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Focus in Caquinte

by

Zachary O'Hagan

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

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in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Lev Michael, Co-chair
Associate Professor Line Mikkelsen, Co-chair
Professor William Hanks

Fall 2020

Focus in Caquinte

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Abstract

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Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Lev Michael, Co-chair

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This dissertation provides the first description and analysis of focus in Caquinte, an indigenous Arawak language of Peruvian Amazonia. It investigates the expression of a fundamental distinction in types of focus, namely between information focus and contrastive focus, which I argue is due to the salience of the alternative propositions evoked by a focus. Furthermore, three subtypes of contrastive focus are distinguished: selective focus, corrective focus, and exclusive focus (cf. English *only*). The analysis of information focus includes focus targeting arguments, verbs, subject-verb units, predicates, and sentences. The analysis of selective and corrective focus begins with arguments as the target of focus, and then covers a heterogeneous class of non-arguments (e.g., locative obliques) and the proposition. The analysis of exclusive focus is confined to arguments as the target of focus.

I show that information focus is expressed by a series of verb-initial word orders and no other special marking. Selective and corrective focus of arguments is expressed by constructions involving one of two series of copulas that evoke what I refer to as referential versus polar alternatives. These copulas occur in a preverbal position, and suppress verbal agreement corresponding to the focused argument. Exclusive focus is expressed by the numeral *aparo* 'one' in the same preverbal position, similarly suppressing agreement. Selective and corrective focus of non-arguments and the proposition is expressed by one of two particles morphologically related to the copulas, which are similarly distinguished based on whether they evoke referential versus polar alternatives.

I analyze focus in the Question under Discussion (QUD) framework, extending it in a number of ways. I argue that information focus is represented by nonbranching discourse structures, and that contrastive focus of all types is represented by branching discourse structures. The non-salient alternatives evoked in cases of information focus have no correspondence in the discourse structure (the actual answer corresponds to the one daughter of a nonbranching QUD), whereas the salient alternatives evoked in cases of contrastive focus correspond to the multiple daughter

branches of a branching QUD. I analyze the constructions involving the two series of copulas and the morphologically related particles in terms of whether they resolve constituent or polar QUDs. Consequently, I show that selective and corrective focus are not each expressed by a unique construction; rather they differ in their discourse structures. Exclusive focus exhibits similar discourse structures, but is distinguished in the analysis by the composition of the set of alternatives evoked by *aparo*. In sum, the analysis accounts for distinctions among focus types in terms of differences in the geometry of their corresponding discourse structures, together with specific claims about the set of alternatives in the case of exclusive focus.

Finally, I consider an analysis of polarity focus as a type of selective focus that evokes polar alternatives and targets the proposition. I distinguish polarity focus from *verum*, the latter expressed either by a biclausal construction involving the verb *ko* ‘be, do,’ or by the clitic =*maja*, depending on the salience of alternatives. The appendices include an overview of Caquinte history, a selective grammar sketch, and an extensive lexicon.

ashi Tentereitoqui
cavintsajamajaquenaca

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List of Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ADJ	adjective
AL	alienator
ALL	allative
ANTIP	antipassive
APPR	apprehensive
AUG	augmentative
AR	active realis
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CL	classifier
CE	counter-expectational
CF	counterfactual
CNGR	congruent (stance)
COND	conditional
COP	copula
CT	contrastive topic
DEC	deceased reference
DECL	declarative
DEON	deontic
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
DIST	distal
DSTR	distributive (plural)
DUR	durative
EMB.Q	embedded question
EXST	existential
EXTR	extremal
EW	elsewhere

F	feminine
FOC	focus
FRST	frustrative
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INCNGR	incongruent (stance)
INDEF	indefinite
IDEO	ideophone
INDR	indirect (applicative)
INFER	inferential
INSTR	instrumental
INT	interrogative
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MAL	malefactive
MED	medial
MIR	mirative
MOD	modal
MR	middle realis
NEG	negative ~ negation
NR	nonreferential
NMZ	nominalizer
OBV	obvious
ONOM	onomatopoeia
OST	ostensive
P	possessive
PERS.LOC	personal locative
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PRES	presentative
PRO	pronoun
PROL	prolonged period
PROSP	prospective
PROX	proximal
PURP	purpose
RD	reduplication
REAS	reason
REC	recipient
RECIP	reciprocal

