Chapter 29

Reflexive constructions in Kakataibo

Roberto Zariquiey
Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú

The present paper presents a discussion of reflexive constructions in Kakataibo, a Pano language spoken in Peruvian Amazonia. The language exhibits a productive verbal reflexive, which is mainly used on transitive verbs, as well as a middle marker which is also used to express reflexive meanings. Kakataibo emphatic pronouns and the noun *nami* 'body' can also participate in reflexive constructions, but require additional indicators of co-referentiality: emphatic pronouns require the presence of the verbal reflexive marker, whereas the noun *nami* 'body' needs a possessive marker and an emphatic clitic. Their need for extra markers of co-reference suggests that neither emphatic pronouns nor the noun *nami* 'body' are fully grammatical reflexive nominals.

1 Introduction

The present paper presents a discussion of reflexive constructions in Kakataibo, a Pano language spoken in Peruvian Amazonia. Following Haspelmath (2023 [this volume])'s definition of reflexive constructions, I discuss here all the Kakataibo constructions that satisfy the two main criteria listed in (1) (taken from Haspelmath 2023 [this volume]).

(1) Reflexive construction
A reflexive construction is a grammatical construction
(i) that can only be used when two argument positions of a clause require coreference,
(ii) and that contains a special form (a reflexivizer) that signals this coreference.

The criteria stipulated in (1) are satisfied in Kakataibo by constructions with a reflexive verbal marker. Some constructions featuring emphatic pronouns or the noun *nami* 'body' also fit the definition in (1), under the condition that they also carry a verbal reflexive marker. Reflexive voice markers include the reflexive marker and the middle marker (see Zariquiey 2018: 306–309). The reflexive voice marker is a truly derivational verbal suffix (with a rich morphophonology), whereas the middle marker is used in some cases as a derivative marker, while in other instances it is part of what Valenzuela (2017: 416–417) calls "alternative derivation" (pairs of transitive-intransitive verbs obtained from bound roots which lack a transitive category and can never be used in discourse by themselves; see §3.2 for some illustration of this).

This chapter is structured as follows. In §2, I present some background information on the Kakataibo language and its speakers. The verbal markers that express reflexive meanings are discussed in §3 (§3.1 illustrates the reflexive marker and §3.2 discusses the middle marker). The reflexive constructions with emphatic pronouns and the noun *nami* 'body' are presented in §4.1 and in §4.2, respectively. Finally, some conclusions are listed in §5.

2 The Kakataibo language and its speakers

Kakataibo is a Pano language spoken by approximately 3000–3500 people in the Peruvian departments of Huánuco and Ucayali. The Kakataibo people live along the Aguaytía, San Alejandro, Shamboyacu, Sungaroyacu and, more recently, Pisqui Rivers (see Figure 1), where the language remains vital and is learnt by children despite intense contact with Spanish.

Kakataibo is the westernmost Pano language and, within the language family, Kakataibo is the only member of its branch (Shell 1965; d'Ans 1973; Loos 1999; and Fleck 2013). As described in Zariquiey (2011), there are four extant Kakataibo dialects, spoken in the Lower Aguaytía, Upper Aguaytía, Sungaroyacu and San Alejandro Rivers, respectively. "Nokamán", a variety named and minimally documented by Tessmann (1930), was a fifth dialect of the language, now extinct (Zariquiey 2013). The Lower Aguaytía variety is the one studied in this paper (for a full grammar of this dialect, see Zariquiey 2018). This dialect exhibits the phonological inventory given in Tables 1 and 2 (the orthographic conventions followed in this paper are given in angle brackets if different from IPA).

