

Data for studying postpositions in Chamicuro

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1. Introduction

This paper presents a corpus of data focusing on the grammatical function of postpositions in Chamicuro, an Amazonian language of Peru. Chamicuro is a nearly extinct member of the Maipurean or Arawakan family (Simons & Fennig 2018). Its ISO 639-3 code is [ccc].

The present document serves as an appendix to Parker (2018), a book chapter in which I analyze Chamicuro's three clitic postpositions: the comitative =*musta* 'with', the locative =*shana*(*ye*) 'in, at, on, to', and =*yojko* 'until'. In that chapter I refer to a separate, more extensive repository of examples posted online, which is this file. Due to space constraints, Parker (2018) contains only a small sample of the relevant constructions – just enough to illustrate the analytical claims. The data presented here, on the other hand, virtually exhaust all of the Chamicuro forms containing postpositions which I collected during my fieldwork (three short periods between 1985 and 1993; see Parker 2010a,b). Nevertheless, there are still a few remaining pieces of pertinent data scattered throughout my hand-written notes which are technically unpublished, though archived as Parker (1985a,b,c).

Unlike its companion chapter, this appendix contains little analysis and discussion of Chamicuro data, except for interlinear glosses of each morpheme. Parker (2018) provides not only a fuller description of the syntax and semantics of these postpositions, but also a brief sketch of a few other details of Chamicuro grammar. It includes a synopsis of the phonology as well, so that the reader can understand the practical orthography used in writing Chamicuro data. I repeat the correspondences below, where the phonemic segments are transcribed using the Americanist system:

(1) Consonants:

grapheme	p	t	k	ts	ch	čh	s	sh	šh	m	n	ñ	l	ly	(r)	w	y	'	j
phoneme	p	t	k	t ^s	č	č̣	s	š	ṣ̌	m	n	ñ	l	l ^y	(ř)	w	y	ʔ	h

Vowels:

grapheme	i	e	a	o	u	ii	ee	aa	oo	uu
phoneme	i	e	a	o	u	i:	e:	a:	o:	u:

In (1), the segment /č̣/ is a voiceless retroflexed (or “bunched”) alveopalatal affricate. The corresponding voiceless fricative is /ṣ̌/. The voiced lateral approximant /l^y/ is palatal or alveopalatal. The voiced alveolar flap (or tap) /ɾ/ is used only in loanwords. A colon after a

vowel indicates contrastive length. All other phonological symbols represent their typical Americanist pronunciations.

The following abbreviations are used throughout this document. Most of those appearing in glosses are consistent with the Leipzig conventions (Max Planck Institute 2015):

1	first person	FUT	future
2	second person	LOC	locative
3	third person	M	masculine
?	uncertain gloss	N	noun
-	morpheme boundary	NEG	negative
=	clitic boundary	OBJ	object
“ ”	quoted speech	PL	plural
()	optional elements	POSS	possessive
ABS	absolute	PRO	pronoun
CAUS	causative	PST	past
COM	comitative	PURP	purposive
DET	determiner	REL	relative
DIM	diminutive	SG	singular
EP	epenthetic	TR	transitive

The data below are organized into three major sections. First, §2 contains all of the examples of postpositions appearing in texts (continuous discourse). Consequently, all of them occur in complete sentences, or at least in a full clause with a verb. Next, §3 presents a list of Chamicuro words and phrases elicited in isolation. Finally, §4 displays two tables of paradigmatic data: one involving the comitative morpheme =*musta*, and a second one illustrating the locative =*shana*(*ye*).

At the beginning of each of these three sections I briefly explain how the respective data were elicited, transcribed, and organized. As indicated below, most of the data in this appendix have been previously published, although not necessarily in the same format as displayed here. Rather, the main purpose of this document is to bring together all of the extant Chamicuro forms relevant to the study of postpositions into a single comprehensive corpus in order to facilitate a more systematic analysis of their behavior. A related goal is to provide numerous additional examples documenting the patterns discussed in Parker (2018).

As noted above, this file does not present any actual linguistic analysis per se, apart from glossing each morpheme. Nevertheless, in §4 I comment briefly on the two variants of the locative marker: =*shana* vs. =*shanaye*. The latter exhibits an apparently optional suffix (-*ye*) whose meaning and function are difficult to determine (see Parker 2018). The second paradigm presented there (Table 2) might help us unravel this detail. In that section I also mention a few other Arawakan languages exhibiting a locative suffix which appears to be cognate with Chamicuro -*ye*.

2. Data from texts

The following examples with postpositions come from the text “Nuestros antepasados” (“Our ancestors”), in Parker et al. (1987: 10-19). They appear there in this order, although not necessarily sequential to one other. That is, there may be other Chamicuro utterances before,

between, and after some of these sentences which form part of that same discourse. The original, hand-transcribed field notes containing most of the texts discussed in this appendix have been microfiched in their raw, unedited form as Parker (1985a).

All of the numbered examples in this paper are formatted as follows. The first line displays the Chamicuro data, using the practical orthography explained in (1). The Chamicuro utterances are divided into words and morphemes. In several instances it is not clear whether to transcribe the juncture right before (or after) postpositions as just a clitic (morpheme) boundary, or as a separate prosodic word, i.e. blank space (see Parker 2018). The second line in each example gives the corresponding morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, using the abbreviations listed above. The third line is a free translation in English, and the last (fourth) line gives the corresponding free translation in Spanish, as provided by the two Chamicuro speakers. The Spanish translation at the end of each example is usually followed by a page number referring to where that utterance was initially published (when relevant).

Throughout this file, the Chamicuro postpositional morphemes of interest are formatted in **bold** typeface (in the numbered examples) in order to make them easier to identify and search for. These include the three postpositions (*musta* ‘with’, *shana* ‘in, at, on, to’, and *yo(j)ko* ‘until’), as well as the suffix *-ye*, which occurs in locative constructions plus in a few other noun phrases.

- (2) chamekolo ti'-kana i-nen-kana-kati i-jsepijt-e-kana i-chi'nachtal-e=**shana-ye**
 Chamicuro deceased-PL 3-come-PL-PST 3-live-?-PL 3-village-POSS=LOC-?
 ‘Our ancestors (the deceased Chamicuros) came to live in their village.’
 ‘Nuestros antepasados (los chamicuros finados) vinieron a vivir en sus tierras (su pueblo).’
 (Parker et al. 1987: 11)
- (3) i-šhwisyo-kana-kati paspatal=**musta**
 3-come.down.river-PL-PST raft=COM
 ‘They came down (the Huallaga River) on a raft (by raft).’
 ‘(Ellos) bajaron (el río Huallaga) en una balsa.’ (p. 11)
- (4) paspatal=**musta** kana ka i-šhwisy-ako
 raft=COM PL PST(?) 3-come.down.river-?
 ‘They came down (the Huallaga River) on a raft (by raft).’
 ‘En (una) balsa bajaron el río (Huallaga).’ (p. 11)
- (5) i-'-to-kana ka čhijta=**shana**
 3-go-?-PL PST(?)/DET(?) land=LOC
 ‘They went (walking) by land.’
 ‘Fueron (caminando) por tierra.’ (p. 11)
- (6) mayeto kana ka i-kijte-kana kapone-pat=**shana**
 thus PL PST 3-arrive-PL Paucar-Yaku=LOC
 ‘Thus they arrived to/at Caponepati (a creek).’
 ‘Así llegaron a (la quebrada) Caponepati (Paucar-Yaku).’ (p. 11)

