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The Oklahoma Working Papers in Indigenous Languages focuses on issues related to Oklahoma Native languages and other indigenous languages of the Americas, but welcoming research done on any endangered indigenous language. OWPIL is committed to publishing research on all topics related to Native American languages, especially documentary and descriptive linguistics, language revitalization, community-based collaboration, endangered language teaching and curriculum development, language acquisition, language maintenance, sociolinguistics, discourse and corpus linguistics, language typology and universals, language variation and change, language contact, musicology and ethnopoetics, and language ideologies

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Contributors

Although this is a working papers, all of the papers in this volume underwent anonymous peer review, being read by both faculty and graduate students at the University of Oklahoma. All authors made revisions in response to reviewer comments. We thank all of the authors for their valuable contributions to the inaugural volume of this journal.

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Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp: Towards Using Kiowa Rabbit Songs In Language Revitalization

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This paper explores Cáuigú Pòlá:yì: (Kiowa Rabbit Society) songs using language socialization theory to understand the development of a Cáuigú (Kiowa) habitus through the expansion and application of these songs. The paper includes transcriptions of three of the Cáuigú Pòlá:yì: songs used today in Oklahoma. This paper uses an ethnographic lens to research the creation and importance of modern day tribal identity through performance of Cáuigú Pòlá:yì: songs. Additionally, this paper discusses the possible practical applications of the songs in second language acquisition and language revitalization.

Keywords: language socialization, Kiowa, habitus, language revitalization

1. Introduction

Song and music play an integral part in the development of a person's culture. Children grow up hearing lullabies and melodies from the day they are born. A child born in the 20th century heard tunes such as *Twinkle Twinkle Little Star* and *Pop Goes the Weasel* that go back to the early 19th century. These tunes are etched into each person's mental musical library, which will have a profound influence upon childhood memories and formulate cultural worldviews. In the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma, songs exist primarily for the reason of creating a tribal habitus for children. Kiowa children begin to formulate their habitus, or way of being in the world through active childhood participation in what is called the little Rabbit Society. As a little boy, I was raised as a member of the Rabbit Society from 1983 to 1994 at the Kiowa Tia-piah Society of Carnegie. My position within the little rabbits was the drumkeeper for the leader of the organization, known as Grandpa Rabbit or *Pòlá:yì: Qáptàu*, meaning 'Old Man Rabbit'.

The Rabbit Society historically was the first warrior society in a hierarchy of the old-style Kiowa warrior societies, exclusively for males. Today it has evolved into a unique traditional song and dance sub-organization for all children, ages newborn to approximately 12 years old. The dance has become closely associated with the annual Kiowa Gourd Dance ceremonial held in southwestern Oklahoma during the month of July. Each year, the Little Rabbits dress in their traditional Kiowa clothing and participate by dancing to their own songs and stories, a vital part of the Kiowa society.

Kiowa people prefer to self-identify with their tribal name *Cáuigú* meaning 'principal people' rather than the name 'Kiowa', a name that was given by neighboring tribes, and it is for this reason that Cáuigú will be the term used for Kiowa people in this paper. In that regard *Cáuijògà* will be the term referencing their Cáuigú language. In Cáuijògà, the word for rabbit is spoken as *Pòlá:yì*: (singular) and *Pòlá:yòp* (plural). For the purposes of this paper Pòlá:yì:, Pòlá:yòp, Cáuijògà and other introduced Cáuigú terms will be given using the Cáuigú

orthography developed by the late Parker McKenzie and Dr. Gus Palmer Jr. (see Mckenzie and Meadows, 2001 for a description).

The next section of the paper provides a brief history of Cáuigú language and people, focusing on how the Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp fits into the larger warrior society structure. The third sections describes the Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp in present-day Oklahoma and analyzes the songs and dances as a modern day socialization mechanism in Cáuigú society. The fourth section analyzes the content of three Pòlá:yì: songs and discusses what children learn from them. Finally, the last section analyzes the socialization of children in Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp and discusses ways to incorporate language learning.

2. Brief History of Cáuigú, Cáuijògà, and the Warrior Societies

Cáuigú is a tribe from the North American plains region, whose language is a unique branch of the Kiowa-Tanoan language family. Tanoan refers to the pueblo people of northern New Mexico and Arizona. In 2005, the membership of the tribe was approximately 11,000 in number. Neely and Palmer (2009) assess the number of truly fluent speakers to be between 10 to 20 and conversational number of speakers range between 50 and 200 people. Through federal government programs such as Indian education and boarding schools, allotment of tribal lands, and the Indian Reorganization Act, the Cáuijògà has almost completely shifted to the more dominant English language.

Currently Cáuijògà is not being taught to children as a first language, and there exists very little options for interaction between the fluent speakers of Cáuijògà and children. According to Joshua Fishman's (1991:88-90) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), Cáuijògà is definitely close to being a Stage 8 language on the GIDS scale, meaning the few remaining speakers are in old age homes and that the language is no longer being used conversationally but only in short phrases and discussions. This stage represents the most endangered time of the language. Individual language learning within families is the best and widest domain used currently for possible creation of new speakers. There are some rising efforts within the Oklahoma Indian communities to teach Cáuijògà in the universities, public schools and adult class settings (Willis & Poolaw 2009, Palmer 2001, Gonzales 2001). Teaching styles and resources vary from within each class; from formal classes focused on the written aspect of Cáuijògà to the more relaxed community classes that focus on commands, storytelling, and maintaining Cáuigú oral tradition.

The sociocultural structure of Cáuigú society has been remarkably adapted from a traditional military hierarchy called *Yàpfàhêgàu*. While information on the origin of this system is scarce, at least some of the societies were in use by the late 1700s or very early 1800s according to Meadows (1999). Today, these sociocultural functions still take place in the form of community and cultural organizations which perform ceremonial dances, giveaways, and communal feasts as organizational events. The center of Cáuigú ceremonial life at one time focused on the annual Sun Dance held in the summer. Since 1890 the tribe has not performed this ritual, but through its numerous cultural organizations the tribe has retained its traditional military structure. Each organizational dance is performed with specialized songs and dances pertaining to societal oral tradition and former battle deeds of society members.

The Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp are the beginning of military society and are the first organization in which children learn about their tribal identity. The Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp originally consisted of all boys, training them as warriors by emulating older adult males. Once acquiring skills for adult Cáuigú life, each boy would progress in rank to an older society. Two societies existed for

younger men and were in a higher echelon of rank than the Pòlá:yòp. These two societies were called the Áljóyì:gàu (Wild Mountain Sheep) and Chèjánmàu (Horse Headdresses). Through these societies more specialized warrior skills were acquired and young men were strategically setup for promotion into higher level adult societies.

The adult societies included Tòkó:gàut (Black Legs), Jáifègàu (Unafraid of Death), and Óhòmògàu (War Dance). These war societies constituted higher levels of battle and command. They are considered the equivalent of specialized military occupations such as Infantry, Cavalry, Military Police and others. Once graduating the process of Pòlá:yòp, and/or the Áljóyì:gàu and Chèjánmàu societies, the adult societies would select new warriors as additions to their warrior society. Each society is considered an institution, with a process accepting and training its members. Pòlá:yòp was the first institution that each young boy became a part of. It processed members through a participation in song and dance, while creating a specific tribal habitus within each member. This paper explores Cáuigú Pòlá:yì: songs using language socialization theory as a background for producing greater understanding concerning the development of a Cáuigú habitus through expansion and application of the songs. The main phenomenon investigated in this paper researches the creation and importance of tribal identity through performance of Cáuigú Pòlá:yì: songs and how the songs may be used for practical application in second language acquisition.

3. The Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp in Oklahoma Today

Pòlá:yòp or Pòlá:yì: were originally comprised of only boys from walking ages to approximately ages twelve to fifteen, the age at which boys outgrew the rabbit age. At the beginning of the 21st century the number of fluent Cáuigú speakers was below two hundred people and steadily declining. Yet, contrary to this linguistic decline, there exists an overwhelming participation in the performance of Pòlá:yòp dancing and singing at the tribe's modern summer celebrations. Linguistic and sociocultural studies on adult participation in societies have not focused upon use of language in Cáuigú socialization (Mishkin, 1940). Thus, no work has documented the Pòlá:yòp society and the important contribution to identity formations and possible contributions to second language acquisition. It is important to discuss the continuance of the Pòlá:yòp society and how Cáuigú identity is being created through imitating behaviors, performing stories, songs, and dances diffused from old warrior traditions. Throughout my life, I have held a profound interest in Cáuigú identity through performance of song. I hypothesize that embedded within Cáuigú songs exists the motivation needed for language revitalization because it is within songs that Cáuigú identity is intertwined and bound to the socio-cultural context in which the songs are performed. At this point in the article, my research changes to using an ethnographic lens in order to express Pòlá:yòp dances in modern day Cáuigú society.

Pòlá:yòp dances today happen at two ceremonial Gourd Dance grounds in rural Carnegie, OK. Another gourd dance ground is located north of Lawton, OK at a place called Tia-piah Park. Tia-piah Park is a ceremonial ground privately owned by a Cáuigú family with the last name Bigbow, descendants from a Cáuigú Chief Bigbow. During the time that this paper was written, the patriarch of the Oklahoma Tia-piah Society passed away and it is unknown through my experience if the organization still possessed a Pòlá:yòp dance.

During the summers, the former Cáuigú reservation region is covered with large fields of cut wheat and hay. Creeks and rivers divide the landscape into tribal communities and localities. Temperatures can reach record highs and at times the wind can blow across the plains, feeling

like a hairdryer blowing hot air right into a person's face. Yet, it is during this time of year that Cáuigú are the most restless and have a yearning to camp. It is the time of year when the cottonwood trees blossom, filling the air with floating waves of cottonwood fluff and seedlings. Older generations of Cáuigú associate the cottonwood seedlings with the annual tribal Sun Dance, the one time a year when all Cáuigú came together.

According to ethnographic records, the last Cáuigú Sun Dance took place in 1890, and since that time there have been many changes in Cáuigú styles of dance and songs. The older warrior societies that were once the owners of the songs and dances have adapted into organizations that take on new meaning and new generations of membership. During the time of the Sun Dance encampment, different warrior societies camped together and had distinct roles, dances, and songs, which identified members of a particular society.

According to my research, all warriors began their journey in Yàpfahêgàu, beginning as little warriors in the Pòlá:yòp. They learned by imitating older warrior societies. Pòlá:yòp possessed their own horses and would assist active warriors on war journeys, a common task in plains warrior life. They also assisted the annual Sun Dance encampment with the preparation of the ceremonial lodge by bringing sand from the river bottom. Over time the role of the Pòlá:yòp has changed and diffused into a cultural institution for children. Characteristics of this institution teach children to find their place in modern Yàpfahêgàu and infuse Cáuigú worldview into young minds. This is the way of becoming Cáuigú.

Figure 1. Contemporary Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp Society.
Photo courtesy of Summer Morgan Photo Collection

Today Pòlá:yòp dances are associated with the Kiowa Gourd Clan and Kiowa Tia-piah Society of Carnegie celebrations held on July 2nd, 3rd and 4th. The dance tentatively starts at about 9:00 am but usually runs on 'Indian time,' or whenever the Grandpa Rabbit and his Pòlá:yòp get

ready. At the Kiowa Tia-piah Society of Carnegie celebration, the precursor to the Pòlá:yòp dance is usually a Pòlá:yòp parade. Grandpa and Grandma Rabbit lead the children through the encampment in contemporary street clothes or traditional Indian clothes, whatever clothing the children are able to wear. Children are always encouraged to dress up in the traditional Indian clothes for the dance; sometimes they are given prizes or money if they dress up. The Pòlá:yòp parade awakens the entire encampment as it allows people to know that the children are up and ready to dance. Grandpa Rabbit hollers '*Bè Hâ!*,' telling all campers to get up and come watch his Pòlá:yòp dance.

After the parade, children gather in the gourd dance arena. The arena is simply decorated with red, white, and blue flags, a brush arbor, or often the outside of the arena is marked with colorful benches and chairs. Grandpa Rabbit comes out into the arena and says a prayer for the day's events and tells his children how proud he is of each participant. Children are instructed to make rabbit ears with their hands. Each child is told to place two fingers up on each hand and place one hand on each side of their head to mimic rabbit ears. One finger on each side of their head indicates an owl, an adverse omen in Cáuigú culture. Grandpa Rabbit begins to hit the drum and starts the Pòlá:yòp calling out song, letting all Pòlá:yòp know the dance has begun.

Children dance by mimicking the hop of a rabbit, either in their Cáuigú clothing or, for some children, in the contemporary clothing. Some little boys attempt to dress exactly as older Cáuigú warriors once dressed, in the Cáuigú plains style. These Pòlá:yòp are adorned in cloth shirts with buckskin tied and beaded leggings, wearing beaded tassels worn in the front to differentiate a Cáuigú. Around the left shoulder is a bandolier of mescal and silver beads with a tied bundle of Indian perfume, tied upon the bandolier behind the left shoulder. Around the waist, boys and men wear black shawls accompanied by leather beaded belts and cloth sashes. On the feet, Cáuigú buckskin moccasins are worn. Moccasins are usually beaded with two lines running down the front and jingles tied for decoration, but there are also some moccasins that are fully beaded. Not all Cáuigú boys possess older styles of dress, but they also dance in regular street clothing or they may tie on a mixture of traditional regalia and street clothes. I have often witnessed Pòlá:yòp dance in a sash, bandolier, and moccasins. I have also seen very little Pòlá:yòp come out and enjoy the dance dressed only in diapers.

Figure 2. Male Pòlá:yì: Regalia, Jimmie Mamaday
Courtesy of Kiowa Historical and Research Society

Figure 3. Male Pòlá:yì: Regalia, Ray Doyah
Courtesy of Kiowa Historical and Research Society

Young Pòlá:yòp girls dress in brightly colored cloth dresses and buckskin dresses. Today girls' dresses are usually belted with a sewing awl, knife pouch, and a silver braid for carrying firewood attached. Some young girls also keep their dresses simple and tend to wear a sash with no sewing or knife attachments. Girls' moccasins are made of buckskin and taller than the Cáuigú men moccasins, but similar because they are usually beaded with two lines beaded on the front. Leaf beadwork can help identify Cáuigú women and men in contemporary Cáuigú clothing. Leaves can be beaded or sewn into different colors, representing the Cáuigú migration from a northern country.

Figure 4. Female Pòlá:yì: Regalia, Daughter of Reverend Kickingbird
Courtesy of Kiowa Historical and Research Society

Figure 5. Female Pòlá:yì: Regalia, Halycon Grace Bigbow
Photo Courtesy of George and Heather Bigbow Levi

During the dance, children have fun imitating rabbits and animals as they dance. The songs that are performed express the cuteness of Cáuigú children. The children dance for about an hour and parents enjoy taking pictures and honoring the kids by placing money as gifts for visitors at their feet as they dance. Pòlá:yòp dances are also an opportunity for relatives to give names to children. These names are either passed down within families or are newly created names that are made for particular people. After the completion of the dance, Grandpa Rabbit gives all the children gifts and then a host camp feeds the participants breakfast and provides snack baskets and games for the children to play.

The journey and diffusion of the Pòlá:yòp society is a truly fascinating phenomenon in Cáuigú socialization and identity creation. The songs and dances are continuing today despite an enormous loss of Cáuigú language. It is incredible that the tribe found a way to transform these songs and dances, taken from an older warrior tradition, and developed their usage into a modern day socialization mechanism developing children's habitus of tribal life. Because of the importance that Pòlá:yòp plays in the creation of social identity and habitus, the Cáuigú will continue to take part in the performance long into the future.

4. Pòlá:yì: Songs

What do Pòlá:yòp songs communicate to younger generations? To fully understand how habitus and identity are formulated, we need to pull apart and understand the meaning of the language comprised in societal songs. The Cáuigú oral tradition relies heavily on the telling of traditional stories handed down from generation to generation. Cáuigú grandparents are historically credited with being the teachers of Cáuigú children, because the adult parents were usually busy with the daily tasks of the tribal lifestyle. Pòlá:yòp has developed into an institution where Cáuigú warrior habitus is established within tribal youth. Children are socialized into tribal society and learn sociopolitical bounds as well as tribal identity.

Cáuigú storytellers often display different versions of tribal songs; how each song was created or how they were once used. Each song retains important meanings and transfers instructions or lessons on cultural ways of life. Some songs that were originally children's lullaby songs were also adopted into Pòlá:yòp because they contained excellent messages of cultural knowledge and identity. Some songs and stories were specifically sang in wintertime, after the first snow and told until the first spring thunderstorm. Most all of contemporary

Pòlá:yòp songs speak of animals because all animals are cute when they are young, and it relates to the cuteness of children. It is also an important Cáuigú belief that all animals used to speak and understand Cáuigú language, and it is remembered through lessons taught in Pòlá:yòp society.

4.1 Black Horn Spoon Song

The following song is a favorite among many Cáuigú families and it was not a part of the original Cáuigú song group, but has been added in recent years.

At an honoring for Bill Koomsa Jr. in 2001, Billy Evans Horse told a story about the origination of this contemporary Pòlá:yì song. The song was created from a time when the tribe was living in the Yellowstone River region of the Rocky Mountains. The tribe lived as mountain dwellers and winter was approaching the tribe at a time when not enough food had been collected to feed the tribe. During this time, when a child was an orphan, the tribe provided a caretaker of the child, another family member or especially a grandparent. One orphan boy in the tribe lived with his grandmother. Many times the young man was treated poorly among other tribal members. One day after being bullied by other young Cáuigú boys, he went to his grandmother's tipi on the outside of the encampment to sulk for being mistreated. He felt sorry for himself and threw his body on the ground at the base of the door and landed on his grandmother's cooking spoon, where it was broken. Mr. Horse stated that when the black horn spoon was broken, the young boy received a blessing from the creator. Once the boy broke the spoon, and looked outside the tipi, he could smell wet buffalo hide, meaning a possible buffalo herd was east of the encampment. The boy informed his grandmother what had happened and he was disciplined for breaking the spoon. She pleaded with him not to inform the chiefs about his blessing because then they may take action and leave them once the encampment broke. The boy persistently pursued the chiefs of the tribe during those days about what had happened with the spoon, and while it took some persistence in convincing the people he knew where a buffalo herd was, they finally agreed and set off hunting in that direction. A few miles from camp, they found a buffalo herd that had been trapped in some snowy cliffs in the mountains. The Cáuigú were able to take the meat back to the tribe and provide meat for the rest of winter.

The following song and story are important to Cáuigú habitus formation because they address where the Cáuigú were at one point during their migration and the song contains a lesson about Cáuigú courage and a sense of tribal well-being. The language is simple enough for children to understand and it speaks of how children can act when they are young, such as when the young boy 'pouts in his tipi'.

Vocables
Yah hey yah hey yeh yeh yeh
Yah hey yah hey yeh yeh yeh

1)	Thàu:kó:	gàt	váui:xèp	nàu
	antelope.horn	1SG:3SG	forget	and
	'I lost the black horn spoon and'			

2)	Tá: cyóidé	é	tá:hòl	nàu
	grandmother	3SG:1SG	spank	and
	'My grandmother spanked me'			

3) Kòm: dó:bà à tháu:qàu
tipi.inner.lining 1SG not.listening
'As I pouted and lay at the base of the tipi'

4) Chè à ó:dè dáui:àumgà
when 1SG there.became doctor
'It was there I became a doctor'

Vocables
Hey yeh yo hey yeh

What I find most interesting regarding this song is the reference to receipt of power or medicine during times of grief or anguish. In the older warrior society, warriors aspired to receive spiritual power from the creator to use in times of warfare. This idea of medicine, or *dáudáu*, still applies to Cáuigú socialization. Members of Cáuigú society are still searching for ways to gain prestige and respect among their society, and with an active warrior structure still carried through tribal organizations such as the Pòlá:yòp, a person still is able to gain more respect and stature by knowing who they are in Cáuigú society.

4. 2 Sun Lodge Song

Pòlá:yì: Qáptàu Gus Palmer Sr. began his Pòlá:yòp dance with this song in 2006 at the Kiowa Gourd Clan celebration in Carnegie Park. As a warrior's society in the beginning, the Pòlá:yòp society members had a job to perform on war journeys with different warrior societies. The Pòlá:yòp society members also had responsibilities during the annual sun dance encampment. One of their duties was to help the Old Calf's Woman's society prepare the lodge and the grounds. Mr. Palmer remarks that these young boys would bring the sand from the river bottom and place it inside the lodge.

As the Black Horn Spoon song tells a story of historical significance and acquisition of power, the song of the sun dance lodge describes the primary role of Pòlá:yòp members during the summer sun dance. The last sun dance on record took place in 1890, yet this song still discusses the main role the group performed during the annual sun dance ritual.

1) Tàlí: qí jói bát à: hâ:
boys wood house 2INCL:PL get.ready raise
'Boys, prepare to raise the arbor'

2) Jòi dàumale bát auiaum
house sand 2INCL:PL do.again
'Prepare the sand in the lodge'

3) Gau bé yái gùn
and 2INCL play dance
'Play like you are dancing'

4) Bé yái qájái yáiaum
2INCL play chiefs pretend
'Pretend you are little chiefs'

5) Máu:hól gà chólhàu
prepare 3SG that.is.right
'Get ready and prepared'

6) Bat Dót-jé-jàu
2 look.attractive-all-FUT
'You will all look attractive'

The language used in this particular song is attractive to young children because it grants them prestige calling them *qájái*, or 'chiefs.' One of the fun parts of Pòlá:yòp society is watching the children imitate older adults as these little chiefs and Indian women. I think this is a vital part of the development of Cáuigú habitus, as they learn how to be culturally competent through personal experience. They learn how to dress, how to dance, how to talk, have fun, and establish a relationship with their Cáuigú identity. Most importantly, the language positively reinforces their roles as members of a larger warrior structure and they have fun doing it. It begins to develop their understanding of respect and prestige, learning they have roles and obligations to fulfill in order to belong to the warrior tradition.

