

## Second position pronominal clitics in Takanan languages: descriptive and comparative-historical perspectives

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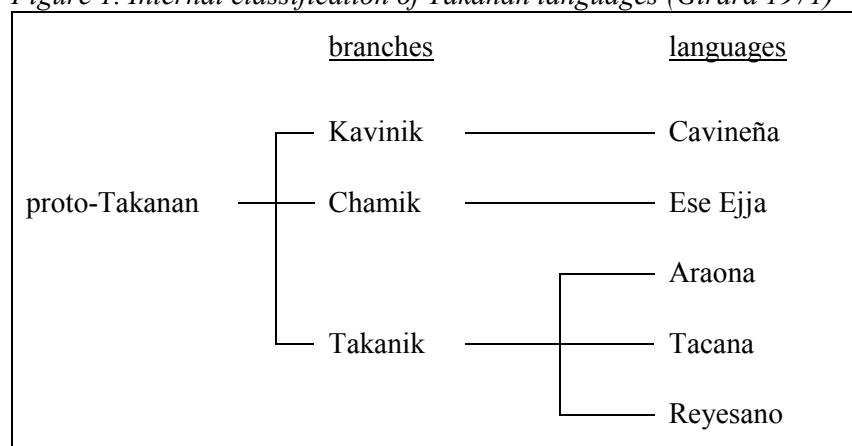
### 1 Introduction to the Takanan languages

*Table 1. Takanan languages (figures from Crevels & Muysken 2009)*

name	location	no. speakers	no. ethnic group	main grammatical studies on the languages
Cavineña	Bolivia	601	1683	Camp & Liccardi (1989), Guillaume (2008)
Ese Ejja	Bolivia & Peru	518	732	Vuillermet (2012)
Araona	Bolivia	111	158	Pitman (1980), Emkow (2006)
Tacana	Bolivia	50	7345	Guillaume (2013; fieldnotes 2009-2013)
Reyesano	Bolivia	12	4019	Guillaume (2009; 2012; field-notes 2004-2008)



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



(Basis: phonological reconstruction based on word lists from 19<sup>th</sup> century travellers + 1950-60 missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics)

## 2 Starting point: elaborate 2P clitic system of Cavineña

### 2.1 General properties

Language with syntactically free constituent order

**2P clitics** = among few elements with rigid syntactic position in the clause, right after the first constituent

(1) Cavineña

A	=O	V	O	
<i>Iba=ra</i>	<b>=tu</b>	<i>iye-chine</i>	<i>takure.</i>	A=CL V O
jaguar=ERG	=3SG(ABS)	kill-REC.PAST	chicken(ABS)	

'The jaguar killed the chicken.' (elicited)

(1') Cavineña

a. <i>Iba=ra</i>	<b>=tu</b>	<i>takure</i>	<i>iye-chine.</i>	A=CL O V
b. <i>Takure</i>	<b>=tu</b>	<i>iye-chine</i>	<i>iba=ra.</i>	O=CL V A
c. <i>Takure</i>	<b>=tu</b>	<i>iba=ra</i>	<i>iye-chine.</i>	O=CL A V
d. <i>Iye-chine</i>	<b>=tu</b>	<i>iba=ra</i>	<i>takure.</i>	V=CL A O
e. <i>Iye-chine</i>	<b>=tu</b>	<i>takure</i>	<i>iba=ra.</i>	V=CL O A

Phonological properties:

- no phonological independence
- enclitics: form a phonological word together with the last phonological word of the 1<sup>st</sup> constituent of clause<sup>1</sup>

(1'') Cavineña

[ <i>ibálatu</i>		<i>íjétcine</i>	<i>tákùlè]</i>
<i>Iba=ra</i>	<b>=tu</b>	<i>iye-chine</i>	<i>takure.</i>
jaguar=ERG	=3SG(ABS)	kill-REC.PAST	chicken(ABS)

'The jaguar killed the chicken.' (elicited)

Typology: "2D" clitics (Halpern 1995)<sup>2</sup> → after the first phrase / syntactic constituent

(2) Cavineña

[ <i>Peadya takure</i> ]	<b>=tu</b>	<i>iba=ra</i>	<i>iye-chine.</i>	*[ <i>Peadya =tu takure</i> ]....
one	chicken	=3SG	jaguar=ERG	kill-REC.PAST

'The jaguar killed one chicken.' (elicited)

<sup>1</sup> **2P enclitics** are written separated from their host by a space, by contrast to **phrase level enclitics** which are written immediately attached to their host (although prosodically, both types of enclitics are identically attached to their host).