- (7) “akana sojpay-i ana’=**shana-ye**”
 there.is demon-EP this=LOC-?
 “There’s a demon/devil here (in this place).”
 “Hay un demonio aquí (en este sitio).” (p. 13)
- (8) “ashkos a-tos-pijt-i (mas) išhokolo=**shana-ye**”
 let’s.go 1PL-cut-?-EP (more) center(?)=LOC-?
 “Let’s go cutting a path further into (the middle of) the jungle.”
 “Vamos a abrir trocha (camino) más adentro (más al centro) de la selva.” (p. 13)
 note: I suspect that the Chamicuro word *išhokolo* in this sentence may be the same word as *išhujkulu* ‘jungle’. If that is true, then the form *išhokolo* (as it appears in my hand-written field notes) is either (1) an alternate (variant) pronunciation, or (2) an error (mistranscription) on my part, or (3) a slip of the tongue by don Gregorio.
- (9) i-kijyo-kwen-kana ka paj-na yeepa-chap=**shana**
 3-arrive-?-PL DET another-DET river-DIM(?)=LOC
 ‘(Thus) they arrived at another creek.’
 ‘Llegaron (así) a otra quebrada.’ (p. 13)
- (10) mashe’to kana ka ka-wusk-a tilishka-kana ka ka-jsepijt-a-ka-na
 he PL PST ?-take-? all-PL PST REL-live-?-REL(?)=DET
 shačhullo-kana masha=**shana-ye**
 youth-PL 3.PRO=LOC-?
 ‘He took (away) all the young people who lived there (in that place).’
 ‘El llevó a todos los jóvenes que vivían allí (en ese lugar).’ (p. 15)
- (11) mashe’to kana ka ka-shitpošh-ka tilishka-kana ka ka-chi’naska’nejya-kana ka
 he PL PST ?-take.out-DET all-PL PST REL-remain-PL PST
 i-chi’nachtale=**shana-ye**
 3-village=LOC-?
 ‘He took all those who remained (by themselves) in their village.’
 ‘El sacó a todos los que se quedaban (solos) en el pueblo (en sus tierras).’ (p. 17)
- (12) i-pa-jsepijt-a-kwen-kana ka Pampa.Hermos=**shana-ye**
 3-CAUS-live-?-?-PL DET Pampa.Hermosa=LOC-?
 ‘He took them to live (made them live) in Pampa Hermosa.’
 ‘(El) les hizo vivir (los llevó a vivir) en Pampa Hermosa.’ (p. 17)
- (13) akana ka-jsepijt-a-kana (na) Pampa.Hermosa=**shana-ye** shačhullo-kana
 there.are REL-live-?-PL DET Pampa.Hermosa=LOC-? youth-PL
 ‘There are young people who live in Pampa Hermosa.’
 ‘Hay jóvenes que viven en Pampa Hermosa.’ (p. 17)

The following examples with postpositions come from the text “Mi familia” (“My family”), in Parker et al. (1987: 18-19). They appear there in this order, although not necessarily sequential to

one other. That is, there may be other Chamicuro utterances before, between, and after some of these sentences which form part of that same discourse.

- (14) ma'sha wata ka u-jsepijt-a-ka u-'lujshana=**musta**-kana Pampa.Hermosa=**shana-ye**
 many year PST 1SG-live-?-DET 1SG-relative=COM-PL Pampa.Hermosa=LOC-?
 'I lived for many years with my relatives in Pampa Hermosa.'
 'Viví muchos años con mis familiares (chamicuros) en Pampa Hermosa.' (p. 19)
- (15) masha i-'to-kana-kati u-wusya-kel-i (n)alanjal=**shana**
 3.PRO 3-go-?-PL-PST 1SG-take-?-EP Naranjal=LOC
 'They (my daughters) took me to Naranjal (to live).'
 'Ellas (mis hijas) me llevaron al Naranjal (para vivir).' (p. 19)
- (16) u-'t-i ska'ne u-jsepijt-a-kel-na u-lya'lo=**musta** u-'chi'nuke=**shana**
 1SG-PRO-EP alone 1SG-live-?-?-DET 1SG-wife=COM 1SG-house=LOC
 'I live (there) by myself with my wife in my house.'
 'Vivo (allí) solo con mi esposa en mi casa.' (p. 19)
- (17) i-'to-kana ka ikito=**shana**
 1SG-go-?-PL DET Iquitos=LOC
 'They went to Iquitos (a jungle city).'
 'Se fueron a Iquitos (para vivir allí).' (p. 19)

The following examples with postpositions come from the text "La historia de dos tigres" ("The story about two jaguars"), in Parker et al. (1987: 22-27). They appear there in this order, although not necessarily sequential to one other. That is, there may be other Chamicuro utterances before, between, and after some of these sentences which form part of that same discourse.

- (18) u-'ka išhujkul=**shana** ta'wojko
 1SG-go-DET jungle=LOC far
 'I went far away into the jungle.'
 'Me fui lejos en el monte.' (p. 23)
- (19) y-ashti-jko i-kut=**musta** ma'pojta kujtu opala
 3-stand.up-? 3-foot=COM two foot only
 'It (the jaguar) stood up on its hind legs.'
 '(El jaguar) se paró en sus dos patas (posteriores) solamente.' (p. 25)
- (20) i-jyilisyo-kati w-o'sawa't-alo ma'nali išhujkul=**shana**
 3-go.away-PST 1SG-find-? jaguar jungle=LOC
 'That jaguar which I met in the jungle went away.'
 'Se retiró ese jaguar que encontré en el monte.' (p. 25)

The following examples with postpositions come from the text "La historia de un tigre" ("The story about a jaguar"), in Parker et al. (1987: 26-31). They appear there in this order, although

not necessarily sequential to one other. That is, there may be other Chamicuro utterances before, between, and after some of these sentences which form part of that same discourse.

- (21) mashe'tako-cha ka u-payakswe'takente išhujkul=**shana**
 there-also DET 1SG-go.walking jungle=LOC
 'I went walking there through the jungle also.'
 'Ahí también me fui andando por el monte.' (p. 27)
- (22) u-'to-kati u-lya'lo=**musta**
 1SG-go-?-PST 1SG-wife=COM
 'I went with my wife.'
 'Fui con mi esposa.' (p. 27)
- (23) u-kijyo-ka yeepa-chap=**shana-ye**
 1SG-arrive-DET river-DIM(?)=LOC-?
 'I arrived to/at a creek.'
 'Llegué a una quebrada.' (p. 27)
- (24) "kolo't-awa-s-i ana'=**shana**"
 wait-1.OBJ-2PL-EP this=LOC
 "Wait for me here!"
 "Espérenme aquí!" (p. 27)
- (25) u-nish-kwen-i i-nejko u-latale=**shana**
 1SG-see-?-EP 3-come 1SG-side=LOC
 'I saw that it (the jaguar) was coming at my side.'
 'Vi que venía a mi lado (el jaguar).' (p. 29)
- (26) i-šholt-ako masha=**shana-ye**
 3-lie.down-? 3.PRO=LOC-?
 'It (the jaguar) was lying down (on the ground) there (in that place).'
 '(El jaguar) estuvo echado (en el suelo) ahí (en ese sitio).' (p. 29)
- (27) w-achi-kwen-ka y-ish=**shana-ye**
 1SG-grab-?-DET 3-tail=LOC-?
 'I grabbed it (the jaguar) by the tail.'
 'Lo agarré del rabo (al jaguar).' (p. 29)
- (28) i-wusyak-awa išhujkul=**shana**
 3-take-1.OBJ jungle=LOC
 'It (the jaguar) took me (pulled me) into the jungle.'
 '(El jaguar) me llevaba al monte (jalándome).' (p. 29)

- (29) u-sapato-'te=**musta** w-akatijya-kwen-na i-kuspejta=**shana**
 1SG-shoe-POSS=COM 1SG-kick-?-DET 3-rib=LOC
 'With my shoe I kicked it (the jaguar) in its ribs.'
 'Con mi zapato le pateaba en las costillas (al jaguar).' (p. 29)
- (30) mashe'to ka u-lot-tu'nate i-kuspejta=**shana-ye**
 there DET 1SG-hit-? 3-rib=LOC-?
 'I punched it (the jaguar) in the ribs.'
 'Le di puñetazos en las costillas (al jaguar).' (p. 31)
- (31) u-shakatisyo-kwen-ka masha=**shana-ye** i-pekano
 1SG-leave-?-DET 3.PRO=LOC-? 3-meat/flesh
 'I left its meat/flesh there (in that place).'
 'Dejé su carne allí (en ese lugar).' (p. 31)
- (32) kajso'no'ta shena masha=**shana-ye**
 cost previously 3.PRO=LOC-?
 '(Jaguar skins) cost a lot (had a big price) then (in that time).'
 '(El cuero/piel del jaguar) valía mucho (tenía un precio alto) en ese tiempo (entonces).'
 (p. 31)
- The following examples with postpositions come from the text "El cuento de la inundación total de la tierra" ("The story about a worldwide flood"), in Parker et al. (1987: 30-33). They appear there in this order, although not necessarily sequential to one other. That is, there may be other Chamicuro utterances before, between, and after some of these sentences which form part of that same discourse.
- (33) ka'nil-sheye Chamekolo=**shana-ye**...
 ancestor-before Chamicuro=LOC-?
 'Previously (before), in the village called Chamicuro, ...'
 'Antiguamente, en (el pueblo llamado) Chamicuro, ...' (p. 31)
- (34) u-wusya-kwen-kana ka u-chi'nuke=**shana-ye**
 1SG-take-?-PL DET 1SG-house=LOC-?
 'I took them (my children) home (to my house).'
 'Los llevé (a mis hijos) a casa.' (p. 31)
- (35) "Ashko pkwach=**shana**"
 let's.go field=LOC
 "Let's go to the (cultivated) field."
 "Vamos a la chacra." (p. 31)