4.3 Grandmother's Song

Pòlá:yì songs also teach traditional ways of behavior and important cultural values. In traditional Cáuigú culture, there exists a practice of respecting grandparents and elders as teachers. In the past, Cáuigú children used to listen to stories and songs in order to learn a vast knowledge of cultural behavior from their grandparents. This practice of oral tradition has diminished with the passing of language speakers and Grandfather/Grandmother Rabbits. Similar to the Black Horn Spoon song, the next song discussed is also about an orphan child that lives with his grandmother. The song is entitled the Grandmother's Song, referring to a small buffalo calf that the orphan child desired to kill in order to express his appreciation to his grandmother for raising him. Because he loved her so much, he decided he would bring back the intestines, a Cáuigú delicacy, for her to eat. The gesture was very appropriate because the grandmother had reached the age where her teeth had fallen out and the intestine would be the perfect meal for her gums to chew (Gonzales 2005).

1) Xalí gà álbàu
calf 1SG:3SG chasing
'I am chasing a little calf'

2) Xalí gà álbàu
calf 1SG:3SG chasing
'I am chasing a little calf'

3) Gà hàun dàu álbàu
1SG:3SG no breath chasing
'out of breath I am chasing it'

4) Gà hàun dàu álbàu
1SG:3SG no breath chasing
'out of breath I am chasing it'

5) Tháu:yàu gà jêjàu gàu
ears 1SG:3SG catch-FUT and
'I will catch it by the ears'

6) Haya nen káuibàu jólèqíjàu
where 1SG:3DU skin+bring throw+FUT
'Where I will skin it and toss it around'

7) Tà:jé séthái yàn àu câunjàu nàu
maternal.grandmother small.intestine 1SG:3PL bring +FUT and
'I will bring Grandma the small intestine and'

8) Gà áutháimàujàu
3SG suck/gum+FUT
'She will gum on it'

9) Gà áutháimàujàu
3SG suck/gum+FUT
'She will gum on it'

This song was originally not a part of the Pòlá:yì dance but was told as a young boy's story according to a transcription completed by Jane Richardson Hanks in 1935. Today, the song is sung at most Pòlá:yì ceremonies and is told at no particular time of the dance. The song itself has been known as the 'Grandmother's song' or 'Consideration Song.'

There are variations of how the songs were told. Alecia Gonzales states 'these songs and stories are told by grandparents after the first big winter thunderstorm and ended at the first bug thunderstorm of Spring….The stories were thought as seeds for the children from babyhood to adolescence….These are models, values, moral conduct, and traditions learned and enjoyed for the future' (2005).

It is evident that most Pòlá:yì songs are embedded with cultural values and there is a wide amount of cultural information that a child could absorb when hearing this song. In this case, children could learn about different words for buffalo, an example is the word *xalí* referring to a 'small buffalo' which is different from other terms used for 'buffalo' such as *áugáufî* or *páu*. Also, children are exposed to terms for organs that are considered edible in the Cáuigú diet referring to *séthái*, a small intestine highly prized by Cáuigú. The song itself is fun to sing and the language is playful like children. Songs singing about catching a buffalo by the ears and pulling out the intestines for grandma negatively impact most European cultures, but in the case of the Cáuigú, is a very acceptable way of life.

When we discuss what is learned through the context of Pòlá:yòp, we must look at cultural knowledge embedded in songs and in the performance of cultural socialization. What do culturally competent people learn through participation in Pòlá:yòp? A member of a society must be able to communicate effectively within the group itself. Part of this knowledge base comes from being able to categorize events and express personal experiences. The most important part of Pòlá:yòp involves cultural learning, the idea of understanding what is Cáuigú and what is not. Pòlá:yòp helps children to understand roles of males and females as members of modern day Cáuigú warrior society.

5. Some Applications

Up to this point we have discussed the transition of Pòlá:yòp over a longitudinal range of time, evaluated the ethnographic literature published, and touched the surface of Pòlá:yòp function within the tribe. We have also broken down parts of three songs to ascertain what exactly a member of the Pòlá:yòp learns through active participation in the society. It is now time to apply what we have learned through this discussion and begin to understand this complicated idea of Cáuigú Yàpfahêgàu habitus. The final criteria qualifying this study to be a study in language socialization involves what is actually learned through the application of songs. Is the language being learned or is it only the distinct cultural practices being absorbed with the absence of language?

The answer in the case of the Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp society is obviously the latter. While the Pòlá:yòp society has remained intact for over one hundred years, retaining its close relationship to the older warrior tradition from which the tribe evolved, children are no longer using songs and dances to learn the language. I ascertain that because Cáuigú people still desire to possess status and prestige among their community, parents want their children to learn cultural practices and habitus of warrior society but do not require children to learn the language.

In 1962, a social psychologist named Lev Vygotsky offered a concept called Sociocultural Theory. This concept states that language learning is supposed to be essentially a social process situated within sociocultural settings. According to his theory, simple innate minds undergo a cultural diffusion in order to obtain higher more complex mental functions. This transformation occurs through something entitled ‘symbolic mediation’, which is essentially a link between children’s mental state and its categorization of higher-level functions provided by language. This type of language learning produces children with heightened awareness of their abilities and control over their thoughts.

Cáuigú children are learning cultural habitus not through language but through interpersonal interaction, meaning the communicative events and contexts which occur between Cáuigú members. What is needed for effective interpersonal interaction to take place requires mediation between learners and experts, a level of learning which Vygotsky calls a ‘Zone of Proximal Development’. This developmental learning exists between the cultural experts, called Pòlá:yì: Qáptàu, and the learning members of the Pòlá:yòp society. This area of learning can only occur with the assistance of experts in the linguistic or cultural knowledge. Using this template as the basis for cultural transfusion, an individual can advance their thoughts of habitus by performing and collaborating with other people. Essentially Vygotsky is stating that children should learn through communities, meaning that kids will learn more effectively with the support of parents and adults around them.

So, I have applied my knowledge of language socialization and identified the cultural practices being transmitted into Cáuigú habitus. So how do we apply these songs further in order

to turn the trend around and start beginning to teach more language learning pedagogy through songs? The solution is easily identifiable: we need to use more songs and stories in classrooms and homes. Songs for children are an integral part of the socialization practice. Children themselves find the dances meaningful and fun and would probably learn more language if the experts and conversational language speakers would speak more regularly. Language speakers need to focus on diffusing more language rather than only teaching the culture. The focal point would then turn to teaching culture through the application of language.

A child's language is normally a major part of their native culture and a large part of their tribal habitus, particularly the attitudes, knowledge, and skills which are transmitted from each generation to the next. Application needs to be made from public schools into tribal programs, and eventually into individual family homes. The contexts exist for interpersonal interaction because we still have the Pòlá:yòp songs, the only need is for the development of performance domains that actively engage the children with language learning.

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Dèènáá Bič'èèčéé Bičìƛ'ą́ą̨: A Plains Apache Text

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This paper presents the first publication of a Plains Apache text. Native speaker Alfred Chalepah Sr. told the story to linguist Harry Hoijer ca. 1935. Hoijer's transcription included word level glosses, but no free translation. A free translation was collected by Hoijer's student, William E. Bittle, from the original speaker Alfred Chalepah Sr. using Hoijer's original transcription, though no date was noted for when this was collected. Hoijer also collected paradigms related to the text on hundreds of slip files. This paper combines all of this information into a single presentation of the text, '*Dèènáá Bič'èèčéé Bičìƛ'ą́ą̨* - Man and His Wives and His Brother.' I also discuss new analyses found in the text concerning third person object prefixes (*yi-* and *bi-*) and aspectual prefixes on the verb in Plains Apache.*

Keywords: aspect, Athabaskan, morphology, narrative, Plains Apache

1. Introduction

Plains Apache (formerly Kiowa-Apache) is spoken in southern Oklahoma by members of the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma. Plains Apache is a member of the Apachean branch of the Athabaskan (Dene) language family. The last fluent first language speaker of Plains Apache passed away in 2008. Today, Sean O'Neill (University of Oklahoma) is working with several capable but not fluent speakers to create a dictionary for the tribe. He estimates that there are as many as a few dozen semi-speakers with some knowledge of the language but widely different degrees of competence (O'Neill, personal communication, 2013).

Several linguists, beginning in the late nineteenth century, worked with fluent speakers to document Plains Apache. Three of these linguists focused on gathering texts and they each recorded the same story about the man, his wife (or wives), and his younger brother (*Dèènáá Bič'èèčéé Bičìƛ'ą́ą̨*)[1]. Tennyson Berry told the story to Pliny Earle Goddard in 1911, Alonzo Chalepah Sr. told it to Harry Hoijer circa 1935, and Tennyson Berry again told this story to William E. Bittle in 1953. Some of the same texts collected by these linguists in Plains Apache are printed as English translations in *The Sky is My Tipi* (McAllister 1949) and in the article 'Six Kiowa Apache Tales' (Bittle 1964). However, the story of the man, his wife, and his younger

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[1] Throughout this paper, I use Bittle's transcription system, which is based on the American Phonetic Alphabet: b = p, d = t, ʒ = ts, ǯ = tʃ, c = tsʰ, č = tʃʰ, ƛ = tl, ƛ̨ = tɬ, g = k, k = kʰ, š = ʃ, ž = ʒ, and ' indicates a glottalized consonant. Vowels are marked for length, tones (high, low, rising, falling), and nasalization.

brother is not included in either of those publications. Furthermore, no Plains Apache texts have ever been published in the Plains Apache language[2].

In every telling of this story, the wife (or wives) decides that she wants to sleep with her husband's younger brother. The younger brother refuses, and so the wife, angry, sets a trap where she digs a hole under his bed. The younger brother falls into the hole and she buries him there. The wife and husband then move camp, leaving the younger brother trapped. However, he is rescued by wolves, who feed and care for him and become his new family. The man finds his younger brother with the wolves and captures him. The younger brother explains what the wife did to him. The wife is then killed, either by the husband or by the wolves, who eat her.

For the sake of space, I only include the Chalepah-Hoijer version of the text here, though having all three versions was useful in the analysis. The next section of this article contains a brief overview sketch of Plains Apache, essentially summing up the little descriptive work that has been done (Bittle 1956, 1963). The third section includes the Chalepah-Hoijer text, in full, with morphemic analysis. In the fourth section, I discuss new analyses found in the text concerning the alternation of the third person object prefixes and aspectual marking on the verb. Section 5 includes a summary and conclusion.

2. Plains Apache Sketch

As in other Apachean languages, there are four major classes of words in Plains Apache: nouns, postpositions, particles, and verbs (Young 1983). This section briefly discusses simple word order and the morphology of nouns, postpositions, particles, and verbs. Each of these word classes is defined by the types of morphological processes they can and cannot undergo. All examples are from the text unless otherwise noted.

2.1 Plains Apache Word Order

As found in other Apachean languages, the common word order in Plains Apache is Subject-Object-Verb (Axelrod 2007, de Reuse 2006). The basic sentence in Plains Apache can often solely contain the verb, with the subject and object(s) indicated by prefixes. When a postpositional phrase is present, it appears to the left of the verb. (1) shows the basic SOV word order in Plains Apache[3].

(1) S O PP V

bíč'èèčą́ą́	bìzèèdą́	yìč'į̨ʔ	dáágòłčìʔ
his.wives	ther.brother-in-law	to.him	they.spoke

'His wives spoke to their brother-in-law.'

The argument structure of a sentence or phrase in Plains Apache is not determined by word order but rather through the assignment of roles by the verb through the use of pronominal prefixes. If the object is not first or second person, the verb of Plains Apache has to carry a third person, fourth person, or indefinite object marker, regardless of whether there is a co-indexed

[2] John Beatty's (1974, 1976) publications that contain transcribed songs are the only publications of Plains Apache language longer than a single sentence.

[3] Morpheme gloss abbreviations: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, 4 = fourth person, ADV = adverbial, CLF = classifier, CONT = continuative, DISTR = distributive, DUPL = duoplural, FUT = future, INC = inceptive, INDF = indefinite person, IPFV = imperfective, ITER = iterative, MOM = momentaneous, NEUT = neuter, OBJ = object, OPT = optative, PFV = perfective, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PP = postposition, PROG = progressive, REP = repetitive, REV = reversionary, SBJ = subject, SG = singular, SMLT = semeliterative, THM = thematic.

noun or noun phrase. It is highly common to find a verb marked for two third person objects, direct and indirect, with no free nouns in the phrase. In the texts, I have not yet found examples of ditransitive sentences where all three noun phrases referred to by the verb were present, which is not unusual in Apachean languages. In fact, transitive sentences where even just two noun phrases are present are not common in most Apachean languages (Willie 2000).

2.2 Plains Apache Noun Morphology

There are three types of nouns based on their structural complexity: primary nouns (made up of either a root or a root and possessive prefix), compound nouns (made up of two or more roots), and nouns derived from verbs or phrases (Hoijer 1945, Bittle 1956). All nouns may be possessed by a pronominal prefix. Almost all nouns in Plains Apache appear in both uninflected and inflected forms, though some only occur uninflected and some only inflected (Bittle 1956).

The most common type of noun in Plains Apache is primary nouns, the simplest of which are monosyllabic uninflected nouns, such as *séé* 'dirt', *càà*ł 'needle, awl', *čís* 'tree', and *ƛ'ò* 'grass' (Bittle 1963). Inflected primary nouns may have a possessive prefix attached, as in 'his wife' *bìč'èèčéé*, 'his brother' *bìčìƛ'ą́ą*, and 'your wife' *dìč'èèčéé*.

Plains Apache has the following possessive prefixes: *ši-* 1SG; *di-* 2SG; *bi-*, *mi-* 3; *go(o)-* 4; *ʔi-* INDF; *dàxi-*, *da-* 1DUPL/2DUPL. The third, fourth, and indefinite person prefixes can be singular, dual, or plural depending on context (Bittle 1963). The indefinite refers to a general 'someone' and is used when the referent is unknown to the speaker. The fourth person refers to someone who is 'psychologically remote from the speaker,' such as a sister-in-law or other person with whom contact is culturally proscribed, as in line 3 of the text (Bittle 1956).
Some nouns are inalienably possessed and must always appear with a possessive prefix. These nouns typically refer to body parts, for example *-làà*š*gɣą̀ą̨* 'fingernail' and *-ɣwòòžà?* 'canine tooth' (Bittle 1956). Other primary nouns have to occur with an indefinite possessive prefix attached; all other prefixes were rejected by Bittle's informants (Bittle 1956). For example, *ʔíbą̀ą̨h* is 'buckskin,' but you cannot have **bíbą̀ą̨h* 'his buckskin.' To say 'his buckskin,' the indefinite prefix is treated as part of the noun base: *bíʔíbą̀ą̨h* (Bittle 1956).

There are three types of compound nouns, based on the forms that combine. Compound nouns can be formed by either two bound stems, one free stem and one bound stem, or two free stems (Bittle 1956). For other Apachean languages, there are examples of verb stems participating in these compounds. However, for Plains Apache, Bittle only found compounds consisting of two noun stems (1956). One of Bittle's few examples is *bíƛàà*k*áł* 'his breech clout,' which combines *-ƛàà* 'buttocks' with *-káł* 'cloth-like material' (1956).

Nouns derived from verbs or phrases are the most difficult type of noun to identify. There are four ways to create derived nouns from verbs. The first is a verb that functions as a noun with no structural changes. For example, *gósdòh* can mean either 'we two are hot' or 'summer.' Hoijer (1945) and Bittle (1956) require frequency of use in order to classify these verbs as nouns. Nouns may also be derived when free nouns combine with a verb form as in (2), a verb form is modified by a relative enclitic as in (3), or one or more free nouns combine with a free verb and with a relative enclitic as in example (4). Examples (2)-(4) are from Bittle's dissertation (1956).

(2) táłbàyé 'crane' [*tá* 'feathers' + *łíbàyé* 'it is white']
(3) dòʔíłxòšé 'whippoorwill' [*dòʔíłxòš* 'he never sleeps' + *=é* 'he who']
(4) ʔíbèšíčíhíí 'cheese, butter' [*ʔíbè* 'milk'+*šíčí* 'it is solid'+*=íí* 'that which']

2.3 Plains Apache Postpositions and Particles

Plains Apache postpositions and particles have not been described in previous publications. Using sources on other closely related Apachean languages, I briefly describe postpositions and particles, and some of the morphological processes they can undergo.

Postpositions indicate a relationship between a noun or a pronoun and some other element in the sentence and they include many of the counterparts to English prepositions (Young et al. 1992). In Plains Apache, postpositions are stems that either are suffixed to the noun they complement or occur with a pronoun prefix. Some postpositions can only attach to nouns and verbs and others only to pronoun prefixes. Some postpositions prefixed with a pronoun can occur as loosely integrated components of the verb complex, discussed in the next section on verb morphology (Young et al. 1992). (5) shows a postposition which cannot attach to the noun it is modifying but must instead attach to an object pronoun. (6) shows a postpositional enclitic which can attach directly to the noun. (7) shows a postposition attached to a verb.

(5) ʔìdèʔ yìžààyáá (line 7)
ʔì-dèʔ yì-žàà-yáá
INDF-bed 3.OBJ-under.PP-beneath.PP
‘under the bed’

(6) bìdèʔéé (line 11)
bi-dèʔ-ʔéé
3.POSS-bed-PP
‘on his bed’

(7) hìłxìłdą́ʔ (line 34)
ɣi-0-ł-xìł-dą́ʔ
PROG-3-CLF-to.be.night.PROG-PP
‘at night’

The term particle is often used in Athabaskan linguistics to refer to elements which are not nouns, verbs, or postpositions. Particles include temporal adverbs, numbers, conjunctions, question words, and free pronouns (Hoijer 1945). Particles are not subject to inflectional morphology (Young et al. 1992). Temporal adverbial particles are the most common particles found in the Plains Apache texts and elicitations. Adverbial particles are most often found to the left of the verb they modify. See example (8) below, but also lines 15, 23, 36, and 42 in the text.

(8) ʔádáʔ šíníížáá
then he.went.out
‘Then he went out (of the tipi).’

The text examined in this article also contains question particles (e.g. line 14 and 15) and numbers (e.g. line 27). The discussion of postpositions and particles is in no way definitive and these word forms are in need of further study in Plains Apache.

2.4 Plains Apache Verb Morphology

As an Athabaskan language, Plains Apache verbs are difficult to briefly describe given the number of verbal prefixes and complex morphophonemic fusions. This section briefly describes verb stems, themes, prefixes, and suffixes (for a grammatical sketch, see Bittle, 1956).

The Plains Apache verbs consists of a verb stem with multiple derivational and inflectional prefixes. Figure 1 outlines the order of the prefixes in the template. No single Plains Apache verb employs all thirteen prefixes.

13	12	11	10	9	8	###
Indirect Object	Postposition	Adverbial Aspect	Thematic	Iterative	Number	Disjunct Boundary

7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1
Direct Object	Deictic	Adverbial Aspect	Tense	Mode	Subject	Classifier	Stem	Aspectual Suffixes

FIGURE 1. Plains Apache verbal prefix chart (revised from Bittle 1956)

The verb theme is the basic lexical piece of the Athabaskan verb which must be present no matter what other operations are performed. The verb theme minimally contains the verb stem and classifier, as shown in (9a), though many verbs require thematic prefixes to form the lexical verb. The verb form is the inflected verb theme, as in (9b). A minimally inflected verb form is marked for valence (classifier prefix), subject, tense/aspect/mode, and number. The verb stem itself, however, can have alternant forms referred to as variations in the stem shape (Leer 1979). Few verbs have an unvarying stem, while most have several stem shapes that alternate depending on the mode and aspect of the verb form (Hoijer 1945).

(9) (a) …- ɬ-nìš
(b) gòyiɬnìš
go-yi-ø-ø-ɬ-nìš
PL-3OBJ-IPFV-3SBJ-CLF-to.say.it.IPFV
'They said to him.'

The term ‘classifier’ has a specific use in Athabaskan linguistics. The classifier is the valence prefix that always occurs just before the verb stem, in position 1, as seen in (9). Plains Apache has four possible classifiers (*ø-*, *ɬ-*, *d-*, and *l-*), though every verb form has only one classifier which historically marked valence. In other Apachean languages the *ɬ-* classifier often functions as a causative and the *d-* and *l-* classifiers often imply passive and medio-passive constructions (Hoijer 1945). Today the classifiers in Apachean languages are also often lexical or thematic in their distributions (Axelrod 2007).

The subject of the verb is expressed either through a subject prefix in position 2 or a deictic prefix in position 6, and the two cannot co-occur. ‘Deictic’ refers to the fourth person and indefinite subjects, indicated by prefixes *č'i-* and *ʔi-* respectively (Bittle 1956). As with other Apachean languages, there are four sets of subject prefixes, the choice of which depends on the mode and classifier of the verb form (Bittle 1956). Bittle’s (1956) thorough analysis of modal prefixes and their required subject prefix set is used to identify mode in the texts. Plains Apache

subject prefixes are: *š-* or *éé-* 1SG; *ý̨ý̨-* or *ⁿdí-* 2SG; *ìį̨d-* 1DUPL; *á-* or *áh-* 2DUPL. The third person subject in Plains Apache is unmarked and indicated by the null *ø-* in the analysis.
Direct and indirect object prefixes occur in positions 7 and 13, respectively. They are identical in form and only differentiated by their placement on the verb template. The object prefixes are: *ši-* 1SG; *di-* 2SG; *bi-*, *mi-*, *yi-*, *ø-* 3; *go-* 4; *ʔi-* INDF; *dàxi-*, *da-* 1DUPL/2DUPL. Object prefixes can be seen in examples (10), (15), and throughout the text. The third person object pronouns have a specific distribution, described in section 3.

Plains Apache has two number prefixes in position 8 on the verb, the distributive-plural *da-*, seen in (12), and the dual-plural *go-*, seen in (9b). These prefixes may describe the object, subject, or event as being distributed or plural or dual (Bittle 1956).