Kakataibo is an agglutinative language with scarce instances of fusion. Verbal morphology is far more complex than nominal morphology and verbal forms
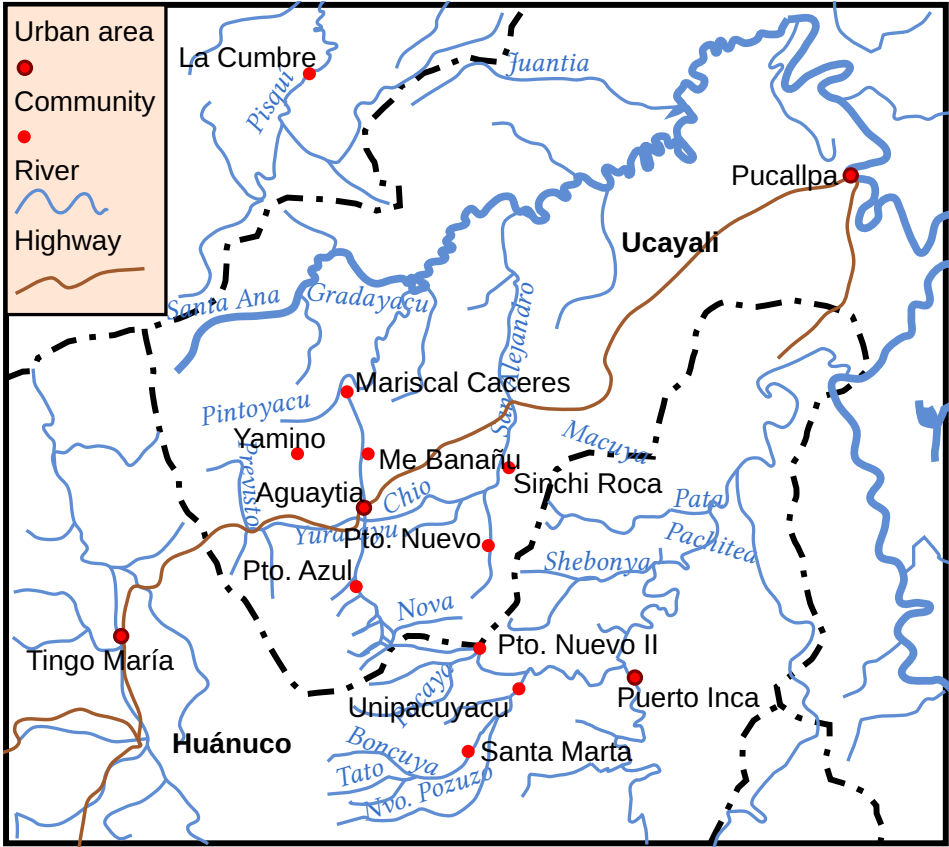
Figure 1: Location of major Kakataibo settlements (based on Zariquiey 2018)

Table 1: Kakataibo consonant inventory

	Labial	Alveo-lar	Post-alveolar	Retro-flex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p	t				k, kʷ \<ku>	ʔ \<'>
Affricate		ts	t∫ \<ch>				
Fricative		s	∫ \<sh>	ʂ \<x>			
Nasal	m	n			ɲ \<ñ>		
Liquid		ɾ \<r>					
Approx-imant	β \<b>						

Table 2: Kakataibo vowel inventory

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ <ë>	u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

may include a large number of affixes (see 2), although the average number of suffixes per verbal root in natural speech is only 1.64 (see Zariquiey 2018: 150).[1]

(2) *Pimibëtsintëkënkankëxa.*
     pi-mi-bëtsin-tëkën-kan-akë-x-a
     eat-CAUS-coming:TR-again-PL-REM.PST-3-NON.PROX
     'While coming, they made (someone) eat again a long time ago.'

The language exhibits a complex alignment system that combines ergative and tripartite case marking with accusative subject cross-referencing both on verbs and second position enclitics. Clausal constituent order is pragmatically determined, but there is a tendency towards verb-final sentences. Word order in the noun phrase is not fixed and most nominal modifiers can appear either before or after the nominal head. The language also exhibits a rich switch-reference system and a pervasive use of nominalizations in discourse.

In this chapter, I assume a very basic distinction between transitivity and valence in Kakataibo. In Kakataibo, transitivity is a lexical property of verbs, and two lexical transitivity classes can be distinguished in the language: intransitive and transitive. The transitivity class of the verb is encoded in various parts of the sentence, by means of various transitivity agreement and transitivity harmony phenomena. Therefore, it is always obvious if a verb is lexically transitive or intransitive. This is illustrated in the following examples. In (3), which features the predicate *pi* 'eat', the pronominal subject bears the A-enclitic *=n*, the switch-reference marker takes the form *-xun* 'subject > A, simultaneous event' and the associated motion suffix is *-bëtsin* 'coming', which exclusively appear with transitive verbs. In turn, in (4), which features the verb *tan* 'rest', we find the S-enclitic *=x* on the pronominal subject, as well as the switch-reference marker *-ax* 'subject > s, simultaneous event' and the associated motion suffix *-kuantsin* 'coming',

---

[1]The examples included in this paper come both from elicitation and texts. Some of the examples have been adapted from Zariquiey (2018: 308).

which exclusively appear with intransitive verbs. All Kakataibo transitive verbs behave like *pi* 'eat' and all Kakataibo intransitive verbs behave like *tan* 'rest'.

(3) *kuan-**xun*** *kana* *'ë=**n*** *'atsa* *pi-**bëtsin**-i-n*
     go-SBJ>A:SE NAR:1SG 1SG=A manioc eat-coming:TR-IPFV-1/2
     'Having gone, I am eating manioc while coming.'