<sup>2</sup> 2D = 'second (constituent) daughter', as opposed to 2W = 'second word' (Halpern 1995:15; cited in Spencer & Luis 2012:48).

Further examples (from natural texts)

- (3) Cavineña: after independent pronoun

*Era =tu duju-ya=ama.*  
1SG.ERG =3SG take-IMPV=NEG  
'I'm not taking it.' lg029

- (4) Cavineña: after NP

a. *Eskupeta =bakwe =Ø ina-nuka-ya=dya.*  
shotgun =CONTR =1SG grab-REITR-IMPV=FOC  
'Shotguns, I handle (lit. grab) too.' sl085

b. [*Jeeke ebakwapiji=ra=dya*] =yatse duju-chine.  
this young\_child=ERG=FOC] =1DL take-REC.PAST  
'It is this young child who took us (to the other side of the river in his canoe).' ft010

- (5) Cavineña: after PP

*Kunu=eke =ni ekatse tsura-ya.*  
liana=PERL =MAYBE 3DL go.up-IMPV  
'They would probably climb along lianas.' hm026

- (6) Cavineña: after main verb

*Diru-ya =pa =tu [tuja epu=ju].*  
go-IMPV =REP =3SG 3SG.GEN village=LOC  
'He said he is going back to his community.' n1.0415

- (7) Cavineña: after adverbial constituents

- a. time adverbial

*Tumepatya =tu ani-nuka-kware ujeje-da=ke.*  
at.that.time =3SG sit-REITR-REM.PAST sick-ASF=REL  
'At that time there was someone sick (lit. a sick one).' ao101

- b. subordinate clause

[*Tura=kamadya ijete jipe-kware=tibu*] =pa =tu pude-da.  
3SG.ERG=RESTR sun approach-REM.PAST=REASON =REP =3SG red/brown-ASF  
'Because he approached the sun, he is red/brown.' hi009

Semantic content: 2 classes

1. **Particle clitics**: epistemic modality, evidentiality, discourse status, speaker attitude, etc. (10 forms; Table 2)
2. **Pronominal clitics**: person / number / grammatical function of the predicate arguments (36 forms; Table 3)

Table 2. Cavineña 2P *particle clitics* (Guillaume 2008:638ff)

Epistemic modal.	=ni	‘MAYBE’	‘speaker not fully certain of what he says’
	=masa	‘SEEMINGLY’	‘proposition similar to another proposition’
Evidentiality	=pa	‘REP’	‘reportative, speaker heard the information from someone else’
	=tukwe	‘CONT.EVID’	‘proposition is true despite the evidence’
Discourse	=di(dya)	‘STRG.EMPH’	‘strong emphasis’
	=taa	‘EMPH’	‘emphatic, speaker expressing mild surprise’
	=bakwe	‘CONTR’	‘contrast’
Referential scope	=jatsu	‘EXACTLY’	‘only found in interrogative clauses, speaker requesting a very precise answer’
Speakers attitude	=shana	‘PITY’	‘speaker feels pity/empathy for one of the participants’
Manner	=datse	‘FRUST’	‘frustrative, action performed in vain’

Table 3: Cavineña 2P *pronominal clitics* (Guillaume 2006; 2008:574ff; 2010)

	S/O	A	DAT
1sg	=ike ~ =Ø	=era ~ =Ø	=ekwe
2sg	=mike ~ =mi	=mira ~ =mi	=mikwe
3sg	=tuke ~ =tu	=tura ~ =tu	=tuja
3sg.prox	=rike ~ =ri	=riyara ~ =riya	=reja
1dl	=yatse	=yatsera ~ =yatse	=yatseja
2dl	=metse	=metsera ~ =metse	=metseja
3dl	=tatse	=tatsera ~ =tatse	=tatseja
3dl.prox	=retse	=retsera ~ =retse	=retseja
1pl.in	=ekwana	=ekwanara ~ =ekwana	=ekwanaja
2pl	=mikwana	=mikwanara ~ =mikwana	=mikwanaja
3pl	=tuna	=tunara ~ =tuna	=tunaja
3pl.prox	=rena	=renara ~ =rena	=renaja