Plains Apache has one tense prefix in position 4, four modal prefixes in position 3, and one modal prefix in position 9. The tense and modal prefixes are presented in this section as individual prefixes, though they commonly and predictably appear as fused combinations with the subject prefixes. See Bittle (1956, 1963) for a discussion.
The imperfective, perfective, progressive, and optative modal prefixes appear in position 3 on the verb (Bittle 1956). The iterative modal prefix occurs only in position 9 (Bittle, 1956). Every verb form includes only one modal prefix (Bittle 1956). Traditionally, mode in Athabaskan linguistics has been defined structurally because all modal conjugations are identical in structure, all having a prefix in the same slot on the verb (Rice 1989). However, in a general linguistic sense, aspect situates an event in respect to the reference point of the speaker and mode expresses the attitude of the speaker toward the event (Rice 1989). Thus semantically, the perfective, imperfective, and progressive are used to denote aspect and only the optative is modal. However, in this paper, Bittle's and others' structural definition of mode and aspect is maintained.

Imperfective mode refers to an action that has begun but is incomplete and perfective refers to a completed action. These two modes have the most complex paradigms in Plains Apache, as both divide into three sub-modes. The ø-imperfective takes a zero prefix, the h-imperfective takes the prefix *hi-*, and the n-imperfective takes the prefix *ni-* in position 3. The y-imperfective has been analyzed as having an epenthesized [*y*] after a disjunct prefix in Navajo, making the y-imperfective merely a special case of the ø-imperfective (Krauss 1970). The h-imperfective in Plains Apache is likely similar, where the [*h*] is epenthesized after a disjunct prefix, though throughout this paper I continue to call it the 'h-imperfective' following Bittle's original description (1956). The s-perfective takes the prefix *si-*, the h-perfective takes *ɣį̨į̨-* or *ɣi-*, and the n-perfective takes *di-*, *ni-*, *dį-*, or *nį-* in position 3 (Bittle 1956). The following examples from the text show the various sub-modes of the perfective and imperfective.

(10) šìlížǫ́ǫ̨́
ši-lí-ø-ø-žǫ́ǫ̨́
1SG.OBJ-?-IPFV-3SBJ-to.esteem.or.love
'I love him.'

(11) dòòdáyìiłcéé
dòò-dá-yì-hi-ł-céé
NEG-?-3OBJ-IPFV-CLF-to.see.IPFV
'He could not find him.'

(12) dàànídèès
da-ni-0-dèès
DISTR.PL-IPFV-3SBJ-to.be.long.IPFV
'They were long.'

(13) šíčį
ši-čį
PFV-animate.lays.PFV
'He lay.'

(14) č'ìɣéélɬƛìš
č'i-ɣi-éé-ɬ-ƛìš
THM-PFV-1SG-CLF-animate.fall.PFV
'I fell in.'

(15) dàʔìdi̧i̧ɬʒìš
da-ʔi-ni-ɬ-ʒìš
ADV-INDF.OBJ-PFV-CLF-to.cut.or.slice.PFV
'He cut it off.'

The progressive mode, shown in example (7), refers to an action that is ongoing (Young 2000) and takes the prefix *ɣi-* in position 3. The future tense takes the progressive mode with the addition of the future tense marker *di-* in position 4. The iterative mode refers to an action that is repeated and customary (Young 2000) and takes the prefix *dá-* in position 9, as in (16). The customary mode (called usitative in Navajo in Young et al. 1992) uses the same verb stem as the iterative and takes the same prefix complex as the imperfective. Where the iterative and imperfective stems do not vary, as for example some verbs take the same stem in all modes, these two modes have identical verb forms. The optative mode describes an action that is wished for or desired (Young 2000) and takes the prefix *ɣii-* in position 3, as in (17).

(16) dàáščééh
dá-ø-š-ø-čééh
ITER-3OBJ-1SG.SBJ-CLF-handle.animate.being.ITER
'I carry someone [on repeated occasions].' (Bittle, 1952-1955)

(17) bìɣàhàɣííščį̀š
bi-ɣàhà-ɣii-š-ø-čį̀š
3OBJ-THM-OPT-1SG.SUBJ-CLF-handle.slender.stiff.object.OPT
'I [wish to] take a long object away (from someone).' (Hoijer, ca. 1935)

In addition to the modal prefix, mode is also marked in Plains Apache by the choice of a particular verb stem shape (Morgan 2013). Bittle never described the aspectual system of Plains Apache, which is marked by the use of a prefix and/or special stem shape, as has been described in the closely related languages of Jicarilla Apache and Navajo (Axelrod 2007, Young 2000). Section 3 uses the text to analyze aspect in Plains Apache.

3. The Story of the Man, His Wife, and His Younger Brother

The text is included here in Bittle's transcription system, which only varied slightly from Hoijer's original transcription. The word glosses are those originally noted by Hoijer in his handwritten copy of the text. The free translation included for this text is directly from the original author, Alonzo Chalepah Sr., collected by Bittle using Hoijer's transcription of the text. No date was noted for this translation. Hoijer's transcription is held in Indiana; the English transcription is in the Bittle collection at the University of Oklahoma Western Histories Collection. During his fieldwork with the Plains Apache, Hoijer additionally collected verb and noun paradigms on slip files, also held at Indiana. This paper combines thee various sources of information into a single presentation of the text.

My goal in this analysis is to unite the information that Hoijer collected on slip files together with the text that he used to elicit them, along with Bittle's free English translation of the text. I have also supplemented Hoijer's materials with information from Bittle's much longer and more extensive fieldwork, using the information found on his large collection of slip files. However, there is not always an analysis to be found in the archival record, and there are no living fluent speakers to consult. In this section, a '?' in the gloss line indicates no analysis; a ? after a gloss indicates an unsure analysis.

2.1 'Dèènáá Bìč'èèčéé Bìčìƛ'ą́ą́' told by Alonzo Chalepah, Sr. to Harry Hoijer ca. 1935

1 dèènáá dèèsžàà

dèènáá	di-	si-	0-	žàà
man	INC	PFV	3	hunt.PFV.MOM
man	he.went.out.hunting			

'A man went out hunting one time.'

2 bìč'èèčą́ą́ bìzèèdą́ yìč'į́ʔ dáágòłčiʔ

bi-	č'èèčą́ą́	bi-	*zèèdą́	yi-	č'į́ʔ	dáá-	go-	hi-	0-	ł-	čiʔ
3.POSS	woman	3.POSS	in.law?	3OBJ	to	THM? [4]	PL	IPFV	3SBJ	CLF	talk
his.wives		their.brother-in-law		to.him		they.spoke					

'When he was gone, his wives said to their brother-in-law,'

3 ' dàkxà dį́į́gɣéés ' [5]

dà-	kxà-	di-[6]	0-	į́į́-	gɣéés
1DUPL	among	INC	IPFV	2SG.SBJ	choose.pick.select
choose.one.of.us					

[4] The *dáá-* occurs in every form of 'to speak to' in the paradigms Hoijer collected for the perfective, imperfective, future, and optative modes. Bittle, in his slips, similarly has *dá-* in all paradigms with this verb form, in addition to other paradigms with different prefixes to form the verbs 'talk about,' 'talk with,' or 'talk to someone.' *dáá-* is likely a thematic prefix. Both Bittle and Hoijer specifically noted that this verb appeared with the h-perfective and h-imperfective.

[5] As far as I have seen, commands always appear in the imperfective mode.

[6] Hoijer noted that the *di-* prefix was 'probably inceptive' on one of his slips.

gòyìłniš						gòzèèdą́		‘ ʔééšdòòʔ ’
go-	yi-	0-	0-	ł-	niš	go-	*zèèdą́	ʔééšdòòʔ
PL	3	IPFV	3	CLF	say.it.IPFV	4.poss	in.law?	no
they.said.to.him						his.brother-in-law [7]		no

gòbìłniš					
go-	bi-	0-	0-	ł-	nìš
PL	3	IPFV	3	CLF	say.it.IPFV
he.said.to.them					

‘‘Choose one of us.’ ‘No,’ he said to them.’

4	‘ dàkxàdį́į́gɣéěš ’						gòyìłnìš					
	dà-	kxà-	di-	0-	į́į́-	gɣééš	go-	yi-	0-	0-	ł-	nìš
	1DUPL	among	INC	IPFV	2SG	choose.pick.select	PL	3	IPFV	3	CLF	say.it.IPFV
	choose.one.of.us						they.said.to.him					

‘But they said again, ‘Choose one of us.’’

5	‘ʔééšdòòʔ	šį́į́dàɣą́ą́		šilížǫ́ǫ́				
	ʔééšdòòʔ	ši-	dàɣą́ą́	ši-	lí-	0-	0-	žǫ́ǫ́
	no	1SG.POSS	brother.older	1SG	?	IPFV	3	esteem.or.love
	no	my.brother		I.love.him				

dòòbič'įʔšį́į́nìʔ ’				
dò-	bi-	č'įʔ	ši-	*nìʔ
NEG	3	to	1SG.POSS	mind
I.don't.want.to.do.it				

‘He answered again, ‘No. I love my brother. I don't want to do anything like that.’

6	ʔádáʔ	šííníížáá			
	ʔádáʔ	ší-	ni-	0-	žáá
	then	?	ADV	3	walk.SG
	then	he.went.out			

‘Then he went out of the tipi.’

7	č'èèčéé	ʔìdèʔ		yìžààyáá			ʔèègóč'íí			
	č'èèčéé	ʔi-	*dèʔ	yi-	-žàà	-yáá	ʔèègó	0-	0-	c'íí
	woman	INDF.POSS	bed	3	under	beneath	?	IPFV	3	dig.IPFV
	woman	his.bed		under.it			they.dug.a.hole			

‘One of the women dug a hole under his bed.’

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[7] I would translate this as ‘his sister-in-laws.’ *-zèèdą́* refers to general in-laws. Bittle (1956) notes the restrictive nature of a man’s relationship to his sister-in-law and that *go-* is used to refer to persons like this. Furthermore, when the brother-in-law is referenced in relation to the wives in the previous line, *bi-* is used and not *go-*.

8 nìinèg ʔèègòwe̹e̹č'ìiʔ
nìinèg ʔèègó we̹e̹- c'ìiʔ
deep(hole) ? 3.PFV dig.PFV
deep they.dug.a.hole
'It was a deep hole.'

9 yìč'àdá̹ʔ ʔéédààgògòsʔèèł
yi- č'à dá̹ʔ ʔi- é da- go- gò- si- 0- ʔèèł
3 top on INDF.OBJ ? DISTR.PL PL ? PFV 3 spread.PFV
its.top they.spread.it.on.it
'They spread his bed on top of the hole.'

10 c'ááscàʔáą́ dánáážááʔ
c'ááscàʔáą́ dá- náá- si- 0- d- žááʔ
young.man REV SMLT PFV 3 CLF go.walk.SG.PFV
young.man he.came.back.again
'Then the young man came back in again.'

11 bìdèʔéé dàdìdààš
bi- *dèʔ ʔèèʔ nà- nì- 0- 0- dààš
3.POSS bed at down down IPFV 3 sit.SG.IPFV
his.bed he.sat.on.it

ʔìgòʔáą́ č'ìɣį́į́łƛìš
ʔi- gòʔáą́ č'ì- ɣį́į́- ł- ƛìš
INDF.POSS hole animate.fall 3.PFV CLF animate.fall.PFV
hole he.fell.in
'He sat on his bed, and he fell into the hole.'

12 yìč'èè gògòǫ̀ǫ́zìì yìč'àdá̹ʔ
yi- č'èè gògòǫ̀ǫ́ zìì yi- č'à dá̹ʔ
3 ? ? cover.up.PFV 3 top on
they.covered.it.up its.top

ʔédààgògòsʔèèł
ʔi- é da- go- gò- si- 0- ʔèèł
INDF.OBJ ? DISTR.PL PL ? PFV 3 spread
they.spread.over.it
'They covered it up quickly. They spread the bed back over the top of the hole.'

13 c'ááscàʔáą́ nììnìgèè šíčį́
c'ááscàʔáą́ nììnèg ʔèèʔ si- čį́į́
young.man deep(hole) at PFV animate.lay.PFV
young.man way.down he.lay
'The young man was lying way down in that hole.'

14 míídàɣáą́ náážáá ' šìčìƛ'áą́ šáʔxàà '
mi- dàɣáą́ dá- ni- 0- d- žáá ši- čìƛ'áą́ šáʔ xà
3.POSS brother.older REV ADV 3 CLF walk.SG 1SG.POSS younger.brother ? [8] ?
his.brother he.returned my.brother where.is.he?
nìš
nìš
to.say.it.IPFV
he said
'The man returned and said, 'Where is my brother.''

15 ' ⁿdàłnìʔ šííníížáá xàyáá dàłnìʔ
ⁿdàłnìʔ ši- ni- 0- žáá xà -yáá dàłnìʔ
perhaps.maybe ? PFV 3 walk.SG ? toward.to perhaps.maybe
perhaps he.went.out to.where perhaps.maybe
dèèžáá ' gònìš
di- si- 0- žáá go- nìš
INC PFV 3 walk.SG PL say.it.IPFV
he.went they.said
''Perhaps, he went out somewhere. Perhaps he just went out,' they said.'

16 dèènáá bìčìƛ'áą́ yį́kxáá nààdìkxáá
dèènáá bi- čìƛ'áą́ yi- -kxáá nààdì 0- 0- kxáá
man 3.POSS younger.brother 3 for ? IPFV 3 search.for
man his.brother for.him he.searched.around
dòòdáyìiłcéé
dòò- dá yi- hì ł- céé
NEG ? 3 ? CLF see.IPFV
he.could.not.find.him
'The man searched around for his brother, but couldn't find him.'

[8] On one of his slip files, Bittle notes that this morpheme is 'demonstrative (then) (narrative prefix)'. However, šáʔ- is cognate to a question particle in Jicarilla Apache (Axelrod 2007) and Navajo (Young 2000). This prefix appears in a large variety of contexts in other Plains Apache texts.

17	gǫ̀ǫ̀kxàʔyá		č'ííšyį́įkxáánààdìkxáá				
	gǫ̀ǫ̀kxàʔ	yá	č'ííš	yi-	-kxáá	nààdì	kxáá
	camp	toward.to	rain?	3	for	?	search.for
	in.the.camp		he.looked.in.the.rain.for.him				

‘He looked in the camp, and looked in the rain for him.’

18	^{n}dádààdèèzą́ą́		
	^{n}dádadi	si-	zą́ą́
	?	PFV	move.camp.PFV
	there.was.a.moving.of.the.camp		

‘Then there was a moving of the camp.’

19	šǫ́ʔòòkxàʔyá		bàʔłbáá	ʔìžáá	yííkxáá dààdààⁿdíkxáá				
	šǫ́ʔòòkxàʔ	yá	bàʔłbáá	ʔìžáá	yi-	-kxáá	da-	dàà^{n}dí	kxáá
	deserted.camp	toward.to	wolf	something	3	for	DISTR.PL	?	search.for
	in.the.deserted.camp		Gray.Wolves	something	they.were.searching.for.it				

‘In the deserted camp, some Gray wolves came. They were looking for something. They searched around the camp.’

20	ʔìžáá	łàʔš	gódééš			
	ʔìžáá	łàʔš	gó	0-	0-	dééš
	someone	in.the.ground	?	IPFV	3	shout.IPFV
	someone	in.the.ground	he.was.shouting			

‘They heard someone shouting from the ground.’

21	bàʔłbáá	ʔìšǯáánά	hààɣę́ę́čàʔ			dę́ę́š
	bàʔłbáá	ʔìšǯáánά	hàà	ɣę́ę́-	čàʔ	dę́ę́š
	wolf	old.woman	?	3.PFV	to.cry.PFV	four
	wolf	old.woman	she.howled			four

‘An old woman Gray Wolf she howled four times.’

22	łèʔhíí	nìč'ìɣèèskxą́ą́			
	łèʔhíí	nìč'ìɣi	si-	0-	kxą́ą́
	the.others	?	PFV	3	cause.to.come?
	the others	they.were.caused.to.come.there			

‘The others, they came over to where she was.’

23 c'ááscàʔáą̀ łàʔš dááłčìʔ ‘ k'àdéé báʔdààščáá
c'ááscàʔáą̀ łàʔš dá- hi- ł- čìʔ k'àdéé báʔ- dà š- cáá
young.man in.the.ground talk IPFV CLF talk now without.water[9] ? 1SG die
young.man in.the.ground he.spoke now I'm.dying.of.thirst

čìsìzíłxéé ’
čìsìzíłxéé
I'm.starving
I'm.starving

‘The young man spoke from the ground, and said ‘Now, I'm dying of thirst. I'm starving.’’

24 bàʔłbáá bìłdààgóóc'ìʔ
bàʔłbáá bi- ł da- gó si- 0- c'ìì ʔ
wolf 3 ? DISTR.PL ? PFV 3 dig.PFV
wolf they.dug.him.out

‘The Gray wolves dug him out.’

25 háą̀bìɣ́ę́łčį́į́ c'ááscàʔáą̀
hàà- bi- ɣ́ę́- ł- čį́į́ c'ááscàʔáą̀
out 3 3.PFV CLF handle.animate.PFV young.man
they.took.him.out young.man

kxóʔálą́ą̀
kó ʔi- hi- d- ląą́
water INDF.OBJ IPFV CLF drink
he.drank.water

‘They took him out of that hole. The young man drank water.’

26 bàʔłbáá ʔìšǯáánáá ‘ nìčèè č'áłčį̀į̀š ’ yìłnìš
bàʔłbáá ʔìšǯáánáá nìčèè č'ì áh- ł- čį̀į̀š yi- ł- nìš
wolf old.woman ? 2DUPL CLF scatter.out.IPFV 3 CLF say.it.IPFV
wolf The Old Woman scatter.out she said to them

‘The wolf said to the others, ‘Scatter out.’’

27 ‘ łèʔ ƛ'ą̀ą́hą̀ą̀ bìžààyéé básáłxéé
łèʔ ƛ'ą̀ą́hą̀ą̀ bi- žààyéé bi- á- 0- si- 0- áh- ł- xéé
one Buffalo 3.POSS child 3 for 3 ? IPFV 2DUPL CLF kill.IPFV
one buffalo its.little.one kill.it.for.him

‘‘Kill a young buffalo for him.’’

[9] On one of his slips, Bittle identified this prefix as meaning ‘endurance without water.’ He included as evidence the forms: *šìbádèèh* ‘I endure without water’ and *báʔdèèh* ‘prairie dog.’

28 čą́ą́dìłkxǫ̀ǫ̀céé bádáyìníí ʔą́ą́ ’

čą́ą́dìłkxǫ̀ǫ̀céé	bi-	-a	dá	yi-	ni-	ʔą́ą́
liver	3	toward.to	?	3	PFV	handle.round.object.PFV
liver	bring.it.for.him					

‘‘Bring the liver to him.’’

29 yìɣę́ę́náá ʔ

yi-	ɣę́ę́-	nááʔ
3	3.PFV	eat?
he.ate.it		

‘The wolves did this, and they brought the liver to the young man. He ate it.’

30 dèènáá bìčìƛ'ą́ą́ dòòdáyììłcéé

dèènáá	bi-	čìƛ'ą́ą́	dòò-	dá	yi-	hi-	ł-	céé
man	3.POSS	younger.brother	NEG	?	3	IPFV	CLF	see.IPFV
man	his.brother		he.could.not.find.him					

bìčìƛ'ą́ą́

bi-	čìƛ'ą́ą́
3.POSS	younger.brother
his.brother	

‘The man, who was searching for his brother, had not yet found him.’

31 bàʔłbáá ʔìšǯáánáá čą́ʔbìcǫ́ǫ́yą́ą́ sìlį́į́

bàʔłbáá	ʔìšǯáánáá	čą́ʔ	bi-	*cóóyą́ą́	si-	lį́į́
wolf	old.woman	?	3.POSS	grandparent	PFV	change.PFV.NEUT
wolf	The Old Woman	his.grandmother			she became	

‘The old woman Gray wolf became the young man's mother and his grandmother.’

32 c'áánscàʔą́ą́ bìɣwòòžàʔ hą̀ą̀dìɣį́į́šą́ą́

c'áánscàʔą́ą́	bi-	*ɣwòòžàʔ	hàà-	dì	ɣį́į́-	šą́ą́
young.man	3.POSS	canine.tooth	out	?	3.PFV	grow.PFV
young.man	his.canine.teeth		they.grew.out			

‘His canine tooth grew out long.’

33 bíílàà šgɣą̀ą̀ dàànídèès sìlį́į́

bi-	*làà šgɣą̀ą̀	da-	ni-	0-	dèès	si-	lį́į́
3.POSS	fingernails	DISTR.PL	IPFV	3	be.long.IPFV	PFV	change.PFV.NEUT
his.fingernails		they.were.long				they became	

‘His finger nails grew long.’

34 c'ááscàʔáą̀ dàgòłgò̩ò̩kxàʔyáá hìłxìłdáʔ

c'ááscàʔáą̀	dàgòłgò̩ò̩kxàʔ	yáá	ɣi-	0-	ł-	xìł	dáʔ
young.man	camp	toward.to	PROG	3	CLF	be.night.PROG	on
young.man	to.their.camp		at.night				

dìłʔìs ʔìcì̩ʔ nìidìɣíʔì̩ì̩s

dì	0-	0-	ł-	ʔìs	ʔìcì̩ʔ	nì-	di-	ɣi-	0-	ʔì̩ì̩š
?	IPFV	3	CLF	run.SG	meat	?	FUT	PROG	3	steal
he.goes					meat	he.stole.it.constantly				

'The young man went to their camp. At night, he would go about with them. He constantly stole meat with them.'

35 bícó̩óyáá bàʔłbáá ʔìšǯáánáá

bi-	*cóóyáą̀	bàʔłbáá	ʔìšǯáánáá
3.POSS	grandparent	wolf	old.woman
his.grandmother		wolf	The Old Woman

yádáyíʔì̩š

yi-	á-	dá-	yi-	0-	ʔì̩š
3	for	ITER	3	3	handle.indefinite.objects.REP

he.brought.it.back.for.her

'His grandmother, the old lady Gray wolf, he brought meat back for her.'