- (36) a-'to ka a-pkwach-i-'te=**shana-ye**
 1PL-go-? DET 1PL-field-EP-POSS=LOC-?
 'We went to our field.'
 'Fuimos a nuestra chacra.' (p. 31)
- (37) a-nepna'ta-ka ajtin=**shana-ye**
 1PL-go-DET path=LOC-?
 'We were going along the path (trail).'
 'Ibamos por el camino.' (p. 31)
- (38) i-nisyo-kana a-latale=**shana-ye**
 3-sing-PL 1PL-side=LOC-?
 '(Some birds) were singing at our side.'
 '(Unos pajaritos) estaban cantando a nuestro lado.' (p. 31)
- (39) y-okačhuku'-kana ka ajtin=**shana(-ye)**
 3-land-PL DET path=LOC(-?)
 '(The birds) landed on (flew down onto) the path (trail).'
 '(Los pajaritos) se bajaron en el camino (al camino).' (p. 31)
- (40) p-es-ye'-na chi'nuke matish-i-lapa=**shana**
 2-make-FUT-DET house genipa.tree-3-branch=LOC
 "Make a house in the branches of a genipa tree."
 "Haz(te) una casa (o, la casa) en las ramas de un árbol de jagua." (p. 33)
- (41) a-kijyo ka a-chi'nuke=**shana**
 1PL-arrive DET 1PL-house=LOC
 'We arrived home (to our house).'
 'Llegamos a nuestra casa.' (p. 33)
- (42) u-šhanata-ska'ne-yo ka u-chi'nuke matish-i-lapa=**shana**
 1SG-make-only-? DET 1SG-house genipa.tree-3-branch=LOC
 'I was the only person who made a house in the branches of a genipa tree.'
 'Yo fui la única persona que hice mi casa en las ramas de un árbol de jagua.' (p. 33)
- (43) masha ka u-chi'nako onojko=**shana-ye**, y-ali-yo ka keeni
 when DET 1SG-be up=LOC-? 3-fall-? DET rain
 'When we were up (in our house in the tree), the rain started to fall.'
 'Cuando ya estábamos arriba (en nuestra casa en el árbol), la lluvia empezó a caer.'
 (p. 33)

- (44) u-'t-i ska'ne ka u-jsepijt-a-kel-i u-lya'lo u-mutle u-čhomat=**musta**-kana
 1SG-PRO-EP only PST 1SG-live-?-?-EP 1SG-wife 1SG-son 1SG-daughter=COM-PL
 'I was the only one who remained alive, (together) with my wife and children (sons and daughters).'
 'Yo sólo quedé vivo, con mi esposa y mis hijos y mis hijas.' (p. 33)

- (45) a-cheyo-kati ayi'ti **yoko**
 1PL-increase-PST now until
 'Thus we have continued to multiply (increase in number) until now.'
 'Así aumentamos (nos hemos multiplicado) hasta ahora.' (p. 33)

The following examples with postpositions come from a short text ("When I return to Pampa Hermosa") which has not been previously published. They appear there in this order, although not necessarily sequential to one other. That is, there may be other Chamicuro utterances before, between, and after some of these sentences which form part of that same discourse. This text is the only one which has remained solely in my hand-written field notes until now.

- (46) u-kijya-ka na u-chi'nuke=**shana**...
 1SG-arrive-? DET 1SG-house=LOC
 'When I get home... (to my house)'
 'Cuando llegue a mi casa...'
- (47) u-'ye'-na Pampa.Hermosa=**shana**(-ye), u-m-nacha'-ch-ale-kana
 1SG-go-FUT-DET Pampa.Hermosa=LOC(-?) 1SG-?-talk-PURP-OBJ-PL
 ka-china(le)-kana Pampa.Hermosa=**shana**
 REL-be-PL Pampa.Hermosa=LOC
 'I'm going to go to Pampa Hermosa, to talk with those who are in Pampa Hermosa.'
 'Voy a ir a Pampa Hermosa, para hablarles a los que están en Pampa Hermosa.'
- (48) kajsonena i-mame'to-kana i-nacha'ta-kana a-jnachale=**musta**
 why 3-be.ashamed-PL 3-talk-PL 1PL-language=COM
 'Why are you ashamed to talk with our language?'
 '¿Por qué tienen vergüenza de hablar con nuestro idioma?'
- (49) masha kajsonena i-wusyakw-awa-kana Yarinacoch(a)=**shana**
 3.PRO why 3-take-1.OBJ-PL Yarinacocha=LOC
 'That's why they took me to Yarinacocha.'
 'Por eso me llevaron a Yarinacocha.'
- (50) ashkos-i a-nacha't-i (a-jchi't-ake) masha=**musta**
 let's-EP 1PL-talk-EP 1PL-repeat-? 3.PRO=COM
 'Let's talk with it/that one (that language) (again).'
 'Vamos a hablar con él/ese (idioma) (otra vez).'

3. Data elicited in isolation

The words and phrases in (51)-(71) below come from Parker (2010a). Virtually all of them were elicited orally by direct translation, normally in isolation. That is, I pronounced an expression in Spanish to the two Chamicuro speakers, and they provided these equivalents orally. I wrote them down by hand on paper, and eventually they were published as part of that paper. The numbers on the bottom (last) line of each example in (51)-(71) refer to Parker (2010a). The first number is the entry number, and the second is the page number on which that entry appears in that document.

- (51) pi-'t-i
 2-PRO-EP
 'you'
 'tú, usted' (509, p. 35)
- (52) pi-t=**musta**
 2-PRO=COM
 'with you'
 'contigo, con usted' (508, p. 35)
- (53) u-'t-i
 1SG-PRO-EP
 'I'
 'yo' (908, p. 52)
- (54) u-t=**musta**
 1SG-PRO=COM
 'with me'
 'conmigo' (885, p. 51)
- (55) **shana(-ye)**
 LOC(-?)
 'to, at, in, on'
 'a, en' (586, p. 38)
- (56) ana'=**shana**
 this=LOC
 'here'
 'aquí, acá' (31, p. 16)
- (57) ana'=**shana-ye**
 this=LOC-?
 'someone, somebody'
 'alguien' (32, p. 16)

- (58) ana'-ye
 this-?
 'this one'
 'éste, ésta' (33, p. 16)
- (59) ata'-ye
 that-?
 'that one (distal)'
 'aquél, aquella' (46, p. 16)
- (60) ata'=shana
 that=LOC
 'there'
 'allí, allá' (45, p. 16)
- (61) i'yijku=shana
 above=LOC
 'on top (of), above'
 'encima (de)' (204, p. 23)
- (62) mey-ana'=shana-ye
 NEG-this=LOC-?
 'no one, nobody, none'
 'nadie, ninguno' (414, p. 32)
- (63) pawa
 'field, countryside, outdoors, patio'
 'campo, patio' (488, p. 35)
- (64) pawa=shana
 patio=LOC
 'outside, outdoor, out-of-doors'
 'afuera' (489, p. 35)
- (65) yilijko=shana
 inside=LOC
 'inside, indoors'
 '(a)dentro' (1027, p. 57)
- (66) na'shana-na
 who-DET
 'who?'
 '¿quién?' (446, p. 33)

- (67) ala'-ye
that-?
'that one'
'ése, ésa' (20, p. 15)
- (68) meploneye
'child (M)'
'niño, muchacho (M)' (409, p. 31)
- (69) anaskajneye
'something'
'algo' (30, p. 16)
- (70) na'yeni
'where?'
'¿dónde?, ¿adónde?' (451, p. 33)
- (71) na'kolyaye
'when?'
'¿cuándo?' (441, p. 33)

The following sentence comes from my hand-written field notes, and has not been previously published. It was pronounced by the Chamicuro speakers in isolation, not as part of any other context.

- (72) u-'t-i u-nacha't-i chamekolo u-kumpale **musta** kana pewa
1SG-PRO-EP 1SG-speak-EP chamicuro 1SG-companion COM good PL
'I'm speaking Chamicuro with my good friends.'
'Estoy hablando (el idioma) chamicuro con mis buenos amigos (compadres/paisanos).'

The words, phrases, and sentences in (73)-(182) come from Parker (1994: 75-104), except for two cases noted to the contrary (examples 102-103). All of these were elicited orally by direct translation, normally in isolation. That is, I pronounced an expression in Spanish to the two Chamicuro speakers, and they provided these equivalents orally. I wrote them down by hand on paper, and eventually they were published as part of that book. The original, hand-transcribed field notes containing many of the examples in this section have been microfiched in their raw, unedited form as Parker (1985b,c). See also Parker (2010a,b) for other relevant data.

