffix). Note that, like *chidi*, when *ichenu* is used simultaneously with other noun modifying clitics, it is placed closer to the modified noun than the other clitics, as can be seen in (12b,c) with =*kwana* 'PL'.

It is worth noting that semantically in all the three above constructions, despite its position next to a verbal stem, verbal word or predicative adjective, *ichenu* appears to function as a modifier of an argument of the predicate, rather than of the event denoted by the verb or the property denoted by the adjective. In the few examples available, *ichenu* targets an absolutive argument: the S of an intransitive clause in (15a), (16) and (17), the O of a transitive clause in (15b) and the recipient of a ditransitive clause in (15c).[10] In other words, the function of *ichenu* appears to remain the same, whatever its locus of marking. What factors motivate its position, on the predicate (verbal or adjectival) or on an argument requires future research.

The marker *ichenu* is formally strikingly similar to a 'deceased referent' marker, *chenu*, which is used to modify animate nouns in the same position and with the same enclitic status as *ichenu*, as illustrated in (18).

(18) formally comparable marker *chenu* 'deceased'

> *Tata=**chenu**=sa   ebakwa=kwana kwina=putsu pa-sena-ta-iti-a.*
> father=deceased=GEN   child=PL   arrive=TMP.SS   cry-ARRIVE-S3.PL-PFV-PST
> 'Los hijos del taita llegando se pusieron a llorar (se había muerto el papá).' n4.0360
> 'The children of the <u>deceased</u> father cried upon arrival (to the father's house).'

It is very likely that these two markers are related historically, although it is not entirely clear how. *Ichenu* 'poor' appears to have originated from an adjective lexeme *ichenu* 'poor, pauper, pitiful'. (It does not appear to be reconstructible in proto-Takana; see §4.2.) Such a term is not attested in present day Tacana – Tacana *ichenu* cannot stand alone as a free word – but it is attested in Reyesano, which is genetically the closest Takanan language (§2). An example is provided in (19), from my own Reyesano corpus. Note that in Reyesano, the class of adjectives requires a dummy suffix -*me*.

(19)   Reyesano adjective *ichenu* 'poor'

> *Ekama muwa te   **ichenu**-me.   Tunawe=wichi te   chipilu-ji.*
> 1PL   FOC   BM   poor-ASF   3PL=RESTR   BM   money-PROP
> 'Nosotros eramos pobre. Ellos eran que tenían plata.'
> 'We (the Reyesanos) were <u>poor</u>. It is only them (our bosses) who were rich (lit. with money).' pa004/005

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[10] Note that formally, recipient and theme arguments of ditransitive constructions are treated identically in Takanan languages.

In Tacana, although there is no independent adjective lexeme *ichenu* synchronically, there is evidence that such a lexeme must have existed at a prior stage. The evidence comes from the transitive verb **ichenu*ba*-** 'feel pity for' which contains *ichenu* plus a syllable *ba*. In this verb, it is easy to identify the *-ba* derivational suffix (cognate to the verb 'see, feel') which is used productively to turn lexical adjectives into transitive verbs meaning 'feel that O is ADJ', as illustrated in (20a,b,c,d). Note that in Tacana, the class of adjectives requires a dummy suffix *-da* (functionally equivalent to the dummy suffix *-me* of Reyesano).[11] As suggested in (20e), it is very likely that **ichenu*ba*-** 'feel pity for' originated from the combination of an independent adjective lexeme **ichenu* 'poor' (which has now been lost as an adjective, having grammaticalized as an emotion marker), combined with the derivational suffix *-ba*.

(20)		Derived verbs			Basic adjectives	
	a.	*-adhi-**ba**-*	'feel disgusted by'	←	*adhi-da*	'dirty-ASF'
	b.	*-ibune-**ba**-*	'feel compassion for'	←	*ibune-da*	'appreciated-ASF'
	c.	*-iyu-**ba**-*	'feel scared by'	←	*iyu-da*	'scary-ASF'
	d.	*-wani-**ba**-*	'smell'	←	*wani-da*	'smell-ASF'
	e.	**-ichenuba-**	**'feel pity for'**	**(←**	***ichenu-da**	**'poor-ASF'?)**

3.3 **Depreciation 1: *base* [başe]**

The third emotional suffix, *base*, is fairly frequent in the corpus, found 81 times. In most examples available, it is used to modify nouns. A few examples also have it on a pronoun or a verb. Its function is exclusively emotional, expressing a range of negative feelings (anger, disgust, contempt, etc.) on the part of the speaker for a particular referent.[12] It is always a clitic. Its etymology is possibly an intransitive verb meaning 'be wrong, be mistaken'.

An example containing *base* as a noun modifier was already given in (6c). It is repeated below, where its overt translation in the Spanish line, the adjective *maldito* 'damned', is highlighted.