36 ʔáłèʔéé ƛ'éég bégòc'ìisì̩ʔ

ʔáłèʔéé	ƛ'éég	bi-	égò	č'ì-	sì̩ʔ
one	night	3	?	4	learn.recognize
one	night	they.recognized.him			

'One night, the people recognized the young man.'

37 ' ʔìžáá ʔìcì̩ʔ dàxííɣá nìidàdìɣíʔì̩ì̩ʔ '

ʔìžáá	ʔìcì̩ʔ	dàxi-	ɣá	nì-	da-	di-	ɣi-	0-	ʔì̩ì̩ʔ
someone	meat	1DUPL	?	?	DISTR.PL	INC	PROG	3	steal
someone	meat	ours		they.are.stealing.it					

'They said 'someone is stealing our meat.''

38 ɣé̩é̩łxéél bìdááčìdèèšǯéé

ɣé̩é̩-	0-	ł-	xéél	bi-	dáá	č'ì-	di-	si-	ǯéé
3.PFV	3	CLF	be.night.PFV	3	? [10]	4	down	PFV	lay.PL
it.got.dark				they.lay.in.ambush.for.him					

'It got dark. They lay in ambush for him.'

[10] The *dáá-* prefix may at first look like the plural prefix *da-*, but Hoijer collected full paradigms of this verb and *dáá-* is present in all forms of all paradigms, even for singular forms.

39 t'éʔnááč'ìníít'ìʔ bìłdààc'ìdèèsdàà
t'éʔ náá- č'ìníí d- ʔìʔ bi- ł dà- č'ì- di- si- dàà
? SMLT ? CLF come 3 ? DISTR.PL 4 INC PFV chase.someone
there.he.came.again they.chased.him

č'ìšìł c'ááscàʔáą́ hààɣį́ą́čàʔ
č'ì- si- šìł c'ááscàʔáą́ hàà ɣi- 0- čàʔ
4 PFV catch young.man ? PFV 3 cry.PFV
they.caught.him young.man he.cried

'When he came to the camp, they caught him. He cried out.'

40 míídàɣáą́ yìč'į́ʔ hààɣíʒ́íí
mi- dàɣáą́ yi- č'į́ʔ hàà ɣi- 0- ʒ́íí
3.POSS brother.older 3 to ? PFV 3 speak.to.it
his.brother to.him he.spoke

' dáʔšìɣį́ą́díłt'èʔ ' yìłnìš
dáʔi ši- ɣi- di- ł- t'èʔ yi- 0- ł- nìš
? 1sg PFV 2SG CLF throw.animate 3 3 CLF say.it.IPFV
you.threw.me.away he said to them

'His brother came to him, and the young man said, 'You throw me away, let me go.''

41 ' ʔéésdòò ' nìš c'ááscàʔáą́ dààʒìšžìł
ʔéésdòòʔ nìš c'ááscàʔáą́ dààʒì si- 0- šìł
no say.it.IPFV young.man ? PFV 3 catch
no he said young.man they.caught.him

''No,' said his brother. The young man said,'

42 ' hį́į́łcéé sìcóóyáą́ bàʔłbáá ʔìšʒ́áánáá
hi į́į- ł- céé ši- *cóóyáą́ bàʔłbáá ʔìšʒ́áánáá
? 2SG CLF see.IPFV 1SG.POSS grandparent wolf old.woman
wait my.grandmother Gray.Wolf The Old Woman

č'èènáádìšgɣéé ʔéézááɣéé ʔááʒìʔ dádìɣíšdáá '
č'èè náá- dì š- gɣéé ʔéézááɣéé ʔááʒìʔ dá- di- ɣi- š- d- áá
? SMLT ? 1SG ? afterwards to.here REV FUT PROG 1SG CLF walk.SG
I'll.see.her.again afterwards to.here I'll.return[11]

''I'll see my grandmother again. Afterwards, I'll return here.''

[11] Proto-Athabaskan **y-* > *y-* in Navajo and Jicarilla Apache, but *ž-* in Plains Apache (Hoijer, 1938). The stem *-ya* in Navajo, cognate to *-aa* 'walk' in Plains Apache, has the variant *-a*. The variation existing in at least Proto-Apachean explains the variation in Plains Apache of *-žaa-* and *-aa* as stems. When these stems occur with a *d-* classifier, the stems then surface as *-ʒaa* and *-daa*.

43 bà?łbáá	?išʒáánáá	bìɣwòòžà?		bíílààšgɣàą̀
bà?łbáá	?išʒáánáá	bi-	*ɣwòòžà?	bi- *lààšgɣàą̀
wolf	old.woman	3.POSS	canine.tooth	3.POSS fingernails
wolf	The.Old.Woman	his.canine.teeth		his.fingernails

gǫ́bá?ádáádàyìiλàą̀
gǫ́bá?ádáádàyìiλàą̀

she.made.them.so.again.for.him

'So he went off to see his grandmother. She made his teeth and his fingernails short again.'

44 míídàɣáą̀		yìɣànááʒáá					míídàɣáą̀	
mi-	dàɣáą̀	yi-	ɣà	náá-	d-	žáá	mi-	dàɣáą̀
3.POSS	brother.older	3	?[12]	SMLT	CLF	walk.SG	3.POSS	brother.older
his.brother		he.returned.to.him					his.brother	

yiłgóółnì?

yi-	łgó	0-	0-	ł-	nì?
3	?	IPFV	3	CLF	tell.or.narrate

he.told.him

'He returned to his brother. He told him'

45 ' dìč'èèčéé		?áą̀t'áą̀	gòsbì?ìžà?èè		?èègògòwǫ́ę́č'ìì			?áát'é?èè
di-	č'èèčéé	?áą̀t'áą̀	gòsbì?	?ìžá?èè	?èè	go-	gò	wǫ́ę́- c'ìì? ?áát'é?èè
2SG.POSS	woman	it.was	tipi	inside	?	PL	?	3.PFV dig.PFV right.there
your.wives		it.was	inside.the.tipi		they.dug.a.hole			right.there

''It was your wives that buried me. They dug a hole in my tipi, right there.'

46 ?ìgò?áą̀		č'ìɣéélλìš						?áát'é?èè	séé
?i-	gò?áą̀	č'ì-	ɣi-	éé-	ł-	λìš		?áát'é?èè	séé
INDF.POSS	hole	animate.fall	PFV	1SG	CLF	animate.fall.PFV		right.there	dirt
hole		I.fell.in						right.there	dirt

šdààgòyìdèèníízíí ' '

ši-	dààgò	yi-	dèèníí	zíí
1SG	?	3	?	cover.it.up

they.covered.it.on.me

'I fell in the hole, and they covered me with dirt. They covered me up.''

[12] Bittle recorded other forms for 'to return to someone,' all with the prefix *ɣà-*. This may be either a thematic or adverbial prefix.

47 míídàɣáą́ bìłgòdèèɣį́į́nìì
mi- dàɣáą́ bi- łgòdè ɣį́į́- nìì?
3.POSS brother.older 3 ? 3.PFV be.angry.PFV
his.brother he.became.angry [13]

'His brother became angry.'

48 bìč'èèčáą́ dòògààč'į́į́ ?ìzíłxéé
bi- č'èèčáą́ dòògààč'į́į́ ?i- si- 0- 0- ł- xéé
3.POSS woman skunk INDF.OBJ ADV IPFV 3 CLF kill.IPFV
his.wife skunk he.killed.it

yíížó?dá? dà?ìdìłžìš
yi- -žó?dá? da- ?i- ni- ł- žìš
3 on.one's.back ADV INDF.OBJ PFV CLF cut.or.slice.PFV
on.her.back he.cut.it.off

'He killed one of his wives, and cut a piece from her back.'

49 łè?híídó? bìč'èèčáą́ nááhìzèèsgɣ́ę́ę́ bààgóóč'ìdáą́
łè?híídó? bi- č'èèčáą́ náá- hì si- si- d- xę́ę́ bààgóóč'ìdáą́
another.one 3.POSS woman SMLT ? ADV PFV CLF kill.PFV badger
another.one his.wife he.killed.her.too badger

yížó?dá? hààyìɣ́ę́ę́łžìš
yi- -žó?dá? hàà- yi- ɣ́ę́ę́- ł- žìš
3 on.one's.back out 3 3.PFV CLF cut.or.slice.PFV
on.her.back he.cut.it.out

'He killed the other wife, and cut a piece from her back.'

50 bìč'èèčéé yìɣ́ę́ę́ɣáą́ šą́?bìčìƛ'áą́ bìlížó?ó?
bi- č'èèčéé yi- ɣ́ę́ę́- ɣáą́ šą́? bi- čìƛ'áą́ bi- lí- 0- žó?ó?
3.POSS woman 3 3.PFV ? and.his.brother 3 ? 3 esteem.or.love
his.wives he.killed.them he.loved.him

'Then he killed them. (The first piece became a skunk, and the other became a badger.) He loved his brother.'

[13] Both Bittle and Hoijer recorded paradigms of this verb, though neither offered any insight about the meaning of the morphemes. Their paradigms clearly show that the subject of the English sentence is the object of the Plains Apache sentence (*bi-* in this form).

2.2 The Uniqueness of the Chalepah-Hoijer Version

In addition to the Chalepah-Hoijer version of this narrative, there are three other versions, all told by Tennyson Berry. In Plains Apache there is the Berry-Goddard (1911) and Berry-Bittle (1953) versions, in addition to an English telling of the story in 1969 to Bittle. The three versions told by Berry are not identical, but the version told by Chalepah is notably unique from all of them.

The Chalepah-Hoijer version is the only version in which the man has two wives instead of one. In Berry's two later tellings (1953, 1969), the wolves are the ones who kill the jealous wife, by eating her when they are called by the younger brother. In the Chalepah-Hoijer and Berry-Goddard versions, the wife (or wives) is killed by the husband. The Berry-Goddard version even notes that the husband killed the wife 'like a dog'.

The Chalepah-Hoijer version is also the only version that uses this narrative to describe how skunk and badger got their telltale white stripes. At the end of the Plains Apache transcription of the story, Hoijer noted in his notebook 'cut a piece from the back- thus the white stripe on the skunk'. In the English free translation, Chalepah summed this up by stating 'The first piece became a skunk, and the other became a badger,' information which is not made explicit in the Apache version of the text. Chalepah's word for badger is also entirely different from the one used by Berry and the several other speakers Bittle worked with during the years that he collected Plains Apache word forms onto over 7,000 slip files. Where Chalepah calls the badger *bààgóóč'ìdą́ą́*, Berry and others referred to it by hàc'íɣàą̀ą́sé, which they translated as 'he scratched dirt out', 'he scratched a hole', and 'scratch-outer'[14].

Additionally, based on other stories and conversations collected by Bittle from several other speakers, there is a different story that explains how the skunk became white-striped. In this story, when Coyote and the other animals play a handgame, skunk loses, has his hair cut, and then his hair grows back white.

4. New Analyses from the Text

Plains Apache is an under-studied language, with no dictionary or grammar and only a few publications offering any linguistic descriptions and analyses (Hoijer 1938, 1943, 1945, 1946a, 1946b, 1949, Bittle 1956, 1964, Hardy 1979, Collins 1983, Liebe-Harkort 1984, 1985, de Reuse 2001, Morgan 2012, Morgan 2013)[15].

4.1 The Yi-/Bi- Alternation

As previously mentioned, the third person object prefixes in Plains Apache (*yi-* and *bi-*) have a specific but complex distribution. The *yi-*/*bi-* alternation is a famous problem in Apachean languages and has been extensively studied (Shayne 1982, Sandoval & Jelinek 1989, Thompson 1996, Willie 2000). According to Bittle's original analysis of the problem in Plains Apache, when the subject of the verb is third person, *yi-* is used for both indirect and direct objects (1963). But when the subject of the verb is anything other than third person, the third person direct object is unmarked on the verb and *bi-* or *mi-* is used for the third person indirect object (Bittle, 1963). However, the problem in Plains Apache is not so simply solved as Bittle suggested. Consider (18), where the subject in each sentence is third person and, by Bittle's analysis, should both carry *yi-*.

[14] -ɣàą́s is the verb stem for 'scratch', and hà- is likely a postposition meaning 'out (of an enclosed space)'.
[15] Hoijer undoubtedly used his knowledge of Plains Apache in his series on the Apachean verb, but very few of his publications actually cite Plains Apache data.

(18) (a) łéčù **y**ééšk^{h}ààł
łéčù yi- ø- si- ø- k^{h}ààł
horse 3SG.OBJ- 3SG.SBJ-PFV-CLF-kick
'He kicked the horse.' (O'Neill, 2008)

(b) łéčù **bí**šk^{h}ààł
łéčù bi- ø- si- ø- k^{h}ààł
horse 3SG.OBJ- 3SG.SBJ-PFV-CLF-kick
'The horse kicked him.' (O'Neill, 2008)

Bittle's analysis of *yi-*/*bi-* in Plains Apache is obviously insufficient. Another researcher, Liebe-Harkort (1985) briefly commented on the problem in Plains Apache, essentially comparing the distribution in Plains Apache to an analysis of Navajo by Witherspoon (1977). Liebe-Harkort concluded that the *bi-* structures of Plains Apache are causatives, where the valence of the verb is increased to allow three arguments, two of which are co-indexed (1985). However, Liebe-Harkort's analysis of *bi-* constructions as causatives seems unnecessarily complex. While a causative may be a better English translation of these sentences, this does not mean that the structure of the Plains Apache verbs with *bi-* produces a causative. Considering that these pronouns have been shown to be part of a complex system of voice, animacy hierarchy, discourse patterns, and semantics in other Apachean languages (see Willie 2000 for Navajo, Shayne 1982 for San Carlos Apache), Plains Apache likely has a similar system. Navajo is described as having direct and inverse voice forms, where (18b) would be in the inverse voice and translated as 'he was kicked by the horse' (Willie 2000). In the inverse voice, the patient becomes the topicalized subject, viewed as a backgrounded argument, and the agent becomes the focused argument (Willie 2000). The alternation of *bi-* for *yi-* is required when the agent is of higher animacy than the patient (e.g. a horse acting on a human, as in example 18b) and is optional when the arguments are of equal animacy (Willie 2000). While these are translated into English as a passive, they are not passives, as the inverse has two arguments and is a transitive.

Willie's (2000) analysis of the *yi-*/*bi-* distribution based on hierarchy and topicality is also plausible for the Plains Apache data. Looking at the text, we see examples of lower animacy agents, like the wolves, acting on a higher animacy patient, the younger brother.

(19) **bì**łdààgóóc'ìʔ
'They dug him out.' (line 24)

(20) háą́**bì**ɣ́ɛ́ɛ́łčį́į́
'They took him out.' (line 25)

As predicted in Willie's analysis, these verbs take *bi-* to refer to the higher animacy patient, the younger brother. In the text, there are also examples of equal animacy arguments, as when the younger brother and the other people from the camp interact.

(21) **bì**dááčìdèèšʒ́éé
'They lay in ambush for him.' (line 38)

(22) **bi**łdààc'ìdèèsdàà
'They chased him.' (line 39)

(23) yádáyíʔi̯š
'He brought it back for her.' (line 35)

All arguments in (21)-(23) are of equal animacy. However, they are not of equal topicality in the story. Again applying Willie's hypothesis for Navajo to Plains Apache, the alternation here is understood as being triggered by a minor character acting on a major character in the story. The use of *bi-*, what Willie calls the inverse voice, topicalizes the patient, in (21) and (22) the young man, into the subject role. (23) does not undergo this process, since the young man is already the subject of the verb.

While an initial look at the data supports Willie's (2000) analysis in Navajo, the alternation of *yi-*/*bi-* is a problem in need of further analysis in Plains Apache, one that incorporates all of the known text material. The author is compiling a database of Plains Apache texts and hopes to further analyze the *yi-*/*bi-* alternation in the future.

4.2 Aspect

The aspectual system of Plains Apache has barely been described in any publications, only being mentioned in asides and endnotes in an analysis of Navajo (Hardy 1979) and briefly described in Plains Apache for only a specific subset of verbs (Morgan 2013). Given the lack of fluent first language speakers, the analysis of texts will likely be the best means for analyzing aspect in Plains Apache. Closely related languages like Navajo and Jicarilla Apache have extensive aspectual systems, with at least a dozen aspects that are in part marked with aspectual prefixes and distinctive verb stem shapes or variations in verb stem shape (Young 2000, Hardy 1979, Axelrod 2007). Plains Apache also has a similar aspectual system, and the analysis of this text has revealed evidence for the semeliterative and reversionary aspects. In determining aspect in Plains Apache, I have referred to descriptions of the two closely related languages of Navajo and Jicarilla Apache (Hardy 1979, Young et al. 1992, Young 2000, Axelrod 2007).

The SEMELITERATIVE ASPECT in Plains Apache, like in Navajo, indicates a single repetition of an action described by the verb (Young et al. 1992). In Plains Apache, the semeliterative aspect is marked by the prefix *náá-* in position 11 and the *d-* classifier.

(24) yìɣànáážáá (line 44)
yi-ɣà-náá-0-0-d-žáá
3OBJ-?-SMLT-IPFV-3SBJ-CLF-walk.SG
'He returned to him.'

(25) nááhìzèèsgɣéí̯ (line 49)
náá-hì-si-si-0-d-xéí̯
SMLT-?-ADV-PFV-3SBJ-CLF-to.kill.PFV
'He killed her too.'

Perhaps the most telling example, (25), occurs at the end of the story, when the man kills one wife, and then immediately kills the other. This second verb in (25) is marked with the semeliterative to indicate the single repetition.

The REVERSIONARY ASPECT in Plains Apache, as in Navajo, indicates the return to a previous state. In the text, this aspect is used to refer to returning to camp. The reversionary is marked by the prefix *dá-* in position 11 and the *d-* classifier.

(26) dádìɣíšdáá (line 42)
dá-di-ɣi-š-d-áá
REV-FUT-PROG-1SG-CLF-walk.SG
'I'll return.'

(27) nááʒáá (line 14)
dá-ni-0-d-žáá
REV-ADV-3SBJ-CLF-walk.SG
'He returned.'

If the reversionary aspect co-occurrs with the semeliterative, the reversionary appears first (as in Navajo).

(28) dánááʒááʔ (line 10)
dá-náá-si-0-d-žááʔ
REV-SMLT-PFV-3SBJ-CLF-go.walk.SG.PFV
'He came back again.'

5. Conclusions

This paper presents the first publication of a Plain Apache text. The text was originally transcribed by Hoijer from native speaker Alonzo Chalepah, Sr. Hoijer then collected slip files of paradigms based on words from the text. In total, Hoijer collected six texts and over 900 slip files. Hoijer's student Bittle later worked with Plains Apache and created the largest collection of data, including six texts and over 7,000 slip files. During this time, though the exact date is unknown, Bittle also collected free English translations of Hoijer's original Plains Apache transcriptions of his six texts, including *Dèènáá Bìč'èèčéé Bìčìƛ'ąą*. The presentation of the text in this paper combines the transcription and free translation, each of which had been housed at separate archives. In this paper, I additionally include morphemic analysis that combines the knowledge captured on Hoijer and Bittle's slip files with the Chalepah-Hoijer transcription of the text and with the free translation. I have also discussed new analyses found in the text concerning third person object prefixes, which appear to follow Willie's (2000) hypothesis for Navajo, and aspectual marking on the verb, describing the semeliterative and reversionary aspects.

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Aspect Switching in Tzotzil (Mayan) Narratives

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Tzotzil is a tenseless language; the binary aspect opposition between completive and incompletive makes up the core of its verbal grammar. In narrative discourse, the incompletive aspect is sometimes used instead of the completive, denoting completed events in the past. The function of the incompletive aspect in Tzotzil seems generally very similar to the function of the historical present tense in European languages. Such aspect switching can be explained in terms of 'grounding,' or episode highlighting, as has been suggested in works on tense alternation in European narratives. A comparative analysis of Tzotzil and other Mayan languages shows that there are two opposite strategies in the distribution of aspect categories, as both completive and incompletive can play the role of the unmarked member of the opposition; nevertheless, the semantics of aspect switching remain the same.[*]

Keywords: narrative, aspect, aspect switching, incompletive, Tzotzil, Mayan languages

1. Introduction

The binary aspect opposition between completive and incompletive makes up the core of the verbal grammar of Tzotzil,[16] a Mayan language from Chiapas, Mexico. In narrative discourse, the incompletive aspect can have the opposite meaning of what it would mean in a non-narrative context, and replace the completive aspect. In this case, the incompletive is used in some relatively short sequences of clauses, preceded and followed by the completive. I call this phenomenon ASPECT SWITCHING based on the analogy of TENSE SWITCHING in European narratives.

The narrative as a particular type of linguistic performance has a long research history. As it is constructed according to special rules, a narrative's grammar differs from what can be called 'ordinary interactive discourse' (Fleischman 1991). The usage of tense undergoes a significant and well-studied change in a narrative context (see, for instance, Wolfson 1978, Wolfson 1979, Schiffrin 1981). Fleischman (1991:78) introduces the notion of the NARRATIVE NORM, and attributes to it four major tenets: a) narratives refer to specific experiences that occurred in some past world, and are accordingly normally reported in past tenses; b) narratives contain both sequentially ordered events and non-sequential collateral material; c) the unmarked order of presentation in a narrative is one in which the order of narrative units (clauses) in a text parallels the order in which events are assumed to have occurred in the world modelled by that text; d) all narrations are informed by a particular mode of reporting information, which

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[16] Tzotzil is spoken in southern Mexico by approximately 250,000 people.

establishes the narrator's perspective on, relationship to, or involvement with the agents and events of the story. These are the general features shared by all narratives 'by definition'.

Fleischman's first tenet (supported by the three other tenets) conditions the special role of tense in narratives. In this respect, Tzotzil provides an interesting case. Being a tenseless language, like other languages of the Mayan family, it shows that aspect categories can play a similar role to tense categories. The fundamental difference between tense and aspect in interactive discourse proves to be unimportant in narrative discourse.