(4) *kuan-**ax*** *kana* *'ë=**x*** *tan-**kuantsin**-i-n*
     go-SBJ>S:SE NAR:1SG 1SG=S rest-coming:INTR-IPFV-1/2
     'Having gone, I am resting while coming.'

I understand valence, in turn, as the number of arguments with which a verb is used in a specific construction (following, for example, Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 3). Although there are strong cross-linguistic associations between transitivity and valence (e.g., transitive verbs have a valence of at least two, whereas verbs with one argument are intransitive), in Kakataibo, the transitivity category of a verb cannot be predicted 100% of the time based on its valence (see Zariquiey 2017, 2018: 276–290). This mainly relates to the existence in Kakataibo of a small set of bivalent intransitive predicates, whose non-subject arguments (which are called "quasi-objects" in Zariquiey 2017) are reminiscent of objects due to their lack of marking, but exhibit critical behavioral differences in relation to them. Let us compare the examples in (5–6). The fact that the predicate in (5) is transitive is revealed by the form of the pronominal subject, which bears the A-enclitic =*n*. Therefore, *atsa* 'manioc' in (5) is a grammatical object, which remains unmarked as is the case of absolutive arguments. In (6), we find the bare noun phrase *'atsa* 'manioc' as the quasi-object of the intransitive verb *pishin* 'lack' (note that the subject of *pishin* 'lack' carries the S-marker =*x*).

(5) *'Ën* *kana* *'atsa* *pin.*
     'Ë=n kana   'atsa   pi-i-n
     1SG=A NAR:1SG manioc eat-IPFV-1/2
     'I eat manioc.'

(6) *'Ëx* *kana* *'atsa* *pishinin.*
     'Ë=x kana   'atsa   pishin-i-n
     1SG=S NAR:1SG manioc lack-IPFV-1/2
     'I lack manioc.'

3 Verbal reflexive markers

The languages of the world may show different mechanisms for reducing valence, including (i) passives and anticausatives; (ii) antipassives; and (iii) reflexives and reciprocals (see the discussion in Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000). In Kakataibo, there is special verbal morphology for reflexives and reciprocals (and a non-productive middle marker), but there are no passive, antipassive or anticausative markers.

Following Haspelmath (2023 [this volume]), I define a reflexive voice marker as a verbal affix that indicates the coreference of two participants of a verb (the object participant is coreferential with the subject participant). In this section, I briefly discuss the uses and functions of the reflexive marker in Kakataibo (§3.1), and introduce the middle marker of the language, which has reflexive functions (§3.2).

3.1 The reflexive marker

The Kakataibo reflexive verbal marker *-akat* (and its allomorph) is a derivative suffix (see Zariquiey 2018: 307). In terms of its usage, the Kakataibo reflexive marker fits the definition provided by Haspelmath (2023 [this volume]): it is a marker that appears on the verb stem and indicates that two participants of the event expressed by the verb are coreferential. In many languages, the reflexive voice marker reduces the verbal valency. One important piece of information, however, is that, as indicated in §1, Kakataibo makes a rigid distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs (see 3–4). Therefore, in morphological terms, the reflexive marker can only be used on transitive and ditransitive stems. Reflexive transitive and ditransitive stems become grammatically intransitive, in terms of how transitivity is encoded and defined in the language (see Zariquiey 2017 for a discussion of more intricate cases related to bivalent intransitives and Zariquiey 2018: 284–288 for more on transitivity in Kakataibo).

As reported by Zariquiey (2018: 307), the Kakataibo reflexive marker exhibits one of the most complex allomorphic alternations in the language, as it may surface as one of the following allomorphs: *-akat*, *-(ë)kët*, *-(u)kut*, *-(i)kit*, *-mët* and *-mëkët*. The first allomorph appears in the majority of contexts, while *-(ë)kët*, *-(u)kut*, and *(i)kit* surface when following a stem that ends in a syllable containing *ë*, *u*, and *i*, respectively.[2] Thus, *-(ë)kët*, *-(u)kut*, and *(i)kit* are the result of a vowel

---

[2] I have no examples of *-(e)ket*, simply because there are no transitive predicates attested in my database that end in the vowel *e*. In addition, there is no *-(o)kot* allomorph: when a transitive predicate ends in *o*, as is the case of forms carrying the factitive *-o*, it takes the reflexive form *akat*.

harmony process. If the preceding syllable does not have an overt coda (only fricatives and the nasal *n* can act as syllable codas), we obtain -*kët*, -*kut*, and -*kit*. If the preceding syllable ends in a fricative, we obtain -*ëkët*, -*ukut*, and -*ikit*. Finally, if the stem ends in *n*, the allomorphs *mët* and *mëkët* appear in apparently free variation. In the examples in (7–8), we find two instances of the reflexive marker. In (7), it surfaces as -*kut* and attaches to the transitive verb *churu* 'untie', and in (8), it surfaces as -*mët* and attaches to the transitive predicate *bëman* 'touch in the eyes'.