(6c)   *base* modifying a noun

Ai,	*kema*	*ebakwa=chidi=we*	*ye*	*epuna=**base**=ja*	*mu*	*beju*
INTERJ	1SG.GEN	child=DIM=RESTR	this	woman=DEPREC1=ERG	CONTR	PFV

jana   *a-netia-ta-iti-a.*
cook   AUX.TR-STANDING-A3-PFV-PST

'¡Ai, pobre hijo, esa <u>maldita</u> nuera le cocinó!' es102_ott (Ottaviano 1980:50)
'Ahh, my poor child, this <u>damned</u> woman cooked (and killed) him.'

Additional examples of *base* modifying nouns are given in (21). They show a diverse range of referents: humans (21a,b), animals (21c,d), a spirit (21e) and an inanimate entity (21f). In

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[11] All five Takanan languages have a subclass of bound adjectives which require a dummy (semantically empty) affix in order to be used as independent words (in citation form or in different syntactic constructions). The form and status (prefix vs. suffix) are different according to the languages: suffix *-da* in Araona, Cavineña and Tacana, suffix *-me* in Reyesano and prefix *kya-* in Ese Ejja.

[12] In the SIL dictionary from Ottaviano & Ottaviano (1989), *base* is classified as an adjective and its meaning defined as follows: "algo que no sirve, despreciable, vil. Es la palabra imprecatoria. Se usa cuando se quiere menospreciar a sí mismo, o a cualquiera otra persona o cosa. Se usa en la pelea cuando se quiere insultar a otro. También se usa mucho en los cuentos, chistes y charlas obscenas." (p. 11).

the Spanish translation of (21e), the language consultant rendered *base* again with the adjective *maldito*. In (21d), he chose *porquería* 'despicable', which expresses the feeling of revulsion and disgust. In the Spanish translation of the remaining examples, *base* is not spelt out at all, which also happens in many other examples from texts or obtained from elicitation on other topics.

(21) *base* modifying nouns (human, animal, spirit and inanimate)

a. *Kema   ebakwa=**base**   uchi   mesia-ta-iti-a.*
   1SG.GEN child=DEPREC1   dog   let_go_of-A3-PFV-PST
   'Mi hijo lo largo al perro.' n4.0348 (elicited)
   'My <u>damned</u> child let go of the dog.' (Which makes me angry because I had told him to hold it.)'

b. *Metse-sa   kunu=**base**=ja   da   metse e-pisa-ta.*
   2DU-GEN   brother=DEPREC1=ERG TOP   2DL   FUT-shoot-A3
   '(¡Escapen!) Su hermano los quiere matar.' tm061
   '(Escape!) Your <u>damned</u> brother will kill you.' (talking about the same violent brother as in (13a,b))

c. *Yama   da   iwa-dha-iti-a   uchi=**base**.*
   1SG.ERG TOP call-FRUST-PFV-PST   dog=DEPREC1
   'Yo le he llamado en vano al perro (pero no vino).' n2.0042 (elicited)
   'I called my <u>damned</u> dog in vain (he didn't come).'

d. *Kema   e-me=su   da   e-dajaja jida caimán=**base**.*
   1SG.GEN NPF-hand=LOC   TOP FUT-fall   that caiman=DEPREC1
   'En mi mano va caer ese caimán <u>porquería</u>.' ci177
   'That <u>despicable</u> caiman will die (lit. fall) in my hand.' (talking about a caiman that threatened to eat up the speaker's daughter)

e. *Tsa-da=mue   kema   jida einid'u=**base**.*
   liked-ASF=NEG 1SG.DAT   that   spirit=DEPREC1
   'No quiero a ese <u>maldito</u> maligno.' es128_ott (Ottaviano 1980:150)
   'I don't like this <u>damned</u> spirit.' (talking about the speaker's husband, a wicked spirit who forced her to marry him)

f. *Jida Wayu=**base**=su   ema   dajaja-iti-a.*
   that   Wayu=DEPREC1=LOC 1SG   fall-PFV-PST
   'En el arroyo Wayu me he caído.' lp113
   'I fell in that <u>damned</u> Wayu (stream).'

The marker *base* is analyzed as a clitic rather than a suffix. This analysis is based on the fact that, like *chidi*, *base* does not need to be directly attached to the noun it modifies. It can encliticize to another item when the noun is followed by an adjective, whether the noun is overtly expressed, as in (22a), or not expressed, as in (22b). This can also happen with headless noun phrases with a demonstrative, as in (23a,b). In passing, note the use of the Spanish augmentative suffix *-(n)azo* to translate *base* in (22b).

(22) *base* modifying nouns with an adjective host

a. *Te   kunikuni=chidi=base etse   tsawa-ta-ja   pu-kwa.*
   garden small=DIM=DEPREC1 1DL   help-A3-DESID   AUX.ITR-POT
   'Chaco chiquitito va a querer que le ayudemos sembrar.'
   'He is probably going to want us to help him make his <u>damned</u> minuscule garden.'
   gu052

b. *Kepia tse   tueda tuna-da=base   ai   ja-bana-ti-kwa?*
   where MAYBE that   lazy-ASF=DEPREC1 what   MID-plant-MID-POT
   'Que va sembrar algo ese (hombre) flojo<u>nazo</u>?' gu015
   'What could this <u>damned</u> lazy (man) be able to plant (in the field)?'