- (73) ajkoch-i
house-EP
'house'
'casa' (p. 75)

- (74) ajkoch=**shana**
 house=LOC
 'in/at/to the house'
 'en/a la casa' (p. 75)
- (75) u-mak-la ajkoch=**shana**
 1SG-sleep-DET house=LOC
 'I sleep in the house.'
 'Duermo en la casa.' (p. 75)
- (76) pi'to-ch-i
 canoe-ABS-EP
 'canoe'
 'canoa' (p. 75)
- (77) pi'to-ch=**shana**
 canoe-ABS=LOC
 'in the canoe'
 'en la canoa' (p. 75)
- (78) u-mak-la pi'to-ch=**shana**
 1SG-sleep-DET canoe-ABS=LOC
 'I sleep in the canoe.'
 'Duermo en la canoa.' (p. 75)
- (79) w-ashkala'-la chamalo ajkoch=**shana**
 1SG-kill-DET bat house=LOC
 'I kill the bat in the house.'
 'Mato al murciélago en la casa.' (p. 75)
- (80) w-ashkala'-la chamalo pi'to-ch=**shana**
 1SG-kill-DET bat canoe-ABS=LOC
 'I kill the bat in the canoe.'
 'Mato al murciélago en la canoa.' (p. 75)
- (81) pkwach-i
 field-EP
 'cultivated field'
 'chacra' (p. 76)
- (82) pkwach=**shana**
 field=LOC
 'in/at/to the field'
 'en/a la chacra' (p. 76)

- (83) w-ashkala'-la chamalo pkwach=**shana**
 1SG-kill-DET bat field=LOC
 'I kill the bat in the field.'
 'Mato al murciélago en la chacra.' (p. 76)
- (84) ajkala palaka chamalo ajkoch=**shana**
 there.is one bat house=LOC
 'There is a bat in the house.'
 'Hay un murciélago en la casa.' (p. 76)
- (85) ajkala palaka chamalo yeepa=**shana**
 there.is one bat river=LOC
 'There is a bat in/at the river.'
 'Hay un murciélago en el río.' (p. 76)
- (86) ajkala kilko chamalo ajkoch=**shana**
 there.are three bat house=LOC
 'There are three bats in/at the house.'
 'Hay tres murciélagos en la casa.' (p. 76)
- (87) ajkala kilko chamalo yeepa=**shana**
 there.are three bat river=LOC
 'There are three bats in/at the river.'
 'Hay tres murciélagos en/por el río.' (p. 76)
- (88) ajkoch=**shana** i-nchinte chamalo
 house=LOC 3-be bat
 'The bat is in the house.'
 'El murciélago está en la casa.' (p. 76)
- (89) chamalo i-nchinte yeepa=**shana**
 bat 3-be river=LOC
 'The bat is in/at the river.'
 'El murciélago está en/por el río.' (p. 76)
- (90) chamalo-kana i-nchinte ajkoch=**shana**
 bat-PL 3-be house=LOC
 'The bats are in the house.'
 'Los murciélagos están en la casa.' (p. 76)
- (91) chamalo-kana i-nchinte yeepa=**shana**
 bat-PL 3-be river=LOC
 'The bats are in/at/by the river.'
 'Los murciélagos están en/por el río.' (p. 76)

- (92) u-chi'nale-na yeepa=**shana**
 1SG-be-DET river=LOC
 'I am in/at the river.'
 'Estoy en/por el río.' (p. 76)
- (93) chi'nale-na ajkoch=**shana**
 be-DET house=LOC
 'You (SG) are in/at the house.'
 'Estás en la casa.' (p. 76)
- (94) i-chi'nale-na ajkoch=**shana**
 3-be-DET house=LOC
 'He/she is in/at the house.'
 'El/ella está en la casa.' (p. 76)
- (95) a-chi'nale-na ajkoch=**shana**
 1PL-be-DET house=LOC
 'We are in/at the house.'
 'Estamos en la casa.' (p. 77)
- (96) chi'nale-s-na ajkoch=**shana**
 be-2PL-DET house=LOC
 'You (PL) are in/at the house.'
 'Ustedes están en la casa.' (p. 77)
- (97) i-chi'nale-kana-na ajkoch=**shana**
 3-be-PL-DET house=LOC
 'They are in/at the house.'
 'Ellos están en la casa.' (p. 77)
- (98) na'shana-ye
 who-?
 'who?'
 '¿quién?' (p. 82)
- (99) na'shana-na ka-mak-a
 who-DET REL(?)-sleep-REL(?)
 'Who is sleeping?'
 '¿Quién está durmiendo?' (p. 83)
- (100) u-nuk-la kinil wan=**shana**
 1SG-eat-DET manioc morning=LOC
 'I eat manioc in the morning(s).'
 'Como (la) yuca por/en la mañana.' (p. 83)

- (101) u-mak-la wan=**shana**
 1SG-sleep-DET morning=LOC
 ‘I sleep in the morning(s).’
 ‘Duermo por la mañana.’ (p. 83)
- (102) u-mak-i
 1SG-sleep-EP
 ‘I sleep’
 ‘duermo’ (Parker 2010a: 46)
- (103) chpolya-ye
 night-?
 ‘night’
 ‘noche’ (Parker 2010a: 19)
- (104) u-mak-la chpolya=**shana**
 1SG-sleep-DET night=LOC
 ‘I sleep at night.’
 ‘Duermo en/por la noche.’ (p. 83)
- (105) u-nuk-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1SG-eat-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year I ate manioc.’
 ‘El año pasado comí yuca.’ (p. 88)
- (106) i-nuk-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-eat-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘He/she ate manioc last year.’
 ‘El/ella comió yuca el año pasado.’ (p. 88)
- (107) a-nuk-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1PL-eat-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year we ate manioc.’
 ‘El año pasado comimos yuca.’ (p. 88)
- (108) i-nuk-kana-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-eat-PL-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘They ate manioc last year.’
 ‘Ellos comieron yuca el año pasado.’ (p. 88)
- (109) u-šhapes-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1SG-look.for-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year I looked for the manioc.’
 ‘El año pasado busqué la yuca.’ (p. 88)

- (110) i-šhapes-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-look.for-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘He/she looked for the manioc last year.’
 ‘El/ella buscó la yuca el año pasado.’ (p. 89)
- (111) a-šhapes-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1PL-look.for-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year we looked for the manioc.’
 ‘El año pasado buscamos la yuca.’ (p. 89)
- (112) i-šhapes-kana-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-look.for-PL-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘They looked for the manioc last year.’
 ‘Ellos buscaron la yuca el año pasado.’ (p. 89)
- (113) w-ashtakulka cheshana ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1SG-hunt deer DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year I hunted deer.’
 ‘El año pasado cacé venados.’ (p. 89)
- (114) y-ashtakulka cheshana ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-hunt deer DET other-year=LOC
 ‘He/she hunted deer last year.’
 ‘El/ella cazó venados el año pasado.’ (p. 89)
- (115) a-w-ashtakulka cheshana ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1PL-EP-hunt deer DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year we hunted deer.’
 ‘El año pasado cazamos venados.’ (p. 89)
- (116) y-ashtakulka-kana-ka cheshana ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-hunt-PL-DET deer DET other-year=LOC
 ‘They hunted deer last year.’
 ‘Ellos cazaron venados el año pasado.’ (p. 89)
- (117) w-ajpok-ka cheshana ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1SG-cook-DET deer DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year I cooked the deer.’
 ‘El año pasado cociné el venado.’ (p. 89)
- (118) y-ajpok-ka cheshana ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-cook-DET deer DET other-year=LOC
 ‘He/she cooked the deer last year.’
 ‘El/ella cocinó el venado el año pasado.’ (p. 89)

- (119) a-w-ajpok-ka cheshana ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1PL-EP-cook-DET deer DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year we cooked the deer.’
 ‘El año pasado cocinamos el venado.’ (p. 89)
- (120) y-ajpok-kana-ka cheshana ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-cook-PL-DET deer DET other-year=LOC
 ‘They cooked the deer last year.’
 ‘Ellos cocinaron el venado el año pasado.’ (p. 89)
- (121) u-wus-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1SG-take-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year I carried (took) the manioc.’
 ‘El año pasado llevé la yuca.’ (p. 89)
- (122) i-wus-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-take-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘He/she carried the manioc last year.’
 ‘El/ella llevó la yuca el año pasado.’ (p. 89)
- (123) a-wus-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1PL-take-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year we carried the manioc.’
 ‘El año pasado llevamos la yuca.’ (p. 89)
- (124) i-wus-kana-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-take-PL-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘They carried the manioc last year.’
 ‘Ellos llevaron la yuca el año pasado.’ (p. 90)
- (125) u-šhko-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1SG-wash-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year I washed the manioc.’
 ‘El año pasado lavé la yuca.’ (p. 90)
- (126) i-šhko-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-wash-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘He/she washed the manioc last year.’
 ‘El/ella lavó la yuca el año pasado.’ (p. 90)
- (127) a-šhko-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1PL-wash-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year we washed the manioc.’
 ‘El año pasado lavamos la yuca.’ (p. 90)