Clause types:

- normally in **main declarative or interrogative clauses** (verbal or copular, affirmative or negative)
- normally not in **imperative clauses** and **dependent (subordinate) clauses**

Ordering rules in clitic clusters:

- Particle clitics always before pronominal clitics

(8) Cavineña

*Ai =jatsu =tuke =mi ara-wa?*  
 INT =EXACTLY =3SG =2SG eat-PERF  
 ‘But what exactly did you eat?’ lv032

- Rigid positions within the 2 classes:

(9) Cavineña relative position within class of particle clitics (Guillaume 2008:657ff)

[=datse =tukwe =di(dya) =shana =bakwe =ni =pa =taa]  
 =FRUST =CONT.EVID =STRG.EMPH =PITY =CONTR =MAYBE =REP =EMPH

## 2.2 2P pronominal clitics

**2P pronominal clitics** (Table 3) versus **independent pronouns** (Table 4).

Similarities between **2P pronominal clitics** and **independent pronouns**:

- identical segmental make-up for a majority of the forms (except in 3sg.prox forms)
- identical semantic distinctions
  - grammatical function: ABS (S/O), ERG (A), DAT (possessor, beneficiary, experiencer)
  - person: 1, 2, 3, 3prox
  - number: sg, dl, pl
- not obligatory
- distinction not made in earlier descriptions (Camp 1985; Camp & Liccardi 1989)

Table 4: Cavineña **independent pronouns** (Guillaume 2006; 2008:565ff; 2010)

	S/O	A	DAT
1sg	<i>ike</i>	<i>era</i>	<i>ekwe</i>
2sg	<i>mike</i>	<i>mira</i>	<i>mikwe</i>
3sg	<i>tuke</i>	<i>tura</i>	<i>tuja</i>
3sg.prox	<i>riyake</i>	<i>riyara</i>	<i>riyaja</i>
1dl	<i>yatse</i>	<i>yatsera</i>	<i>yatseja</i>
2dl	<i>metse</i>	<i>metsera</i>	<i>metseja</i>
3dl	<i>tatse</i>	<i>tatsera</i>	<i>tatseja</i>
3dl.prox	<i>retse</i>	<i>retsera</i>	<i>retseja</i>
1pl	<i>ekwana</i>	<i>ekwanara</i>	<i>ekwanaja</i>
2pl	<i>mikwana</i>	<i>mikwanara</i>	<i>mikwanaja</i>
3pl	<i>tuna</i>	<i>tunara</i>	<i>tunaja</i>
3pl.prox	<i>rena</i>	<i>renara</i>	<i>renaja</i>

Differences between **2P pronominal clitics** and **independent pronouns**:

Table 5: Phonological, morphological and syntactic differences between 2P pronominal clitics and independent pronouns in Cavineña

2P pronominal clitics	Independent pronouns
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• unstressed (clitics)</li> <li>• strict position in 2<sup>nd</sup> position in the clause</li> <li>• strict position within clusters; see (10a,b)</li> <li>• only in main declarative or interrogative clauses</li> <li>• variant forms (morphophonologically conditioned)</li> <li>• accessible referents / continuing topic</li> <li>• <u>agreement</u> with co-referential NP or indep. pronoun</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• stressed</li> <li>• typically in 1<sup>st</sup> position in the clause (see (3)), but possible elsewhere</li> <li>• in any type of clause (main or depend.)</li> <li>• single form</li> <li>• contrastive referents (focus or topic)</li> <li>• <u>complementary distribution</u> with co-ref. NP or (other) indep. pronoun</li> </ul>

Pronominal clitics clusters :

- Many possible combinations of ABS, ERG and DAT
- Ordering principles: [**3<sup>rd</sup> person - 2<sup>nd</sup> person - 1<sup>st</sup> person**] regardless of grammatical function



### 3 2P pronominal forms in Ese Ejja, Araona, Tacana and Reyesano

Two types of pronominal elements:

- ‘strict’ 2P pronominal clitics, very few (§3.1)
- 2P weak pronoun, more common (§3.2)

#### 3.1 Strict 2P pronominal clitics

Strict = phonologically unstressed

Ese Ejja, Araona, Tacana and Reyesano have **2P clitics** quite similar to those of Cavineña.