(23) *base* modifying nouns with a demonstrative host

a. *Carajo. Be   ema neicha ye=base=ja   bid'umimi a-ta-iti-a.*
   damn_it PFV 1SG again   this=DEPREC1=ERG lie_to   AUX.TR-A3-PFV-PST
   'Carajo. Otra vez ya me volvió a mentir este (zorro).' bu064
   'Damn it! That <u>damned</u> (fox) lied to me again!'

b. *Wape=su   da   e-sakwina   jida=base.*
   mass_of_floating_sticks=LOC   TOP FUT-appear   that=DEPREC1
   'En la palisada va salir ese (caimán) <u>porquería</u>.' ci201
   'That <u>despicable</u> (caiman) is going to appear out of the mass of floating sticks.'

Another piece of evidence in favor of the clitic status is that *base* can also modify independent pronouns, as illustrated in (24).

(24) *base* modifying a pronoun

   Ema defiende-taji=bie   da   metse=base   daja
   1SG   defend-ABIL=EVENTHOUGH   TOP 2DL=DEPREC1   thus
      pue-yu-me   pu-iti-a.
      come-REITR-INTENS   AUX.ITR-PFV-PST
   'En vez de defenderme, Ustedes dos se han venido.' ti105
   'Instead of defending me (against the jaguar) you (escaped) went back home, <u>damned</u> you.'

Example (25) is the only example of *base* attaching to a verb. Note that semantically *base* appears to still be a modifier of the (subject) argument of the verb ('caiman'), not a modifier of the verb event ('lie'). In that construction, *base* seems to behave similarly to *ichenu* (cf. §3.2). More examples, including transitive verbs, would be needed to know whether *base*, like *ichenu*, would also target absolutive arguments, and what factors might motivate its position, on the verb/predicate or on an argument.

(25) *base* marking a verb

   Jade   dapia pa-sa=base!
   let's_see there HORT-lie=DEPREC1

'A ver, ahí que esté echado (el caimán).'
'Let it lay there, that <u>damned</u> (caiman)!' ci175

In all of the available examples, *base* is analyzed as a clitic, rather than a suffix, because it can attach to a range of different word classes. In addition, unlike what we saw with *chidi* and *ichenu* (and *base*), there are no examples showing *base* followed by a suffix.

Note that, like *chidi* and *ichenu*, when *base* is used simultaneously with other clitics, it is placed closer to the host than the other clitics, as can be seen in (26), with =*kwana* 'PL' and =*bawi* 'RESTR'.

(26)   *base* modifying a noun, followed by other enclitics

…*miada   mu   tueda   animal=**base**=kwana=bawi*
  2SG.ERG   CONTR   that   animal=DEPREC1=PL=RESTR
  jeti-jeti   y-a-inia…
  fetch-REDUP   IPFV-AUX.TR-IPFV.SITTING.1/2
'Cada vez tú traías así esos animales <u>despreciables</u>, no más.' rn066_ott (Ottaviano, Ida. 1980.)(Ottaviano 1980:17)
'Every time you would fetch only those <u>despicable</u> animals…'

The etymology of *base* is unclear. Here I will tentatively suggest that it comes from an intransitive verb *base* 'be wrong, be mistaken'. There is no such verb in present-day Tacana, but there is evidence that such a verb is possibly reconstructible. The evidence comes from the transitive verb, *basea* 'cheat on, fool',[13] illustrated in (27).

(27)   *basea* 'cheat on, fool'

*Daja   **base**a-taji   mike   tata.*
thus   cheat_on-ABIL   2SG.GEN   father
'Así le mintamos a tu padre.' au085a
'This way we can fool your father'

The verb *basea* is formed of the sequence *base* followed by a vowel *a*. In the language, *a* is found in a number of transitive / intransitive pairs where it functions as a causative marker, as illustrated in (28a-d). It is therefore possible that the *a* in transitive *basea* is the same causative marker which would have applied to an intransitive verb *base* 'be wrong, be mistaken', which has been lost in the present-day language.[14]

(28) Causative derivation

   a. *neti-**a**-*   'stand (tr)'   ←   *neti-*   'stand (itr)'
   b. *seje-**a**-*   'fill (tr)'   ←   *seje-*   'fill (itr)'
   c. *uru-**a**-*   'fell'   ←   *uru-*   'fall'
   d. *utsu-**a**-*   'burn (tr)'   ←   *utsu-*   'burn (itr)'
   e. ***basea-**   **'cheat on'**   (←   ***base-**   **'be mistaken'?**)

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[13] In Spanish, Ottaviano & Ottaviano (1989) define the meanings of this verb as follows: '*embrollar, engañar, traicionar*'.
[14] I have not been able to identify any cognate form in other Takanan languages.

3.4 **Depreciation 2: *madha* [maða]**

The last emotion morpheme, *madha*, is much less frequent in the database, being only found seven times. Its exact meaning is less certain than that of the other emotion morphemes.[15] In all the examples, it is used as a verb suffix, occurring between the verb root (possibly the verb stem) and the final inflectional suffixes. As for its etymology, it is most probably the adjective *madha-da* 'bad' mentionned in footnote 15.