- (128) i-šhkok-kana-ka kinili ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-wash-PL-DET manioc DET other-year=LOC
 ‘They washed the manioc last year.’
 ‘Ellos lavaron la yuca el año pasado.’ (p. 90)
- (129) u-šhko-ka u-kinili-ne ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1SG-wash-DET 1SG-manioc-POSS DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year I washed my manioc.’
 ‘El año pasado lavé mi yuca.’ (p. 90)
- (130) i-šhko-ka i-kinili-ne ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-wash-DET 3-manioc-POSS DET other-year=LOC
 ‘He/she washed his/her (own) manioc last year.’
 ‘El/ella lavó su (propia) yuca el año pasado.’ (p. 90)
- (131) a-šhko-ka a-kinili-ne ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1PL-wash-DET 1PL-manioc-POSS DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year we washed our manioc.’
 ‘El año pasado lavamos nuestra yuca.’ (p. 90)
- (132) i-šhkok-kana-ka i-kinili-ne ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-wash-PL-DET 3-manioc-POSS DET other-year=LOC
 ‘They washed their (own) manioc last year.’
 ‘Ellos lavaron su (propia) yuca el año pasado.’ (p. 90)
- (133) u-’-ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1SG-go-DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year I went.’
 ‘El año pasado me fui.’ (p. 90)
- (134) i-’-ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-go-DET other-year=LOC
 ‘He/she went last year.’
 ‘El/ella se fue el año pasado.’ (p. 90)
- (135) a-’-ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1PL-go-DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year we went.’
 ‘El año pasado nos fuimos.’ (p. 90)
- (136) i-’-kana-ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-go-PL-DET other-year=LOC
 ‘They went last year.’
 ‘Ellos se fueron el año pasado.’ (p. 90)

- (137) u-šhak-ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1SG-dance-DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year I danced.’
 ‘El año pasado bailé.’ (p. 90)
- (138) i-šhak-ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-dance-DET other-year=LOC
 ‘He/she danced last year.’
 ‘El/ella bailó el año pasado.’ (p. 91)
- (139) a-šhak-ka paj-wata=**shana**
 1PL-dance-DET other-year=LOC
 ‘Last year we danced.’
 ‘El año pasado bailamos.’ (p. 91)
- (140) i-šhak-kana-ka paj-wata=**shana**
 3-dance-PL-DET other-year=LOC
 ‘They danced last year.’
 ‘Ellos bailaron el año pasado.’ (p. 91)
- (141) ish-na u-kijka
 already-DET 1SG-arrive
 ‘I’m arriving already.’
 ‘Ya estoy llegando.’ (p. 92)
- (142) ish-na u-kijka-na ilijko=**shana**
 already-DET 1SG-arrive-DET house=LOC
 ‘I’m already arriving at/to the house.’
 ‘Ya estoy llegando a la casa.’ (p. 92)
- (143) ish-na i-kijka
 already-DET 3-arrive
 ‘He/she is arriving already.’
 ‘Ya está llegando (él/ella).’ (p. 92)
- (144) ish-na i-kijka-na ilijko=**shana**
 already-DET 3-arrive-DET house=LOC
 ‘He/she is already arriving at/to the house.’
 ‘El/ella ya está llegando a la casa.’ (p. 92)
- (145) ish-na a-kijka
 already-DET 1PL-arrive
 ‘We are already arriving.’
 ‘Ya estamos llegando.’ (p. 92)

- (146) ish-na a-kijka-na ilijko=**shana**
 already-DET 1PL-arrive-DET house=LOC
 ‘We are already arriving at/to the house.’
 ‘Ya estamos llegando a la casa.’ (p. 92)
- (147) ish-kana-na i-kijka
 already-PL-DET 3-arrive
 ‘They are already arriving.’
 ‘Ya están llegando (ellos).’ (p. 92)
- (148) ish-kana-na i-kijka-na ilijko=**shana**
 already-PL-DET 3-arrive-DET house=LOC
 ‘They are already arriving at/to the house.’
 ‘(Ellos) ya están llegando a la casa.’ (p. 92)
- (149) ish-na u-kijka-na u-chi’nuke=**shana**
 already-DET 1SG-arrive-DET 1SG-house=LOC
 ‘I’m already arriving at my house.’
 ‘Ya estoy llegando a mi casa.’ (p. 92)
- (150) ish-na i-kijka-na i-chi’nuke=**shana**
 already-DET 3-arrive-DET 3-house=LOC
 ‘He/she is already arriving at his/her (own) house.’
 ‘El/ella ya está llegando a su (propia) casa.’ (p. 92)
- (151) ish-na a-kijka-na a-chi’nuke=**shana**
 already-DET 1PL-arrive-DET 1PL-house=LOC
 ‘We are already arriving at our house.’
 ‘Ya estamos llegando a nuestra casa.’ (p. 92)
- (152) ish-kana-na i-kijka-na i-chi’nuke=**shana**
 already-PL-DET 3-arrive-DET 3-house=LOC
 ‘They are already arriving at their (own) house.’
 ‘Ellos ya están llegando a su (propia) casa.’ (p. 92)
- (153) u-tošhoj-ka u-chi’nuke=**shana**
 1SG-enter-DET 1SG-house=LOC
 ‘I went into (entered) my house.’
 ‘Entré a mi casa.’ (p. 92)
- (154) i-tošhoj-ka i-chi’nuke=**shana**
 3-enter-DET 3-house=LOC
 ‘He/she went into (entered) his/her (own) house.’
 ‘El/ella entró a su (propia) casa.’ (p. 93)

- (155) a-tošhoj-ka a-chi'nuke=**shana**
 1PL-enter-DET 1PL-house=LOC
 'We went into (entered) our house.'
 'Entramos a/en nuestra casa.' (p. 93)
- (156) i-tošhok-kana-ka i-chi'nuke=**shana**
 3-enter-PL-DET 3-house=LOC
 'They went into (entered) their (own) house.'
 'Ellos entraron a su (propia) casa.' (p. 93)
- (157) u-kijya-ke't-i, u-tošhok-ye't-i u-chi'nuke=**shana**
 1SG-arrive-FUT-EP 1SG-enter-FUT-EP 1SG-house=LOC
 'When I arrive, I'm going to go into (enter) my house.'
 'Cuando llegue, voy a entrar a mi casa.' (p. 93)
- (158) u-kijya-kati, u-tošhoj-ka u-chi'nuke=**shana**
 1SG-arrive-PST 1SG-enter-DET 1SG-house=LOC
 'When I arrived, I went into (entered) my house.'
 'Cuando llegué, entré a mi casa.' (p. 93)
- (159) i-kijya-kati, i-tošhoj-ka i-chi'nuke=**shana**
 3-arrive-PST 3-enter-DET 3-house=LOC
 'When he/she arrived, he/she went into (entered) his/her (own) house.'
 'Cuando él/ella llegó, entró a su (propia) casa.' (p. 93)
- (160) a-kijya-kati, a-tošhoj-ka a-chi'nuke=**shana**
 1PL-arrive-PST 1PL-enter-DET 1PL-house=LOC
 'When we arrived, we went into (entered) our house.'
 'Cuando llegamos, entramos a nuestra casa.' (p. 93)
- (161) i-kijya-kana-kati, i-tošhok-kana-ka i-chi'nuke=**shana**
 3-arrive-PL-PST 3-enter-PL-DET 3-house=LOC
 'When they arrived, they went into (entered) their (own) house.'
 'Cuando (ellos) llegaron, entraron a su (propia) casa.' (p. 93)
- (162) i-nuušhape't-i
 3-eat-EP
 'He/she is eating.'
 '(El/ella) está comiendo.' (p. 93)
- (163) i-nuušhape'-ka u-t=**musta**
 3-eat-DET 1SG-PRO=COM
 'He/she is eating with me.'
 '(El/ella) está comiendo conmigo.' (p. 93)

