[Text version of database, created 21/02/2016].

Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Cahuapanan group (Cahuapanan family).

<u>Languages included:</u> Shiwilu (Jebero) [kwp-jeb]; Shawi (Chayahuita) [kwp-chy].

DATA SOURCES

Valenzuela 2011 = Valenzuela Bismarck, Pilar. *Contribuciones para la reconstrucción del Proto-Cahuapana: comparación léxica y gramatical de las lenguas jebero y chayahuita.* **In:** ARU, SIMI, TAQU, LENGUA: Estudios en homenaje a Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino (eds.: Willem F. H. Adelaar and Pilar Valenzuela Bismarck and Roberto Zariquiey Biondi), pp. 271–304. Lima: Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. // *A pioneer work dedicated to the phonological reconstruction of Proto-Cahuapanan. Comparanda are extremely limited. The proposed reconstruction does not shed much light on syllable codas and non-trivial correspondences between vowels.*

I. Shiwilu

DSCCS = Valenzuela Bismarck, Pilar. *Kirka' Lawer'lla'la' Ñak. Diccionario shiwilu-castellano, castellano-shiwilu.* Draft version. Available online at <https://www.yumpu.com/en/-document/view/12139574/shiwilu-dictionary/5> // *A rather comprehensive dictionary of Shiwilu. Each entry contains an example of usage.*

Madalengoitia 2013 = Madalengoitia Barúa, María Gracia. *Bosquejo fonológico de la lengua jebero (shiwilu).* Master's thesis. Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. // *A short description of Shiwilu phonology. The words are cited without any context.*

II. Shawi

Hart 1988 = Hart, Helen. *Diccionario chayahuita-castellano. Canponanquë nisha nisha nonacaso'.* Lima: Instituto Linguístico de Verano. Serie Lingüística Peruana No. 29. // *A dictionary of Shawi with a short grammatical description; some entries are accompanied by*

examples.

NOTES

I. Shiwilu.

Shiwilu is a critically endangered language spoken by approximately 30 people in and around the village of Jeberos (District of Jeberos, Province of Alto Amazonas, Loreto Region, Perú).

The data from [DSCCS] and [Madalengoitia] are normally in accordance (slight differences concerning glottalization are present).

The transcription used in the database is phonetic. Stress and preglottalization are fully predictable and not indicated, though. The correspondences between the orthography and the transcription are presented below.

UTS	Orthography	Comments
p	p	
b	p	after *m* {n}
m	m	
w	w	
t	t	
d	t	after *n* {n}
n	n	in onsets
m	n	before *b* {p}
ɲ	n	syllable-finally ǯ {ch}
ŋ	n	syllable-finally before a pause, a nasal consonant or *g* {k}
s	s	
ɾ	r	
ɾʼ	r'	
l	l	
ð	d	a denti-alveolar (not interdental) approximant

UTS	Orthography	Comments
č	ch	
ǯ	ch	after ɲ {n}
ɲ	ñ	
š	sh	
ʎ	ll	
-ʎʎ-	ll	after ə {e}
y	y	
k	k	preglottalized in coda position after ə {e}
kʷ	ku	
g	k	after ŋ {n}
ʔ	'	
a	a	
u	u	
i	i	
ə	e	

II. Shawi.

Shawi is spoken by several thousand people in the Province of Alto Amazonas, Loreto Region, Perú between the Marañón and Huallaga rivers and the eastern slopes of the Andes.

Preaspiration is not indicated in the orthography; however, its presence is noted by underlying the preceding vowel in the Shawi-Spanish part of the dictionary. The correspondences between the transcription and the orthography are as follows:

UTS	Orthography
p	p
m	m
w	hu
t	t
n	n

UTS	Orthography
ɾ	r
č	ch
š	sh
y	y
k	k
h	no graphical representation
ʔ	'
a	a
i	i
u	o
ɨ	ë
ã	an
ĩ	in
ũ	on
ɨ̃	ën

III. Proto-Cahuapanan.

The reconstruction is ours, based on the preliminary reconstruction by [Valenzuela]. It is based on the following correspondences:

Proto-Cahuapanan	Shiwilu	Shawi
*p-	p	p, hp (intervocalically)
*m-	m	m
*w-	w	w
*t-	t, č (before i)	t, č (before i), ht/hč (intervocalically)
*n-	n, ɲ (before i)	n
*ɾ-	l, ʎ (before i)	n, ɾ (intervocalically)
*s-	s	s, š (before i)
*č- (?)	č	č, hč (intervocalically)
*š-	š	š
*y-	ð	y (*yɨ > i)

4

Proto-Cahuapanan	Shiwilu	Shawi
*k-	k	k, hk (intervocalically)
*kʷ-	kʷ	k
-K (-p, *-k)	ʔ, k (after ɨ)	ʔ, Ø (word-medially, except in the first syllable)
*-ʔ	Ø	ʔ, Ø (word-medially, except in the first syllable)
-N (-n, *-m)	n	nasalization
*a	a	a
*i	i	i, ɨ (if the following syllable contained *ɨ)
*u	u	u
*ɨ	ə	ɨ, i (word-initially)
*r̩	ər	ɨ, i (word-initially)

Notes:

1) Regular morphophonological processes in Shiwilu (realization of syllable-coda *n*, developments like *ɾɾ > ʎʎ* or *əɾʔ > əɾˀ*, free variations like *wə ~ u*) are mostly not indicated in the table. The palatalization developments in both languages are poorly understood.

2) The vowel *ɨ occurred only in closed syllables.

3) In most occurrences, *-K* and *-N* cannot be safely identified with *k, *p, *n* or *m*. However, in some cases morphophonological alternations in Shawi (mostly archaic 3Sg possessive forms) can shed light on their phonetic quality.

4) The reconstructions from [Valenzuela] (including their numbers in the paper) are adduced when available. However, Valenzuela's phonological reconstructions suffer from a number of *ad hoc* solutions.

1. ALL

Shiwilu *iɲəɾˈ ~ iɲɲəɾˈ {iñerˈ ~ inñerˈ}* (1), Shawi *yaʔipi ~ yaʔyupi ~ naʔyupi {yaˈipi ~ yaˈyopi ~ naˈyopi}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 139; Madalengoitia 2013: 36. Found as *iɲəɾ {iñer}* in most examples, cf. [DSCCS: 732, 762].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 243.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

2. ASHES

Shiwilu *pən=ða-luʔ {pendaluʔ}* (1), Shawi *ya-nuʔ ~ waɾi=a-nuʔ {yanoʔ ~ huarianoʔ}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **yaʔ-ɾuK* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 347. *pən=* {pen=} stands for 'fire', *-luʔ* {-luʔ} is a classifier for powders.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 74, 246. The meaning of the root *waɾi-* {huari-} is unknown. *-nuʔ* {-nuʔ} is a classifier for powders.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #83 (**jaɾuʔ*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> The presence of a **ʔ* in the reconstructed form could account for the development **ɾ > n* in Shawi (it did not take place in intervocalic position). <u>Semantics and structure:</u> A classifier for powders is suffixed in both languages. This must have been the case already in Proto-Cahuapanan.

3. BARK

Shiwilu *čipi-tək {chipitek}* (1) / *tək {tek}* (2), Shawi *šaʔwɨ-tɨʔ {shaˈwë-tëʔ}* (3).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 64. Polysemy: 'skin / bark / leather / fish scales'. *-tək* is a classifier for skins and barks and it can also be used independently in the meaning 'bark / skin' [DSCCS: 441].DSCCS: 441. Polysemy: 'skin / bark'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 212, 429. Polysemy: 'leather / bark'. *-tɨʔ* {-të} is a classifier for skins and barks. 3Sg: *šaʔwɨ-tⁿ* {shaˈhuëtën}.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible. **=tɨk* must have been a classifier.

4. BELLY

Shiwilu *ðuʔ {duʔ}* (1) / *məɾ-pi {merpi}* (2), Shawi *yuʔ-nã {yoˈnan}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **yuK* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 96. Polysemy: 'belly / abdomen'.DSCCS: 272; Madalengoitia 2013: 88. Distinct from *məɾ-čək* {merchek} 'stomach / paunch'.

Shawi: Hart 1988: 251. Polysemy: 'belly / abdomen / cotton ball / round fruit'. Distinct from *ãpu-pi-tiʔ* {anpopitë} 'stomach' [Hart 1988: 33]. Also used as a classifier morpheme for bellies [Hart 1988: 481].

Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #50 (*juʔ*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

5. BIG

Shiwilu *aʔʎupi {aʼllupi}* (1) / *kupi-ŋ {kupi-n}* (2), Shawi *pãka {panca}* (3).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 12.DSCCS: 209; Madalengoitia 2013: 64.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 167.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

6. BIRD

Shiwilu *ilansɘrˈ {ilanserʼ}* (1), Shawi *ãpiã-tɨ-wã {anpiantëhuan}* (2) / *inai-ɾa ~ inaĩnši-ɾa ~ inãši-ɾa {inaira ~ inainshira ~ inanshira}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan *iʔɾaNsr̥K* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 131. Glossed as 'jungle bird / bird'. Found as *ilansɘr* {ilanser} in most examples, cf. [DSCCS: 12, 42, 66]. Distinct from *šumbula* {shumpula} 'small bird (generic)' [DSCCS: 409].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 33. Translated into Spanish as 'ave'. Derived from *ãpiã-tiʔ* {anpiantë} 'wing'.Hart 1988: 93. Translated into Spanish as 'pájaro'.
Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> The presence of a *ʔ* in the reconstructed form could account for the development *ɾ > n* in Shawi (it did not take place in intervocalic position). The variations in Shawi are irregular.