Three illustrative examples of *madha* from my own corpus of texts are given in (29a-c).

(29) *madha* marking verbs

    a. *Dapia   da   manu-**madha**-iti-a.*
        there   TOP   die-DEPREC2-PFV-PST
        'Ahí se ha muerto (el caimán).' ci199
        'He died there (the <u>despicable</u> caiman that almost ate me).'

    b. *Beu,   kwajapapubie   ema   pa-tsua-**madha**-ti-yu   uda.*
        PFV   in_any_manner   1SG   HORT-go_up-DEPREC2-GO-REITR   through_here
        'Cómo sea me voy a subir por aquí.' lp045
        'In any manner I will climb up here / anyhow I'm gonna have to climb up here (crawling on my knees).'

    c. *Jade,   dasu   mu   pa-pu-**madha**-ti-yu=we   ekwanaju.*
        Let's_see   then   CONTR   HORT-be-DEPREC2-GO-REITR=RESTR   1PL.EXCL
        'Ya entonces, nos vamos a ir nomás.' tm021
        'Well then, let's go (since your daughter is not here)!'

In most of the translations of the available examples, *madha* is not expressed. Yet, it appears to always occur in situations which depict participants and/or situations which are in one way or another unpleasant to the speaker. Example (29a) is from the same text as (21d), (23b) and (25), where the speaker tells the story of her misadventures with a despicable caiman that threatened to eat her up. Example (29b) comes from the same text as (11b) and (21f), where the speaker relates how he twisted his knee and had a very hard time going back home. Finally, in (29c), the context is that the speaker is very disappointed (if not humiliated) that the daughter of his addressee, that he had specifically come to visit, is absent. (This example is part of the same text as (13a,b) and (21b) about the violent brother.) On the basis of this very small pool of examples, I am inclined to analyze *madha* as an second depreciative marker, used to express a negative feeling on the part of the speaker for a situation or participants towards which they have hostile, unfriendly, uncomfortable or unpleasant feelings. It is unclear if and how this marker differs semantically from the first depreciative marker *base*, although one might be tempted to suggest that *base* is used whenever a particular participant can be blamed for the situation that has arisen, and *madha* when this is less clear (i.e., where the situation is negative but it has not necessarily been caused by a particular participant in the situation).[16]

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[15] In the SIL dictionary from Ottaviano & Ottaviano, *madha* is not listed as a bound morpheme. It only shows up as either a verbal lexeme meaning 'harm, defame, interrupt' or an adjective lexeme, meaning 'a lot, bad'; see Ottaviano & Ottaviano (1989:77) and more discussion on these forms below.
[16] I thank an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

The only examples where *madha* is given a translation are (30a) and (30b), which both come from SIL data. Both show *madha* on the verb *d'u-* 'pour water on'. The first occurrence, translated by *malintencionadamente* 'maliciously', comes from a text published in 1980 where a woman relates how she killed her hated husband. The second occurrence, translated by *mucha (agua)* 'a lot of (water)', is an entry of the 1989 SIL dictionary. This latter example most probably comes from the same text as (30a).

(30)   *madha* marking verbs

    a.   … *yama   beju   chua-d'u-**madha**-iti-a.*
       1SG.ERG   PFV   head-pour_water_on-DEPREC2-PFV-PST
   '(Luego), derramé (agua) sobre su cabeza (de mi marido) <u>malintencionadamente</u>.'
   es137_ott (Ottaviano 1980:52)
   'I poured (boiling water) on the head (of my hated husband, in order to kill him).'

    b.   *-chua-d'u-**madha**-*
      head-pour_water_on-DEPREC2-
      'derramar <u>mucha</u> agua en la cabeza' (Ottaviano & Ottaviano 1989:26)
      'pour <u>a lot of</u> water on the head'

The translation of (30b), with the quantifying expression 'a lot of', does not appear to involve a depreciative sense, which suggests that the translation of (30a) is probably more appropriate. I suspect that the translation 'a lot of' is influenced by the fact that Tacana has an adjective *madha-da* meaning 'a lot of, many', as discussed further below.

   It is most likely that the depreciative suffix *-madha* is historically related to the adjective *madha-da* 'bad', illustrated in (31).[17]

(31)   adjective *madha-da* 'bad'

    E-dhe-tsuitsui-(a)ni,   [ai   **madha**-da]   *dia=putsu.*
    IPFV-stomach-hurt-IPFV.SITTING   thing   bad-ASF   eat=TMP.SS
    'Me duele el estómago, porque comí algo <u>malo</u>.' (Ottaviano & Ottaviano 1989:33)
    'My stomach hurts because I ate something <u>bad</u>.

Even though this adjective is rarely used in my Tacana corpus, it has fairly clear cognates in all the other Takanan languages (cf. adjectives *masa-da* in Cavineña, *kya-mase* in Ese Ejja, *ma-sawe* in Araona and *emasa* in Reyesano, which all mean 'bad') and it was reconstructed in proto-Takanan as **maza* by Girard (1971:99). These facts provide good evidence that the depreciative suffix *-madha* grammaticalized out of an adjective meaning 'bad'.