(12) Ese Ejja

[*Seiler=ja eki-shasha-kibo=jo*] =*se* *jaa-jya-ñaki-ani*.  
Seiler=GEN house-flower-surroundings=LOC =**1INCL.ABS** lie-DEPR-COME\_TRS&DO-PRS  
‘Around the flowery house of the Seiler **we** lie when we arrive.’ (Vuillermet 2012:319)

(13) Araona

*Diji=a* =*mi*<sup>3</sup> *e-izi-ta-ni*.  
mosquito=ERG =**2SG** AFIRM-drink-3A-PROG  
‘The mosquito is biting (lit. drinking) **you**.’ (Pitman 1980:15)

(14) Tacana

*Yama* =*mida* [*ye kema pisa=neje*] *e-jemi-ute*.  
1SG.ERG =**2SG** this 1SG.GEN weapon=INSTR FUT-remove-GO\_DOWN  
‘I will take **you** down (from the tree) with my arrow.’ lo039

(15) Reyesano

[*Seukwa mara*] =*mi* *kupari?*  
how\_much year =**2SG** compadre  
‘How old are **you** compadre? (lit. how many years are you?)” cp020

Similarities with Cavineña 2P clitics:

- phonologically unstressed / enclitics
- same syntactic position: “2D” type (Halpern 1995)
- same 2 classes: particle and pronominal clitics / same ordering pattern [particle-pronominal]
- same types of clauses: **main declarative or interrogative clauses** with same free constituent order

Differences with Cavineña 2P clitics:

- inventories of 2P pronominal clitics very reduced as compared to the Cavineña one (see Table 6)
- systems fairly heterogenous in term of semantic distinctions encoded and productivity
- no instances of clitic clusters
- no instances of agreement with a co-referential NP or independent pronoun

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<sup>3</sup> Not that there is no information on the phonological status of Araona pronominal form *mi* ‘2SG’. Here, I will assume that it is phonologically dependent, by analogy to the cognate form =*mi* in the other four languages.

Table 6: 2P pronominal clitics in Ese Ejja, Araona, Tacana and Reyesano<sup>4</sup>

	Ese Ejja		Araona		Tacana		Reyesano
	S/O	A	S/O	A	S/O	A	S
1sg	= <i>mo</i> ~ = <i>iña</i>	—	—	= <i>ya</i> (?)	—	—	—
2sg	= <i>mi</i>	= <i>miña</i>	= <i>mi</i>		= <i>mida</i> ~ = <i>mid</i> ~ = <i>mi</i>		= <i>mi</i>
3sg/3sg.prox	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1dl.in			—	—	—		
1dl.ex			—	—	—		
2dl			—	—	= <i>metse</i>		
3dl/3dl.prox			—	—	—		
1pl.in	= <i>se</i>	= <i>sea</i>	—	—	= <i>ekwana</i> ~ = <i>ekwa</i>		—
1pl.ex	—	—	—	—	= <i>ekwana(j)u</i>		—
2pl	—	—	—	—	—		—
3pl/3pl.prox	—	—	—	—	—		—

Summary:

- All languages have a 2P clitic for 2SG
- 2 languages – Araona & Reyesano – don't (seem to have) more 2P clitics
- 2 languages – Ese Ejja & Tacana – there is a 2P clitic for 1PL
- In 3 languages – Ese Ejja, Araona & Reyesano – the 2SG is very rare (few ritualized expressions)

Material reconstructible:

- 2P pronominal clitic: =*mi* (identical shape & meaning in all Takanan languages)
- 2P system (construction):
  - same basic properties
  - (at least) one other 2P non-pronominal form reconstructible, =*pa* 'REP' (see (6) and (7b))