7. BITE

Shiwilu *kitɘk-ʎi {kiteklli}* (1), Shawi *kɨtɨ-ɾĩ {quëtërin}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan *kitɨK-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 197. Distinct from *wɘʎ-ʎi* {welli} 'to bite (of insects) / to sting' [DSCCS: 502].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 197. Polysemy: 'to give / to work / to bite'. The absence of preaspiration is unclear. Distinct from *wi-n-ĩ* {huinin} 'to sting' [Hart 1988: 83], *nahka-tɨ-ɾĩ* {nacatërin} 'to chew' [Hart 1988: 115].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #57 (*kitɨ(k)*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> Distinct from *wr̥-* 'to sting'.

8. BLACK

Shiwilu *kɘrˈ {kerʼ}* (1), Shawi *yaɾah-tõ {yaraton}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 192; Madalengoitia 2013: 84 (*kɘ -ʎulu* {kellulu}).
Shawi: Hart 1988: 248.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

9. BLOOD

Shiwilu *ukla-ðɘk {ukladek}* (1), Shawi *wɨna-iʔ {huënai'}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **wɨKɾa(ʔ)-yɨK* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 467. *-ðɘk* {-dek} is a classifier for liquids.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 77.
Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. The presence of a root-final **ʔ* is not recoverable. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> A classifier for liquids is suffixed in both languages. This must have been the case already in Proto-Cahuapanan.

10. BONE

Shiwilu *lansiʔ {lansi'}* (1), Shawi *nãsɨʔ {nansë'}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **ɾaNsɨK ~ *ɾaNsiK* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 223. Distinct from *lansɘɾ* {lanser} 'skeleton' [DSCCS: 222], *=la* {=la} 'classifier for bones, long, rigid, non-wooden objects' [DSCCS: 212].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 120. Occurs as *=ɾãsiʔ* {=ransë'} as a second part of compounds [Hart 1988: 391].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #30 (**ɾans[i/ɨ]ʔ*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are regular, except for the vowel of the second syllable.

11. BREAST

Shiwilu *čiʔ-tɘk {chi'tek}* (1), Shawi *tiʔ-tɨ-tɨʔ {të'tëtë'}* (1) / *muyu-ɾuʔ {moyoro'}* (2), Proto-Cahuapanan **tiʔ-tɨk* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 56; Madalengoitia 2013: 84. Glossed as 'chest'. Distinct from *muð-iŋ* {mudin} 'breast' (apparently female) [DSCCS: 277]. *-tɘk* {-tek} is a classifier for skins and barks.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 232. Distinct from *šuʔšu* {sho'sho} 'breast, tit' [Hart 1988: 219]. *-tiʔ* {-të} is a classifier for skins and barks. 3Sg: *tiʔ-tɨ-tɨ* {të'tëtën}.Hart 1988: 115. Refers to male chest. It is related to *mu-ĩ-tɨ-ɾĩ* {mointërin} 'to grow (of breasts)' [Hart 1988: 113]. *-ɾuʔ* {-ru'} is a classifier for powders.
Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> A classifier for skins and barks is suffixed once in Shiwilu and twice in Shawi. Quite possibly it

was suffixed once in Proto-Cahuapanan; in the independent history of Shawi it would have been reanalyzed as a part of the root, so that yet another classifier morpheme was attached to the stem. Another reconstructible stem is *C* (3Sg **muy-in*); its probable meaning in Proto-Cahuapanan is 'female breast'.

12. BURN TR.

Shiwilu *ðiʔsər'-ču-ʎi {di'serʼchulli}* (1), Shawi *aʔpɨ-r̃ĩ {aʼpërin}* (2), Proto-Cahuapanan **aʔpɨK-* # (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 92. Derived from *ðiʔsət-ʎi {di'setlli}* (intransitive). Distinct from *ukət-ʎi ~ ukər'-ʎi {uketlli ~ uker'lli}* (intransitive) [DSCCS: 466], *apək-tu-ʎi {apektulli}* 'to burn after having formed a pile' [DSCCS: 44].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 35. Distinct from *wɨya-r̃ĩ {huëyarin}* (intransitive) [Hart 1988: 82], *iʔčimi-r̃ĩ {i'chimirin}*, *iʔčĩpi-r̃ĩ {i'chinpirin}* 'to set on fire / to ignite' [Hart 1988: 88].
Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages, narrowing its meaning to 'to burn after having formed a pile' in Shiwilu (unless the opposite development actually took place). Most likely, borrowed to or from Proto-Jibaroan (cf. Aguaruna *apʼɨ-*, Huambisa *api-* 'id.'). <u>Replacements:</u> The Shiwilu root might be tentatively compared to Shawi *iʔčimi-r̃ĩ {i'chimirin}*, *iʔčĩpi-r̃ĩ {i'chinpirin}* 'to set on fire / to ignite' (< **yik...*), unless the latter is related to Shiwilu *ðəksaʔ-tu-ʎi {deksa'tulli}* 'to ignite / to introduce / to smear' (< **yik...*). <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

13. NAIL

Shiwilu *tuʔ-tək-la {tuʼtekla}* (1), Shawi *tuʔ-tu-ra-tɨʔ ~ tuʔ-tɨ-ra-tɨʔ {toʼtoratë' ~ toʼtëratë'}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **tuK-tɨk-ra* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 852.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 239. *-tɨ(ʔ) {-të(')}* is a classifier for skins and barks, *-ra {-ra}* is a classifier for small objects. 3Sg: *tuʔtura-tɨ {to'toratën}*.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #42 (**tuʔtɨ(k)ra*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular, except for the optional development *-ɨ- > -u-* in Shawi. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> Classifiers for skins/barks and small objects are suffixed in both languages (even though synchronically they are not necessarily segmentable, especially the former one). This must have been the case already in Proto-Cahuapanan. After those were fossilized, a classifier for skins and barks was suffixed in Shawi once again.

14. CLOUD

Shawi *wiri=ruʔtɨʔ {huiriroʼtë'}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **=ruKtɨK* # (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: Not attested. Cf. *apəʎʎuʔwaɲ-i {apellu'wañi}* 'to be cloudy' [DSCCS: 44], *tanluwan-luʔ* 'black clouds' [DSCCS: 435]. The sentence translated as 'the cloud covered it {= the sun}' literally means 'the sky (*kəkki=luʔtək {kekkilu'tek}*) got covered'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 85. Refers to white clouds (*wiri= {huiri=}* stands for 'white'). Distinct from *yara=ruʔtɨʔ {yararo'të'}* 'black clouds'

[Hart 1988: 248]. The morpheme in question is the same as the one for 'sky' (*piʔi=ɾuʔtiʔ* {pi'iro'të} 'sky' [Hart 1988: 187], the prefixed morpheme standing for 'sun').

Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved at least in Shawi; the Shiwilu word is not known. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> Polysemy: 'sky / cloud'. More specifically, the root in question means 'sky' in both languages when the root for 'sun' is prefixed. At least in Shawi it can mean 'cloud' when the roots for 'white' or 'black' are prefixed.

15. COLD

Shiwilu *sanǝk-ʎi {saneklli}* (1), Shawi *tɨʔnah-kɨ̃ {të'naquën}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 385.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 230. Derived from *tɨʔnaʔ* {të'na'} 'cold (noun)'. Distinct from *sɨwᵢ* {sëhuën} 'cold feeling' [Hart 1988: 204].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

16. COME

Shiwilu *uk-ʎi ~ wǝk-ʎi {uklli ~ weklli}* (1), Shawi *wɨʔ-nɨ̃ {huë'nin}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **wɨk-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 464, 500.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 78. Oblique stem: *wɨk-a-* {huëca-}.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #67 (**wɨ(k)*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

17. DIE

Shiwilu *čimiɲ-i {chimiñi}* (1), Shawi *chimin-ɨ̃ {chiminin}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **timin-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 59. Distinct from *talǝk-ʎi {taleklli}* 'to be about to die and come back to life' [DSCCS: 430], *tǝktuʔ-tu-ʎi {tektu'tulli}* 'to expire / to die' [DSCCS: 447], *takǝʔ-ʎi ~ takǝt-ʎi ~ takǝɾ'-ʎi {take'lli ~ taketlli ~ taker'lli}* 'to die out / to fade away' [DSCCS: 429].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 65. Distinct from *tahki-ɾɨ̃ {taquirin}* 'to die out' [Hart 1988: 227], *aya-ɾɨ̃ {ayarin}* 'to get lost / to die' [Hart 1988: 44].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #62 (**timin*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> Distinct from **takɾ-* 'to die out'.