This paper considers the unusual usage of aspect in Tzotzil, conditioned by the narrative norm. Its unusualness consists in the fact that the incompletive aspect is used instead of the completive to describe completed events in the past, although the completive seems to display much more suitable semantics for describing these typically narrative events. The objective of this study is to analyze the reasons for such replacement of aspect categories, based on original texts. I embed Tzotzil data into the rich research tradition of European narratives and draw some parallels between Tzotzil and other languages of the Mayan language family.

1.1. Basic definitions

First of all, the term NARRATIVE should be defined. My starting point is the basic definition by Labov (1972:359), that the narrative is 'one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred'. Generally, I draw no distinction between different types of narrative: life-stories, personal experiences, everyday work instructions, folktales, etc. The latter type makes up an essential part of my data, however, due to my text selection. Aspect switching seems to be more common for folktales, although there are many factors besides the particular narrative genre. The majority of my examples are from the collection of Laughlin (1977),[17] who published original texts without any editing; other sources (Alarcón Estrada et al. 1997, Mondragón et al. 2002, Pérez López et al. 1994) provide very few data on aspect switching, which possibly has been caused by the editing process. I deal only with 'positive examples', acknowledging when the phenomenon under consideration does indeed take place in a particular text. I am unable to state confidently that the phenomenon is absent in any text. Therefore, no quantitative analysis is possible.

Hofling (1991:6), dealing with texts in Itzaj, another Mayan language, points out the following features of folktales that distinguish them from other kinds of narratives: 'Folktales typically begin with a standard formula, marking the genre as folktale and signaling a time reference in the distant past. They may have an elaborate thematic structure, with formally marked episodes and stanzas, and they typically end with a précis'. It is notable that he does not overtly mention aspect marking among these special features of folktales. I will not cover here the question about possible differences between folktales and other types of narratives, since I do not have sufficient data at the moment to justify any answer.[18]

1.2. Previous work

The historical present tense is the most well known linguistic phenomenon connected with narrative discourse. It is considered the marked member of temporal opposition (past vs.

[17] The narratives in this collection are from the Zinacantan dialect of Tzotzil (see Laughlin 1977:12–13 for more detailed sociolinguistic information).

[18] England (2009:231), examining narratives in Mam (another Mayan language), points out that aspect switching is used in all kind of narratives, not just in folktales.

present): 'I will assume tacit acceptance of the claim . . . that the unmarked tense of narrative language is the past' (Fleischman 1991:79). In this context, the historical present may seem to be a mere stylistic mechanism that adds vividness to past events. This interpretation is found to be somewhat deficient, however. Fleischmann (1985:866) argues that 'we would like to be able to identify more precisely the textual environments in which these presents occur – since they do not occur randomly – and to determine, if possible, why they occur where they do'. Why should a temporal opposition be required in a narrative, even though the events that constitute the narrative plot do not presuppose any temporal difference? Furthermore, what exactly is expressed by the marked members of this opposition? Different studies provide answers to these questions that are similar in some respects and very different in others.

Schiffrin (1981) suggests the idea of event SIGNIFICANCE. She claims that 'the historical present is an internal evaluation device: it allows the narrator to present events as if they were occurring at that moment, so that the audience can hear for itself what happened, and can interpret for itself the significance of those events for the experience' (ibid.:59). This conclusion is drawn based on data from English, but the analysis of Spanish oral narratives enables Silva-Corvalán (1983) to conclude the same. The concept of significance can be understood from a speaker's position as 'one of the grammatical resources which speakers use to represent their experiences in narrative' (Schiffrin 1981:61). Apparently, it also can be understood without taking a speaker into account, but only from importance for plot development.

Fleischman (1985:852) proposes the notion of GROUNDING: the insertion of the present tense into past narration to differentiate background information from the foreground. This leads to a more precise definition of narrative: 'it should be apparent that a narrative is not simply a linear sequence of events, ordered chronologically, but a configuration of events that has 'texture' or 'focus', an institution in which all events are not created equal' (ibid.:854). Fludernik (1991:369) argues, however, that 'the notion of foregrounding does not help to explain why something is foregrounded in the first place, and why other narrative clauses are backgrounded as a consequence'. She proposes 'to consider the switch into the present tense as a signal for a narrative 'turn' of events', that 'pragmatically signals a speaker's subjective involvement in the story' (ibid.:374).

Fleischman (1985, 1991) takes a further important step, proceeding from tense to aspect in narrative discourse. She defines the unmarked tense of narrative more accurately as 'perfective 'event' past' (Fleischman 1991:79). Based on data from European languages, all studies in the area of narrative grammar are forced to deal more with tense than with aspect. In this respect, studies on languages with other tense-aspect systems are of great interest.

Carrying out a comparative research of indigenous literatures, O'Neill (2008) points out a possible functional explanation of 'unexpected' choice of tense or aspect categories in a traditional oral narrative. 'While the mythic past is remote and distant in one sense, it is also curiously close and immediate in still another respect, because it laid the foundations for the present world and continues to animate every twitch and turn in the world around us' (O'Neill 2008:179). In this respect, a tendency to frame pivotal scenes in myth and folklore within the imperfective aspect may express a strong continuity between the mythic past and today's present, making an event 'timeless valid', as is often the case with mythic or even historical narratives. The grammatical features of narratives in Mayan languages have not been yet adequately studied. There is no grammatical category of tense in Mayan languages, so the research methods and principles that have been elaborated for European languages are not directly applicable. However, some descriptive grammars provide some data about uncommon aspect choice in

narratives. The important works by England (2003, 2009) on the Mam language reveal an interesting phenomenon of inverse aspect marking. A narrative context in Mam is itself regarded as marked, and the unmarked element becomes the marked one (below I will discuss the narrative marking in Mam in comparison to Tzotzil in more detail). The paper by Maxwell (1987) on some grammatical features of Chuj narratives should also be noted. Interestingly, the presence of narrative-conditioned switches in aspect marking is also noticed in hieroglyphic Mayan, the language of ancient inscriptions (Houston 1997).

2. Tzotzil data

This section presents the Tzotzil data concerning the aspect system in general and aspect switching in narrative. The subsection 2.1 describes the morphology of Tzotzil aspects, and the next subsection the semantics. I argue that the meanings of the completive and incompletive are not strictly aspectual but also include some temporal and modal semantic components. The subsection 2.3 presents the phenomenon of aspect switching, which will be analyzed in more detail in section 3.

2.1. Tzotzil aspect system

The grammatical aspect system of Tzotzil is characterized by the binary opposition between completive and incompletive. Really, there are two other aspect categories in Tzotzil: perfect and prospective. However, these are expressed by participles, not by finite verb forms, so the scope of their uses is syntactically restricted. Every finite verb form in Tzotzil must be marked only by completive or incompletive.

The terms COMPLETIVE and INCOMPLETIVE are commonly used in the linguistic tradition of descriptive works on Mayan languages, although typologists would prefer the terms PERFECTIVE and IMPERFECTIVE, respectively. England (2009:213) mentions that 'the terms completive and incompletive are roughly equivalent to perfective and imperfective'. In this paper, I prefer to maintain the established Mayan tradition and label these categories completive and incompletive.

The aspect system of Tzotzil is relatively poor in comparison with some other Mayan languages, where aspect systems are extended by adding other aspectual categories (progressive, for instance) as well as by involving other semantic domains such as tense, temporal distance and mood. The resulting aspect-mood-tense systems include – besides completive and incompletive – categories of potential (Mam, Chuj), optative (some K'ichean languages), obligative (Yukatekan languages), and others. In spite of reduction, the Tzotzil aspect system is characterized by significant allomorphic variation. Both completive and incompletive can be expressed by different morphemes. These morphemes have the same meaning, and the choice is generally guided by morphonological and stylistic reasons.

The completive can be expressed by the prepositive particle *la(j)*, by the prefixes *l-* or *i-*, and also by the absence of any aspectual marker. The particle *la(j)* seems to be more common for northeastern Tzotzil dialects in areas near Tzeltal, where the completive for transitive verbs[19] is marked by the preverbal particle *la*[20] (Polian 2013:153). The prefixes *l-* or *i-* are distributed according to the personal absolutive marker: the former is used together with prefixes of the first and second person while the latter is used with zero affix of the third person (Haviland 1981:113). This prefix can be omitted without any semantic change; then the finite verb form in the completive aspect is represented by a bare verb stem.

[19] The completive for intransitive verbs has no overt morphological marker.
[20] This particle descends from the verb *laj* 'to finish'.

The incompletive markers are the prefix *x-*, the prefix *ch-*, and the combination of the particle *ta* with the prefix *x-*. The latter combination of markers is apparently the old diachronic alternative to the prefix *ch-* (Haviland 1981:109).[21] In the modern language, all these three markers seem to be synonymic. According to native speakers, the usage of the particle *ta* is a distinctive feature of the literary style.

2.2. Semantics of completive/incompletive

This subsection briefly considers the semantics of the completive and incompletive beyond narrative contexts. Generally speaking, the completive aspect denotes an action that is terminated with respect to some point of reference. By default, the point of reference concurs with the moment of speech, so the completive normally refers to the past tense (1).[22]

(1) **i**-k'ot li pukuj=e
COM-come DEF devil=ENCL[23]
'The devil came.'

This feature makes the completive 'tense-dependent'. It cannot be used to denote an action in the future, even if completed. Naturally, an action that is terminated but belongs to the future is marked by the incompletive aspect in Tzotzil in example (2).

(2) ok'ob **ch**-i-k'ot xchi'uk **ta** j-mil-ot
tomorrow **INC**-1ABS-come and **INC** 1ERG-kill-2SG.ABS
'Tomorrow I will come and kill you.'

This incompatibility of the Tzotzil completive with future actions seems to be highly important. It clears up the complex semantic nature of the completive and incompletive: these categories denote 'tense-dependent aspect'. This is another reason why I prefer not to label them as perfective and imperfective, which are purely aspect categories and do not imply any temporal meaning; cf. the definition by Comrie (1976:16): 'perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation'.
The point of reference can be sometimes removed to the past. Firstly, it occurs in subordinate clauses of condition, where the point of reference is removed automatically from the moment of speech to the moment of the action described in the main clause in (3).

(3) mi **l**-a-at'isaj=e ch-i-tsak-at-otik
if **COM**-2ABS-sneeze=ENCL INC-1ABS-catch-PASS-PL.INCL
'If you sneeze we would be caught.'

[21] Both incompletive prefixes are normally left out immediately before ergative prefixes of the first and third person.
[22] All examples in subsection 2.2 were obtained by elicitation during my fieldwork on Tzotzil. We can therefore be sure that these examples were not affected by narrative context.
[23] The following abbreviations are used in glossing: ABS = absolutive, AGN = agentive, APPL = applicative, COM = completive, DEF = definite article, DIR = directional, EMPH = emphasis, ENCL = enclitic, ERG = ergative, EXIST = existential predicate, FOC = focus, IMP = imperative, INC = incompletive, INCL = inclusive, IRR = irrealis, LOC = locative, NEG = negation, NMLZ = nominalization, PASS = passive, PAST = past tense adverb, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PREP = preposition, QUOT = quotative, RN = relational noun, SG = singular.

Another means to remove the point of reference is lexical: the sequence of particles *to* 'yet/still' and *ox* 'then (not now)'. These particles mean the point of temporal reference coincides with the moment of the action in the past, authorizing the incompletive to denote an action that was in progress in the past but is terminated at the moment of speech in (4).

(4)	volje	**ch**-i-ak'otaj-otik	to	ox	s-junul	k'ak'al
	yesterday	**INC**-1ABS-dance-PL.INCL	still	PAST	3POSS-whole	day
	'Yesterday we were dancing all day long.'					

Without these particles, it is necessary to use the completive aspect: cf. (4) and (5).

(5)	volje	**l**-i-ak'otaj-otik	s-junul	k'ak'al
	yesterday	**COM**-1ABS-dance-PL.INCL	3POSS-whole	day
	'Yesterday we were dancing all day long.'			

Therefore, what the completive and incompletive in Tzotzil really denote is not an ABSOLUTE TENSE, rather a RELATIVE TENSE,[24] where the 'reference point for location of a situation is some point in time given by the context, not necessarily the present moment' (Comrie 1985:56). In the case of the incompletive, the relative future tense can also be considered from the standpoint of irreal modality: since the action belongs to the future, it is irreal, because it does not exist yet in the real world.

2.3. Unexpected choice of aspect

As shown in the previous subsection, the completive aspect perfectly fits the function of unmarked narrative category, since it denotes a completed action in the past. However, unexpected aspect marking sometimes occurs in the narrative. For example, in (6) there are two clauses from a narrated story that have a clear completive meaning, but both finite verb forms occur in the incompletive aspect.

(6)	**ta**	la	s-butan	lok'el	x-chak	ta	ventana	ti	ants=e
	INC	QUOT	3ERG-put	DIR(out)	3POSS-ass	PREP	window	DEF	woman=ENCL
	ta	x-xokon	s-vay-eb						
	PREP	3POSS-side	3POSS-sleep-LOC						
	'The wife stuck her ass out the window, next to her bed.'								

	ta	la	s-lek'	tal	ti	baka
	INC	QUOT	3ERG-lick	DIR(here)	DEF	cow
	'The cow licked it.' (Laughlin 1977:59)					

Within a narrative text, the incompletive normally occurs concurrently with the completive, which is much more frequent. There is no narrative in my corpus that would consist of incompletive clauses only. The general pattern is that the main text is in the completive, with

[24] It should be emphasized that the Mayan completive and incompletive are not tense categories; this paper stresses only that aspect meaning is not the sole meaning denoted by these categories.

some rare incompletive inclusions. For example, in (7) there is a fragment from the same story told in (6), separated through direct speech. All clauses in (7) are marked by the completive.

(7) **i**-s-tam la lok'el jun s-machita jlikel
COM-3ERG-grasp QUOT DIR(out) one 3POSS-machete quickly

i-s-p'as-be s-nuk' ti baka=e
COM-3ERG-cut-APPL 3POSS-neck DEF cow=ENCL

'He picked up his machete, went out and quickly cut off the cow's head.'

i-cham ti povre baka
COM-die DEF poor cow
'The poor cow died.' (Laughlin 1977:59)

The narrative text can of course have no fragments marked by the incompletive at all. However, if some are present, these normally alternate with completive marked fragments. Therefore, what one should analyze is not the usage of the incompletive aspect in Tzotzil narratives, but rather aspect switching from the completive to the incompletive and back. A similar idea in respect to tense switching (from past tenses to the historical present and back) in English narratives was proposed by Wolfson (1979). A universal rule about occurrence of incompletive markers instead of completive ones in narrative contexts can hardly be drawn; however, there are some more or less clear tendencies that will be discussed in the next section.

3. Analysis

Analysis of aspect marking in original Tzotzil stories reveals a tendency for clauses with the same aspect marking to be placed together. The subsection 3.1 deals with this feature, which I call CLUSTERIZATION, following the terminology of Schiffrin (1981). The subsection 3.2 shows that narrative fragments highlighted by aspect switching correspond to some extent with some episodes of the story. It is interesting to ask why some episodes and not others tend to be highlighted by a speaker. There are two main strategies (backgrounding and foregrounding) that seem to be operating at the same time, despite being in opposition.

3.1. Clusterization

Clauses marked by the incompletive aspect tend to be placed next to one another rather than to be scattered all over the text. A fragment of incompletive marking consisting of three consecutive clauses bordered by the completive marked fragments is presented in (8).

(8) bweno, o la jun vinik **i**-cham la y-ajnil
well EXIST QUOT one man **COM**-die QUOT 3POSS-wife
'There was a man whose wife died.'

bats'i **ch**-ok' la ta jmek ti vinik=e
really **INC**-cry QUOT PREP much DEF man=ENCL
'The man cried and cried.'

ch-k'ot la ta mukenal
INC-come QUOT PREP graveyard
'He went to the graveyard.'

ch-k'ot la ok'-uk
INC-come QUOT cry-IRR
'He went to weep.'

i-tal la jun vinik
COM-arrive QUOT one man
'A man appeared.' (Laughlin 1977:28)

Direct speech can also act as the cluster's border. In (9), there are three clauses with incompletive marking between two direct speech fragments.

(9) bat-an che'e xi la
leave-IMP then 3ERG.COM.say QUOT
''Go on, then' – he said.'

ta **x**-kaji ta ka' ti Pegro=e
INC **INC**-mount PREP horse DEF Peter=ENCL
'Peter mounted the horse.'

ta s-paj-be akuxa ti ka'=e
INC 3ERG-fix-APPL needle DEF horse=ENCL
'He pricked the horse with a needle.'

ta **x**-va'i ti ka'=e
INC **INC**-get.up DEF horse=ENCL
'The horse reared.'

a mu x-i-s-nop l-a-ka'=e
oh NEG INC-1ABS-3ERG-understand DEF-2POSS-horse=ENCL
''Oh, your horse isn't used to me.'' (Laughlin 1977:88)

Schiffrin (1981:51) states that 'there is a tendency for verbs in the same tense to cluster together', and the Tzotzil data corroborates this idea. Tzotzil shows the same tendency concerning verbal aspect instead of tense.

3.2. Episode highlighting

In (8), the incompletive aspect marks a sequence of clauses that describes a short episode at the beginning of the story. This episode is rather insignificant in relation to the full story, serving as an indication of the initial state of affairs in the 'story world'. In (9), such an episode occurs in the main body of the story, but it is also rather insignificant, describing a 'transitional moment' from one key scene to another. The contrary strategy of using incompletive marking is presented in (10).

(10) mu to ox la s-na' mi ja' s-malal
NEG still PAST QUOT 3ERG-know if EMPH 3POSS-husband
'She hadn't known that it was her husband.'

ta la s-maj ech'el
INC QUOT 3ERG-beat DIR(outside)
'She beat him off.'

ta la s-k'as-be y-akan ta te'
INC QUOT 3ERG-break-APPL 3POSS-leg PREP stick
'She broke his legs with a stick.'

ta la **x**-jatav ta jol na
INC QUOT **INC**-escape PREP head house
'He fled to the roof.'

y-o'on-uk la och-uk ta y-ut na pero
3POSS-heart-IRR QUOT enter-IRR PREP 3POSS-RN(inside) house but
mu xa k'u x-cha'le
NEG already what INC-do
'He wanted to go inside, but there was nothing he could do now.'

te **i**-cham
there **COM**-die
'There he died.' (Laughlin 1977:51)

Here, the incompletive aspect marks the denouement of the story. The upshot (the last sentence), on the contrary, is marked by the completive. The scene where the wife resorts to violence against her husband is thus clearly separated from the episode of his death. Example (10) leads us to a hypothesis about interdependence between aspect switching and structural components of the story, such as orientation, evaluation, resolution, coda, etc. (see Labov & Waletzky 1967; Labov 1972). However, there is no regular pattern: a highlighted episode often corresponds only to a part of a structural component but can also correspond, conversely, to several structural components together. The sentence (11) presents perhaps the sole reliable example from my corpus of Tzotzil narratives of the aspectually highlighted fragment corresponding to a structural component.

(11) ja' la jech **ta** s-kolta-ik ti j-ch'ul tot-ik=e
EMPH QUOT so **INC** 3ERG-help-PL DEF 1POSS-holy father-PL.INCL=ENCL
'So they helped Our Holy Father (i.e., the Sun).' (Pérez López et al. 1994:126)

This incompletive marked clause functions as a coda, indicating the end of the narrative and signaling the exit from the narrative discourse.

The switch of aspect marking is therefore generally used to indicate a whole episode in the narrative plot, but not necessarily the whole structural component of the story. The switch from the completive to incompletive marks the initial boundary, since the switch back from the

incompletive to the completive marks the end boundary. In other words, aspect switching in Tzotzil, like tense switching in European languages, 'makes a scene' (Schiffrin 1981:51); it highlights one particular episode against a background made up of other episodes. We should then ask what peculiarity of an episode is really coded by the substitution of the incompletive aspect for the completive one, if not the difference between structural components.

The notions of grounding and an episode's significance (see section 1.2) can be used to elaborate a satisfactory answer. In essence, these two concepts imply the same. The contrast between background and foreground information reflects the difference between episodes in terms of their importance for the narrative plot. It is apparent that a less significant episode tends to be placed on a background, while a more significant one comes to the foreground. This does not resolve the problem of semantic explanation of different aspect marking, however. As we have seen in (8), the incompletive aspect occurs in the typical background context – the description of the preliminary state of affairs where the story unfolds. A similar example is presented in (12).

(12) o la jun vinik x-chi'uk jun ants ach' j-nupun-el
EXIST QUOT one man 3POSS-RN(with) one woman new AGN-marry-NMLZ
'There was a man and a woman, newlyweds.'

a ti vinik=e **ta** **x**-lok' ech'el **ta** **x**-bat **ta**
FOC DEF man=ENCL **INC** **INC**-go.out DIR(outside) **INC** **INC**-leave **INC**

x-xanav
INC-walk

'The husband goes out; he leaves; he travels.'

a ti ants=e jun y-o'on **ta** **x**-kom yilel ta
FOC DEF woman=ENCL one 3POSS-heart **INC** **INC**-remain seemingly PREP

ora pero oy yan y-ajmul
time but EXIST another 3POSS-lover

'The wife stays at home happily (lit. 'she has one heart / her heart is one'), it seems, but she has a lover.' (Laughlin 1977:67–68)

The beginning of the story (12) is even translated into English using the historical present tense. This fragment is not of much importance for the narrative plot, since it specifies only the context in which the plot will be developed. The rest of the story is narrated in the completive aspect, and this makes a clear distinction between the background and the main plot.

However, in 10, as we have already seen, the opposite is true. The incompletive marks the episode that belongs to the foreground information without any doubt, since it describes the denouement of the story. At the moment, I cannot suggest any satisfactory criterion for defining the 'relative weight' of an episode that could be used for estimating its potential suitability to be aspectually emphasized. It also seems unclear when a speaker may want to mark background and insignificant episodes and when foreground important ones. This decision seems to be down to the speaker's choice. There is no doubt, however, that these two opposite strategies of aspect switching are present at the same time.