(7)   *matsut-ia=bi*   *kaisa*   *chaxu a=n*
      sweep-S/A>P:SE=EMPH NAR:REP:3 deer   3SG=A
      *churu-**kut**-kwain-kin*   *kaisa*   *xanu*   *xëni-rá*
      untie-REFL-passing:INTR-S/A>A:SE NAR:REP:3 woman old:ABS-DIM
      chaxu=n   *makwëx-akë-x-ín*
      deer=ERG beat.up-REM.PST-3-PROX
      'It is said that, while (the woman) was sweeping, the deer beat her up, untying himself.'

(8)   *kaisa*   *uni*   *ëëëëëë* *ki-i*   *kaisa*
      NAR:REP:3 person:ABS ëëëëëë say:INTR-S/A>S:SE NAR:REP:3
      *bë-man-**akat**-akë-x-ín*
      eyes-touch-REFL-REM.PST-3-PROX
      'It is said that the man touched himself in his eyes saying "ëëëëëë".'

In (9–10), we illustrate the verbs *churu* 'untie' (also in 7) and *bë-man* 'eyes-touch' (also in 8) in their non reflexive usage, proving that these two verbs are lexically transitive.

(9)   *Juan=**nën** ka*   *ain*   *kamun churu-**bëtsin**-a-x-a*
      Juan=ERG NAR:3 3:POSS dog:ABS untie-coming:TR-IPFV-3-NON.PROX
      'Juan untied his dog, while coming.'

(10)   *Juan=nën ka*   *ain*   *kamun bë-man-**bëtsin**-a-x-a*
      Juan=ERG NAR:3 3:POSS dog:ABS eyes-touch-coming:TR-IPFV-3-NON.PROX
      'Juan touched his dog in the eyes, while coming.'

With a few transitive verbs, the reflexive marker is used to build a construction, where the S argument is linked to the patient of the event, and the agent is not overtly expressed. See the example in (11). Although there is not a proper passive construction in Kakataibo, constructions like the one in (11) can be interpreted as passive-like, which are primarily attested with the verb *më* 'beat up'

and, for some speakers, also with *bits* 'pick up' and *mëra* 'find' (this passive interpretation is more widely found in Shipibo-Konibo reflexive constructions; see Valenzuela 2003: 775–800). For many Kakataibo speakers, the passive-like use of the reflexive implies that there is some sort of kinship relationship between the two participants. Thus, there is no coreference relation between the two participants, but there is some sort of inalienable relation, which make them in some way related. See the example in (11), where the only possible interpretation of the passive-like reading is that the agent was the father or the uncle of the patient. In this kind of construction, the Agent cannot be overtly expressed and is always inferred (see Keenan 1985: 253–254 for a brief discussion of reflexives as a cross-linguistically common source for passives). Note that in (11) a reflexive interpretation is also possible.

(11)   *mi=x   kamina më-**akat**-a-n*
       2SG=S NAR:2   beat.up-REFL-PFV-1/2
       i. 'You were hit (by your father/your uncle).'
       ii. 'You hit yourself.'

3.2 The middle marker

The Kakataibo marker *-t*, glossed as 'middle' in Zariquiey (2018: 308), is not very productive, but it appears in combination with a few transitive verb roots, as a valence decreasing and transitivity reducing strategy. Crucially, as is often the case with so-called middle markers, *-t* in Kakataibo gets both stative (non-reflexive) and reflexive interpretations. For some verbs, one of these functions is not available, as indicted in the examples in Table 3. As can be seen in §3.1, all the allomorphs of the Kakataibo reflexive marker (*-akat*, *-(ë)kët*, *-(u)kut*, *-(i)kit*, *-mët* and *-mëkët*) exhibit a final *t*, which is likely to be diachronically related to the marked glossed here as middle. Note that the reflexive marker discussed in §3.1 does not have a stative interpretation. A further difference between the reflexive and the middle marker is that the former is much more widespread.