   Note however that, as mentioned above, Tacana also has a formally identical adjective *madha-da* with a different meaning, namely 'a lot of, many', illustrated in (32). This adjective is more frequent in my corpus.

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[17] Another possible cognate is Ottaviano & Ottaviano's (1989:77) transitive verb *madha-* 'harm, defame, interrupt' (Span. *hacer mal a*, *difamar, interrumpir / entrecortar*), which was already mentioned in footnote 15. Unfortunately, this form is not attested in my corpus. What is more, in their dictionary, Ottaviano & Ottaviano do not provide any illustrative example of its use in a sentence. More work is needed to determine whether such a verb really exists or existed in Tacana.

(32) adjective *madha-da* 'a lot of, many'

> *Kwawe*   *mu*   ***madha*-*da***   *y-ani.*
> yucca   CONTR   lot_of/many-ASF   IPFV-sit
> 'Yuca hay <u>harto</u>.'
> 'There is <u>a lot of</u> yucca (manioc).' gu031

Arguably, *madha-da* 'a lot of, many' could equally be a possible etymology for the depreciative suffix, which would have followed the well-known augmentative > pejorative path (Ponsonnet this volume). There is comparative evidence, however, that the adjective *madha-da* 'a lot of, many' is not the source of the depreciative suffix. As far as I know, there are no attested cognate forms meaning 'a lot of, many' in any of the other Takanan languages, which suggest that the Tacana adjective *madha-da* 'a lot of, many' is probably a recent semantic extension from the adjective *madha-da* 'bad'. Note that such an extension, from 'bad' to 'a lot of, many' is not unheard of, having been documented in at least some Australian languages of Cape York Peninsula (Gaby 2006:286, fn 158).

4 Emotion morphemes in the Takanan family: synthesis and reconstruction

In this section, I present a synthetic analysis of grammatical morphemes expressing emotions in all the languages of the Takanan family. The morphemes are organized according to their broad semantic meanings: affection (§4.1), compassion (§4.2) and depreciation (§4.3). For comparative and reconstruction purposes, I also present, for the three semantic domains, and when available, a number of morphemes which do not have emotional meanings synchronically but are probably cognate (entirely or partly) to the Tacana emotional morphemes discussed in §3.

4.1 Affection

The morphemes which express affection-related emotions are listed in Table 3, together with likely cognate morphemes which do not express emotions. The latter are underlined. The cognate parts of these morphemes are indicated in bold.

*Table 3. Grammatical morphemes expressing **affection-related** emotions and **likely cognate morphemes** which do not express emotions in the Takanan family*

Cavineña	***chi*** [tɕi]	'affection, dearly beloved' (on kinship terms only)	(Guillaume 2008:440)
Ese Ejja	<u>*sisi*</u> [sisi]	'small, little'	(Vuillermet 2012:324)
Araona	*lipi* [lipi]	'affectionately, diminutive' (Span. *cariñosamente, diminutivo*)	(Pitman 1980:117; Emkow 2006:242)
Tacana	***chi****di* [tɕiɗi]	'affection, tenderness, compassion, small size/quantity, attenuation'	§3.1
Reyesano	<u>*wi**chi***</u> [ßitɕi]	'only, at least'	Guillaume (field notes 2004-2008)

As we can see, besides Tacana, two languages display grammatical markers expressing affection (Cavineña and Araona). Among these, only the Cavineña marker *chi* is formally related

to Tacana *chidi*. The Araona marker *lipi* 'affectionately', does not show any formal similarity, which points to a different historical origin. Unlike Tacana *chidi*, Cavineña *chi* only expresses affection and with very limited productivity. In the available data, it is suffixed to six noun roots which express kinship relations ('grandfather', 'grandmother', 'father', 'mother', 'uncle' and 'aunt'), and only when possessed by a speech act participant (1st or 2nd person) (see details in Guillaume 2008:440–441). An example where *chi* is suffixed to the noun *tata* 'father' possessed by a 1st person singular participant is given in (33).

(33)   Cavineña *chi* 'affection'

    *Tudya ike e-kwe tata-**chi**=ra   escuela=ju isha-kware...*
    then 1SG 1SG-GEN father-AFFTN=ERG   school=LOC put.in-REM.PST
    'De ahí me metió mi <u>papá</u> en la escuela…' mg003 (Guillaume 2008:677)
    'Then my <u>dad</u> sent me to school…'

In Ese Ejja and Reyesano, there do not appear to be any affection-related markers. However, it is reasonable to believe that Ese Ejja *sisi* 'small, little', illustrated in (34), and Reyesano *wichi* 'only, at least', illustrated in (35) (see also (19) above) are historically related to Tacana *chidi* and Cavineña *chi*, because of their semantic and formal similarity.