- (164) yene a-nuušhape'-na u-t=**musta**
 come 1PL-eat-DET 1SG-PRO=COM
 'Come (SG) eat with me.'
 'Ven a comer conmigo.' (p. 93)
- (165) i-nuušhape'-kana
 3-eat-PL
 'They are eating.'
 '(Ellos) están comiendo.' (p. 93)
- (166) i-nuušhape'-kana-na u-t=**musta**
 3-eat-PL-DET 1SG-PRO=COM
 'They are eating with me.'
 '(Ellos) están comiendo conmigo.' (p. 93)
- (167) yene-s-i a-nuušhape'-na u-t=**musta**
 come-2PL-EP 1PL-eat-DET 1SG-PRO=COM
 'Come (PL) eat with me.'
 'Vengan a comer conmigo.' (p. 94)
- (168) i-šhakatukulu't-i
 3-play-EP
 'He/she is playing.'
 '(El/ella) está jugando.' (p. 94)
- (169) i-šhakatukulu'-na u-t=**musta**
 3-play-DET 1SG-PRO=COM
 'He/she is playing with me.'
 '(El/ella) está jugando conmigo.' (p. 94)
- (170) yene a-šhukatukulu'-na u-t=**musta**
 come 1PL-play-DET 1SG-PRO=COM
 'Come (SG) play with me.'
 'Ven a jugar conmigo.' (p. 94)
- (171) i-šhakatukulu'-kana
 3-play-PL
 'They are playing.'
 '(Ellos) juegan (o están jugando).' (p. 94)
- (172) i-šhakatukulu'-kana-na u-t=**musta**
 3-play-PL-DET 1SG-PRO=COM
 'They are playing with me.'
 '(Ellos) juegan (o están jugando) conmigo.' (p. 94)

- (173) yene-s-i a-šhakatukulu'-na u-t=**musta**
 come-2PL-EP 1PL-play-DET 1SG-PRO=COM
 'Come (PL) play with me.'
 'Vengan a jugar conmigo.' (p. 94)
- (174) y-usmatejpash-ka ma'nal-i palajta'pasa=**shana-ye** y-usmus-yo-kati
 3-jump-DET jaguar-EP other.side=LOC-? 3-run-?-PST
 'The jaguar jumped to the other side (of the creek) and ran off.'
 'El jaguar saltó al otro lado (de la quebrada) y se fue corriendo.' (p. 101)
- (175) yene-na u-lutale=**shana(-ye)** a-'melka-čh-ale-na ma'shi'to
 come-DET 1SG-side=LOC(-?) 1PL-scare-PURP-OBJ-DET bee
 'Come (SG) to my side to scare away the bee.'
 'Ven a mi lado para espantar a la abeja.' (p. 101)
- (176) likajpe'ta u-šhanata'čhomawan-i chpošhka=**vojko** meyo-kemajt-aka
 yesterday 1SG-work-EP afternoon=until NEG-tire-?
 'Yesterday I worked until the afternoon and didn't get tired.'
 'Ayer trabajé hasta la tarde y no me cansé (sin cansarme).' (p. 102)
- (177) u-tyaan-i u-'-tako Pampa.Hermosa=**shana(-ye)**, u-kijka tsi'tako
 1SG-leave-EP 1SG-go-? Pampa.Hermosa=LOC(-?) 1SG-arrive just
 'Having left for Pampa Hermosa, I just arrived.'
 'Habiendo salido para Pampa Hermosa, acabo de llegar (o, recién estoy llegando).'
- (p. 102)
- (178) u-'-ka išhujkul=**shana(-ye)**, y-achikw-awa ka ma'nali
 1SG-go-DET jungle=LOC(-?) 3-grab-1.OBJ DET jaguar
 'When I went to the jungle, the jaguar grabbed me.'
 'Habiéndome ido al monte (a la selva), el jaguar me agarró. O, cuando me fui al monte, el jaguar me agarró.' (p. 102)
- (179) šhanata'čhomawaj-ka u-'t-i so'no, u-pakarast-aley-ye't-i
 work-DET 1SG-PRO-EP price 1SG-pay-2OBJ-FUT-EP
 'If you work for me, I'm going to pay you.'
 'Si trabajas por mí, te voy a pagar.' (p. 103)
- (180) u-'-ye'-na ijto'wejsa=**shana** u-jko'-čh-ale
 1SG-go-FUT-DET down.river=LOC 1SG-fish-PURP-OBJ
 'I'm going downriver in order to fish.'
 'Me voy (río) abajo para pescar.' (p. 103)

(181) i-'šhamane i-pa-'lis-ne i-čhomat-i yeepa=**shana**

3-father 3-CAUS-?-TR 3-son-EP river=LOC

'The father sends his son to the river.'

'El padre manda a su hijo (que vaya) al río.' (p. 104)

(182) i-'šhamane i-pa-'lis-ne i-čhomat-i y-asa'-čh-ale yeepa=**shana**

3-father 3-CAUS-?-TR 3-son-EP 3-swim-PURP-OBJ river=LOC

'The father sends his son to the river (in order) to swim.'

'El padre manda a su hijo a nadar en el río (manda a su hijo al río para nadar).' (p. 104)

The following words and phrases with postpositions have not been previously published. They were elicited orally by direct translation, normally in isolation. That is, I pronounced an expression in Spanish to the two Chamicuro speakers, and they provided these equivalents orally. I then wrote them down by hand on paper. Those original, hand-transcribed field notes have been microfiched in their raw, unedited form as Parker (1985b,c). See also Parker (2010a,b) for other relevant data.

(183) mesa=**shana**

table=LOC

'on the table'

'en la mesa'

(184) i-men(u)=**shana**

3-tongue=LOC

'on his/her tongue'

'en su lengua (de él o de ella)'

(185) menu-ch=**musta**

tongue-ABS=COM

'with the tongue'

'con la lengua'

(186) menu-ch-pewa **shana**

tongue-ABS-good LOC

'on the good tongue'

'en la lengua buena'

(187) menu-ch-pewa **musta**

tongue-ABS-good COM

'with the good tongue'

'con la lengua buena'

- (188) y-awana=**shana**
 3-mouth=LOC
 ‘in his/her mouth’
 ‘en su boca (de él o de ella)’
- (189) y-awana=**musta**
 3-mouth=COM
 ‘with his/her mouth’
 ‘con su boca (de él o de ella)’
- (190) awana-ch-pewa **shana**
 mouth-ABS-good LOC
 ‘in the good mouth’
 ‘en la boca buena’
- (191) awana-ch-pewa **musta**
 mouth-ABS-good COM
 ‘with the good mouth’
 ‘con la boca buena’
- (192) yelna **shana**
 man LOC
 ‘in/on the man/husband’
 ‘en/al hombre/esposo’
- (193) yelna **musta**
 man COM
 ‘with the man/husband’
 ‘con el hombre/esposo’
- (194) yelna pewa **shana**
 man good LOC
 ‘to/on the good man/husband’
 ‘en/al hombre/esposo bueno’
- (195) yelna **musta** pewa
 man COM good
 ‘with the good man/husband’
 ‘con el hombre/esposo bueno’
- (196) pewa molota
 good woman
 ‘She is a good woman/wife.’
 ‘(Ella) es una buena mujer/esposa.’

- (197) molota pewa
 woman good
 ‘the good woman/wife’
 ‘la mujer/esposa buena’
- (198) molota **shana**
 woman LOC
 ‘in/on the woman’
 ‘en/a la mujer’
- (199) molota **musta**
 woman COM
 ‘with the woman’
 ‘con la mujer’
- (200) molota **shana** pewa
 woman LOC good
 ‘in/on the good woman’
 ‘a/en la mujer buena’
- (201) molota **musta** pewa
 woman COM good
 ‘with the good woman’
 ‘con la mujer buena’
- (202) yeepa=**shana**
 river=LOC
 ‘in/at/to the river’
 ‘en/al río’
- (203) yeepa=**musta**
 river=COM
 ‘with the river’
 ‘con el río’
- (204) yeepa pewa **shana**
 river good LOC
 ‘in/at/to the good river’
 ‘en/al río bueno’
- (205) yeepa pewa **musta**
 river good COM
 ‘with the good river’
 ‘con el río bueno’

- (206) kawsa **shana**
 smoke LOC
 ‘in the smoke’
 ‘en el humo’
- (207) kawsa **musta**
 smoke COM
 ‘with the smoke’
 ‘con el humo’
- (208) kawsa pewa **shana**
 smoke good LOC
 ‘in the good smoke’
 ‘en el humo bueno’
- (209) kawsa pewa **musta**
 smoke good COM
 ‘with the good smoke’
 ‘con el humo bueno’
- (210) timil=**shana**
 wind=LOC
 ‘in the wind’
 ‘en el viento’
- (211) timil=**musta**
 wind=COM
 ‘with the wind’
 ‘con el viento’
- (212) timil=**shana** pewa
 wind=LOC good
 ‘in the good wind’
 ‘en el viento bueno’
- (213) timil=**musta** pewa
 wind=COM good
 ‘with the good wind’
 ‘con el viento bueno’
- (214) koloshetali-ch=**shana**
 paddle-ABS=LOC
 ‘in/on the paddle (oar)’
 ‘en el remo’