3.3. Further considerations

It seems important to mention that the opposition between marked and unmarked narrative fragments, as well as the opposition between completive and incompletive aspects, is necessarily binary. There are no other aspectual categories in Tzotzil, and there are no means to express 'half-marked' or 'partly-marked' fragments of narration. This seems very natural for Tzotzil, with its binary aspect system (see section 2.1), but is true also in European languages that have a ramified tense-aspect system, and consequently dispose of many possible ways to mark such intermediate cases. I will return to this problem in section 4.

There are some rare cases in Tzotzil when aspect switches very often. In (13), four clauses are presented; two of these are marked by the completive and another two by the incompletive, and the aspect categories alternate.

(13) **i**-ech' la tal ta Soktom
COM-pass QUOT DIR(here) PREP Chiapa
'They left from Chiapa.'

y-u'un **x**-tal y-ak'-ik k'ok'
3POSS-RN(cause) **INC**-arrive 3ERG-give-PL fire
'They came to wage war (lit. '…to give a fire').'

i-mak-e la ta be y-u'un epal pulatu la ta
COM-close-PASS QUOT PREP road 3POSS-RN(cause) many bowl QUOT INC
x-ak'otaj
INC-dance
'They were stopped on the way, because there were many bowls dancing.'

ch-laj vok'-uk ta y-ak'ol Soktom
INC-end break-IRR PREP 3POSS-RN(above) Chiapa
'They all broke above Chiapa.' (Laughlin 1977:78)

At first sight, this example contradicts the postulate about clusterization of marked and unmarked alternatives. However, in all examples given above, the verb forms in the same aspect are grouped together and do not alternate. I can suggest two possible explanations for such alternation in this specific context. Firstly, each clause in (13) may be seen as a small episode in itself. Naturally, we are dealing with a row of homogeneous (mainly, motion) events: pass, come, stop, break. Each of these events in isolation presents a completely 'self-sufficient' episode in this sequence. The second hypothesis is based on the homogeneity of those events. Aspect switching can be used here in order to differentiate one event from another and not lose the audience's attention. In other words, in this particular fragment, aspect switching may seem to be more a rhetorical device.

Finally, it should be also noted that there are of course narratives that are more episodic in nature and ones that are less so. Fleischman (1985:865–66) claims that the mediaeval Old French narratives that she studied 'tend to be episodic: structurally, each episode constitutes a minimal story in itself'. This also seems to hold true for the Tzotzil folktales that form the essential part of my data. It remains unclear whether the frequentness and/or semantics of aspect switching can depend on the degree of 'episodicity' of the narrative.

4. Cross-language variation

In the previous section, I presented the data from Tzotzil and came to the conclusion that there are two strategies of using aspect switching at the same time. One presupposes the coding of background information by the incompletive aspect, while the other presupposes the same for foreground information. The distribution of these strategies remains unclear. In this section, I will consider analogous systems of tense/aspect switching in narratives from European and Mayan languages that can throw more light on the Tzotzil system.

4.1. Historical present tense

The system of narrative aspect marking in Tzotzil is very similar to the well-studied systems of tense marking in European languages. The narrative mode itself conditions the past tense in languages that grammatically mark temporal distinctions, and in the same way, it normally conditions the perfective aspect in tenseless languages that grammatically mark only aspectual distinctions. In this respect, the aspectual system of Tzotzil is even more 'convenient' for such narrative use. As shown in section 2.1, the completive aspect in Tzotzil combines the aspectual meaning of the perfective and the temporal meaning of the past tense, resulting in what Fleischman (1991:79) calls a 'perfective 'event' past'. These categories, the past tense and the completive aspect, are 'natural' for narrative, so they become unmarked members, set off against their grammatical 'opponents': the present tense and the incompletive aspect, respectively. Naturally, the usage of the incompletive aspect in Tzotzil is very similar to the usage of the historical present tense (see Wolfson 1978, 1979; Schiffrin 1981; Silva-Corvalan 1983). As shown in section 3, the same principles of grounding, vividness, event significance, and narrative turn can be applied to describe the semantics of aspect switching in Tzotzil as well as the semantics of tense switching in European narratives.

Although the semantics of tense and aspect switching in narratives seem to be similar to a certain extent, this is slightly surprising. The primary semantics of tense and aspect categories, which are significantly different in ordinary conversational discourse, seem unimportant in a narrative context. What is of more importance is that these are the main grammatical categories of the predicates that build a basic grammatical opposition. Since all narrative events necessarily have predetermined aspect and temporal properties (see section 1), the presence of those oppositions permit the use of tense or aspect switching as a special narrative device. The Tzotzil data corroborates Wolfson's idea that the historical present in itself has no significance; 'rather, it is the switching between conversational historical present and the past tenses which is the relevant feature' (Wolfson 1979:168). Similarly, the Tzotzil incompletive and its meaning beyond the narrative context also have no significance; what is significant is the possibility of switching.

On the other hand, this similarity between Tzotzil (and Mayan in general) aspect and European tense can serve as an argument to consider the categories of completive and incompletive as jointly aspectual and temporal (and, possibly, also modal), rather than strictly aspectual (see section 2.2). The Mayan languages are therefore not as tenseless as commonly accepted.

4.2. Other Mayan languages

In Mayan languages, aspect marking in the narrative context has been thoroughly studied only in the language Mam by England (2003, 2009). This language belongs to the Mamean sub-

branch and is fairly remote from Tzotzil.[25] The distribution of aspect categories in Mam narratives is not similar to that in Tzotzil. In Mam, the completive aspect is used as a marked narrative category; the incompletive aspect, on the contrary, is an unmarked category: 'in general most clauses in narratives that are marked for aspect use the incompletive marker' (England 2009:216). England underlines that it is not 'a stylistic device used for vividness' (ibid.). So, the situation is quite the opposite to that in Tzotzil. This strategy in Mam can be explained by observing that the narrative mode in Mam is itself marked. Thus, 'in a context that is itself marked, the normal markedness values of an opposition may be reversed' (Fleischman 1991:77). The aspect switching in Mam therefore amounts to switching from the incompletive to the completive and back again, unlike in Tzotzil, where the switching is from the completive to the incompletive and back again. It is noteworthy, however, that in two different languages of the Mayan family (although not closely connected) two opposite strategies of narrative aspect marking are present.

According to Houston (1997), the pattern of aspect usage in Classic Maya[26] narratives was the same as in modern Mam. Houston claims the incompletive aspect was 'apparently an unmarked 'default' in Classic texts' (1997:299). He explains this feature through the idea of vividness: 'Maya texts employ shifts in aspect and deixis to grip the listener, heighten drama, and authenticate narrative through the bridging of present with past story worlds' (ibid.:301). The very limited data on hieroglyphic narratives make it hard to draw any conclusion about the possible reasons for such an aspect choice.

Maxwell (1987), writing about completive/incompletive aspect switching in Chuj (a Mayan language of the Q'anjob'alan branch), detects a probable dependence between aspect switching and episode boundaries. But she does not suggest any strict rule to describe satisfactorily when aspect switching is used and when it is not:

> 'Episodes of the narrative need not maintain a single tense/aspect, nor even remain within a single set. However, each episode is set off by a switch between the two sets. Episode ending switches usually run from an incompletive to a completive clause. The episode boundary, then, is marked by the switch to completive. The subsequent episode may continue in completive or return to incompletive, or mix the two. Since tense/aspect switches also occur episode internally, shifts are not sufficient cues to episode endings' (Maxwell 1987:490).

Other languages of the Mayan family have not been sufficiently investigated in relation to aspect switching provoked by narrative context. However, there is some interesting evidence from descriptive grammars. It seems that some languages have the same distribution of aspect categories as Mam, and other languages the same distribution as Tzotzil. For example, in the grammar of Tzutujil (Dayley 1985:80–81) and in that of Jacaltec (Craig 1977:60), aspect uses in narrative are mentioned: the incompletive seems to be a common means to replace the completive, in most cases describing the 'narrative present'. In Sakapultek (Mó Isém 2006:720), the point events of the narrative plot are marked by the completive aspect, but there are still some other events marked by the incompletive. Mó Isém (2006) proposes the hypothesis that this is background information ('información de fondo') that is marked by the incompletive. Can Pixabaj (2006:650–51) evidences the opposite case in Uspantek, where the narrative plot is

[25] For the classification of the Mayan languages see (Campbell & Kaufman 1985).
[26] Classic Maya is the written language of Mayan hieroglyphic inscriptions. It belongs to the Cholan sub-branch of the Cholan-Tzeltalan branch.

marked by the incompletive aspect, with some rare inclusions of the completive. The high preference for completive marking against the incompletive in Sakapultek is quite similar to the case of Tzotzil described in this paper. On the contrary, the opposite distribution of the completive and incompletive markers in Uspantek narratives seems to be similar to the case of Mam. Interestingly, both Sakapultek and Uspantek are K'ichean languages and genetically distant from both Tzotzil and Mam. However, there is not enough information to draw any conclusion; at the moment it is only possible to declare that the phenomenon of aspect switching in the narrative context is present in all languages mentioned above.

Fludernik (1991:367) claims that 'there is a common, general pattern of episodic narrative, at least for Indo-European languages', and that 'the historical present tense occurs at precisely specified points within this pattern in all these languages'. As shown in this subsection, the Mayan languages also show this pattern to an extent, except that the role of the European historical present tense can be played by the completive aspect in some Mayan languages and by the incompletive aspect in others. Despite having a very similar pattern of episodic narrative, the Mayan languages distinguish themselves in the distribution of morphological markers to code these two elements of the pattern. Two contrary strategies are used; depending on the concrete language, both the completive and the incompletive can act as unmarked and as marked members of the opposition.

5. Conclusion

The semantics of aspect switching in Tzotzil are rather like the semantics of tense switching in European languages. There are many ways to analyze the reasons why a particular narrative episode needs to be marked by tense/aspect switching. Many researchers have tried to find some common patterns, describing them in terms of vividness, evaluation, grounding, plot (as opposed to off-plot), etc. All these notions can also be applied to Tzotzil, but no one idea seems to be absolutely satisfactory.

The comparison between Tzotzil and other Mayan languages makes it clear that the distribution of aspect categories is reversed in some languages (at least, in Mam): the role of the unmarked narrative aspect (the completive in Tzotzil) can be played by the incompletive aspect, and the role of the marked one (the incompletive in Tzotzil) by the completive aspect. Nevertheless, this does not affect the semantics of aspect switching, which seem to remain very similar.

In Tzotzil, the use of the incompletive aspect instead of the completive in narratives may be considered the third way to move the point of temporal reference, in addition to subordinated conditional clauses and special adverbs (see section 2.2). In this case, the relocation of the point of reference to the past tense (which equates to the narrative present) has no specific grammatical marker. It is conditioned pragmatically by the narrative mode itself: by the situation of storytelling.

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Focus Marking in Kakataibo (Panoan)

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This paper provides a first description of the properties of focus realization in Kakataibo (Panoan), an Amazonian language spoken in Peru, based on data collected first-hand. In particular, it addresses three types of information focus: narrow focus, predicate focus and sentence focus. This study finds that there is not a single strategy to encode focus, but rather focus types are marked by various morpho-syntactic patterns including *in situ* and *ex situ* focus. In addition, it is shown that the information structural status of the subject determines case assignment. Specifically, focused subjects always receive case while non-focused subjects optionally show case.[*]

Keywords**:** focus, information structure, Kakataibo, Panoan, differential subject marking

1. Introduction

The Amazon basin is one of the most linguistically diverse regions in the world, although most of these languages remain undescribed. While the number of grammatical descriptions of Amazonian languages has increased in recent years, the informational structural properties of these languages have not been explored, with few exceptions (Vallejos 2009 for Kokama-Kokamilla, Van Valin 2009 for Banawá, Wari' and Karitiâna, Storto 2011, 2014 for Karitiana, among others). This article addresses this gap and provides a first description of the properties of focus in Kakataibo (Panoan), an Amazonian language spoken in Peru, based on data collected first-hand. The goals for this paper are twofold. First, to account for the realization of three different foci types in Kakataibo: narrow focus, predicate focus, and sentence focus. This study finds that there is not a single strategy to encode focus, but rather focus types are marked by various morpho-syntactic patterns. The second goal is to explore the relation between focus and differential subject marking (DSM) in the language. Section 1 presents the working definition of focus assumed in this study and some basic background on the Kakataibo language. Section 2 discusses the main morpho-syntactic characteristics of focus marking and shows that different foci types exploit dissimilar syntactic strategies to encode focus. In addition, it is demonstrated that focus is not realized by morphological means. In section 3, the interplay between focus and DSM is studied. Specifically, it is shown that focused subjects obligatorily bear case while non-focused subjects optionally show it. A summary and conclusions are presented in section 4.

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1.1. Focus

In this study, FOCUS is regarded as an information structural category that indicates a set of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of a linguistic expression (Rooth 1985, 1992; Krifka 2008). Thus, this set of alternatives provides speakers with a tool for interpreting an utterance in the discourse. In other words, the focused element is the one that answers an explicit or implicit question, as in 1.

(1) Q: What did you eat? A: I ate [bananas]$_F$.

Wh-questions require an answer in which a constituent must fill in the information requested by the wh-word. Thus, in answers to content questions the constituent that provides the information requested by the wh-word is the focus, whereas the remaining constituents are background information. Thus, content questions are a tool to elicit focused elements.

A focused constituent can have different functions depending on its relation to its alternatives present in the common ground. When alternatives have not been introduced into the common ground, the focus has an information function. This is the kind of focus that is mainly addressed in this paper. Other focus types include corrective focus, when the focus substitutes an alternative already introduced in the common ground; contrastive focus, when the focus is put side by side with another alternative; selective focus, when the focus is picked up from a set of given alternatives.

Another way of characterizing focus is regarding its relation to the syntactic category over which it scopes (Lambrecht 1994, 2000). A first distinction is made between NARROW FOCUS and BROAD FOCUS. In a narrow focus construction, the focus is associated with a singular constituent (e.g. NP, PP, V). Subject, object, and adjunct focus are instances of narrow focus (Section 2.1). Notice that the VP is not an instance of narrow focus since it may contain other constituents V (DO) (IO), but of broad focus, as in 2. Section 2.2 deals with predicate focus in Kakataibo. The other kind of broad focus is sentence focus or all-new sentences, where the focus domain is identified with the whole sentence, as in 3 (Section 2.3).

(2) Q: What did John do? A: John [ate pizza]$_F$.

(3) Q: What happened? A: [John ate pizza]$_F$.

1.2. The Kakataibo Language

Kakataibo is a Panoan language spoken in the Peruvian Amazon by approximately 1500 people (Frank 1994). The data[27] for this paper comes from the San Alejandro dialect of Kakataibo. This data was collected in the years 2008-2012 during several fieldtrips to the Sinchi

[27] Abbreviations used in glossing: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, A = subject of a transitive verb, ADD = additive, ADJVZ = adjectivizer, APPL = applicative, CAUS = causative, COM = comitative, DAT = dative, DES = desiderative, DISP = distal past. HST = hesternial, INTL = intentional, IPFV = imperfective, INS = instrument, INT = interrogative, NEG = negation, NPROX = non-proximal, LOC = locative, NMLZ = nominalizer, O = object of a transitive verb, PA = participant agreement, PART = participial, PFV = perfective, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PROX = proximal, S = subject of an intransitive verb, SSSEA = same subject, simultaneous event with main A subject, SSPEA = same subject, previous event with main A subject, VAL = validational.

Roca native community in the San Alejandro river. I use the term Kakataibo to refer to the San Alejandro dialect in this work henceforth. [28]

Before analyzing focus in Kakataibo, some grammatical facts should be explained to make the analysis clearer. The alignment system, agreement, and constituent order will be sketched below, based on Valle (2009).

Kakataibo shows a split in its alignment system based on the referentiality properties of the NP (Silverstein 1976, Dixon 1979, 1994). Specifically, pronouns follow an accusative alignment with the nominative marked by *=n* whereas the object is unmarked, as shown in 4 and 5.

(4) Ë**n**kana a xëxánua mërapuni.
ë=**n**=ka=na a xëxá=nu=a mëra-pun-i
1=**A/S**=VAL=1A/S 3 creek=LOC=PA.O show.up-earlier.same.day-IPFV
'I found him earlier today in the creek.'

(5) Ë**n**kana madinu raká.
ë=**n**=ka-na madi=nu rakat-a
1=**A/S**=VAL=1A/S soil=LOC lay.down-PERF
'I laid down on the ground.'

In nouns, the A argument is marked by the case marker *=n* whereas the S and O arguments are zero-marked, as shown in examples (6) and (7). Table 1 summarizes the split alignment system in Kakataibo.

(6) Charu**n**ka sasa bia.
charu=**n**=ka=a sasa bi-i-a
crab=**A**=VAL=3A/S fish pick.up-IPFV-NPROX
'The crab catches fish.'

(7) A uni akëxuka ninua nëtëpunia.
a uni a-kë-xun=ka=a ni=nu=a nëtë-pun-i-a
3 man do-PART-ADJVZ=VAL=3 forest=LOC=PA.S disappear-earlier.same.day-IPFV-NPROX
'That child got lost in the forest earlier in the day.'

Table 1. Kakataibo alignment

	Pronouns	Nouns
A	*=n*	*=n*
S	*=n*	*Ø*
O	*Ø*	*Ø*

Kakataibo shows grammatical agreement both in the verb and in the clitics *=ka/=id* with the A and S arguments; O agreement does not occur either in the verb or those clitics. Verbal agreement is only marked for third person in the perfective aspect. First and second person as well as third person in the non-perfective aspect are not cross-referenced in the verb. Subject agreement on the clitics *=ka* 'validational' (Weber 1986) and *=id* 'second-hand evidential' distinguishes between first, second and third person; the local versus non-local subject

[28] See Zariquiey (2011) for a grammatical description of the Lower Aguaytía dialect of Kakataibo.

distinction is not made in these clitics.[29] First person is marked by the suffix *=na*, second person by *=mina* and third person is marked by *=a*, as shown in (8).

(8) ka=na id=na 'first person'
ka=(m)ina[30] id=mina 'second person'
ka=a id=a 'third person'

Constituent order in Kakataibo follows two main obligatory landmarks: the second-position clitics *=ka/=id* and the sentence-final main verb, as schematized in (9). The position before the second-position clitics (pre-field) can be occupied by only one constituent of any kind with the exception of the main verb. The position between the second-position clitics and the final verb (middle field) can be filled by any number of constituents of any type.

(9) _____ *=ka* / *=id* _____ V

Constituent order in Kakataibo is mainly driven by information structural factors, as will be shown in Section 2. This is, there are not syntactic constraints apart from those shown in (9) that drive constituent order; rather, information structural requirements such as different focus types affect the arrangement of the verb and its arguments in the sentence. Nonetheless, the SOV order seems to be the most neutral since this is the order used in all-new sentences (see Section 2.3). In addition, speakers tend to elicit SOV sentences in isolation when no context is provided.

1.3.Methodology

The data analyzed here comes from different sources: elicitation, texts and overheard speech. Elicitation sessions were held in three different ways. (i) Simple elicitation sessions were run in which the speaker was asked to translate sentences from Spanish into Kakataibo. By using this method, a risk of obtaining biased data arises. However, this method was very restricted in its use to check grammaticality judgments. (ii) Semi-structured elicitation sessions were run using stimuli in which a sequence of pictures was shown to speakers and then they were asked questions related to those pictures. The Questionnaire for Information Structure (Skopeteas et al. 2006) was the main resource for this task. (iii) Semi-structured narratives in which the speaker listened to a story in Spanish and then s/he re-told the same story in Kakataibo also provided data for this study. This strategy was used mainly to control the number of participants in the discourse and track their reference through it. Naturally occurring texts came from different genera such as traditional stories, procedural texts, narratives and conversations. Overheard speech occurred on a daily basis during my fieldwork. However, when a sentence which seemed to be relevant to this study was overheard, that sentence was checked with a native speaker and written down.

2. Focus Types in Kakataibo

In this section, focus marking is discussed in relation to its morpho-syntactic correlates with special attention to constituent order, case marking and ellipsis. In the following

[29] Free pronouns incorporated into the clitics *=ka* and *=id* and then became agreement markers. See Valle (to appear) for a historical view of the development of agreement in the second position clitics.
[30] Young speakers of Kakataibo tend to pronounce /kamina/ as [kaina] dropping the bilabial nasal.

subsections, I will discuss narrow focus (Section 2.1), predicate focus (Section 2.2), and sentence focus (Section 2.3).

2.1. Narrow focus (XP)

Narrow focus is a focus type in which a single constituent is in focus, as described in Section 1. Arguments of a verb (e.g. subject, object), adjuncts (e.g. temporals, locatives), and even the verb are examples of constituent focus.[31] However, VP focus and S(entence) focus are not instances of constituent focus.

Consider the mini-dialogue in (10). In 10a, the presupposition that 'someone x planted cacao' is introduced but it is unknown who this *x* is. The answer in 10b fulfills this lack of knowledge by asserting that 'Solis planted cacao'. As the VP was presupposed in the answer, only the subject NP is in focus, indicated by the small caps. Thus, sentence 10b constitutes an instance of subject focus. A schematic view of the analysis is given in (11).

(10) a. Uinankara nuká apáxa?
uina=n=ka=ra=a nuká apat-a-x-a
who=A=VAL=INT=3A/S cacao plant-PFV-3-NPROX
'Who planted cacao?'

b. Solisnanka nuká apáxa.
Solis=nan=ka=a[32] nuká apat-a-x-a
Solis=A=VAL=3A/S cacao plant-PFV-3-NPROX
'SOLIS planted cacao.'

(11) Sentence: Solis planted cacao
Presupposition: x planted cacao
Assertion: Solis planted cacao
Focus: x = Solis

Constituent-focus sentences can also occur with other core arguments such as direct object in (12) and indirect object[33] in (13), and adjuncts such as temporals in (14), instrumentals in (15) and comitatives in (16). As in (10), mini-dialogues are used to clearly show the context of occurrence of these different types of narrow-focus sentences.