Material not reconstructible as compared to the independent pronouns in the languages:

- no correspondance: Ese Ejja =*mo* ~ =*iña* vs. *eya* '1SG'
- partial correspondance: Ese Ejja =*se*/=*sea* vs. *esea* / *eseaya* '1PL'
- perfect correspondance: Ese Ejja =*miña* vs. *miña* '2SG' and almost all the forms in Tacana

Conclusion:

- evidence for an old system of 2P clitics (particles + pronominals) in proto-Takanan
- evidence for the recent elaboration/expansion of the old 2P system in at least Cavineña and Tacana and Ese Ejja, by way of independent pronouns

<sup>4</sup> Information probably incomplete for Araona and Tacana.



### 3.2 2P weak pronouns

**2P weak pronouns** = intermediate category between **independent pronouns** and **2P pronominal clitics**

Phenomenon only well studied in **Tacana** (but strongly suspected to be present in Ese Ejja, Araona, and Reyesano as well).

Properties shared with as independent pronouns:

- same inventory of forms minus the 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms
- phonologically stressed/independent
- no instances of agreement with a co-referential NP or independent pronoun
- highly frequent (even more frequent than in 1<sup>st</sup> position)

Properties shared with 2P pronominal clitics:

- position right after and within same intonational contour as the first constituent of a main clause (“2D” type; Halpern 1995)
- same intonation contour with first constituent
- variant forms (and possible case neutralization)
- accessible referents / continuing topic

Illustrative examples from **Tacana** with 1SG:

(16) Tacana

a. *Jiawe =da yama e-manuame.*  
now =TOP **1SG.ERG** FUT-kill  
‘Now **I** will kill him.’ au237

b. [*Tusa ete=su*] **ema** *dusu-ta-idha*  
3SG.GEN casa=LOC **1SG** FUT-transport-A3-REM.PAST  
‘He took **me** to his house.’ au178

c. [*Mi=e-bianetia=puji*] **ema** *pue-iti-a...*  
2SG=IMPFV-protect=PURP **1SG** come-PVV-PAST  
‘**I** came to protect you...’ pe019

(17) Tacana

a. [*Ye waka biti=neje*] =mida **yama** *e-manuame.*  
this cow skin=ASSOC =2SG **1SG.ERG** FUT-kill  
‘I’m going to kill you with this whip.’ au285

b. *Ai=puji =mida ema tuajududu-iti-a?*  
what=PURP =2SG **1SG** run\_away\_from-PFV-PAST  
‘Why did you run away from **me**?’ os059

Example of case neutralization:

(18) Tacana

*Tueda =beu ema, piada dia-idha.*  
this =PERF 1SG one eat-REM.PAST  
'This is what I ate, one (empanada).' su066

Ese Ejja, Araona and Reyesano:

- phenomenon of '2P weak pronouns' not studied
- but strongly suspected to be present, as suggested by the very high frequency of patterning of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person 'independent pronouns' in grammatical descriptions (Ese Ejja<sup>5</sup> and Araona) and in my own text corpus (Reyesano)

(19) Ese Ejja

a. *Ekwe='ai eyaya ba-ñaki-naje.*  
1SG.GEN=old\_sister 1SG.ERG see-COME\_TRS&DO-PAST  
'I saw my elder sister when I arrived (before going again).' (Vuillermet 2012:307)

b. *Apyoxi miyaya e-sho'i=kyana woojya-naje?*  
WHAT\_FOR 2SG.ERG NPF-child=PL send-PAS  
'What for did you send the children (to bathe)?' (Vuillermet 2012:587)

(20) Araona

a. *Becata yama pia tí-shao-bo-ani.*  
later\_on 1SG.ERG arrow AFIRM.give-COME\_AND\_RETURN-SIGNIF-FUT  
'Later on I will come back and give you the arrow.'<sup>6</sup> (Pitman 1980:93)

b. *Zoto=a midya di-bo-jae.*  
jaguar=ERG 2SG eat-SIGNIF-DESID  
'The jaguar want to eat you.' (Pitman 1980:83)

(21) Reyesano

a. *M-a-ba(-a) te<sup>7</sup> eme dai-me-in te bakwa.*  
1SG-PAST-see-PAST BM 1SG good-ASF-AUGM BM viper  
'I saw the viper very well.' pu023

b. *Sebata te miwe?*  
how.are.you BM 2SG  
'How are you?' ar015

<sup>5</sup> A count (not available to me) conducted by Marine Vuillermet on one of her Ese Ejja texts data revealed that in 33 occurrences of an 'independent' pronoun, 15 were found in first position, **15 in second position**, and 3 in other positions (Marine Vuillermet p.c.).