- (215) koloshetali-ch=**musta**
 paddle-ABS=COM
 ‘with the paddle (oar)’
 ‘con el remo’
- (216) koloshetali-ch=**shana** pewa
 paddle-ABS=LOC good
 ‘in/on the good paddle (oar)’
 ‘en el remo bueno’
- (217) koloshetali-ch-pewa **musta**
 paddle-ABS-good COM
 ‘with the good paddle (oar)’
 ‘con el remo bueno’
- (218) šhalyota **shana**
 macaw LOC
 ‘in/on the macaw’
 ‘en/al guacamayo’
- (219) šhalyota **musta**
 macaw COM
 ‘with the macaw’
 ‘con el guacamayo’
- (220) šhalyota pewa **shana**
 macaw good LOC
 ‘in/on the good macaw’
 ‘en/al guacamayo bueno’
- (221) šhalyota **musta** pewa
 macaw COM good
 ‘with the good macaw’
 ‘con el guacamayo bueno’
- (222) tsemo’ye **shana**
 buzzard LOC
 ‘in/on the buzzard (vulture)’
 ‘en/al gallinazo’
- (223) tsemo’ye **musta**
 buzzard COM
 ‘with the buzzard (vulture)’
 ‘con el gallinazo’

- (224) tsemo'ye **shana** pewa
 buzzard LOC good
 'in/on the good buzzard (vulture)'
 'en/al gallinazo bueno'
- (225) tsemo'ye **musta** pewa
 buzzard COM good
 'with the good buzzard (vulture)'
 'con el gallinazo bueno'
- (226) y-ačhole **shana**
 3-belly LOC
 'in/on his/her belly'
 'en su barriga (de él o de ella)'
- (227) y-ačhole **musta**
 3-belly COM
 'with his/her belly'
 'con su barriga (de él o de ella)'
- (228) shijpa-ch=**shana**
 hand-ABS=LOC
 'in/on the hand'
 'en la mano'
- (229) shijpa-ch=**musta**
 hand-ABS=COM
 'with the hand'
 'con la mano'
- (230) shijpa-ch=**shana** pewa
 hand-ABS=LOC good
 'in/on the good hand'
 'en la mano buena'
- (231) shijpa-ch=**musta** pewa
 hand-ABS=COM good
 'with the good hand'
 'con la mano buena'
- (232) i-s=**shana**
 EP-name=LOC
 'in the name'
 'en el nombre'

- (233) i-s=**musta**
 EP-name=COM
 ‘with the name’
 ‘con el nombre’
- (234) i-s=**shana** pewa
 EP-name=LOC good
 ‘in the good name’
 ‘en el nombre bueno’
- (235) i-s(i)=**musta** pewa
 EP-name=COM good
 ‘with the good name’
 ‘con el nombre bueno’
- (236) shto-ch=**shana**
 fingernail-ABS=LOC
 ‘in/on the fingernail’
 ‘en la uña’
- (237) shto-ch=**musta**
 fingernail-ABS=COM
 ‘with the fingernail’
 ‘con la uña’
- (238) shto-ch=**shana** pewa
 fingernail-ABS=LOC good
 ‘in/on the good fingernail’
 ‘en la uña buena’
- (239) shto-ch=**musta** pewa
 fingernail-ABS=COM good
 ‘with the good fingernail’
 ‘con la uña buena’
- (240) iila **shana**
 blood LOC
 ‘in/on the blood’
 ‘en la sangre’
- (241) iila-ch=**musta**
 blood-ABS=COM
 ‘with the blood’
 ‘con la sangre’

- (242) iila-ch=**shana** pewa
 blood-ABS=LOC good
 ‘in the good blood’
 ‘en la sangre buena’
- (243) iila-ch=**musta** pewa
 blood-ABS=COM good
 ‘with the good blood’
 ‘con la sangre buena’
- (244) oshlo **shana**
 peccary LOC
 ‘in/on/at/to the collared peccary’
 ‘en/al sajino’
- (245) oshlo **musta**
 peccary COM
 ‘with the peccary’
 ‘con el sajino’
- (246) oshlo pewa **shana**
 peccary good LOC
 ‘in/on/at/to the good peccary’
 ‘en/al sajino bueno’
- (247) oshlo **musta** pewa
 peccary COM good
 ‘with the good peccary’
 ‘con el sajino bueno’
- (248) kawal=**musta**
 horse=COM
 ‘by (with) horse (or, on horseback)’
 ‘a caballo’
- (249) i-kut=**musta**
 3-foot=COM
 ‘by/on foot’
 ‘a pie’

4. Data arranged into paradigms

The following two tables display paradigmatic data involving nouns plus postpositions. The first table focuses on the comitative morpheme =*musta* ‘with’, while the second one contains the locative construction =*shana*(*ye*) ‘in, at, on, to’. These paradigms were compiled from the different sources described throughout this file, which are listed together in the references at the

end. Some of the specific examples in these tables have not been previously published, while others have been, albeit not necessarily in this format. The papers, books, and microfiched materials referenced herein contain a few additional examples of some of the patterns illustrated below.

One of the main points of analytical difficulty illustrated by the second paradigm is the subtle distinction in Chamicuro between two variants of the locative marker: =*shana* vs. =*shanaye*. For example, as observed in Table 2, the phrase ‘on the ear’ can be pronounced as either *chayichshana* or *chayichshanaye*. When I asked the two speakers about this, they were not able to identify any difference in meaning between these two forms. See Parker (2018) for further discussion of this point.

More recently, Fernando O. de Carvalho (personal communication) has pointed out that certain other languages in the southern branch of Arawakan also exhibit locative markers with a form similar to *-ye*. He notes that these are often found in more complex locative constructions, such as those involving relational nouns – phrases like ‘at the back of the house’ or ‘at the lip (that is, edge) of the village’, etc. It seems plausible that the suffix *-ye* in Chamicuro is cognate with these, a fact which could shed light on its function.

For example, Baure [brg] of Bolivia has a single, very productive locative suffix *-ye* which “encodes a wide range of different spatial relations” (Admiraal 2016: 72). This morpheme attaches to nouns, certain adverbs, and compounds. In some constructions its appearance is lexicalized. For instance, Admiraal (2016: 67) cites the form /neʔ-ye/ ‘here-LOC’ (‘here’), which appears in a Baure song. This word is strikingly similar to the Chamicuro word /anaʔ-ye/ ‘this one’ listed in (58) above. In Parker (2018) I note that *ana*’- is a bound proximal demonstrative, and speculate that the suffix *-ye* in this word may be either a type of classifier, or perhaps the same morpheme as occurs at the end of the locative =*shanaye*. To illustrate, in the sentence below (repeated from (7) above), the word *ana*’*shanaye* ‘here’ literally means ‘in this location or place’:

- (250) “akana sojpay-i ana’=**shana-ye**”
 there.is demon-EP this=LOC-?
 “There’s a demon/devil here (in this place).”
 “Hay un demonio aquí (en este sitio).”

Nevertheless, in (57) above the word *ana*’*shanaye* was glossed differently by the Chamicuro speakers when pronounced in isolation. See Parker (2018) for further discussion of this intriguing phenomenon.

Along the same lines, Paunaka ([pnk], Bolivia) has a suffix *-yae* which occurs in locative constructions, as well as with genitive predicates (Terhart 2015). And Terêna [ter], spoken in Brazil, has several locative forms, one of which is the particle-like base *ya* (or *yaa*). This is also glossed as ‘there’, and can occur following both nouns and verbs (Derbyshire 1986, Gardenia Barbosa 2012). It can even be suffixed by *-ye*, which is found in certain locative constructions, as well as by *-ke*, the more productive and general locative marker of Terêna, thus: *yaa-ye-ke* or *ya-ye* ‘here’ (Bendor-Samuel 1963).