18. DOG

Shiwilu *ɲiɲiʔ ~ ɲiɲiʔ-wa {ñiñi' ~ ñiñi'wa}* (1), Shawi *niʔniʔ ~ niʔni-ɾa {ni'ni' ~ ni'nira}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **niʔniK* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 304; Madalengoitia 2013: 33.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 132, 133. Polysemy: 'jaguar / dog' (only when suffixless).
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #20 (*ni(ʔ)niʔ). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> Polysemy: 'dog / jaguar' in the proto-language is probable.

19. DRINK

Shiwilu *u-ʎi {ulli}* (1), Shawi *uʔu-ɾĩ {oʼorin}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **u-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 483.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 155.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #55 (*uʔu-). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are regular, though the origin of the second syllable in Shawi is poorly understood.

20. DRY

Shiwilu *ʔəŋ-ɲi {enñi}* (1), Shawi *yah-kĩ {yaquën}* (2) / *yanih-kĩ {yaniquën}* (3).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 112. Distinct from *suʔwəŋ-ɲi* {su'wenñi} 'to dry' [DSCCS: 419].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 247. Distinct from *awi-ɾĩ* {ahuirin} 'to get dry' [Hart 1988: 25].Hart 1988: 245.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

21. EAR

Shiwilu *wiʔ=wək ~ wək {wiʼwek ~ wek}* (1), Shawi *wɨ-ɾa-tɨʔ {huëratëʼ}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **wɨK #* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 503; Madalengoitia 2013: 83. Polysemy: 'ear / horn'. Distinct from *lala-wək ~ lala-uk* {lalawek ~ lalauk} 'internal part of the ear / horn of a fish' [DSCCS: 218].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 80. Polysemy: 'ear / needle eye / wing / fishbone'. *-tɨʔ* {-të} is a classifier for skins and barks. 3Sg: *wɨ-ɾa-tɨ* {huëratën}. Also used as a classifier morpheme [Hart 1988: 480].
Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are regular, except for the irregular loss of **-K-* in Shawi, where a form like **wiʔ-na-tiʔ* would be expected. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> The Shawi word is tentatively derived from **wɨK-ɾa{ʔ,K}-tɨk*, cf. Shiwilu *wiʔ=wək-lala* 'ear channel'. This is, however, speculative.

22. EARTH

Shiwilu *lupaʔ {lupaʾ}* (1), Shawi *nuʔpaʔ {noʾpaʾ}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **ɾuKpaK* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 253; Madalengoitia 2013: 90 (*luʔpaʔ* {luʾpaʾ}). Polysemy: 'land / soil / country / region / world / planet'. Distinct from *luʔtɘk* {luʾtek} 'land' [DSCCS: 249]. The classifier for earth is *=luʔ* {=luʾ} [DSCCS: 248].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 144. Cf. *=ɾuʔ* {=roʾ}, which is a classifier for earth [Hart 1988: 481].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #80 (**ɾu(ʔ)paʔ*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular, except for the loss of the medial **-K-* in Shiwilu attested by some (not all) sources. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> Distinct from the classifier morpheme **=ɾuK*.

23. EAT

Shiwilu *kaʔ-ʎi {kaʾlli}* (1), Shawi *kaʔ-nĩ {caʾnin}* (1) / *kuša-tɘ-ɾĩ {cosatërin}* (2), Proto-Cahuapanan **kap-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 168. Polysemy: 'to eat / to make love with a woman'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 48. Transitive. Polysemy: 'to eat / to make love with a woman'. Oblique stem: *kapa-* {capa-}.Hart 1988: 61. Intransitive.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #56 (**kaʔ-*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. Even though **-p* is otherwise not known to have occurred in Proto-Cahuapanan syllable-finally, the Shawi oblique stem suggests that the opposition between **-k* and **-p* might have existed, perhaps at a stage preceding the breakup of Proto-Cahuapanan. Cf. a similar issue with the words for 'mouth' and 'tail'.

24. EGG

Shiwilu *kaðuʔ {kaduʾ}* (1), Shawi *kayuʔ {cayoʾ}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **kayuk* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 169; Madalengoitia 2013: 28.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 55. 3Sg: *kayuk-ᵢ* {cayoquën}.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #33 (**kajuʔ*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

25. EYE

Shiwilu *laða {lada}* (1), Shawi *yaʔpi-ɾa {yaʾpira}* (2), Proto-Cahuapanan **ɾaya* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 216; Madalengoitia 2013: 37. Polysemy: 'eye / face / seed'. Cf. *ðapi-ʎi* {dapilli} 'to have pain in the eye' [DSCCS: 80]; *ðapi-ʎi* {dapi} 'pain in the eye' [Madalengoitia 2013: 84].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 247. Polysemy: 'eye / seed / face / a leather strap pattern'. *-ɾa* {-ra} is a classifier for small objects. 3Sg: *yaʔpi-ɾ-ĩ*

{ya'pirin}. Cf. =ɾaya {=raya}, which is a classifier for eyes, faces and seeds [Hart 1988: 481].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #23 (*ɾaja). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in both daughter languages, becoming a classifier in Shawi. <u>Replacements:</u> In Shawi, the word was replaced with a reflex of *yaʔpi (the root is preserved in the meaning 'pain in the eye' and in a derivative meaning 'blind' in Shiwilu), possibly borrowed from Proto-Jivaroan *y'api 'face' (Aguaruna, Achuar-Shiwiar y'api, Huambisa yapi). <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> Polysemy 'eye / face / seed' is attested in both daughter languages and may be safely projected to the proto-level.

26. FAT

Shiwilu *iya-ðək {iyadek}* (1), Shawi *tumaʔ {tomaʔ}* (2), Proto-Cahuapanan *iya(ʔ)-yɨK # (0).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 165. Polysemy: 'fat / grease / oil'. -ðək {-dek} is a classifier for liquids.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 235. Polysemy: 'butter / fat'. 3Sg: tuma-ĩ {tomain}.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #31 (*ija). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved only in Shiwilu. In Shawi, the root is preserved in the derivative iya-ɾĩ {iyarin} meaning 'to fry'. Cf. Aguaruna w'iya {iyarin} 'id.'. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular (the development *y > *ð in Shiwilu was either reverted or blocked due to palatalizing position). The presence of a root-final *ʔ is not recoverable. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> The classifier for liquids was likely to be present already in Proto-Cahuapanan.

27. FEATHER

Shiwilu *ambuluʔ {anpulu'}* (1), Shawi *ãpuɾuʔ {anporo'}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan *aNpu(ʔ)ɾuK (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 42, 43. Polysemy: 'feather / animal hair / wool'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 33. Polysemy: 'feather / hair / bodily hair'. 3Sg: ãpuɾũ {anporon}.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #36 (*anpuɾuʔ). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. The presence of a root-medial *ʔ is not recoverable. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> Polysemy: 'feather / bodily hair' is reconstructible.

28. FIRE

Shiwilu *pəŋ {pen}* (1), Shawi *pĩ ~ pĩ-ša {pën ~ pënsha}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan *pɨN (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 347; Madalengoitia 2013: 54. Distinct from ðiwək {diwek} 'firewood' [DSCCS: 96; Madalengoitia 2013: 85].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 180. Polysemy: 'fire / candle'.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #32 (*pɨn). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

29. FISH

Shiwilu *samɘɾ {samer}* (1), Shawi *sami {sami}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **samɽ* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 384; Madalengoitia 2013: 87.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 200.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #37 (**sami*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

30. FLY

Shiwilu *pɘŋ-nuʔ-ʎi {pennu'lli}* (1), Shawi *yãpun-ĩ {yanponin}* (2) / *pɨn-ĩ {pënin}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **pɨn-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 348. Distinct from *čikɘɾ-ču-ʎi ~ čikɘt-ču-ʎi ~ čikɘʔ-ču-ʎi {chikerchulli ~ chiketchulli ~ chike'chulli}* 'to go away / to fly away' [DSCCS: 57].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 246. Polysemy: 'to fly / to float'.Hart 1988: 180. More specifically, 'to fly moving the wings'.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #65 (**pɨn*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

31. FOOT

Shiwilu *lan-dɘk {lantek}* (1), Shawi *nã-tɨʔ {nantë'}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **ɾan-tɨk* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 223; Madalengoitia 2013: 26. *-dɘk* {-tek} is a classifier for skins and barks. Distinct from *ɘɾˈʎa ~ ɘʔʎa ~ ɘtʎa* 'footprint' [DSCCS: 119].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 120. *-tɨʔ* {-të'} is a classifier for skins and barks. 3Sg: *nã-tᵢ {nantën}*. Cf. *iʔna-ɾĩ {i'narin}* 'to step over' [Hart 1988: 94]. Also used as a classifier morpheme (*=nã-tɨʔ / =ɾã-tɨʔ {=nantë' / =rantë'}*) [Hart 1988: 480].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #47 (**ɾantɨk*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> A classifier for skins and barks is suffixed in both languages. This must have been the case already in Proto-Cahuapanan. Distinct from **ɽɾa* 'footstep'.