As indicated in §2, Kakataibo verbs are lexically either transitive or intransitive. A few roots like *tsó-* 'seat, sit down' or *ërë-* 'light, burn' are not subcategorized for transitivity and are obligatorily combined with one of the suffixes *-n* 'transitive' or *-t* 'intransitive', thus producing pairs of verbs that are distinguished by transitivity. This constitutes an instantiation of what Valenzuela (2017: 416–417) calls "alternative derivation". The marker in the intransitive form in these transitivity-based pairs, *-t*, is the semi-productive middle described in this subsection, and the meaning of the intransitive member of the verb pairs often gets

Table 3: The Kakataibo middle marker

Transitive form	Meaning	Intransitive form	Stative meaning	Reflexive meaning
pëxku	'cure somebody'	*pexku-t*	'become cured'	'cure oneself'
unë	'hide'	*unë-t*	'be hidden'	'hide oneself'
xui	'grill'	*xui-t*	'be grilled'	–
këñu	'finish'	*këñu-t*	'finish up'	–
chuka	'wash'	*chuka-t*	–	'wash oneself'

reflexive-like interpretations, as illustrated in Table 4. The difference between the examples in Tables 3 and 4 has to do with the fact that in Table 3 the unmarked form of the predicate is lexically transitive, whereas in Table 4, both the transitive and the intransitive predicates are equally marked.

Table 4: Example of transitivity alternative derivation in Kakataibo

Etymological root	Transitive form	Meaning	Intransitive form	Meaning
*tsó	*tsón*	'seat'	*tsót*	'sit down, live'
*ërë	*ërën*	'light'	*ërët*	'burn'
*niri	*nirin*	'drag'	*nirit*	crawl'
*nanë	*nanën*	'submerge (sth.)'	*nanët*	'submerge oneself'
*chiki	*chikin*	'take out'	*chikit*	'go out'

4 Reflexive nominals

According to Haspelmath (2023 [this volume]), reflexive nominals are the most prominent type of reflexivizer in the world's languages. Kakataibo exhibits a full paradigm of emphatic pronouns which are etymologically made up of anaphoric (non-reflexive) pronouns combined with the self-intensifier adverbial enclitic *=bi*. According to Haspelmath (2023 [this volume]), the use of emphatic pronouns as reflexive pronouns is well attested cross-linguistically, and König et al. (2005) reported 94 languages (of a total of 168) with identity of reflexive pronouns and emphatic pronouns of the Kakataibo sort. Kakataibo also has another instance of a reflexive nominal: the noun *nami* 'body' may also be used to express agent-patient coreference, or coreference in a minimal clause. Both emphatic pronouns

and the noun *nami* 'body' require the verbal reflexive marker in order to be part of reflexive constructions (but see the example in 16a). Emphatic pronouns are discussed in §4.1, while the instances of the noun *nami* 'body' in reflexive constructions is presented in §4.2.

4.1 Emphatic pronouns

Kakataibo personal pronouns make up a quite complex paradigm. Kakataibo pronouns are associated with two non-singular forms. One can be rendered as archaic (see Zariquiey 2006), whereas the other, which is based on the general plural marker of the language *=kama*, can be considered as innovative. The archaic forms are often interpreted as dual (in the case of 1st and 2nd person) or paucal (in the case of 3rd person) by some speakers, but this interpretation is not systematic. Kakataibo also exhibits a distinction between 1st person plural inclusive and 1st person plural exclusive, which is falling into disuse, but can be reconstructed for the proto-language (Zariquiey 2006). Pronouns in Kakataibo exhibit a tripartite case marking system, where the A, S and P functions are expressed differently (the first two functions are marked by two different enclitics and the last one is unmarked). Kakataibo pronominal forms are presented in Table 5 (adapted from Zariquiey 2018: 177).

Table 5: Personal pronouns in Kakataibo

Person	A	S	P
1sg	*'ë=n*	*'ë=x*	*'ë*
2sg	*mi=n*	*mi=x*	*mi*
3sg	*a=n*	*a=x*	*a*
1du (inclusive)	*nu=n*	*nu=x*	*nu*
1pl (inclusive)	*nukama=n*	*nukama=x*	*nukama*
1pl (exclusive)	*'ëkama=n*	*'ëkama=x*	*'ëkama*
2 (du)	*mitsu=n*	*mitsu=x*	*mitsu*
2pl	*mikama=n*	*mikama=x*	*mikama*
3 (du/paucal)	*atu=n*	*atu=x*	*atu*
3pl	*akama=n*	*akama=x*	*akama*

Kakataibo's personal pronouns can be combined with the adverbial enclitic *=bi* 'emphatic' to produce emphatic pronominal forms, which can be translated as *self*-pronouns into English. Emphatic pronouns with *=bi* seem to some extent

lexicalized. Valenzuela (2003: 188–191) reports for the sister language Shipibo-Konibo that emphatic pronouns can be modified (again) by the enclitic *=bi* producing forms like *ëbi=bi* [1SG:EMPH=EMPH], but so far I have not found equivalent examples in Kakataibo.