Table 1: Paradigm of noun phrases containing the comitative suffix =*musta* ‘with’

gloss glosa	noun nombre	the(PL) N los/las N	with the N con el/la N	with my N con mi N	with the(PL) N con los/las N	with my(PL) N con mis N
tongue lengua	menu	menu -ch-kana	menu -ch=musta	u- men =musta	menu -ch=musta-kana	-----
mouth boca	awana	awana -ch-kana	awana -ch=musta	w-awana =musta	awana -ch=musta-kana	-----
lip labio	čhila	čhila -ch-kana	čhila -ch=musta	u- čhila =musta	čhila -ch=musta-kana	u- čhila =musta-kana
tooth diente	ajsi	ajsi -ch-kana	ajsi -ch=musta	w-a(j)s =musta	ajsi -ch=musta-kana	w-ajs =musta-kana
nose nariz	kulu	kulu -ch-kana	kulu -ch=musta	u- kul =musta	kulu -ch=musta-kana	-----
eye ojo	ojki	ojki -ch-kana	ojki -ch=musta	w-ojk =musta	ojki -ch=musta-kana	w-ojk =musta-kana
ear oreja	chayi	chayi -ch-kana	chayi -ch=musta	u- chay =musta	chayi -ch=musta-kana	u- chay =musta-kana
head cabeza	kashki	kashki -ch-kana	kashki -ch=musta	u- kash =musta	kashki -ch=musta-kana	-----
forehead frente	tolo	tolo -ch-kana	tolo -ch=musta	u- tolo =musta	tolo -ch=musta-kana	-----
hair cabello	shenu	shenu -ch-kana	shenu -ch=musta	u- shen =musta	shenu -ch=musta-kana	u- shen =musta-kana
jaw mandíbula	u-pta	pta -ch-kana	pta -ch=musta	u- pta =musta	pta -ch=musta-kana	u- pta =musta-kana
beard barba	šhu’na	šhu’na -ch-kana	šhu’na -ch=musta	u- šhu’na =musta	šhu’na -ch=musta-kana	-----
neck cuello	čhano	čhano -ch-kana	čhano -ch=musta	u- čhano =musta	čhano -ch=musta-kana	-----
chest pecho	tu’lu	tu’lu -ch-kana	tu’lu -ch=musta	u- tul =musta	tu’lu -ch=musta-kana	-----
breast seno	teni	teni -ch-kana	teni -ch=musta	u- ten =musta	teni -ch=musta-kana	u- ten =musta-kana
back espalda	tusna	tusna -ch-kana	tusna -ch=musta	u- tusna =musta	tusna -ch=musta-kana	u- tusna =musta-kana
shoulder hombro	a’wajko	a’wajko-ch-kana	a’wajko -ch=musta	w-a’wajko =musta	a’wajko -ch=musta-kana	w-a’wajko =musta-kana
arm brazo	tinawa	tinawa -ch-kana	tinawa -ch=musta	u- tinawa =musta	tinawo -ch=musta-kana	u- tinaw =musta-kana
finger nail uña	shto	shto -ch-kana	shto -ch=musta	u- shto =musta	shto -ch=musta-kana	u- shto =musta-kana
water agua	unijsa	unijsa -kana	unijsa =musta	w-unijsa -le =musta	unijsa =musta-kana	w-unijsa -le =musta-kana
lake lago	sa’pu	sa’pu -kana	sa’p =musta	u- sa’pu -ne=musta	sa’p =musta-kana	u- sa’pu -ne=musta-kana
fire candela	kajchi	kajch -kana	kach =musta	u- kach =musta	kach =musta-kana	u- kach =musta-kana
smoke humo	kawsa	kawsa -kana	kawsa =musta	u- kawsa -ne=musta	kawsa =musta-kana	u- kawsa -ne=musta-kana
wind viento	timili	timil -kana	timil =musta	u- timili -ne=musta	timil =musta-kana	u- timili -ne=musta-kana
star estrella	katepulu	katepul -kana	katepulu =musta	u- katepulu -ne=musta	katepulu =musta-kana	u- katepulu -ne=musta-kana
stone piedra	chana	chana -kana	chana =musta	u- chana -ne=musta	chana =musta-kana	u- chana -ne=musta-kana
hammock hamaca	shnake	shnake -ch-kana	shnake -ch=musta	u- shnak =musta	shnake -ch=musta-kana	u- shnake =musta-kana
capuchin monkey (mono) machín	kilko	kilko -kana	kilko =musta	u- kilko -ne=musta	kilko =musta-kana	u- kilko -ne=musta-kana
	N	N(-ABS)-PL	N(-ABS)=COM	1SG-N(-POSS)=COM	N(-ABS)=COM-PL	1SG-N(-POSS)=COM-PL

Table 2: Paradigm of noun phrases containing the locative suffixes =shana(-ye) ‘in, on, at, to’

gloss glosa	noun nombre	in/on the N en el/la N	in/on my N en mi N	in/on the(PL) N en los/las N	in/on my(PL) N en mis N
tongue lengua	menu	menu -ch=shana	u- men(u) =shana	menu -ch=shana-kana	-----
mouth boca	awana	awana -ch=shana	w- awana =shana	awana -ch=shana-kana	-----
lip labio	čhila	čhila -ch=shana	u- čhila =shana	čhila -ch=shana-kana	u- čhila =shana-kana
tooth diente	ajsi	ajsi -ch=shana	w- ajs =shana	ajsi -ch=shana-kana	w- ajs =shana-kana
nose nariz	kulu	kulu -ch=shana	u- kul =shana	kulu -ch=shana-kana	-----
eye ojo	ojki	ojki -ch=shana	w- ojk =shana	ojki -ch=shana-kana	w- ojk =shana-kana
ear oreja	chayi	chayi -ch=shana(-ye)	u- chay =shana	chayi -ch=shana-kana	u- chay =shana-kana
head cabeza	kashki	kashki -ch=shana-ye	u- kash =shana	kashki -ch=shana-kana	-----
forehead frente	tolo	tolo -ch=shana	u- tolo =shana	tolo -ch=shana-kana	-----
hair cabello	shenu	shenu -ch=shana-ye	u- shen =shana-ye	shenu -ch=shana-kana	u- shen =shana-kana
jaw mandíbula	u-pta	pta -ch=shana-ye	u- pta =shana-ye	pta -ch=shana-kana	u- pta =shana-kana
beard barba	šhu’na	šhu’na -ch=shana	u- šhu’na =shana	šhu’na -ch=shana-kana	-----
neck cuello	čhano	čhano -ch=shana	u- čhano =shana	čhano -ch=shana-kana	-----
chest pecho	tu’lu	tu’lu -ch=shana	u- tul =shana	tu’lu -ch=shana-kana	-----
breast seno	teni	teni -ch=shana-ye	u- ten =shana	teni -ch=shana-kana	u- ten =shana-kana
back espalda	tusna	tusna -ch=shana-ye	u- tusna =shana-ye	tusna -ch=shana-kana	u- tusna =shana-kana
shoulder hombro	a’wajko	a’wajko -ch=shana-ye	w- a’wajko =shana	a’wajko -ch=shana-kana	w- a’wajko =shana-kana
arm brazo	tinawa	tinawo -ch=shana-ye	u- tinawa =shana	tinawo -ch=shana-kana	u- tinawa =shana-kana
finger nail uña	shto	shto -ch=shana(-ye)	u- shto =shana	shto -ch=shana-kana	u- shto =shana-kana
water agua	unijsa	unijsa =shana	w- unijsa -le =shana	unijsa =shana-kana	w- unijsa -le =shana-kana
lake lago	sa’pu	sa’p =shana-ye	u- sa’pu -ne =shana	sa’p =shana-kana	u- sa’pu -ne =shana-kana
fire candela	kajchi	kach =shana-ye	u- kach =shana-ye	kach =shana-kana	u- kach =shana-kana
smoke humo	kawsa	kawsa =shana(-ye)	u- kawsa -ne =shana	kawsa =shana-kana	u- kawsa -ne =shana-kana
wind viento	timili	timil =shana(-ye)	u- timili -ne =shana-ye	timil =shana-kana	u- timili -ne =shana-kana
star estrella	katepulu	katepul =shana-ye	u- katepulu -ne =shana-ye	katepul =shana-kana	u- katepulu -ne =shana-kana
stone piedra	chana	chana =shana-ye	u- chana -ne =shana-ye	chana =shana-kana	u- chana -ne =shana-kana
hammock hamaca	shnake	shnake -ch=shana-ye	u- shnake =shana	shnake -ch=shana-kana	u- shnak =shana-kana
capuchin monkey (mono) machín	kilko	kilko =shana-ye	u- kilko -ne =shana-ye	kilko =shana-kana	u- kilko -ne =shana-kana
	N	N(-ABS)=LOC(-?)	1SG-N(-POSS)=LOC(-?)	N(-ABS)=LOC-PL	1SG-N(-POSS)=LOC-PL

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