32. FULL

Shiwilu *muɘt-ču-ʎi ~ muɘɾ-ču-ʎi {muetchulli ~ muerchulli}* (1), Shawi *mĩta-ša {mëntasha}* (-1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 278; Madalengoitia 2013: 91 (*muɾˈ {mur'}*). Distinct from *kalaʔ-ʎi* 'to fill / to place / to bury' [DSCCS: 171]; *muʔyɘk-tu-ʎi {mu'yektulli}* 'to be full with liquid' [DSCCS: 276].

Shawi: Hart 1988: 111. Probably borrowed from a Jivaroan language (cf. Aguaruna ⁿb'ɨtɨ ~ m'ɨtɨ 'id.').
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible. The Shiwilu word points to *mu(ʔ)(w)ɽ(ʔ)-.

33. GIVE

Shiwilu *ʔəŋgaʔ-pa-ʎi {enkaʼpalli}* (1), Shawi *kɨ-tɨ-ɽĩ {quëtërin}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 114. Distinct from *apunan-du-ʎi* {apunantulli}, *panu-ʎi* {panulli} 'to give away, to give as a gift' [DSCCS: 48, 325].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 197. Polysemy: 'to give / to work / to bite'. The absence of preaspiration is unclear.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

34. GOOD

Shiwilu *mu-ʎi {mulli}* (1), Shawi *nuya {noya}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 279. *mu=kaŋgaŋ* {mukankan}, translated into Spanish as 'bueno' in [Madalengoitia 2013: 88], means more specifically 'kind / generous' [DSCCS: 278]. Distinct from *wəʔčimu ~ uʔčimu* {we'chimu ~ u'chimu} 'good / beautiful / fine' [DSCCS: 459]. *mu=* {mu=} is also used as a verbal prefix conveying the completeness of an action.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 148.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

35. GREEN

Shiwilu *lalu=mək=wawa-mək-puʔaʔ-suʔ* ~ *taŋgu=wawa-mək-puʔaʔ-suʔ* *{lalumekwawamekpuʼaʼsuʼ ~ tankuwawamekpuʼaʼsuʼ}* (1), Shawi *kanĩ-tũ {caninton}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 218. Derived from *wawa-mək* {wawamek} 'new leaf' [DSCCS: 497], *lalu-mək* {lalumek} 'leaf' [DSCCS: 218], *taŋgu* {tanku} 'plaintain' [DSCCS: 434].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 48. Ranges from blue to green. Distinct from *kanu-pi ~ kanu-wi* {canopi ~ canohui} 'green, unripe fruit' [Hart 1988: 49].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

36. HAIR

Shiwilu *ʔəɲ-ʒək {enchek}* (1), Shawi *aĩ {ain}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan *aɨN* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 112; Madalengoitia 2013: 83. -ʒək {-chek} is a classifier for skins and barks. Distinct from *amu-ʔutək* {amu'utek} 'beard', *amu-kaŋkaŋ* {amukankan} 'hair on the chest', *amu-pi* {amupi} 'body hair / back hair' [DSCCS: 38], *ampuluʔ* {anpulu'} 'feather /

animal hair / wool' [DSCCS: 42], *ðanək* {danek} 'fringe, bangs' [DSCCS: 77].

Shawi: Hart 1988: 25. Distinct from *ãpuɾuʔ* {anporo'} 'feather / hair / bodily hair' [Hart 1988: 33], which likely can only mean 'single hair'.

Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #38 (**ain(t�)*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are possibly regular despite the unique environment. An alternative reconstruction would be **aiN*.

37. HAND

Shiwilu *i-tək-la {itekla}* (1), Shawi *imi-ɾa {imira}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 164. *-tək* {-tek} is a classifier for skins and barks, *-la* {-la} is a classifier for small objects.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 92. *-ɾa* {-ra} is a classifier for small objects. Likely derived from *imiʔ* {imi'} 'little span' [Hart 1988: 91]. 3Sg: *imi-ɾ-ĩ* {imirin}. Also used as a classifier morpheme [Hart 1988: 480].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

38. HEAD

Shiwilu *mutuʔ {mutu'}* (1), Shawi *muhtuʔ {moto'}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **mutuK* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 282; Madalengoitia 2013: 26. Polysemy: 'head / unit of potato'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 114. Polysemy: 'head / sheaf / bunch / wick / handle'. 3Sg: *muht-i* {motën}. Also used as a classifier morpheme [Hart 1988: 480].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #39 (**mutuʔ*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. Might be related to Jivaroan words for 'brain' (Aguaruna *buc'uk*, Huambica *mucuk(i-)*). <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

39. HEAR

Shiwilu *lawək-ʎi {laweklli}* (1), Shawi *nahtan-ĩ {natanin}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 227; Madalengoitia 2013: 93 (*lawək- ~ lauk- {lawek- ~ lauk-}*). Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen / to understand'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 125.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

40. HEART

Shiwilu *ðinlupi {dinlupi}* (1), Shawi *ninupi {ninopi}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **yiNɾu(ʔ)pi* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 94; Madalengoitia 2013: 36.

Shawi: Hart 1988: 133.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #53 (*jinɾupi*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> The development *y > n* in Shawi might be irregular. The presence of a root-medial *ʔ* is not recoverable.

41. HORN

Shiwilu *pəŋmuŋ {penmun}* (1) / *wiʔ=wək ~ wək {wiʼwek ~ wek}* (2), Shawi *pumũ {pomon}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan *pɨNmun* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 348. Said of mammals. Distinct from *lala-wək ~ lala-uk* {lalawek ~ lalauk} 'internal part of the ear / horn of a fish' [DSCCS: 218], *ləɾ* {ler'} 'horn of a catfish or other fish without scales / thorn' [DSCCS: 232].DSCCS: 503; Madalengoitia 2013: 83. Used at least of bulls and fish [DSCCS: 60, 72].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 193. 3Sg: *pumun-ɨ* {pomonën}.
Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are regular if more examples of *ɨ..u >* Shawi *u...u* can be identified.

42. I

Shiwilu *kʷa {kua}* (1), Shawi *ka ~ kaa {ca ~ caa}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan *kʷa* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 201; Madalengoitia 2013: 82.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 44.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #1. <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

43. KILL

Shiwilu *ðiʔ-ʎi {diʼlli}* (1), Shawi *tɨhpa-rĩ {tëparin}* (-1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 92. Distinct from *lakiʔ-ʎi* {laki'lli} 'to kill by biting' [DSCCS: 216], *pakiʔ-tu-ʎi* {paki'tulli} 'to kill instantly / to kill with a blow / to kill at once' [DSCCS: 318], *akiʔ-tu-ʎi* {aki'tulli} 'to kill by stepping, stomping' [DSCCS: 29].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 231. Also used as intransitive when referring to one's children or spouse. The verb cannot go back to Proto-Cahuapanan due to an *ɨ* in an initial open syllable not preceded by another syllable with *ɨ*.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible. The Shiwilu form should go back to *yiK-*.

44. KNEE

Shiwilu *tuʔtuʔpi {tuʼtuʼpi}* (1), Shawi *tuʔtupi-tɨʔ ~ tuʔtuwi-tɨʔ {toʼtopitëʼ ~ toʼtohuitëʼ}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan *tuKtuKpi* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 450; Madalengoitia 2013: 93.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 239. *-tiʔ* {-të} is a classifier for skins and barks. 3Sg: *tuʔtuwi-t*₍ {to'tohuitën}.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #48 (**tuʔtu[ʔ]pi*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

45. KNOW

Shiwilu *piɲʒi-tu-ʎi {ñinchitulli}* (0).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 304. Polysemy: 'to learn / to know'. Derived from *piɲʒi* {ñinchi} 'to know how to' [DSCCS: 302]. Distinct from *luwɘɾ-a-pa-ʎi* {luwerapalli} 'to be familiar with', *luwɘɾ-ču-ʎi* {luwerchulli} 'to know (in person) / to meet / to find out' [DSCCS: 258].
Shawi: Not attested. Cf. *nitu-ti-ɾĩ* {nitotërin} 'to know how to / to learn / to be able to' [Hart 1988: 139], *nuwi-ɾĩ* {nohuirin} 'to know (in person) / to get to know / to find out' [Hart 1988: 141].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

46. LEAF

Shiwilu *lalu-mɘk {lalumek}* (1) / *miʔmiŋ {mi'min}* (2), Shawi *wɨɾũ {huëron}* (-1) / *munuʔ {mono'}* (3).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 218; Madalengoitia 2013: 88. Distinct from *wawa-mɘk* {wawamek} 'new leaf' [DSCCS: 497]. *=mɘk* {=mek} is a classifier for trees or papers.DSCCS: 273. Less abundant than *lalu-mɘk* {lalumek} throughout the examples; not attested referring to trees other than *ñejilla* palm (Bactris sp.).
Shawi: Hart 1988: 81. Distinct from *=miʔ* {=më}, which is a classifier for trees or papers [Hart 1988: 480]. The root cannot go back to Proto-Cahuapanan due to an *ɨ* in an initial open syllable not preceded by another syllable with *ɨ*.Hart 1988: 113. 3Sg: *munuk-ɨ* {monoquën}.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

47. LIE

Shiwilu *pɘkkʷaʔ-ʎi {pekkua'lli}* (1), Shawi *kɨwɨn-ĩ {quëhuënin}* # (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 338.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 195. Translated as 'to lie down'.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

48. LIVER

Shiwilu *kaŋkaŋ {kankan}* (1), Shawi *kãkã {kankan}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **kaNkan* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 178; Madalengoitia 2013: 85. For the Shiwilu, this is the internal organ associated with emotions and thinking.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 47. Reportedly, the center of the body for the Shawi. 3Sg: *kãkan-ᵢ {cancanën}*. Cf. *=(k)ãkã {=(k)ankan}*, which is a classifier for livers [Hart 1988: 480].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #54 (**kankan*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> For the speakers of both daughter languages, this is an important organ associated with emotions. This must have been the case alreay in Proto-Cahuapanan.

