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How to make the most out of one morpheme: disentangling the inflectional morphology of Ticuna's finite predicative head

In San Martín de Amacayacu Ticuna (SMAT; Colombian Amazon, isolate), object (OBJ) and subject (SBJ) indexes constitute two *almost* complete paradigms that regularly procliticize (among other proclitics) to finite predicative heads, with the former coming first and the latter second (*e.g.* ʦā=ʦíbuɨ̀ (1SG.SBJ=eat), 'I eat'; *tá=ʦíbuɨ̀* (3.C4.SBJ=eat), 'he/she/it/they eat'; *tuɨ̄=ʦā=ʦíbuɨ̀-ʔẽ́ʔẽ̄* (3.C4.OBJ=1SG.SBJ=eat-CAUS), 'I feed him/her/it/them' – tilde indicates nasality, accents transcribe tonemes, and "CX" stands for "nominal agreement class n°X"). However, each of these two paradigms displays some empty cells for certain persons or agreement classes. The language makes use of interesting morphological and tonological strategies to almost unambiguously compensate for these "lacks". Analyzing these strategies will contribute to a synchronic and diachronic understanding of the intricate inflectional morphology and morphotonology of the finite predicative head in SMAT. Among other things, I will try to account for the observation that some morphemes can act both as OBJ or SBJ indexes depending on their morphosyntactic context. This talk will also "reveal" an intriguing case of nominal class agreement through tonal change. This work in progress will mostly be based on first-hand data collected in 2015-2017.