<sup>6</sup> The original, in Spanish, is 'Más tarde vendré otra vez y le daré la flecha.'

<sup>7</sup> *te* is 'Boundary Marker' clitic, used to mark the boundary between constituents. It does not count as a clausal constituent.

Revised inventory of 2P pronominal forms, including weak pronouns:

Table 7: 2P clitics and weak pronominal forms in Ese Ejja, Araona and Tacana (tentative)

	Ese Ejja		Araona		Tacana		Reyesano
	S/O	A	S/O	A	S/O	A	S/O/A
1sg	<i>eya</i> =mo ~ =iña	<i>eyaya</i>	<i>ema</i>	<i>yama</i> =ya (?)	<i>ema</i>	<i>yama</i>	<i>eme</i>
2sg	<i>miya</i> =mi	= <i>miyaya</i> =miña	<i>midya</i> =mi		= <i>mida</i> ~ = <i>mid</i> ~ = <i>mi</i>		<i>miwe</i> =mi
3sg/3sg.prox	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1dl.in			—	—	<i>etseda</i>		
1dl.ex			—	—	<i>etse(j)u</i>		
2dl			—	—	<i>metse</i> = <i>metse</i>		
3dl/3dl.prox			—	—	—		
1pl.in	<i>esea</i> = <i>se</i>	— = <i>sea</i>	<i>kwada</i>	<i>kwadaja</i>	= <i>ekwana</i> ~ = <i>ekwa</i>		<i>ekama</i>
1pl.ex	<i>ekwana</i>	<i>ekwa(na)a</i>	<i>kwama</i>	<i>kwamaja</i>	<i>ekwana(j)u</i> = <i>ekwana(j)u</i>		<i>mika(we)</i>
2pl	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3pl/3pl.prox	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

### 3.3 Summary

Differences between **2P pronominal clitics**, **2P weak pronouns** and **independent pronouns**:

Table 8: Phonological, morphological and syntactic differences between 2P pronominal clitic pronouns, 2P weak pronouns and independent pronouns in Cavineña

2P pronominal clitics	2P weak pronouns	Independent pronouns
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>unstressed</li> <li>2<sup>nd</sup> position in the clause</li> <li>variant forms</li> <li>continuing topic</li> <li>agreement possible</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>stressed</li> <li>2<sup>nd</sup> position in the clause</li> <li>variant forms</li> <li>continuing topic</li> <li>no agreement possible</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>stressed</li> <li>1<sup>st</sup> position in the clause or elsewhere</li> <li><u>no</u> variant forms</li> <li>contrastive referents</li> <li>no agreement possible</li> </ul>

## 4 Conclusions

Proto-Takanan:

- evidence for an old system of 2P clitics (particles + pronominals) in proto-Takanan
- no clue whether it consisted of the only reconstructible clitic =*mi* ‘2SG’ or whether it contained more forms (which were lost)<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> In Guillaume (Forthcoming) I argue that the inflectional verb prefixes of Reyesano *m-* ‘1SG’, *mi-* ‘2SG’, *k-* ‘1PL’ and *mik-* ‘2PL’ arose out of an earstwhile system of 2P pronominal clitics, which included at least the reconstructible =*mi*, and perhaps others.

## Modern-day languages

- traces of the old system (at least 1 form retained, perhaps more?)
- evidence for the recent expansion (or renewal?) of the old 2P system in most of the languages, via the grammaticalization of independent pronouns → weak pronouns → 2P clitics

## Areal perspective:

- 2P pronominal and particle clitics & attested in several Panoan languages (geographically and typologically close, and genetically possibly related) (Valenzuela & Guillaume à paraître)

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