Differently from non-empathic pronouns, emphatic ones exhibit a neutral case alignment, according to which they remain unmarked, regardless of their grammatical function. However, the 1st person singular emphatic pronoun can also take a dedicated 'S' marker *=x*, thus producing an example of a horizontal alignment type. This is summarized in Table 6 (taken from Zariquiey 2018: 177).

Table 6: Emphatic personal pronouns in Kakataibo

Person	A	S	P
1SG	*'ëbi*	*'ëbi(=x)*	*'ëbi*
2SG/PL	*mibi*	*mibi*	*mibi*
3SG/PL	*abi*	*abi*	*abi*
1PL	*nubi*	*nubi*	*nubi*

In (12), I illustrate the paradigm of the 1st person emphatic pronoun. In (12a), it appears as the S argument of the intransitive verb *ux* 'sleep'; in (12b) it appears as the A argument of the transitive verb *mëë* 'hit'; and in (12c) the 1st person emphatic pronoun appears as the P argument of the same transitive verb. None of the examples in (12) features a reflexive use of an emphatic pronoun, since the criteria proposed by Haspelmath (2023 [this volume]) are not satisfied: there is no coreference relation with an antecedent with subject function.

(12)   a.   ***'ëbi*=*x***   *kana*   *'ux-a-x-a*
            1SG:EMPH=S NAR:1SG sleep-PFV-3-NON.PROX
            'I myself slept.'

       b.   ***'ëbi***   *kana*   *a*   *mëë-a-x-a*
            1SG:EMPH NAR:1SG 3SG:P hit-PFV-3-NON.PROX
            'I myself hit him.'

       c.   ***'ëbi***   *ka*   *a=n*   *mëë-a-x-a*
            1SG:EMPH NAR:3 3SG:P=A hit-PFV-3-NON.PROX
            'He hit ME (of all people).'

Emphatic pronouns can also be used in combination with the verbal reflexive marker introduced in §3.1, as illustrated in (13a), which is basically synonymous

with (13b), although (13a) is often interpreted with a more volitional and control-ling subject. In any case, it is clear that the reflexive meaning comes from the verbal marker and not from the emphatic pronoun. Note that, due to fact that emphatic pronouns exhibit a neutral alignment type, it is not obvious whether the pronoun is the subject or the object of the construction in (13a), but since the predicate carries the reflexive marker and thus is detransitivized in Kakataibo, we may assume that *abi* in (13a) is a subject pronoun.

(13) a. ***abi***   *ka*   *is-**akat**-a-x-a*
          3SG:EMPH NAR:3 see-REFL-PFV-3-NON.PROX
          i. 'She saw herself (voluntarily).'
          ii. 'He saw himself (voluntarily).'

      b. *a=x*   *ka*   *is-**akat**-a-x-a*
          3SG=S NAR:3 see-REFL-PFV-3-NON.PROX
          i. 'She saw herself.'
          ii. 'He saw himself.'

A slightly different situation is found with reflexive ditransitive constructions, in which the use of an emphatic pronoun does trigger a significant difference in interpretation. Ditransitive predicates use two different reflexive strategies depending on the argument that is coreferential with the subject. If the T (theme) is coreferential with the subject, only the reflexive marker is required. If the R (recipient) is coreferential with the subject, in addition to the reflexive marker, an emphatic pronoun is required. Therefore, non-emphatic pronouns in reflexivized ditransitives always trigger a co-reference relation between the subject and the T argument (a T-reflexive), whereas emphatic ones systematically trigger a co-reference relation between the subject and the R argument (a R-reflexive). This is illustrated in (14). In (14a), the non-emphatic pronoun triggers a T-reflexive, whereas in (14b), the emphatic pronoun triggers a R-reflexive.

(14) a. *'ë=x*   *kana*   *'inan-**mët**-i-n*
          1SG=S NAR:1SG give-REFL-IPFV-1/2
          'I will give myself (to someone else).'
          *'I will give (something) to myself.'

      b. *'**ëbi**=x*   *kana*   *'inan-mët-i-n*
          1SG:EMPH=S NAR:1SG give-REFL-IPFV-1/2
          'I will give (something) to myself.'
          *'I will give myself (to someone else).'

The 1ˢᵗ person emphatic pronominal form *'ëbi* in (14b) lacks an identifiable antecedent and both the pronominal form in (14a) and the one in (14b) are subjects. The reflexive meaning in both examples comes from the verbal reflexivizer. The use of a non-emphatic pronoun in (14a) and an emphatic one in (14b) only triggers a different type coreference relation: in (14a) the Subject is coreferential with T, whereas in (14b) the Subject is coreferential with R.