(12) a. Ñukaramina min naënu apati? (direct object focus)
Ñu=ka=ra=mina mi=n naë=nu apat-i
thing=VAL=INT=2A/S 2=POSS farm=LOC plant-IPFV
'What do you plant in your farm?'

[31] Lambrecht (1994:22) identifies constituent focus with a focused argument of the verb. However, a broader view of constituent focus is adopted in this work.

[32] The case marker =*n* has =*an* as one of its allomorphs. The allomorph =*an* occurs when the noun it attaches to ends in a consonant other than [n]. See Zariquiey (2011:113-16) for a discussion on the different allomorphs of =*n* in Kakataibo.

[33] I am using the label 'indirect object' to refer to the recipient or beneficiary of a ditransitive verb. However, it should be highlighted that Kakataibo does not make that distinction in its grammar; rather, Kakataibo behaves as a double object language in which there is not a formal property distinguishing the objects of a ditransitive verb (see also Zariquiey 2012).

b. Asakana ën naënu apati.
asa=ka=na ë=n naë=nu apat-i
manioc=VAL=1A/S 1=POSS farm=LOC plant-IPFV
'I am planting MANIOC in my farm.'

(13) a. Uinakaramina wana unami? (indirect object focus)
uina=ka=ra=mina wana una-mi-i
who=VAL=INT=2A/S language learn-CAUS-IPFV
'Who do you teach [Kakataibo] language to?'

b. Nokana nukë wana unami.
no=ka=na nukën wana unan-mi-i
non-Kakataibo.person=VAL=1A/S 1PL.POSS language learn-CAUS-IPFV
'I teach our language to the NON-KAKATAIBO PERSON.'

(14) a. Uidañukara jefe kuaxa? (temporal adjunct)
uida=ñu=ka=ra=a jefe kuan-a-x-a
how=HAVE=VAL=INT=3A/S chief go-PFV-3-NPROX
'When did the chief go away?'

b. Wërámaka jefe kuóxi.
wëráma=ka=a jefe kuan-ó-x-i
other.time=VAL=3A/S chief go-HST-3-PROX
'The chief went away YESTERDAY.'

(15) a. Uidanënka unin waran tëaia? (instrument adjunct)
uida=nën=ka=a unin waran tëa-i-a
how=INS=VAL=3A/S man=A pumpkin cut-IPFV-NPROX
'What does the man cut the pumpkin with?'

b. Espadanënka unin waran tëaia.
espada=nën=ka=a uni=n waran tëa-i-a
sword=INS=VAL=3A/S man=A pumpkin cut-IPFV-NPROX
'WITH A MACHETE, the man cuts the pumpkin.'

(16) a. Uinawëkamina noimi tëëti kuaxa? (comitative adjunct)
uina=wë=ka=mina noimi tëë-ti kuan-a-x-a
who-COM.S=VAL=2A/S mahogany work-NMLZ go-PFV-3-NPROX
'Who did you go to saw mahogany with?'

b. Ën xukëkamawëkana noimi tëëti kuaxa.
ë=n xukë=kama=wë=ka=na noimi tëë-ti kuan-a-x-a
1=POSS brother=PL=COM.S=VAL=1A/S mahogany work-NMLZ go- PFV-3-NPROX
'I went to saw mahogany WITH MY BROTHERS.'

Based on the different examples of narrow-focus sentences given above, some characteristics of this focus type become apparent:

(17) (i) The focused constituent occurs in pre-field position, (when one of the second-position clitics is present).
(ii) The non-focused constituents remain *in situ*; they do not occur in the pre-field position.
(iii) When the subject is focused, it occurs overtly and always shows case.

The fact that (i) the focused constituent occurs in sentence-initial position is a common cross-linguistic focusing strategy of placing the narrow-focused constituent to the left or right edge of the sentence (cf. Zariquiey 2011:713 in which it is argued that the post-verbal position is a constituent focus position in the Aguaytía dialect of Kakataibo). (ii) The other constituents of the clause are not displaced to the pre-field because they are not focused, as shown in previous examples. (iii) In a subject-focus sentence, the subject needs to occur overtly; subject pro-drop is not allowed in this focus type. It seems that overt pronouns in Kakataibo are used to encode contrastive focus whereas subject agreement in the clitics, without an overt subject pronoun, has an anaphoric function.[34] Deviations from these characteristics of constituent focus yields infelicitous sentences but not ungrammatical ones. Notice that Kakataibo does not have a dedicated morphological focus marker. The *=n* clitic functions as a case marker, as described in Section 1.2. Focused objects (both direct and indirect) do not show any case marking. Also, the clitics *=ka / =id* do not mark focus because non-focused material can precede them, as discussed in the following section. Further, the clitics *=ka / =id* are present in predicate-focus sentences where the focused VP occurs after them.

In (10), repeated below as (18)a and (18)b for convenience, the question puts the VP as presupposed material and it also requires an answer in which the subject is focused. Sentence (18)b exemplifies a pragmatically-natural answer to the question in (18)a. The answer in (18)c is infelicitous (marked by #) because the subject does not occur in sentence-initial position which goes against characteristic (i) of narrow focus. The answer in (18)d goes against characteristics (ii) because the non-focused object does not remain *in situ*; rather it moves to a position before the clitic *=ka*. In fact, this sentence is ungrammatical because it violates the restriction of not having more than one constituent in the pre-field position (see section 2.1). Sentence (18)e violates characteristic (iii) of subject constituent focus in different ways. In (18)e, the subject is not overt; rather, the anaphoric subject agreement occurs as a contrastive pronoun. In addition, the left periphery is not filled by a narrow focus constituent. In (18)f, the subject occurs overtly and it is in sentence-initial position. However, it does not have case yielding the sentence ungrammatical. Sentences (18)c and (18)e produce a pragmatic clash. They show a focus syntactic structure, predicate focus, when a different focus structure is expected, narrow focus. In other words, those sentences convey a different focus type (predicate focus) from what the context expects them to convey (subject focus). This is schematized in (19) in which the constituent focus is conveyed in a predicate-focus type sentence.

[34] Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) distinguish between two types of pronouns cross-linguistically: pronouns used contrastively and pronouns used anaphorically. When there is a distinction between these two types of pronouns, the former tends to be independent and have more phonological content while the latter tends to be incorporated and have reduced phonological content. This seems to be the case in Kakataibo, independent pronouns are used contrastively whereas agreement markers may also function as incorporated pronouns used for anaphoric agreement. These incorporated pronouns seem to have developed from independent pronouns and then undergone phonological erosion (see Valle to appear).

(18) a. Uinankara nuká apáxa?
uina=n=ka=ra=a nuká apat-a-x-a
who=A=VAL=INT=3A/S cacao plant-PFV-3-NPROX
'Who planted cacao?'

b. Solisnanka nuká apáxa.
Solis=nan=ka=a nuká apat-a-x-a
Solis=A=VAL=3A/S cacao plant-PFV-3-NPROX
'SOLIS planted cacao.'

c. # Ka Solisnan nuká apáxa.
ka=a Solis=nan nuká apat-a-x-a
VAL=3A/S Solis=A cacao plant-PFV-3-NPROX
'SOLIS planted cacao.'

d. *Solisnan nukáka apáxa.[35]

e. # Ka nuká apáxa.
Ka=a nuká apat-a-x-a
VAL=3A/S cacao plant-PFV-3-NPROX
'[SOLIS] planted cacao.'

f. *Soliska nuká apáxa.

(19) Sentence: Solis planted cacao
Presupposition: x planted cacao
Assertion: Solis planted cacao
Focus: x = Solis
Focus type: # predicate focus

[35] Sentence 18d is ungrammatical because it violates the syntactic requirement of not having two constituents in the pre-field position, but this sentence does not clearly show a violation of the pragmatic requirement of having non-focused constituent *in situ* in predicate-focus sentences. The following minimal pair shows more clearly a violation of this pragmatic requirement. Sentence (i), coming from a traditional story, has the focused subject occurring in sentence-initial position and the non-focused constituents follow it. In contrast, in sentence (ii), coming from elicitation, the non-focused object does not remain *in situ* but rather occurs in sentence-initial position producing a pragmatic clash because the syntactic structure does not correspond to that of (subject) constituent-focus sentences.

(i) Unin ain piakama tërëkania.
uni=n a=in pia=kama tërëkan-i-a
man=A 3=POSS arrow=PL tie-IPFV-NPROX

(ii) # Ain piakama uni(n) tërëkana.
a=in pia=kama uni=(n) tërëkan-i-a
3=POSS arrow=PL man=A tie-IPFV-NPROX
'The MAN ties all his arrows.'

It is possible, however, to violate characteristic (i) of constituent-focus sentences without making it infelicitous or ungrammatical. This is possible in sentences with multiple foci, sentences in which there is more than one narrow focused constituent.[36] Since Kakataibo does not allow more than one constituent before the clitic *=ka / =id* (see Section 1.2.), only one of the focused constituents can occur in that position in multiple-foci sentences. The other focused constituent(s) has to occur in the middle field position to avoid ungrammaticality. Example (20) shows an instance of a multiple foci sentence. This sentence comes from a narrative in which the departure of some visitors is being told. After saying that some visitors left the community the same day, (20) is uttered. Thus, the action of going away is already part of the common ground. After subtracting this presupposition, the NP 'their relatives' and the AdvP 'tomorrow' remain as focus. A schematic view of (20)'s multiple foci sentence is given in (21). Crucially, only one of the focused constituents ('tomorrow') occurs in the pre-field; the other focused constituent ('their relatives') occurs after the clitic *=ka*.

(20) Inmëínribika ain kayu kuania.
inmëín=ribi=ka=a a=in kayu kuan-i-a
late=ADD=VAL=3A/S 3-POSS relatives go-IPFV-NPROX
'TOMORROW their relatives are also going.'

(21) Sentence: Tomorrow their relatives are also going
Presupposition: Someone is going sometime
Assertion: Tomorrow their relatives are also going
Focus: their relatives; tomorrow

It is also possible to elicit sentences with multiple foci using wh-words. This is shown in the mini-dialogue in (22). In question (22)b, the verb is introduced as a presupposition for the answer. The two wh-words 'who' and 'where' require those constituents to be focused in the answer. Thus, sentence (22)b is an adequate answer to (22)a because only one of the focused constituents occurs in the pre-field. By the same token, sentence (22)c is ungrammatical because the two focused constituents occur before the clitic *=ka*. This is an instance in which syntax and information structure interact. However, the syntactic requirement of having only one constituent in the pre-field takes primacy over the information structural constraint of placing the narrow focused constituent in that position.

(22) a. Uinanuakara uina ransaxa?
uina=nu=a=ka=ra=a uina ransa-a-x-a
what=LOC=PA.S=VAL=INT=3A/S who dance-PFV-3-NPROX
'Who danced where?'

b. Umishanuaka Untin ransaxa.
umisha=nu=a=ka=a Untin ransa-a-x-a
party=LOC=PA.=VAL=3A/S Untin dance-PFV-3-NPROX
'Untin danced at THE PARTY.'

[36] Notice that multiple constituent foci sentences are different from both predicate-focus and sentence-focus sentences. A combination of focused constituents different from VP and S constitutes an instance of multiple constituent foci. For instance, a focused subject and a focused adjunct occurring in the same sentence instantiate multiple constituent foci.

c. * Umishanua Untinka ransaxa.

The order in which the focused constituents occurs in multiple-foci sentences is not fixed. Two main tendencies are followed. First, there is a correspondence between the position in which the wh-words occur in the question and the position of the narrow-focused constituents in the answer. In other words, the focused constituent that occurs in the pre-field in the answer corresponds to the wh-word that occurs in that position in the question. Second, when adjuncts and core arguments are focused, the adjuncts tend to occur in sentence initial position whereas the core arguments follow the clitic. This second pattern occurs mostly in narratives in which establishing the settings of the story comes before introducing the participants.

The last case of constituent focus is V(erb) focus, a focus type in which only the verb is focused whereas the subject, object(s) and adjunct(s) are presupposed. Verb-focus sentences behave differently than other narrow-focus constructions. Specifically, the main verb does not occur in the pre-field slot, as in characteristic (i) of non-verbal narrow focus; rather, it remains *in situ* in sentence-final position. In this focus type, the verb tends to occur alone while the other constituents are dropped. Example (23) shows an instance of verb focus in which the narrator is explaining how to fish with an arrow. In the first sentence 'after fixing [it], [they] put the peach palm fruit in the arrow', the NP 'arrow' is introduced in the discourse and the subject 'they' is already presupposed. In the following sentence, the main verb *aruia* '[they] put [the arrow]' occurs without any overt argument. However, it is understood as a complete clause in which the subject and object arguments are already background information. Thus, the verb is the only focused constituent in that sentence. Notice that verb-focus sentences are different from predicate-focus sentences in their information structural values and their realization.

(23) Mëniotankëxuribika wanin anu pia arua.
mënio-tankëxu=ribi=ka=a wanin a=nu pia aru-a
fix-SSPEA=ADD=VAL=3A/S peach.palm.fruit 3=LOC arrow put-PAST

Atankëxu anu… niatankëxu **arui-a.** Aika ridi
a=tankëxu a=nu… nia=tankëxu **aru-i-a.** **a**i=ka=a ridi
do-SSPEA 3-LOC put.weight-SSPEA put-IPFV-NPROX then=VAL=3A/S thread

nëaia.
nëa-i-a
tie-IPFV-NPROX

'After also fixing [it], [they] put the peach palm fruit in the arrow. After doing [it]…putting weight [in the arrow] there, [they] PUT [the arrow there]. Then, [they] tie the thread.'

The realization of narrow focus in the verb as occurring sentence-finally shows another case of the interplay of syntax and information structure in Kakataibo. In this case, the syntactic constraint of not allowing the main verb to occur in the pre-field position overrules the information structural strategy of placing narrow focused constituents there.

In this section, it has been shown that constituent focus is characterized by (i) occurring in sentence-initial position with the caveat that the main verb focus remains *in situ*, (ii) leaving the other constituents *in situ* and (iii) having the subject overt and being marked by case when it is in focus. Different types of constituent focus have been exemplified such as subject focus,

object focus, verb focus, etc. It has also been shown that more than one constituent can be focused in the same sentence which yields a multiple-focus sentence. However, the syntactic requirement of not having more than one constituent in the pre-field slot still holds in multiple-foci sentences.

2.2. *Predicate Focus (VP)*

In predicate-focus sentences, the VP is the focused constituent in the sentence, as described in Section 1.1. In other words, the VP is what remains after subtracting the presupposition from the assertion in a predicate-focus sentence. Content questions of the type "what did s/he do?" usually have a predicate focus sentence as their answer. The elicited mini-dialogues in (24) and (25) show instances of predicate focus in intransitive and transitive sentences, respectively. In example (24)b the subject is presupposed since it was introduced in the question in (24)a by the subject agreement in the clitic *=ka*. Thus, subtracting the presupposition, the subject, from (24)b, the VP 'is sitting down' is what remains as the focus of the sentence. In a similar fashion, the subject is presupposed in (25)b because it was introduced by the subject agreement in the clitic *=ka* in the question in (25)a. The VP 'built a house' is the product of the subtraction of the presupposition, the subject, from the assertion. Notice that in this instance both the object and the verb are in focus. Since the VP is focused and the subject is part of the background information, the clitic *=ka* occurs in sentence-initial position instead of in second position. A summarized analysis of predicate focus of (24) and (25) is given in (24)c and (25)c, respectively.

(24) a. Uidakara a?
uida=ka=ra=a a-a
how=VAL=INT=3A/S do-NPROX
'What is [he/she] doing?'

b. Ka sotaxi.
ka sot-a-x-i
VAL=3A/S sit.down-PFV-3-PROX
'[He/she] WAS SITTING DOWN.'

c. Sentence: [He/she] was sitting down
Presupposition: S/he x
Assertion: He/she was sitting down
Focus: x = was sitting down

(25) a. Uidakaramina a?
uida=ka=ra=mina a-a
how=VAL=INT=2A/S do-NPROX
'What did you do?'

b. Kana iti akë.
ka=na i-ti a-kë
VAL=1A/S be-NMLZ do-PART
'[I] BUILT A HOUSE.'

c. Sentence: [I] built a house
Presupposition: S/he x
Assertion: I built a house
Focus: x = built a house

Based on the examples above of predicate focus, two main properties of predicate-focus sentences can be identified, which are given in (26).

(26) (i) Predicate focus sentences tend to lack an overt subject. The information about the subject is recovered by subject agreement in the second-position clitics and in the verb (see Section 1.2.), and context.

(ii) Focus constituent order is OV, where the verb occurs sentence-finally and the object is adjacent to it. No focused element occurs in the pre-field position in predicate-focus sentences.

Predicate focus sentences are also found in narratives showing the characteristics given in (26). Sentence (27) comes from the "tomato story" (Skopeteas et al. 2006) adapted as the "pineapple story" to make it more culturally appropriate.

(27) [Kanká arutankëxu] xëati axuaxa.
[kanká aru-tankëxu] xëa-ti a-xun-a-x-a
pineapple cook-SSPEA drink-NMLZ do-APPL-PFV-3-NPROX
'After cooking the pineapple, [she/mother] MADE [pineapple] JUICE FOR [him].'

At the moment that (27) is uttered, the referent 'mother' and the proposition 'she cooked pineapple' have already been introduced into the common ground. Thus, the proposition 'the mother cooked pineapple' is presupposed in (27). After subtracting this presupposition, we are left with the focus: 'made juice'. A summarized view of the focus analysis of (27) is given in (28). This instance of predicate focus shows the characteristics of this focus type given above. Namely, (i) the subject is not overt but it is recoverable by agreement and the discourse context and (ii) the constituent order of the focused main clause VP is OV with the predicate occurring in sentence-final position. Even though the clitic *=ka* does not occur in (27), none of the constituents (V and O) of the focused VP occur in sentence-initial position; the focused VP in (27) follows the adverbial clause. Notice that in predicate-focus sentences the O needs to be adjacent to the V, which occurs sentence-finally. This is a crucial difference between object-focus and predicate-focus sentences.

(28) Sentence: After cooking the pineapple, [she] made [pineapple] juice
Presupposition: After cooking the pineapple, mother x
Assertion: After cooking the pineapple, she made pineapple juice
Focus: x = made juice

So far I have shown the morpho-syntactic characteristics of predicate-focus realization. Now, I will show that deviations from the characteristics of predicate-focus realization yield infelicity, but not necessarily ungrammaticality, since a different focus structure than the expected one is realized. Thus, the pragmatic clash leads to an infelicitous sentence. Consider the mini-dialogue in (25) repeated below as (29) for convenience. The question (29)a introduces the subject as the topic of the dialogue and requires an answer in which the VP is focused and the subject is presupposed. This is exactly the information that (29)b conveys. The subject is presupposed because it is dropped but recoverable by agreement. The VP is focused because it occurs in sentence-final position and none of its constituents occur before the clitic *=ka*. Thus, sentence (29)b is a pragmatically adequate answer to the question in (29)a, which is manifested by their morpho-syntactic features. In contrast, sentence (29)d is not an adequate answer to (29)a

because the VP is not focused but rather only the object. Sentence (29)d is an instance of (object) constituent focus (see Section 2.1.). This difference in focus type is evidenced because the object NP occurs in the pre-field position and not in the middle field, next to the verb, as it is characteristic of predicate-focus structures. The contrast between a pragmatically adequate answer to (29)a and an inadequate answer is given in (29)c and (29)e, respectively. The focus in (29)b is 'built a house', which corresponds to the predicate-focus type whereas in (29)d the focus 'built a house' does not correspond to the constituent-focus type.

(29) a. Uidakaramina a?
uida=ka=ra=mina a-a
how=VAL=INT=2A/S do-PFV
'What did you do?'

b. Kana iti akë.
ka=na i-ti a-kë
VAL=1A/S be-NMLZ do-PART
'[I] BUILT A HOUSE.'

c. Sentence: [I] built a house
Pressupposition: Someone x
Assertion: I built a house
Focus: x = built a house
Focus type: predicate focus (VP)

d. #Itikana a-kë.
i-ti=ka=na a-kë
be-NMLZ=VAL=1 do-PART
'I BUILT A HOUSE.'

e. Sentence: A house, I built it.
Presupposition: Someone x
Assertion: I built a house
Focus: a house
Focus type: constituent focus (object NP)

The presence of an overt subject in a predicate-focus sentence also triggers a pragmatic clash even though the object and verb occur in sentence-final position. Consider the mini-dialogue in (30). Sentence (30)b is infelicitous because the subject 'I' occurs in the pre-field slot, used to encode narrow focus. However, an appropriate answer to the question in (30)a required a predicate-focus structure in which the pre-field was not occupied by a narrow focused constituent. Sentence (30)b is an instance of (subject) constituent focus (see Section 2.1.) or an all-new sentence (see Section 2.3.). Again, the mismatch between expected focus type (predicate focus) and actual focus type (constituent focus) makes the sentence infelicitous.

(30) a. Uidakaramina a?
uida=ka=ra=mina a-a
what=VAL=INT=2 do-PFV
'What did you do?'

b. #Ënkana iti akë.
ë=n=ka=na i-ti a-kë
1=A/S=VAL=1 live-NMLZ do-PART
'I BUILT A HOUSE.'

The presence of an overt subject in a predicate-focus structure, however, does not trigger a pragmatic clash when the subject occurs in the middle field and the object and verb occur

sentence-finally, as in example (31). In other words, the characteristics of predicate-focus sentences, stated in (26), are met. The fact the subject NP occurs in the middle field and not in the pre-field slot suggests that it constitutes background information and not focus material, as it is a characteristic for narrow focus. Since the subject is presupposed, what remains is the focus, in this case, the VP. Notice that the presupposed non-focused subject in this example occurs without case marking (see Section 3). Thus, a pragmatic clash does not occur because the focus type in (31) meets the characteristics of predicate-focus sentences without having the properties of narrow focus. Even though there is an overt subject, it does not show narrow focus realization.