49. LONG

Shiwilu *ši- {shi-}* (1), Shawi *nahpuɾu-pi {naporopi}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 406; Madalengoitia 2013: 33 (*ši-ʎiŋ {shillin}*). Used with various classifiers. Cf. *ši-ŋ {shin}* 'very long'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 123. Cf. *čãčupi-mašuwiʔ {chanchopi mashohuë}* 'id.', which is derived from *čãčupi-ya {chanchopiya}* 'short' [Hart 1988: 63].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

50. LOUSE

Shiwilu *čimɨŋ {chimen}* (1), Shawi *tɨmĩ {tëmën}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **timɨN* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 58. Glossed as 'lice'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 230.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #21 (**timin*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. Cf. Jivaroan **tʼima* 'id.' (Aguaruna, Achuar-Shiwiar *tʼima*, Huambisa *tima*). <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

51. MAN

Shiwilu *ʔɘŋmuʔpinɘŋ {enmupinen}* (1), Shawi *kɨma-pi {quëmapi}* (2), Proto-Cahuapanan **kɨNmaK-pVN* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 115. Distinct from *iyaʎiʔ ~ yaʎiʔ {iyalli' ~ yalli'}* 'man (male speech) / brother of a man' [DSCCS: 515]. Cf. *=pɘŋ {=pen}*, which is a classifier for men [DSCCS: 347].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 196. Derived from *kɨmaʔ {quëma'}* 'wild, uncivilized'. Cf. *=pĩ {=pin}*, which is a classifier for men [Hart 1988: 481].
Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages, narrowing its meaning to 'Indian man' in Shiwilu.

Replacements: The Shiwilu word corresponds quite well to Shawi *imuhpinᵢ* {imopinën} 'a wide fold in the upper part of a shirt', though the semantic development is mysterious. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular within the root. The suffixal morpheme is certainly a classifier for men (though in Shawi it went through irregular loss of nasality); Shiwilu and Shawi vowels do not match: Shiwilu points to **-piN*, whereas Shawi points to **-piN*. Semantics and structure: The word is derived from **kiNmaK* 'indigenous person'. Note that at the time when Proto-Cahuapanan was spoken the opposition 'indigenous / white' could not exist.

52. MANY

Shiwilu *uʔðuŋ {uʼdun}* (1) / *wapuʔ {wapuʼ}* (2), Shawi *naʔa {naʼa}* (3) / *nuhtuwaruʔ {notohuaroʼ}* (4).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 460. Distinct from *naku-suʔ* {nakusu'} 'too much / very / much' [DSCCS: 286].DSCCS: 496; Madalengoitia 2013: 40 ('hartos').
Shawi: Hart 1988: 115. Cf. *waʔwaya-tᵢra-wiʔ* {hua'huayatërahuë} 'enough, much' [Hart 1988: 70]. Apparently distinct from *naʔkũ* {na'con} 'enough / much / very' [Hart 1988: 115].Hart 1988: 147. Polysemy: 'many / very much'.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible. Distinct from **naʔku-* 'much' (Valenzuela 2011: #10 (**na(ʔ)ku(n)*)).

53. MEAT

Shiwilu *čuču {chuchu}* (1), Shawi *nuša {nosha}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 65; Madalengoitia 2013: 29. Polysemy: 'meat / flesh'. Cf. *=luʔ* {=lu'}, which is a classifier for meat [DSCCS: 248].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 146. 3Sg: *nušan-ᵢ̃*{noshanën}. Cf. *nuš-in-ᵢ*{noshinën} 'body.3Sg'.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

54. MOON

Shiwilu *ðukɘr {duker}* (1), Shawi *yuhki {yoqui}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **yukr̥* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 98; Madalengoitia 2013: 70, 85 (*ðukɘr ~ ðuʔkɘr* {duker ~ du'ker}). Polysemy: 'moon / month / menstruation'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 252. Polysemy: 'moon / month'.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #74 (**yuki*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: Polysemy: 'moon / month' is reconstructible.

55. MOUNTAIN

Shiwilu *mutupi {mutupi}* (1) / *tana ~ tanaŋ {tana ~ tanan}* (2), Shawi *tanã {tanan}* (2), Proto-Cahuapanan **mutu(K/ʔ)pi* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 282. Polysemy: 'mountain / hill'. Cited as *mutuʔpi* {mutu'pi} in [DSCCS: 500, 520].DSCCS: 431. Polysemy: 'jungle / woodland / forest / mountain'. The latter meaning is attested in examples in [DSCCS: 58, 194] but not found as an explicit translation in the dictionary.

Shawi: Hart 1988: 223, 413. Polysemy: 'jungle / forest / mountain'. The latter meaning is only found in the Spanish-Shawi part, not in the Shawi-Spanish one. Distinct from *panⱼ* {panën} 'hill' (Spanish *colina*) [Hart 1988: 168], *muhtupi* {motopi} 'loma, hill' (Spanish *cerro*) [Hart 1988: 114].

Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages at least in the meaning 'hill'. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. The presence of a root-medial *ʔ* or *K is not recoverable. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> The meaning 'mountain' is apparently marginal in the reflexes of Proto-Cahuapanan *tanaN* 'jungle / forest' in both daughter languages. If the correct reconstruction is *mutuKpi*, the word might be considered a derivative of *mutuK* 'head'.

56. MOUTH

Shiwilu *laʔlaʔ {la'la'}* (1), Shawi *nanam-ɨ̃ {nanamën}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan *ɾaKɾaK ~ *ɾa(N)ɾam* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 214; Madalengoitia 2013: 86 ('language'). Polysemy: 'mouth / language / word'.

Shawi: Hart 1988: 117. Glossed as 3Sg. Polysemy: 'mouth / word'. It is uncertain whether *-m-* {-m-} can belong to a suffix. Distinct from *nanã* {nanan} 'word / gossip / news / language'. Cf. *=anã* {=anan}, which is a classifier for mouths [Hart 1988: 480].

Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #44 (*ɾaʔɾa[ʔ/n]*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Shiwilu form points to *ɾaKɾaK*, while Shawi form points to *ɾa(N)ɾam*. Final *-m* is reconstructed exclusively to account for the 3Sg form in Shawi (cf. the words for 'tail' and 'to eat'). <u>Semantics and structure:</u> Polysemy: 'mouth / word / language / speech act' can be reconstructed.

57. NAME

Shiwilu *ʎiŋ-ʎi ~ ʎiŋ ~ ʎiŋ-ʎiŋ ~ ʎi-ʎiŋ {llinlli ~ llin ~ llinllin ~ llillin}* (1), Shawi *ni-nin-ɨ̃ {nininën}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan *ɾin-ɾin ~ *ɾin* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 242; Madalengoitia 2013: 87.

Shawi: Hart 1988: 132. Glossed as 3Sg.

Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular, except for Shiwilu forms with optional denasalization. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> Both languages preserve the reduplicated variant. *ɾiN* is only reflected in Shiwilu, where it is featured both independently and in compounds (e.g. *maʔ=ʎiŋ* {ma'llin} 'what name').

58. NECK

Shiwilu *uŋgəɾ {unker}* (1), Shawi *kunu ~ kunuʔ {cono ~ cono'}* (2), Proto-Cahuapanan *uNkɾ̩

(1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 473. Distinct from *siʔ* {si'} 'throat' [DSCCS: 410], *silu-pi* {silupi} 'throat (inside)' [DSCCS: 413]; *kulu-pi* {kulupi} 'Adam's apple' [DSCCS: 205; Madalengoitia 2013: 51, 83 (*kulu-pi ~ kuluʔ-pi* {kulupi ~ kulu'pi} 'throat')].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 58, 385. Polysemy: 'neck / throat'. Distinct from *uŋki* {onqui} 'nape' [Hart 1988: 155]. 3Sg: *kunũ* {conon}. Cf. *=kunu* {=cono}, which is a classifier for throats [Hart 1988: 480]. Hardly borrowed from a Jivaroan language (Proto-Jivaroan **kunt'uh*, Aguaruna *kunt'uŋ ~ kunt'uh*, Achuar-Shiwiar *kunt'uh*, Huambisa *kuntɨh(a-)*).
Proto-Cahuapanan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages, shifting its meaning to 'nape' in Shawi. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: Distinct from **kuʔru(ʔ,K)* 'throat' (Valenzuela 2011: #51 (**kuɾupi*).

59. NEW

Shiwilu *nalu {nalu}* (1), Shawi *na-ša {nasha}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 287; Madalengoitia 2013: 52. Polysemy: 'new / fresh'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 124. *=ša* {=sha} is a classifier for new objects [Hart 1988: 481].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible. If Shiwilu *nalu* is further segmentable, **na* can be reconstructed.