A more prototypical instance of an emphatic pronoun used as a reflexive pronoun follow in (15a). In (15a), we find an example of an emphatic pronoun occurring as a reflexive object and it is clear that there is an antecedent which is crucially the subject of the clause. For this function to be accomplished by an emphatic pronoun, two requirements are in order: (i) the subject cannot be itself an emphatic pronoun (see 15b); and (ii) the verb must carry itself a reflexive marker (see 15c). The fact that the (15c) is ungrammatical reveals that emphatic pronouns are not a truly reflexive pronouns, but just emphatic pronouns used in reflexive constructions.

(15)   a.   *'ë=x*   *kana*   *'ëbi*   *is-akat-i-n*
           1SG=S NAR:1SG 1SG:EMPH see-REFL-IPFV-1/2
           'I look at myself.'

     b. * *'ëbi=x*   *kana*   *'ëbi*   *is-akat-i-n*
           1SG:EMPH=S NAR:1SG 1SG:EMPH see-REFL-IPFV-1/2
           'I look at myself.'

     c. * *'ë=x*   *kana*   *'ëbi*   *is-i-n*
           1SG=S NAR:1SG 1SG:EMPH see-IPFV-1/2
           'I look at myself.'

A more prototypical use of an emphatic pronoun as a reflexive pronoun can be found with the intransitive verb *bana* 'speak'. In this case, the requirement of the presence of a verbal reflexivizer does not apply since the verbal reflexive marker can only be combined with transitives and ditransitives (16a). Note, however, that the restriction regarding the use of an emphatic pronoun in the subject position holds (16b). It would be interesting to explore if such construction is applicable with other intransitives.

(16)   a.   *'ë=x*   *kana*   *'ëbi*   *bana-i-n*
           1SG=S NAR:1SG 1SG:EMPH speak-IPFV-1/2
           'I speak to myself.'

b. * ***'ëbi**=x*   *kana*   ***'ëbi***   *bana-i-n*
       1SG:EMPH=S NAR:1SG 1SG:EMPH speak-IPFV-1/2
       'I speak to myself.'

The examples in (15a) and (16a) feature instances of emphatic pronouns being used in reflexive constructions. It is important to note, however, that in both examples the predicate needs to be intransitive, either because of the presence of a reflexive marker in the verb (15a), or because the verb is already intransitive (16a). Only the example in (16a) might be seen as a true instance of an emphatic pronoun being used as a proper reflexive pronoun, since in (15a), although we do find co-reference with the subject, there is a reflexive marker in the verb. The example in (16a) is highly idiosyncratic and it might be a very special use exclusively associated with the verb *bana* 'say'.

With the exception of (16a), all the cases of emphatic pronouns in reflexive constructions, even those ones with a co-referential subject in the same clause require the use of an external reflexivizer: a verbal reflexive. This suggests that emphatic pronouns are not reflexive pronouns. One may hypothesize a future stage in which the verbal reflexive marker is not required anymore and thus truly reflexive pronouns are developed in Kakataibo. This stage, however, has not occurred in the language (with the exception of the highly idiosyncratic example in (16a).

4.2 *Nami* 'body'

With some transitive verbs, Kakataibo exhibits a construction in which the word *nami* 'body' is used to express a co-referentiality relation equivalent to the one associated with reflexive constructions. Languages of world often exhibit reflexive pronouns etymologically related to nouns with meanings like 'body' or 'head' (Schladt 2000; Haspelmath 2023 [this volume]). In the case of Kakataibo, the use of *nami* 'body' as part of reflexive constructions requires it to be explicitly accompanied by a possessive pronoun (the possessive pronoun has to be coreferential with the subject of the verb) and it also needs to carry the emphatic marker =*bi*. This is illustrated in (17). Note that a non-reflexive interpretation ('his own body') was also given in elicitation.

(17)   *Juan ka*   *ain*   *nami=**bi***   *is-i-a*
      Juan NAR:3 3SG:GEN body:ABS=EMPH see-IPFV-NON.PROX
      i. 'Juan sees himself.'
      ii. 'Juan sees his own body.'

As in the case of the emphatic pronouns discussed in §3.1, it is clear that the coreference interpretation associated with the reflexive meaning in (16) comes from an external element, in this case the possessive pronoun and the emphatic marker =*bi*. Therefore, the use of *nami* 'body' as a reflexive nominal has not been fully grammaticalized.