(34)   Ese Ejja *sisi* 'small, little'

    *Akwi-**sisi** saja-jya-ka-ani   beni=a.*
    tree-little cut-?GO(O)-3A-PRS wind=ERG
    'The wind cuts (away?) the <u>little</u> branches.' {elicited} (Vuillermet 2012:671)

(35)   Reyesano *wichi* 'only, at least'

    *Tebatabijedu   maika,   walipa=**wichi** te,   m-e-uepe-da.*
    for_that_reason   not_exist   hen=RESTR   BM   1SG-IPFV-raise-IPFV
    'Por eso ya no quiero, gallina <u>no más</u> yo crio.' bn179 (Guillaume field notes 2004-2008)
    'For that reason I don't have (cattle), I raise <u>only</u> chickens.'

The historical connection between Cavineña *chi* and Ese Ejja *sisi* is supported by their phonological, morphosyntactic and semantic similarities. From a phonological perspective, as established by Girard (1971:31ff), there are regular sound correspondences between Cavineña *ch* [tɕ] (preceding *i*) and Ese Ejja *s* [s]. If we accept Girard's (1971:31ff) proto-phoneme **ts* [tʂ] as the ancestor of these two sounds, we can reconstruct a form ***tsi [tʂi]** in proto-Takanan. The Ese Ejja *sisi* would therefore correspond to a reduplicated reflex of proto-Takanan **tsi* [tʂi]. In the case of Tacana and Reyesano, the phonological evidence is not as transparent; according to Girard's (1971:31ff) reconstruction, the reflexes of **ts* [tʂ] should be *ts* [tʂ], not *ch* [tɕ], in both languages. Still, the two sounds *ts* [tʂ] and *ch* [tɕ] are phonetically very similar. Also note that in both Tacana **chidi** and Reyesano **wichi**, the syllable *chi* is accompanied by an adjacent syllable (synchronically non-segmentable) which contains the palatal vowel *i* (postposed *di* in Tacana and preposed *wi* in Reyesano). The presence of the alveo-palatal *ch* rather than (otherwise expected) post-alveolar *ts* in these two languages could therefore be the result of the influence of this syllable. More work is needed to confirm this hypothesis.

From a morphosyntactic perspective, the historical connection is supported by the fact that the four postulated cognate markers are used in the same construction, as noun modifiers in a noun phrase, where they are postposed to the head noun. We can therefore suggest that this construction goes back to the proto-language. The origin and *raison d'être* of the presence of a postposed syllable ***di*** in Tacana *chidi* and preposed ***wi*** in Reyesano *wichi* remains to be investigated. In the case of *wi* in Reyesano, it is possible that it is related to the restrictive (delimitative) enclitic *=we* 'only', which is found in both Reyesano (Guillaume 2012:219) and Tacana (see (6c), (9b), (15c) and (29c)).

Finally, from a semantic perspective, the historical connection is supported by the fact that the different meanings expressed by the four postulated cognate markers – affection in Cavineña and Tacana, diminutive in Ese Ejja and exactness ('only, at least') in Reyesano – are frequently expressed by the same markers in the languages of the world, as revealed by typological work on evaluative morphology (Jurafsky 1996; Mutz 2015; Ponsonnet this volume). According to the predictions of these authors, the diminutive meaning should have been historically prior, with later extensions to affection.

4.2 **Compassion**

Table 4 lists the morphemes that express **compassion-related** emotions in the different languages of the Takanan family.

*Table 4. Grammatical morphemes expressing **compassion-related** emotions in the Takanan family*

Cavineña	*shana*	'pity, empathy'	(Guillaume 2008:654)
Ese Ejja	***che***	'discourse marker'	(Vuillermet 2012:334)
Araona	—		(Pitman 1980:117; Pitman 1981; Emkow 2006)
Tacana	***ichenu***	'empathy, pity, compassion'	§3.2
Reyesano	***chenu***	'empathy' (Span. *empático*)	(Guillaume field notes 2004-2008; 2012:219)

Apart from Tacana, compassion-related emotion markers are unambiguously present in two languages, Cavineña and Reyesano. The Cavineña marker *shana* is formally quite distinct from Tacana and most likely has a different origin.[18] By contrast, the Reyesano marker *chenu*, illustrated in (36), is formally almost identical to the Tacana morpheme; the only difference being the lack of the word-initial *i*. In terms of its distribution, Reyesano *chenu* is a second position enclitic (2012:219).

(36)   Reyesano *chenu* 'empathy'

     *Baudza   =**chenu** m-a-puti-a   te   ki   te=du.*
     yesterday =EMP 1SG-PST-go-PST BM 1SG.GEN field=LOC
     'Ayer <u>pobre</u> he ido a mi chaco.' te001 (Guillaume 2012:216)
     'Yesterday I went to my field, <u>poor me</u>.'