60. NIGHT

Shiwilu *ðəkpiʎi {dekpilli}* # (1), Shawi *tašiʔ {tashi'}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 87. Polysemy: 'late night / at night / night'. Glossed as an adverb. Cf. *=wiʎi-* {=willi} 'at night (verbal suffix)' [DSCCS: 507]. Distinct from *uta-ʎi* {utalli} 'to be late at night' [DSCCS: 480], *kasisəɾ* {kasiser'} 'night / dark' [Madalengoitia 2013: 91]; *kasisəɾ-ʎi* {kasiserlli} 'to get dark' [DSCCS: 184] (the latter two are likely borrowed from Proto-Jivaroan **k'aši*, Aguaruna, Achuar-Shiwiar *k'aši*, Huambisa *kaši* 'night').
Shawi: Hart 1988: 227. Polysemy: 'night / at night'.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible with certainty. Replacements: Shawi *tašiʔ* is likely related to Shiwilu *tasər-* 'old' (both going back to **tasṛʔ*), but the meaning of this root in the proto-language was hardly 'night' (rather something like 'late').

61. NOSE

Shiwilu *nəɾ-čək ~ nət-čək ~ nəʔ-čək {nerchek ~ netchek ~ ne'chek}* (1), Shawi *ni-tɨʔ {nitë'}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **nṛ-tɨk* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 298; Madalengoitia 2013: 89. *-čək* {-chek} is a classifier for skins and barks.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 138. *-tɨʔ* {-të} is a classifier for skins and barks. Also used as a classifier morpheme [Hart 1988: 481]. 3Sg: *ni-tɨ¡ ~ ni-tɨk-¡* {nitën ~ nitëquën}.

Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #43 (*n[i/i]tɨk). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> A classifier for skins and barks is suffixed in both languages. This must have been the case already in Proto-Cahuapanan. Cf. *nɽ-i- 'to breathe'.

62. NOT

Shiwilu *=iʔn {=i'n}* (1) / *maʔ-ša {ma'sha}* (2), Shawi *kuʔ ~ ku-...-wɨʔ {co' ~ co ...huë'}* (3), Proto-Cahuapanan **kuK* (3).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 124. Distinct from *=imbuʔ* {=impu'} which seems to negate nominal predicates [DSCCS: 151]. Certainly more basic than *=čiʔ* {=chi'} [DSCCS: 862] or *ɲi* {ñi} 'not / neither' [DSCCS: 300].DSCCS: 262; Madalengoitia 2013: 88 (*maʔ-šǝa* {ma'shea}). Glossed as an interjection but it is identifiable as a general negation throughout the examples [DSCCS: 267, 308, 350, 375], unlike *kuʔ-la* {ku'la}, which is a true interjection [DSCCS: 200].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 56. Distinct from *amaʔ* {ama'} 'prohibitive'.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #8 (*kuʔ). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved only in Shawi; in Shiwilu, apparently preserved in an interjection. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Replacements:</u> Shiwilu *maʔ-ša* {ma'sha} is probably cognate with Shawi *maʔ-ša* {ma'sha} 'thing / animal' (< *maK-ša 'thing', probably derived from *maK 'what').

63. ONE

Shiwilu *alaʔ ~ alaʔ-saʔ {ala' ~ ala'sa'}* (1), Shawi *aʔnaʔ ~ aʔna-ɾaʔ {a'na' ~ a'nara'}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **aʔɾaK* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 31, 33.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 29.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #11 (*a(ʔ)ɾaʔ). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

64. PERSON

Shiwilu *muða ʔ {muda'}* (1), Shawi *piya-pi {piyapi}* (2), Proto-Cahuapanan **kɨNmaK* (3).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 276; Madalengoitia 2013: 88. Polysemy: 'human being / person / people'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 192. Cf. *=yaʔpi* {=ya'pi}, which is a classifier for people [Hart 1988: 481].
Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Reflected as Shiwilu *kǝŋmaʔ* {kenma'} 'Indian, native person, indigenous person' and Shawi *kɨmaʔ* {quëma'} 'wild, uncivilized'. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> It should be noted that at the time when Proto-Cahuapanan was spoken, the opposition 'Indigenous / white' could not exist.

65. RAIN

Shiwilu *uʔlaŋ {uʹlan}* (1), Shawi *uʔnã {oʹnan}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **uKɾan* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 460.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 152.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #77 (**uʔɾan*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

66. RED

Shiwilu *pipəɾ ~ pipəɾˈ {piper ~ piperʹ}* (1), Shawi *kɨwa-nɨ̃ {quëhuanën}* (-1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 367.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 195. The word cannot go back to Proto-Cahuapanan due to an *ɨ* in an initial open syllable not preceded by another syllable with *ɨ*. Possibly borrowed from a Jivaroan language (Aguaruna *kapʹantu*, Achuar-Shiwiar *kapʹantin*, Huambisa *kapantin* 'id.').
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible. The Shiwilu word points to **pi(ʔ)pɾ̩(K,ʔ)*.

67. ROAD

Shiwilu *ðəkku ~ ðəkkuŋ {dekku ~ dekkun}* (1) / *iɲʒilala-ðuʔwaŋ {inchilala-duwan}* (2), Shawi *iɾa {ira}* (3).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 84.DSCCS: 137; Madalengoitia 2013: 36 (*iɲʒilala* {inchilala}). Literally 'wide path'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 100. Polysemy: 'road / trail'.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

68. ROOT

Shiwilu *i-tək {itek}* (1), Shawi *i-tɨʔ {itëʹ}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **i-tɨk* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 164; Madalengoitia 2013: 83. *-tək* {-tek} is a classifier for skins and barks.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 104. *-tɨʔ* {-të} is a classifier for skins and barks. 3Sg: *i-tᵢ* {itën}.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #25 (**itɨk*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> A classifier for skins and barks is suffixed in both languages. This must have been the case already in Proto-Cahuapanan.

69. ROUND

Shawi *piɾuta-puč̃-yaʔnu-ɾ̃-suʔ {pirota pochin yaˈnorinsoˈ}* (-1) / *paʔči-puč̃-yaʔnu-ɾ̃-suʔ {paˈchi pochin yaˈnorinsoˈ}* # (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: Not attested. Cited as *muŋguŋ* {munkun} in [Valenzuela: 300]. Cf. *=pi* {=pi} 'classifier for roundish fruits, tridimensional roundish objects larger than a seed' [DSCCS: 352], *=la* {=la} 'classifier for seeds, grains, small and roundish objects' [DSCCS: 212].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 440. *piɾuta* seems to be borrowed from Spanish *pelˈota* 'ball', so it means literally 'ball-shaped'. Cited as *tawiši* {tahuishi} in [Valenzuela: 300].Hart 1988: 376. Translated as 'sphere'. Literally 'calabash-shaped' (*paʔči* {pa'chi} 'calabash (Crescentia cujete)' [Hart 1988: 163]).
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible. It is possible that there was no lexical expression for the concept.

70. SAND

Shiwilu *ð̞ʌ́-ʎuʔ-tɘk {delluˈtek}* (1), Shawi *i-nu-t̃ʔ {inotëˈ}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **yɾ̩-ɾuK-tɨk* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 90. *-ʎuʔ-* {-llu'-} is a classifier for powders, *-tɘk* {-tek} is a classifier for skins and barks (the semantic motivation is somewhat unclear).
Shawi: Hart 1988: 96. Polysemy: 'sand / beach'. *-nu-* {-nu-} is a classifier for powders, *-t̃ʔ* {-të'} is a classifier for skins and barks (the semantic motivation is somewhat unclear).
Proto-Cahuapanan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: Classifiers for earth and skin/bark are suffixed in both languages. This must have been the case already in Proto-Cahuapanan.

71. SAY

Shiwilu *t-u-ʎi {itulli}* (1), Shawi *tɨ-nĩ {tënin}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **t-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 438. Cf. *i=t-u-ʎi* {itulli} 'to say something to someone / to call' [DSCCS: 164].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 230. Oblique stem: *taʔ-* {ta'-}. Cf. *i=tɨ-ɾ̃* {itërin} 'to tell' [Hart 1988: 104].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #72 (**it(i/u)*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. An identical root is found in Jivaroan languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: The verb **i=t-* 'to tell' is derived from **t-*.

72. SEE

Shiwilu *ʎiʔ-ʎi {lliˈlli}* (1), Shawi *niʔ-nĩ {niˈnin}* (1) / *kɨnan-ĩ {quënanin}* (-1), Proto-Cahuapanan **ɾik-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 234; Madalengoitia 2013: 87, 88. Polysemy: 'to see / to take care / to forecast / to announce'.

Shawi: Hart 1988: 132. Oblique tem *niʔ- ~ nika-* {ni'- ~ nica-}.Hart 1988: 196. Polysemy: 'to see / to find'. The verb cannot go back to Proto-Cahuapanan due to an *ɨ* in an initial open syllable not preceded by another syllable with *ɨ*; therefore, it must be a borrowing from Shiwilu *kanaɲ-i* {kanañi} 'to find'.

Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #58 (*ɾiʔ). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

73. SEED

Shiwilu *laða {lada}* (1), Shawi *yaʔpi-ɾa {yaʾpira}* (2), Proto-Cahuapanan *ɾaya* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 216. Polysemy: 'eye / face / seed'. Cf. *=la* {=la} 'classifier for seeds, grains, small and roundish objects' [DSCCS: 212].

Shawi: Hart 1988: 247. Polysemy: 'eye / seed / face / a leather strap pattern'. *-ra* {-ra} is a classifier for small objects. 3Sg: *yaʔpi-r-ī* {ya'pirin}. Cf. *=ɾaya* {=raya}, which is a classifier for eyes, faces and seeds [Hart 1988: 481].

Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #23 (*ɾaja). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in both daughter languages, becoming a classifier in Shawi. <u>Replacements:</u> In Shawi, the word was replaced with a reflex of *yaʔpi(ʔ)-* (the root is preserved in the derivatives meaning 'to have pain in the eye' and 'blind' in Shiwilu), cf. Proto-Jivaroan *y'api* 'face' (Aguaruna, Achuar-Shiwiar *y'api*, Huambisa *yapi*). <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> Polysemy 'eye / face / seed' is attested in both daughter languages and may be projected onto the proto-level.

74. SIT

Shiwilu *ðuʔ-ʎi {duʾlli}* (1), Shawi *wĩsɨ-ɾĩ {huënsërin}* # (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 97; Madalengoitia 2013: 70. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.

Shawi: Hart 1988: 79. Translated as 'to sit down'. Polysemy: 'to sit down / to wake up / to follow the puberty rituals (of girls)'.

Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

75. SKIN

Shiwilu *čipi-tɘk {chipitek}* (1) / *tɘk {tek}* (2), Shawi *šaʔwɨ-tɨʔ {shaʾwë-tëʾ}* (3).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 64; Madalengoitia 2013: 92. Polysemy: 'skin / bark / leather / fish scales'. *-tɘk* is a classifier for skins and barks and it can also be used independently in the meaning 'bark / skin' [DSCCS: 441].DSCCS: 441. Polysemy: 'skin / bark'.

Shawi: Hart 1988: 212, 429. Polysemy: 'leather / bark'. *-tɨʔ* {-të} is a classifier for skins and barks. 3Sg: *šaʔwɨ-t꞉* {sha'huëtën}.

Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible. *=tɨk* must have been a classifier.

76. SLEEP

Shiwilu *wič-iʔ-ʎi {wichilli}* (1), Shawi *wɨʔɨ-ɾĩ {huëʾërin}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan *wi...* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 504.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 76.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #61 (*w[i/i]Ci(ʔ)*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in both daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are apparently irregular; in both languages the root structure was obscured by suffixation.

77. SMALL

Shiwilu *aʔmə̆r {aʼmer}* (1) / *ðamə̆r {damer}* (2), Shawi *waʔw-i-šĩ {huaʼhuishin}* (3), Proto-Cahuapanan **yamṛ(ʔ)* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 76.DSCCS: 13.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 71. Derived from *waʔwa* {huaʼhua} 'baby' [Hart 1988: 69]. Cf. *=ɾa* {=ra}, which is a classifier for small objects [Hart 1988: 481]. Distinct from *yami-* {yami-} 'small / thin' [Hart 1988: 243].
Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in both daughter languages, becoming slightly less basic in Shawi. <u>Replacements:</u> In Shawi, a derivative of *waʔwa* {huaʼhua} 'baby' is found, itself cognate with Shiwilu *wawa* {wawa} 'baby / boy / child / youth / offspring / baby animal' (< Proto-Cahuapanan **waʔwa*, a borrowing from Quechua). <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. The presence of a root-medial **ʔ* is not recoverable.

78. SMOKE

Shiwilu *kə̆ʎʎu {kellu}* (1), Shawi *kunaiʔ {conaiʼ}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 189; Madalengoitia 2013: 85.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 58.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

79. STAND

Shiwilu *wanə̆ʎ-ʎi {wanelli}* (1), Shawi *wani-rĩ {huanirin}* # (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **wanṛ(ʔ)-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 494; Madalengoitia 2013: 93. Distinct from *yuns-aɲ-i* {yunsañi} 'to stand up / to wake up / to come out of the mosquito net / to rise in protest / to stand up in arms' [DSCCS: 519].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 73. Translated as 'to stand up'. Polysemy: 'to stand up / to end the puberty rituals (of girls)'.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #70 (*wani*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in both daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. The presence of a root-medial **ʔ* is not recoverable.

80. STAR

Shiwilu *tanðu-la {tandula}* (1), Shawi *tayu-ɾa {tayora}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **ta(N)yu(ʔ)-ɾa* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 433; Madalengoitia 2013: 41. *-la* {-la} is a classifier for small objects.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 229. *-ɾa* {-ra} is a classifier for small objects.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #75 (**ta(n)jura*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in both daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are regular, except for the nasal coda of the first syllable. The presence of a root-medial **ʔ* is not recoverable. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> A classifier for small objects is suffixed in both languages. This must have been the case already in Proto-Cahuapanan.

81. STONE

Shiwilu *laʔpi {laʹpi}* (1), Shawi *naʔpi {naʹpi}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **ɾaKpi* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 214.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 121.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #78 (**ɾaʔpi*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in both daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

82. SUN

Shiwilu *kəkki {kekki}* (1), Shawi *piʔi {piʹi}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 188; Madalengoitia 2013: 85. Polysemy: 'sun / new Peruvian sol'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 186.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

83. SWIM

Shiwilu *iðuɲ-i {iduñi}* (1), Shawi *yun-ĩ {yonin}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **(i)yun-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 126.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 251.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #64 (**(i)jun*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in both daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are regular, except for the initial *i-* in Shiwilu.

84. TAIL

Shiwilu *ʎin-dɘk {llintek}* (1), Shawi *winam-ɨ̃ {huinamën}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 244; Madalengoitia 2013: 87. Polysemy: 'tail / vine / ayahuasca'. *-dɘk* {-tek} is a classifier for skins and barks. Distinct from *yuʔ* {yu'} 'tail of a bird' [DSCCS: 517].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 82. Glossed as 3Sg. Cf. *=winã* {=huinan}, which is a classifier for tails [Hart 1988: 480].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

85. THAT

Shiwilu *nana {nana}* (1), Shawi *ina {ina}* (1) / *pasuʔ {paso'}* (2), Proto-Cahuapanan **...na* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 288; Madalengoitia 2013: 35, 45. Polysemy: 'that / he / she / it'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 93.Hart 1988: 175.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #5 (**[na/i]na*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in both daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are apparently regular; in both languages the root structure was obscured by prefixation.

86. THIS

Shiwilu *asuʔ {asu'}* (1), Shawi *isuʔ {iso'}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **...suʔ* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 50; Madalengoitia 2013: 32.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 102.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #4 (**[a/i]suʔ*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in both daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are apparently regular; in both languages the root structure was obscured by prefixation.

87. THOU

Shiwilu *kɘŋma {kenma}* (1), Shawi *kɨma {quëma}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **kɨNma* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 189; Madalengoitia 2013: 85.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 196.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #2. <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in both daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

88. TONGUE

Shiwilu *pinǝkk-la {ñinekla}* (1), Shawi *nɨnɨ-ɾa {nënëɾa}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **ninɨK-ɾa* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 304; Madalengoitia 2013: 61. *-la* {-la} is a classifier for small objects.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 127. *-ɾa* {-ra} is a classifier for small objects. 3Sg: *nɨnɨ-ɾ-ī* {nënërin}. Also used as a classifier morpheme [Hart 1988: 480].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #46 (**ninɨɾa*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in both daughter languages. Note the similarity to Arawak forms. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> A classifier for small objects is suffixed in both languages. This must have been the case already in Proto-Cahuapanan.

89. TOOTH

Shiwilu *la-tǝk {latek}* (1), Shawi *na-tɨʔ {natë'}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **ɾa-tɨk* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 225; Madalengoitia 2013: 86. Polysemy: 'tooth / grain / kernel / or small manioc'. *-tǝk* {-tek} is a classifier for skins and barks.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 125. Surfaces as *=ɾa-tɨʔ* {=ratë'} as a second part of compounds. *-tɨʔ* {-të'} is a classifier for skins and barks. Also used as a classifier morpheme [Hart 1988: 481].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #45 (**ɾatik*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> A classifier for skins and barks is suffixed in both languages. This must have been the case already in Proto-Cahuapanan.

90. TREE

Shiwilu *nala {nala}* (1), Shawi *naɾa {naɾa}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **naɾa* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 286; Madalengoitia 2013: 89 ('stick'). Polysemy: 'tree / wood / pieces of wood / tree trunk / pole / stick'. Cf. *=naŋ* {=nan}, which is a classifier for long thin wooden objects [DSCCS: 288].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 124. Polysemy: 'tree / stick'. Cf. *=nã* {=nan}, which is a classifier for trees and instruments [Hart 1988: 480]. Distinct from *nõ-tɨʔ* {nontë'} 'wood / board' [Hart 1988: 144, 406].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #22 (**naɾa*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

91. TWO

Shiwilu *katuʔ {katu'}* (1), Shawi *kahtuʔ {cato'}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **katuK* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 185; Madalengoitia 2013: 85 (*katuʔ-taʔ* {katu'ta'}).