5 Conclusions

The present chapter has discussed the main strategies for expressing reflexive meanings in Kakataibo. The language exhibits a productive verbal reflexive voice marker, which is used on transitive verbs in order to indicate coreferentiality between their two participants (which also detransitivizes the verb). The middle marker of the language, -*t*, also gets reflexive overtones with some predicates, but is not fully productive. Kakataibo also has constructions that may be seen as reflexive nominals. These include the use of emphatic pronouns and the use of the noun *nami* 'body' with transitive predicates to express reflexive meanings. The reflexive interpretation of emphatic pronouns requires the presence of the reflexive marker, whereas the reflexive use of the noun *nami* 'body' requires the possessive marker and the emphatic clitic =*bi*. This fact suggests that they are not proper reflexive nominals but elements that contribute to the interpretation of reflexive constructions, in which the co-referentiality component of the meaning comes from a different element. Their need for some extra markers of co-reference (a reflexive marker or a possessive pronoun) suggests that in Kakataibo there are not fully grammatical nominal reflexives. How should we refer to the reflexive uses of the emphatic pronouns and the noun *nami* 'body' in Kakataibo? What does it imply for such nominal elements that they can participate in reflexive constructions only the condition that the verbal reflexive is also there? Answering such questions may have consequences for our understanding of reflexive nominals as a descriptive category and the nature of nominal reflexives in languages which already have a reflexive verbal marker.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

This chapter follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al. 2008). Additional abbreviations used are:

A	most agentive participant of a transitive predicate	R	recipient-like argument of a ditransitive predicate
DIM	diminutive	REM.PST	remote past
EMPH	emphatic	REP	reportative
NAR	narrative	SE	simultaneous event
NON.PROX	non-proximal to the addressee	T	theme argument of a ditransitive predicate

References

Comrie, Bernard, Martin Haspelmath & Balthasar Bickel. 2008. *The Leipzig glossing rules: Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses*. Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology & Department of Linguistics of Leipzig University. Leipzig.

d'Ans, Marcel. 1973. Reclasificación de las lenguas pano y datos glotocronológicos para la etnohistoria de la Amazonía peruana [Reclassification of Pano languages and glottochronological data for the ethnohistory of Peruvian Amazonia]. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 39. 349–369.

Dixon, R. M. W. & Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald. 2000. Introduction. In R. M. W. Dixon & Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (eds.), *Changing valency: Case studies in transitivity*, 1–29. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fleck, David W. 2013. *Panoan languages and linguistics* (Anthropological papers of the American Museum of Natural History, no. 99). New York, NY: American Museum of Natural History.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2023. Comparing reflexive constructions in the world's languages. In Katarzyna Janic, Nicoletta Puddu & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *Reflexive constructions in the world's languages*, 19–62. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.7874925.

Keenan, Edward. 1985. Passive in the world's languages. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, vol. 1, 243–281. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

König, Ekkehard, Peter Siemund & Stephan Töpper. 2005. Intensifiers and reflexives. In Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil & Bernard Comrie (eds.), *The world atlas of language structures*, 194–197. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://wals.info/chapter/47.

Loos, Eugene. 1999. Pano. In R. M. W. Dixon & Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (eds.), *The Amazonian languages*, 227–250. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schladt, Mathias. 2000. The typology and grammaticalization of reflexives. In Zygmunt Frajzyngier & Traci S. Curl (eds.), *Reflexives: Forms and functions*, 103–124. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Shell, Olive A. 1965. *Pano reconstruction.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. (Doctoral dissertation).

Tessmann, Günter. 1930. *Die Indianer Nordost-Perus: Grundlegende Forschungen für eine systematische Kulturkunde.* Hamburg: Mouton de Gruyter & Co.

Valenzuela, Pilar M. 2003. *Transitivity in Shipibo-Konibo grammar.* Eugene: University of Oregon. (Doctoral dissertation).

Valenzuela, Pilar M. 2017. Armonía transitiva en las lenguas Pano y Takana [Transitive harmony in Pano and Takana languages]. *Amerindia* 39(2). 409–454.

Zariquiey, Roberto. 2006. *Hacia una reconstrucción del sistema personal del proto-pano: Aspectos fonológicos y morfológicos* [Towards a reconstruction of the personal system of Proto-Pano: Phonological and morphological aspects]. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. (MA thesis).

Zariquiey, Roberto. 2011. Hacia una dialectología del idioma Kakataibo [Towards a dialectology of the Kakataibo language]. *Lexis* 35(1). 5–46.

Zariquiey, Roberto. 2013. Tessmann's <Nokamán>: A linguistic characterization of a mysterious Pano group. *Cadernos de Etnolinguistica* 5(2). 1–46.

Zariquiey, Roberto. 2017. Objects, quasi-objects and oblique objects in Kakataibo (Panoan, Peru). *International Journal of American Linguistics* 83. 719–741.

Zariquiey, Roberto. 2018. *A grammar of Kakataibo.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.