The inclusion of the Ese Ejja marker *che* in Table 4 is more tentative. Vuillermet (2012:334) does not discuss its meaning and functions: it is found in a single example, reproduced in (37),

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[18] In Guillaume (2008:655) I have proposed the lexical verb *shana* 'leave, abandon' as a possible etymology.

where it is labeled 'discourse' (marker). However, according to the same author (p.c., March 2016), the meaning of this morpheme is likely to be similar to that of Tacana *ichenu* and Reyesano *chenu*, expressing compassion or pity at least in some contexts.[19] Also, from a formal perspective, a historical connection between the three markers is not unexpected considering their formal resemblance and also the distributional similarity with the Reyesano marker, as a 2nd position enclitic.[20]

(37)   Ese Ejja *che* 'discourse marker'

*Akyana=sea=**che**   xeshe-aña   owepoxi kwa anoso, azucar=kwana*
things=1INCL.ERG=DISC   buy-PRSA1/2 a_little   REL? rice   sugar(Span.)=PL
    kwa   esea=xeshe-sa   a-je.
    REL?   1INCL.ERG=buy-DES   do-FUT
'(In the town) we buy at least rice and sugar, what we want/need to buy.' {KaAch.060}
(Vuillermet 2012:334)

In Araona, I was not able to identify in the available descriptions any compassion-related marker or any morpheme which might be related at least formally with compassion-related markers in the other languages.

In §3.2 I have argued that Tacana *ichenu* probably derives from an adjective lexeme *ichenu* 'poor, pauper, pitiful', which is still attested in Reyesano. Whether this adjective grammaticalized as a compassion marker independently in the two languages or at an earlier stage (proto-Tacana-Reyesano or proto-Takanik) is unknown at the present time.

4.3   **Depreciation**

Finally, Table 5 presents morphemes which express **depreciation-related** emotions in the different languages of the Takanan family.

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[19] In other examples, Ese Ejja *che* might as well express meanings of disgust or contempt and in yet other examples irritation or annoyance (Vuillermet p.c., March 2016).
[20] I am assuming that *=che* is a second position enclitic because in example (37), its host, *=sea* '1INCL.ERG', is itself analyzed as a second position enclitic by Vuillermet (2012:352);

*Table 5. Grammatical morphemes expressing **depreciation-related** emotions in the Takanan family*

Language	Morpheme	Translation	Source
Cavineña	*amaama*	'damned, stupid' (Span. *maldito, de porra, malicioso*)	(Guillaume field notes 1996-2003)
	jara/wana	'adversative[*]: discontent, anger, disgust, regret, pity, disappointment, confusion, distrust'	(Guillaume 2008:241ff)
Ese Ejja	*jya*	'depreciative: s.o. not liked, action done in any manner' (Span. *como sea*)	(Vuillermet 2012:499)
Araona	*o*	'disapproval, depreciation, disgust' (Span. *desaprobacion, despreciativa, desagrado*)	(Pitman 1980:55, 117)
	shodi	'regret' (Span. *sentido, arrepentirse*)	(Pitman 1980:55; Emkow 2006:524)
	shili	'depreciation, contempt, old, bad' (Span. *depreciativo, despectivo, viejo, malo*)	(Pitman 1980:117)
Tacana	*base*	'anger, disgust, contempt'	§3.3
	madha	'adversative'	§3.4
Reyesano	***masamasa***	'damned, stupid' (Span. *maldito, cojudo, malo*)	(Guillaume field notes 2004-2008)
	wiyawiya	'negative attitude of speaker over the proposition'	(Guillaume field notes 2004-2008; 2012:218)

[*] The choice of the term 'adversative' for labelling the marker *jara/wana* in Cavineña is unfortunate because this term is generally used for other types of meanings in general linguistics, such as for markers expressing contradiction (e.g., English adversative conjunctions *but* and *yet*).

As one can see, depreciation markers are attested in all the languages. Cavineña, Araona and Reyesano, similarly to Tacana, have two markers expressing these meanings. In Ese Ejja, one finds only one depreciation marker, *jya*.[21]

In terms of formal similarities, the only observable pattern is the resemblance between Tacana *madha* [maða] and Reyesano *masamasa*, illustrated in (38).

(38)   Reyesano *masamasa* 'damned'

    M-e-surasura-badze   *te,* *m-a-wachujea-ta(-a)*   *te,*
    1SG-IPFV-fish-IPFV.HANGING BM 1SG-PST-jump.on-A3-PST   BM
       [*iba*   ***masamasa***].
       jaguar   damned
    'Estaba pescando, me brincó el tigre <u>maldito</u>.' ab002 (Guillaume field notes 2004-2008)
    'When I was fishing the <u>damned</u> jaguar jumped on me.'

The historical connection between the two morphemes is supported by the regular sound correspondences between Tacana *dh* [ð] and Reyesano *s* [s] (Girard 1971:31). However, the

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[21] Ese Ejja also has a grammatical apprehensive marker, *chana*, which, like the depreciation markers, expresses negative feelings related to the domain of 'fear' (Vuillermet 2012:474–475; this volume). This marker is not included here for two reasons: firstly, it is semantically quite different from the depreciation morphemes; secondly, there is no such marker in Tacana (and in any of the other Takanan languages).

two markers, even if they possibly express similar semantics, have a very different morphosyntactic distribution: Tacana *madha* is part of the verb morphology while Reyesano *masamasa* is a noun modifier. (Reyesano *masamasa* is analyzed as an independent word because it appears to hold independent stress. However, from a morphosyntactic perspective it is bound to its nominal host since it cannot occur by itself.) This suggests that they followed independent paths of grammaticalization. In §3.4 I suggested that the Tacana adversative *madha* comes from an adjective lexeme *madha-da* 'bad' which exists synchronically in the language. It turns out that synchronically, as already mentioned in §3.4, Reyesano also has a related adjective lexeme, *emasa* 'bad', illustrated in (39). Therefore, it is likely that the two depreciation markers followed independent paths of grammaticalization out of formally related (cognate) adjectival lexemes present in the two languages.