Shawi: Hart 1988: 55.

Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #12 (*katuʔ*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

92. GO

Shiwilu *paʔ-ʎi {pa'lli}* (1), Shawi *paʔ-nĩ {pa'nin}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **pak-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 314; Madalengoitia 2013: 90. Polysemy: 'to go / to travel'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 168. Oblique stem: *paka- ~ paa-* {paca- ~ paa-}.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #66 (*paʔ*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

93. WARM

Shawi *waa ~ waʔ {huaa ~ hua'}* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: Not attested. Cf. *uka ~ uʔka* {uka ~ u'ka} 'hot / fever' [DSCCS: 464].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 69. Distinct from *wɨyaʔ* {huëya'} 'hot' [Hart 1988: 81], which cannot go back to Proto-Cahuapanan due to an *ɨ* in an initial open syllable not preceded by another syllable with *ɨ*.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

94. WATER

Shiwilu *ðɘk {dek}* (1), Shawi *iʔ {i'}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **yɨK* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 82; Madalengoitia 2013: 42. Also used as a classifier for liquids (=*ðɘk ~ =yɘk* {=dek ~ =yek}).
Shawi: Hart 1988: 83. Also used as a classifier for liquids [Hart 1988: 480].
Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> It was certainly also found as a classifier for liquids already in Proto-Cahuapanan.

95. WE

Shiwilu *kɘŋmuʔ {kenmu'}* (1) / *kuða {kuda}* (2), Shawi *kãpuʔ {canpo'}* (1) / *kiya ~ kɨya {quiya ~ quëya}* (2), Proto-Cahuapanan **kaNpuK* (1) / **kuya* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 190. Inclusive dual. Plural: *kɘŋmuʔ-waʔ* {kenmu'wa'} [DSCCS: 191; Madalengoitia 2013: 89].DSCCS: 201; Madalengoitia 2013: 24. Exclusive.

Shawi: Hart 1988: 50. Inclusive dual. Plural: *kãpu-aʔ* {canpoa'}.Hart 1988: 198. Exclusive.

Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #3b (**k[i/a]npu(ʔ)wa(ʔ)*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are irregular. This reconstruction implies that the Shiwilu form was influenced by *kəŋma* {kenma} 'you (sg)'; **kambuʔ* {kampu'} would be the regular outcome. Other scenarios, however, are also possible. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> Inclusive dual. Plural was formed with the suffix *-(w)aK*.Valenzuela 2011: #3a (**k[u/i]ja*). <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are regular, except for the vowel of the first syllable in Shawi. A reconstruction like **kʷiya* cannot be ruled out either. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> Exclusive.

96. WHAT

Shiwilu *maʔ {ma'}* (1), Shawi *maʔ-taʔ {ma'ta'}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **maK* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 259; Madalengoitia 2013: 88. Polysemy: 'what / that (pronoun) / nothing'. Can be accompanied by classifiers.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 110.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Valenzuela 2011: #7 (**ma(ʔ)*).<u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

97. WHITE

Shiwilu *ðaða-pu {dadapu}* (1), Shawi *wiri-čĩ ~ wiri-tũ {huirichin ~ huiriton}* (2), Proto-Cahuapanan **yaya(ʔ)-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 73. Polysemy: 'white / white person'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 84, 85. Cf. *yaya-ɾuʔ* {yayaro'} 'white earth'.
Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved only in Shiwilu in its basic meaning; in Shawi, this root is only found in the compound 'white earth'. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

98. WHO

Shiwilu *ðəŋ {den}* (1), Shawi *ĩ-taʔ {inta'}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **yɨN* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 90; Madalengoitia 2013: 85.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 97.
Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

99. WOMAN

Shiwilu *kuʔapəɾ {ku'aper}* (1), Shawi *sanapi {sanapi}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 199; Madalengoitia 2013: 84 (*kuʔaʔpɘɾ* {ku'a'per}). Distinct from *šayaʔ* {shaya'} 'older sister of a man / woman' [DSCCS: 405; Madalengoitia 2013: 92]. Cf. *=luŋ* {=lun}, which is a classifier for women [DSCCS: 251].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 201. Cf. *=rũ* {=ron}, which is a classifier for women [Hart 1988: 481].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible. <u>Semantics and structure:</u> Cf. the classifier **=ruN*, which can be safely reconstructed.

100. YELLOW

Shiwilu *šaʔpiʔ {sha'pi'}* (1), Shawi *šaʔpi-tũ {sha'piton}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **šaKpiK* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 401; Madalengoitia 2013: 92.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 214.
Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular.

101. FAR

Shiwilu *wɘi ~ wai {wei ~ wai}* (1), Shawi *ahkɨ {aquë}* (-1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 499; Madalengoitia 2013: 93.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 38. The word cannot go back to Proto-Cahuapanan due to an *ɨ* in an open syllable not preceded by another syllable with *ɨ*.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

102. HEAVY

Shiwilu *kʷɘɾˈ-aʔ-suʔ {kuer'a'su'}* (1), Shawi *kɨhk-ĩ {quëquën}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 203; Madalengoitia 2013: 86 (*kʷɘɾˈ* {kuer'}).
Shawi: Hart 1988: 197. Derived from *kiʔ-nĩ* {quë'nin} 'to weight (intransitive)' (pointing to earlier **kɨk-*).
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

103. NEAR

Shawi *yaʔkariʔ ~ yaʔkari-ya {ya'cari' ~ ya'cariya}* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: Not attested. Cf. *kawi* {kawi} [Madalengoitia 2013: 93], which is a postposition [DSCCS: 187]; *muð-iŋ* {mudin}

[Madanelgoitia 2013: 93] is altogether absent from [DSCCS] in this meaning.

Shawi: Hart 1988: 240. Distinct from *piɾiyã ~ piɾuyã* {piriyan ~ piroyan}, which is a postposition [Hart 1988: 190].

Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

104. SALT

Shiwilu *ðamula {damula}* (1), Shawi *yamuɾa {yamora}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **yamu(ʔ)ɾa* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 77; Madalengoitia 2013: 84.

Shawi: Hart 1988: 244.

Proto-Cahuapanan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. The presence of a root-medial **ʔ* is not recoverable.

105. SHORT

Shiwilu *tuŋgaʔ-ša {tunkaˈsha}* (1), Shawi *čãčupi-ya {chanchopiya}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 454.

Shawi: Hart 1988: 63.

Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

106. SNAKE

Shiwilu *ðaʔwaŋ {daˈwan}* (1), Shawi *yaʔwã {yaˈhuan}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **yaKwaN* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 72.

Shawi: Hart 1988: 241.

Proto-Cahuapanan: Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular.

107. THIN

Shiwilu *simɘk {simek}* (1), Shawi *šimɨ-n-ĩ {shimënin}* (1), Proto-Cahuapanan **simɨC-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: Madalengoitia 2013: 91. Cf. *simɘ-ŋ* 'very thin' [DSCCS: 91]. Distinct from *šaʔmuʔ-ʎi* {sha'mu'lli} 'to be skinny / to be thin (of people)' [DSCCS: 401].

Shawi: Hart 1988: 215.

Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular, even though the word-final consonantism is unclear.

108. WIND

Shiwilu *tanluwa {tanluwa}* (1), Shawi *iwã {ihuan}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 435; Madanelgoitia 2013: 92, 93 (*tanlua ~ tanluwa* {tanlua ~ tanluwa}).
Shawi: Hart 1988: 88. Distinct from *yami-* {yami-} 'small / thin' [Hart 1988: 243].
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.

109. WORM

Shiwilu *kuwɘɾˀ ~ kuwɘɾ {kuwerʼ ~ kuwer}* (1), Shawi *kuwiʔ {cohuiʼ}* (1) / *taʔtanaʔ {taʼtanaʼ}* (3), Proto-Cahuapanan **kuwɽK ~ *kuwɽʔ* (1).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 212. Polysemy: 'worm / threadworm'. Distinct from *tun-la* {tunla} 'worm / maggot' [DSCCS: 455].
Shawi: Hart 1988: 57.Hart 1988: 228. Seems to be less basic than *kuwiʔ* {cohui'}.
Proto-Cahuapanan: <u>Distribution:</u> Preserved in all daughter languages. <u>Reconstruction shape:</u> Correspondences are completely regular. Shiwilu *kuwɘɾˀ* {kuwer'} points to **kuwɽK*, Shiwilu *kuwɘɾ* {kuwer} points to **kuwɽʔ*; both are compatible with the Shawi form.

110. YEAR

Shiwilu *ɘkkilala {ekkilala}* (1), Shawi *piʔih-pi ~ piʔih-piʔ {piʼipi ~ piʼipiʼ}* (2).

References and notes:

Shiwilu: DSCCS: 105. Polysemy: 'summer / dry season / year'.
Shawi: Hart 1988: 186. Polysemy: 'summer / year'.
Proto-Cahuapanan: Not reconstructible.