(31)	Ka	Norua	mi	sasa	ñukatia.[37]
	ka=a	Norua	mi	sasa	ñukat-i-a
	VAL=3A/S	Norua	2	fish	ask.for-IPFV-NPROX
	'Norua asks you for fish.'				

It is important to note that the sentences which have been shown to be infelicitous are not ungrammatical. As argued above, such sentences are infelicitous because they have a focus type different from what is expected by the context in which they occur. The infelicitous sentences are grammatical because they do not violate the restriction of having two constituents in the pre-field position or positing the verb in that slot. These sentences become felicitous when they are uttered in the proper context; that is, when they are uttered in a context in which their focus type is the expected focus type.

The predicate-focus sentence structure, in which the subject is usually non-overt, the O and V form a constituent and the V occurs in sentence-final position, could be viewed as the realization of the topic-comment information flow. The predicate-focus syntactic structure is in accordance with the unmarked coding of the discourse functions of topic and focus (Van Valin 2005:73, Givón 1983). Topics tend to occur as zero elements whereas focus constituents tend to occur as overt NPs in Kakataibo. Thus, subject topics tend to be non-overt but recoverable by agreement whereas focused subjects tend to occur overtly. This topic-comment or predicate-focus structure is the most frequent in natural discourse in Kakataibo. There can be a series of sentences in which a topic is introduced once and then it is omitted in the following sentences, although still recoverable by agreement, as shown in (32) where the subject NP has already been introduced in the common ground.

(32)	Aikana	ën	kuani…	ë	kuanki	uani	motosierra	gasolina	
	ai=ka-na	ë=n	kuan-i…	ë	kuan-ki	uan-i	motosierra	gasolina	
	then=VAL=1	1=A/S	go-IPFV…	1	go-SSSEA	take-IPFV	chainsaw	gasoline	
	aceite	ën	lima	cadena	kamabi	uani	kuani.		
	aceite	ë=n	lima	cadena	kama=bi	uan-i	kuan-i		
	oil	1=POSS	lime	chain	all=EMPH	take-IPFV	go-IPFV		
	kuantankëxunkana	kuma			o	nëdua	tukai.		
	kuan-tankëxun=ka=na	kuma			o	nëdua	tuka-i		
	go-SSPEA=VAL=1	chiwawaco (sp. of tree)			or	styrax	saw-IPFV		

[37] However, sentences of this type are very rare in natural discourse. It is not yet clear why the subject occurs overtly but it may be for clarity's sake. Thus, the speaker overtly states the background subject to make sure that the hearer has that particular referent in mind in order to avoid ambiguity.

tukakinkana…	ya,	tukanuxukana	primero
tuka-kin=ka=na	ya,	tuka-nu-xun=ka=na	primero
saw-SSSEA=VAL=1A/S	already,	saw-INTL-SSSEA=VAL=1A/S	first

chakámi.	chakamitankëxu	in	a	mënioi.
chakat-mi-i	chaka-mi-tankëxu	in	a	mënio-i
drop-CAUS-IPFV	drop-CAUS-SSPEA	tree	3	clear.out-IPFV

mëniotankëxukana	tupuni…
mënio-tankëxu=ka=na	tupun-i
clear.out-SSPEA=VAL=1A/S	measure-IPFV

'Then, I go. I go to pick up my chainsaw, gasoline, oil, lime, chain, everything [I] go carrying them. After going [to pick them up], [I] saw chiwawaco or estoraque (kind of trees). While sawing [them]…Before [I] go to saw [them], [I] chop down [the trees]. After chopping [them] down, [I] clear the sticks [out from the field]. After clearing [the field], [I] measure [it].'

As suggested by example (32) above, the pre-field slot can be occupied by given information or discourse particles (e.g. then, so) in predicate-focus sentences without causing infelicity. Sentence (33) shows an all-new sentence (see Section 2.3). In 33b, it is already given that 'the jaguar is walking' and it occurs in the pre-field position. Notice that 33b is an instance of predicate focus where the object and verb are adjacent occurring in sentence-final position, but the sentence is not infelicitous because the constituent that occurs in the pre-field is not focused but given information. In a similar way, sentence 34b is a felicitous instance of predicate focus because the discourse marker filling the pre-field slot is not focused. Notice that in this sentence, 'sitting down' that is given information occurs in the middle field because the pre-field is already filled.

(33) a.

Inuka	nisia.
inu=ka=a	nisin-a
jaguar=VAL=3A/S	sit.down-NPROX
'A jaguar is sitting down'.	

c. Sentence: The jaguar hunts while sitting down
Presupposition: The jaguar x sitting down
Assertion: The jaguar hunts while sitting down
Focus: x = hunts

b.

Nikinka	ñu	waria.
nisi-kin=ka=a	ñu	wari-i-a
sit.down-SSSEA=VAL=3A/S	thing	look.for-IPFV-NPROX

'The jaguar HUNTS while sitting down'.

(34) a.

Chunaka	sotaxa.
chuna=ka=a	sot-a-x-a
spider.monkey=VAL=3A/S	sit-PEFV-3NPROX

'The spider monkey was sitting down.'

b.

Aika	soxu	idia.
ai=ka=a	sot-xun	id-i-a
then=VAL=3A/S	sit-SSPEA	see-IPFV-NPROX

'Then, after sitting down, (the spider monkey) IS WATCHING (it).'

c. Sentence: Then, after sitting down, (it) is watching (it)
Presupposition: The spider monkey x sitting down
Assertion: Then, after sitting down, (it) is watching (it)
Focus: x = is watching

In this section, I have shown that the main characteristics of predicate-focus sentences, in which the subject is presupposed and the VP is focused, are: (i) the subject tends to be non-overt (or occurring in the middle field) and (ii) the focused OV within the VP occurs in sentence-final position. However, there is not enough data to make a generalization with respect to the position of constituents other than the V or O within the VP in a predicate-focus sentence. It has also been suggested in this section that the syntactic structure of predicate focus is the realization of the topic – comment information flow. When the predicate-focus structure occurs in a context in which it is not expected (e.g. a different focus type is expected), a pragmatic clash occurs. Nonetheless, the pre-field position can be filled by non-focused constituents such as given information.

2.3. Sentence Focus (IP)

Sentence focus, also known as all-new focus, is a focus type in which the whole sentence is focused; there is no presupposed constituent. As there is no presupposition to subtract from the assertion, the whole sentence equals the focus. Sentence-focus sentences usually occur at the beginning of a narrative or as out-of-the-blue sentences. Example (35)a is the opening sentence of a narrative. In this sentence, nothing has been introduced as a presupposition. Thus, there is nothing to subtract from the assertion which makes the whole sentence focused, as summarized in (35)b. Sentence (36)a comes from an elicitation session in which a picture depicting an event was shown to the speaker who was then asked 'what do you see in the picture?'. As none of the participants or the action shown in the picture are presupposed, it follows that the whole sentence is in focus.

(35) a. Uni achúi xanuñu iákëxa.
uni achúi xanu=ñu i-ákë-x-a
man one woman=HAVE be-DISP-3-NPROX
'A MAN HAD A WIFE LONG AGO.'

b. Sentence: A man had a wife long ago
Presupposition: ----------
Assertion: A man had a wife long ago
Focus: A man had a wife long ago

(36) a. Uninka xanu ninia.
uni=n=ka=a xanu nini-i-a
man=A=VAL=3A/S woman pull-IPFV-NPROX
'A MAN IS PULLING A WOMAN.'

b. Sentence: A man is pulling a woman
Presupposition: ----------
Assertion: A man is pulling a woman
Focus: A man is pulling a woman

As in the other type of focus sentences, sentence-focus sentences are characterized by the following morpho-syntactic features:

(37) (i) Constituent order is SOV with the subject occurring in the pre-field position and showing case.
(ii) All constituents are overt; pro-drop is disallowed.

Characteristic (i) of sentence-focus sentences states that these sentences follow the neutral constituent order in Kakataibo when the two arguments of a transitive verb are overt. As a corollary of (i), characteristic (ii) follows. As there is no presupposition in a sentence-focus sentence, there is no way to recover information about the participants or the main event. For this reason, all the information about the sentence needs to be overtly stated. Thus, subjects cannot be dropped and be recoverable by agreement nor can the object occur as zero anaphora.

When characteristics (i) and (ii) of sentence-focus sentences are not followed, they become infelicitous. Examples (38) and (39) show violations of characteristic (i) of sentence-focus sentences. Example (38) is infelicitous because constituent order is not SOV, rather, it is OSV. Also notice that the subject *o wëna* (person name) does not show case and does not occur in sentence-initial position. Example (39) is infelicitous because the subject does not occur in sentence-initial position and is not marked by case. In (40), the subject is not overt which makes the sentence infelicitous.

(38) # Noimika o wëna papia.
noimi=ka=a o wëna papi-i-a
aguano=VAL=3A/S tapir young carry-IPFV-NPROX
'O wëna is carrrying aguano (sp. of wood).'

(39) # Ka xanukama asana chakakë aru-axa.
ka=a xanu=kama asa=na chaka-kë aru-a-x-a
VAL=3A/S woman=PL manioc=POSS pound-PART cook-PFV-3-NPROX
'The women made masato (traditional drink).'

(40) # Ain chichinu iakëxa.
ai=n chichi=nu i-ákë-x-a
3=POSS grandmother=LOC be-DISP-3-NPROX
'[He] lived with his grandmother.'

Examples (38)-(40) are infelicitous in the context in which any presupposition has already been introduced when they are uttered. However, they are felicitous when they are uttered in the appropriate context for their focus type. In example (38), the object is in sentence-initial position, which suggests that this sentence is an instance of an object-focus sentence. Having this focus type, sentence (38) presupposes both the subject and the verb. Thus, this sentence is used appropriately to convey object focus but not sentence focus. This mismatch between expected focus type (sentence focus) and actual focus type (predicate focus) produces a pragmatic clash. A schematic view of this analysis is given in (41). Pragmatic clashes also occur in examples (39) and (40). These sentences have the form of predicate-focus sentence when the structure of a sentence-focus is expected.

(41) Sentence: O wëna is carrying aguano
Presupposition: ----------
Assertion: O wëna is carrrying aguano
Focus: O wëna is carrrying aguano
Focus type: predicate focus

There is a striking formal similitude between the sentence-focus and the subject-focus sentences. They both share the characteristics that (i) the subject occurs in the pre-field position, (ii) it is marked by case and (iii) the constituent order is SOV. The fact that the subject is marked with case when it is focused will be addressed in Section 3. The syntactic similitude of these focus-type sentences may be attributed to a discriminatory function. Namely, Lambrecht (2000) argues that there is a cross-linguistic tendency by which sentence-focus sentences tend to be differentiated from the unmarked predicate-focus sentences. Thus, languages tend to detopicalize the subject in sentence-focus sentences to make it different from the topical subject of predicate-focus sentences. Languages follow different phonological and/or morpho-syntactic strategies to make this distinction. Kakataibo follows two strategies to morpho-syntactically detopicalize the subject: (a) place the subject in the pre-field position (b) the subject is marked with case. These two characteristics are in contrast with topical subjects (occurring in predicate-focus sentences), which are usually dropped but recoverable by agreement. However, when topical subjects occur overtly they occur after the clitic *=ka* and are not marked with case. Thus, the morpho-syntactic means of detopicalizing the subject makes the subject-focus sentence and the sentence-focus sentence formally similar.

In this section, I have shown the main morpho-syntactic characteristics of sentence-focus sentences: (i) constituent order is SOV with the subject in sentence-initial position showing case and (ii) all constituents are overtly expressed. The properties of sentence-focus sentences are similar to those of subject-focus because those sentences detopicalize the subject using the same morpho-syntactic means.

3. Differential Subject Marking (DSM)

In the previous section, it was shown that the pragmatic status of the subject in a given sentence creates a contrast between predicate-focus sentences, on the one hand, and (subject) constituent-focus and sentence-focus sentences, on the other. The subject bears the pragmatic function of topic in predicate-focus sentences whereas it bears the pragmatic function of focus in the other two focus-type sentences. The different pragmatic functions of the subject in the different focus-type sentences are correlated with certain morpho-syntactic features: (i) pro-drop, (ii) position in the sentence and (iii) case. The topical subject of a predicate-focus sentence (i) occurs as a pro-drop constituent in most cases, (ii) cannot occur in sentence-initial position and (iii) tends to not show case, when occurring overtly. In contrast, the focused subject of constituent and sentence-focus sentences (i) needs to occur overtly; it cannot occur as a pro-drop constituent, (ii) occurs in the pre-field position and (iii) always receives a case-marker. These characteristics are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Morpho-syntactic properties of the different focus type sentences

	Predicate focus	Subject (A and S) constituent focus	Sentence focus
Subject pro-drop	+	-	-
Focus in pre-field position	-	+	+
Case	+/-	+	+

This behavior suggests that DSM is triggered by the information structural status of the noun or pronoun. This difference of subject marking holds in addition to the split triggered by the contrast between nouns and pronouns. Notice that other factors such as TAM, the semantics of the verb or animacy/definiteness do not trigger DSM in Kakataibo, as argued below. As shown in Section 1.2., the subject shows a split alignment triggered by referentiality which distinguishes between pronouns (nominative alignment) and nouns (ergative alignment). On top of this split alignment, DSM conditioned by the pragmatic status of the subject takes place. When the subject (A and S) is focused, the ergative vs. nominative split alignment is found. Focused subject pronouns obligatorily show the case marker *=n* while object pronouns are never marked by case. Focused nouns in A function obligatorily have the case marker *=n* whereas focused S and O nouns are never case-marked. However, a neutral alignment, for both nouns and pronouns, occurs when the subject is non-focused, occurring in the middle field position. The presence of a case-marker for non-focused A and S is optional. However, more study is still needed to attempt an explanation of the instances where non-focused subjects do show case. The contrast in case marking of focused and non-focused subjects is summarized in Table 3. While DSM triggered by information structure occurs with both pronouns and nouns, pronouns tend to preserve their case in more instances than nouns.

Table.3 Kakataibo split case alignment triggered by referentiality and focus

	Focused		Non-focused	
	Pronouns	Nouns	Pronouns	Nouns
S	{-n}	{Ø}	{-n}/{Ø}	{Ø}
A	{-n}	{-n}	{-n}/{Ø}	{-n}/{Ø}
O	{Ø}		{Ø}	

Minimal pairs distinguished by the information structural status of the subject showing DSM are shown by examples (42)-(43)45). In (42), the subject *uni* ‘man’ is not focused, which makes it occur in the middle-field position and have no case. In contrast, the subject is focused in (43), which makes it occur in the pre-field position and show case. A similar contrast occurs in the minimal pair in (44)-(45). The topical subject ‘my father’ occurs after the clitic *=ka* and without case in (44) whereas the focused subject occurs in the pre-field position and with case in (45).

(42) Xanuka uni wënë papia. (non-focused subject)
xanu=ka=a uni wënë=**Ø** papi-i-a
woman=VAL=3A/S man young=**A** carry-IPFV-NPROX
'The young man carried the WOMAN.'

(43) Wësi uninka ë ináxa. (focused subject)
wësi uni=**n**=ka=a ë inan-a-x-a
other man=**A**=VAL=A/S 1 give-PFV-3-NPROX
'ANOTHER MAN gave [it] to me.'

(44) Ka ën papa iti aia. (non-focused subject)
Ka=a ë=n papa= **Ø** i-ti a-i-a
VAL=3A/S 1=POSS father=**A** be-NLZR do-IPFV-NPROX
'My father is BUILDING A HOUSE.'

(45) Ën papanka iti aia. (focused subject)
ë=n papa=**n**=ka=a i-ti a-i-a
1=POSS father=**A**=VAL=3A/S be-NLZR do-IPFV-NPROX
'My FATHER is building a house.'

So far, I have argued that DSM is triggered by information structure in Kakataibo. Now, I will show that this split is not triggered by other factors which trigger DCM cross-linguistically such as the semantics of the NP or the semantics of the verb.

Apart from the split alignment distinguishing between nouns and pronouns based on referentiality, semantic factors of the NP such as animacy and definiteness do not cause the subject to not show case when it is focused (cf. Bossong 1983, Malchukov 2007). Here I will only consider nominal NPs. Animate (i.e. human and animal) nouns as well as inanimate (i.e. objects, natural forces, etc.) nouns show case when they occur as a focused subject. Examples (46) and (47) show non-human animate and natural force inanimate subjects, respectively, bearing a case mark.

(46) Rununka motor chawóxa.
runu=n=ka=a motor chawot-a-x-a
snake=A=VAL=3A/S engine get.wet-PFV-3-NPROX
'The snake broke down the engine.'

(47) Uënanka motor chawóxa.
uë=nan=ka=a motor chawot-axa
rain=A=VAL=3A/S engine get.wet-PFV-3-NPROX
'The rain broke down the engine.'

The definite vs. indefinite distinction is not morphologically marked in Kakataibo; a given NP may be definite or indefinite depending on the context. However, the third person pronoun *a* can be used to add emphasis to a definite NP. NPs marked as definite by the pronoun *a* show

case as well as the definite/indefinite NPs which are not marked by that pronoun, as shown in (48) and (49).

(48) A inminka mi ratuaxa.
a inmi=n=ka=a mi ratut-a-x-a
3 blood=A=VAL=3A/S 2 frighten-PFV-3-NPROX
'That blood frightened you.'

(49) Inminka mi ratuaxa.
inmi=n=ka=a mi ratut-a-x-a
blood=A=VAL=3A/S 2 frighten-PFV-3-NPROX
'(The) blood frightened you.'

The semantics of the verb does not cause the subject to not show case either. Subjects of transitive verbs with a low prototypical level of transitivity preserve their case. Verbs showing negation, desiderative or future meanings have been analyzed as showing a low degree of transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980). Focused subjects occurring with verbs having these operators show case mark, as presented in the following examples.

(50) Ën onka o paranta pikasi kia. (desiderative)
ë=n o=n=ka=a o paranta pi-kas-i ki-i-a.
1-POSS parrot=A=VAL=3A/S banana eat-DES-SSPEA say(intr.)-IPFV-NPROX
'My parrot wants to eat banana.'

(51) Ënkana nunti amai. (negative)
ë=n=ka=na nunti a-ma-i
1=A=VAL=1A/S canoe do-NEG-IPFV
'I am not making a canoe.'

(52) Ën titanka ë mëtadkanuxu a. (future/unrealized)
ë=n tita=n=ka=a ë më-tadka-nuxu a-a
1-POSS mother=A=VAL=3A/S 1 hand-hit-INTL AUX-NPROX
'My mother is going to hit me on the hand.'

Furthermore, subjects of psychological verbs (in which the object is not directly affected by the action) are also marked with case as subjects of highly prototypical verbs such as 'kill', 'cut', or 'break' do.

(53) Pedronanka mimi manania.
Pedro=nan=ka=a mi=mi manani-i-a
Pedro-A=VAL=3A/S 2=DAT accuse-IPFV-NPROX
'Pedro accuses you.'

(54) Noruanka o xanu ënmërati.
Norua=nan=ka=a o xanu ënmërat-i-i
Norua=A=VAL=3A/S tapir woman love-IPFV-PROX
'Norua loves tapir woman.'

TAM differences do not trigger DSM either. As shown through this paper, focused subjects show case in different aspects (i.e. imperfective vs. perfective) and in intentional statements. TAM is not a cause for DSM. The focused subject shows case in declarative and interrogative sentences (55); the subject does not occur in imperative sentences.

(55)	Noruankara	posonu	nanëaxa.
	Norua=n=ka=ra=a	poso=nu	nanë-a-x-a
	Norua=A=VAL=INT=3A/S	well-LOC	sink-PFV-3-NPROX
	'Did Norua sink in the well?'		

Notice that the instances in which the subject is not case-marked are not due to an intransitivizing process. First, DSM in Kakataibo occurs both with subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs since A and S pronouns are marked with case (accusative alignment) and A nouns are also marked with case (ergative alignment). Thus, the fact that a transitive subject does not show case cannot be attributed to an intransitivizing strategy. Second, Kakataibo shows third person zero anaphora. In a transitive sentence, the O argument can be null, but still recoverable from previous discourse, without decreasing the verbal valence. Thus, the A argument can be the only overt argument in a transitive sentence. Focused subjects show case no matter whether there is an overt object or not.

In this section, I have shown that the focused vs. non-focused status of the subject NP plays a role in the assignment of case to it. Semantic factors of the verb and NP have been considered, showing no effect on case assignment. Furthermore, it has been argued that DSM is not an intransitivizing strategy.

4. Conclusions

The morpho-syntactic correlates of focus realization in Kakataibo, a Panoan language, have been explored in this paper. The discussion centered on three types of information focus: narrow focus, predicate focus and sentence focus. Information focus in Kakataibo can be realized by different strategies, which has been reported in other languages such as Tangale (Hartmann & Zimmermann 2007). Narrow focus on a non-verbal constituent follows an *ex situ* strategy by placing the focused constituent in the pre-field slot. In contrast, narrow focus on the verb is left *in situ*. In turn, predicate focus is encoded by placing the verb in sentence-final position and the object adjacent to it. In the case of sentence focus, constituents follow a SOV order with the subject occurring in the pre-field position.

The fact that narrow focus on the subject and sentence focus are realized similarly is a feature that Kakataibo shares with other languages such as Buli, Dagbane and Gurene (Gur, Fiedler et al. 2010). This isomorphism, in turn, seems to be the result of a strategy languages employ to flag the subject as having a non-default interpretation as non-topic (Lambrecht 2000).

In addition, it has been argued here that the information structural status of the subject plays a role in the presence or not of case on it. Namely, focused subjects always occur in the pre-field position bearing case. Non-focused subjects do not appear in that position and usually do not show case mark. Thus, the Kakataibo data provides further evidence to the claim that information structure categories affect the grammar proper, in particular, case marking (Kwon & Zribi-Hertz 2008, de Hoop & de Swart 2009, Aikhenvald 2010, Iemmolo 2010, Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011).

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