(39)   Reyesano adjective *emasa* 'bad'

    K-e-ichadu   *te*   [*iye   anu*   **emasa**].
    1PL-FUT-leave BM   this woman bad
    'La vamos a dejar a esta mujer <u>mala</u>.' cn034 (Guillaume 2012:210)
    'We're going to leave that <u>bad</u> woman.'

For some of the markers in Table 5, the likely etymological source of the markers that are not related to each other is documented. In Cavineña, the 'adversative' *jara/wana* most likely comes from the intransitive/transitive pair of posture verbs *jara* 'lie' and *wana* 'lay' (Guillaume 2008:244); the origin of the depreciative *amaama* is unknown. In Ese Ejja, the depreciative *jya* is probably related to the transitive verb *jya* 'leave, throw' (Vuillermet 2012:499, 685)[22]. In Reyesano, the 'negative attitude' marker *wiyawiya* might be connected to the intransitive verb *wiya* 'urinate' (proto-Takanan *wira; Girard 1971:134). Finally, in Araona, the origin of the three negative emotion markers *o*, *shodi* and *shili* is unknown.

5   Summary and conclusions

In this paper I have described four emotion grammatical markers in Tacana, presented a synthesis of emotion markers in the whole Takanan family, and proposed a reconstruction of their history. In doing so, I have also surveyed a number of morphemes which do not have emotional meanings but are probably cognate to the Tacana emotional morphemes.

The study firstly reveals that three emotional meanings are recurrently expressed grammatically in all these languages: affection, compassion and depreciation. For all three categories, the emotion markers are primarily noun modifiers. In some cases, however, the same markers can also occur on a verbal or adjectival base or other word classes, such as adverbs. When attached to a verb or an adjective in predicative function, the emotion markers can either modify the verb or the adjective (ex. Tacana diminutive *chidi*) or modify an argument (ex. Tacana compassion *ichenu* and depreciation *base*).

Secondly, the study shows that only one emotion morpheme, the affective, can be reasonably reconstructed to proto-Takanan, in the form of a (probable diminutive) marker ***tsi** **[tsi]**. The

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[22] The resemblance between the verb *jya* 'leave, throw' and the depreciative suffix *-jya* is not noted by Vuillermet. However, Vuillermet points out the resemblance between the verb *jya* 'leave, throw' and an associated motion suffix *-jya* 'GO' which has the exact same phonological and morphosyntactic properties as the depreciative suffix (p. 685). Here I am assuming that both depreciative and associated motion markers have the same etymology.

etymology of this marker is unknown. It might be relevant to point to its formal resemblance with the diminutive / affective marker ***chi****cha* in the neighboring language Mojeño (see Rose This volume), which could suggest an instance of borrowing, whether from Mojeño into proto-Takanan or vice versa.

The emotion markers which express compassion or depreciation meanings display very little formal similarities among each other and cannot be reconstructed to proto-Takanan. However, their etymological sources are easier to recover: these tend to be either lexical adjectives ('poor' → COMPASSION and 'bad' → DEPRECIATION in Tacana and Reyesano) or lexical verbs ('abandon' → COMPASSION in Cavineña , 'lie/lay' → ADVERSATIVE in Cavineña, 'leave, throw' → DEPRECIATIVE in Ese Ejja). For the field of typology, it is noteworthy that none of these etymologies display any obvious link with the expression of "diminutivization" or "augmentativization", a fact which suggests that the study of the morphological (grammatical) expression of emotions should not necessarily be construed as a subcomponent of the study of "diminutive" and "augmentative" markers, as has often been done so far.

6 Acknowledgements

7   Abbreviations

ABIL	abilitative
AFFTN	affection
ASF	(dummy) adjective suffix
ASSOC	associative
AUX	auxiliary
BM	(constituent) boundary marker
COMPAS	compassion
COMPL	completive
CONTR	contrastive
DEPREC1	first depreciation marker
DEPREC2	second depreciation marker
DES / DESID	desiderative
DIM	diminutive
DISC	discourse marker
DS	different subject
DU	dual
EMP	empathy
FRUST	frustative
GO	go & do (verb action)
HAB	habitual
HORT	hortative
INTENS	intensifier
INTERJ	interjection
ITR	intransitive
MID	middle
NPF	(dummy) noun prefix
POT	potential
PROP	proprietive
PRS	present
REDUP	reduplication
REITR	reiterative
REM	remote
RESTR	restrictive
SOC	sociative
Span.	Spanish borrowed term
SS	same subject
TMP	temporal subordinator

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