REDEP	redepartive
REG	regressive
REL	relativizer
REQ.CONF	request confirmation
REV	reversative
SEP	separative
SM	specific moment
VBLZR	verbalizer
VER	verum

Acknowledgments

Nogonoro, coramani nocoraquetashitapojaquero piguinteniqui noninquetari nontsatanaquero piguenquetsatsare cameetsaniji nontionquero ocatica icantajitica *tesis de doctorado*. Iro nagataque imaica nosotoanaquenijite ishicoiñaquiqui cameetsa. Antonina, Joy, Emilia, Miguel, aatome pamitacotaname aatome nagatirome. Ashirontaca, acatsincatanaque osapipiguitetanaquegueti, nojocaquempiro shincaiguioquiya piquishojaqueca, pancaquena nocoacotapiniquempigueti, tee pimashitsatenaroji pigachojarite, pipeaquena pigonoro pivetsataquenagueti...pitsatacaaquena oshequini. Iro notioncaque oca paperiqui. Iravisanaquegueti irica ashinoncajagantsi, ari ashinebentabacaajiajempa aisa.

I took the long route in graduate school, encountering many people in many contexts who deserve credit for my ability to reach this final milestone. This dissertation would not be possible without my primary language teachers, and I want to recognize them in English as much as in Caquinte: Antonina Salazar Torres, Joy Salazar Torres, Emilia Sergio Salazar, and Miguel Sergio Salazar. They have welcomed me as much into their family as been constant and fathomless sources of knowledge about their language, their history, and the world they live in every day. If you'd like to read more about how their knowledge and efforts are reflected in this dissertation, see §1.4. Genner Gregorio Sergio has faithfully brought me to Kitepampani in his boat since 2011, and I'm not sure there's a more steadfast person than him. Noé Gregorio Sergio first gave me permission to come, and Fredy Gregorio Sergio has supported me since. Érica Gregorio Sergio early on challenged me to be clear about why I wanted to spend time doing language work in Kitepampani. To many many others, I am grateful for their acceptance of me in their community, and for welcoming me around their cooking fires, especially Carlos Salazar Pérez, Virginia Simeón Salazar, and Jonás Sergio Salazar. Recently, Dehiber Sergio Gregorio, Nicodemo Ríos Torres, and Caleb Torres have provided invaluable felicity judgments on Messenger, since I couldn't be in Kitepampani in 2020 due to COVID-19.

In Berkeley, my committee of Lev Michael, Line Mikkelsen, and Bill Hanks has seen me through many transfigurations of this dissertation, which was first about the expression of internal states in Caquinte, then about various evidential and mirative meanings, then about information structure generally, and finally to something a bit more tractable, focus, which has proven in itself to be the tip of an iceberg. I've worked with Lev since 2009, and was a student in his first class the year before: he empowered me as a young scholar more than any other person, assuming that I could basically already do what I hadn't actually been fully trained to do. The breadth of my interests today are a reflection of the important generalist orientation he instilled in me. My first class with Line was in 2010, logical semantics, and since then I've endeavored to replicate the clear thinking and tacit high bar she imparts on her students. Bill has always encouraged me to keep my thinking broad.

The turn to information structure is due in part, and probably unbeknownst to him, to Andrew Garrett, who invited me in early 2017 to give an evening talk—for which I ended up diverting from

my current projects to delve into information structure in my text corpus—as part of the Group in American Indian Languages (GAIL), sponsored by the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages. In turn work in the “Survey,” the department’s language archive, has redirected the latter course of my time as a graduate student, and Andrew’s mentorship in all things—but especially in noticing everything that accompanies of language work—has given me an indispensable balance that has allowed me to feel confident about many other passions of mine (e.g., App. A). Other Berkeley linguistics faculty members have sharpened my interests in many other areas of the field, especially Amy Rose Deal, Larry Hyman, Sharon Inkelas, and Peter Jenks. Chris Beier deserves special mention, for guiding a 21-year-old (directly and indirectly) in how to be and do in Peruvian Amazonia. Paula Floro’s door was always open to make all things possible. Belén Flores knows the answers to all questions. And Ronald Sprouse’s varied pursuits in linguistics and way of realizing them have inspired me.

I’ve been blessed with an ever lively bunch of Berkeley graduate student friends. Nik Rolle was my first (new) friend as a graduate student, and my sole officemate for many months in a strange red windowless room. Without him I wouldn’t have had a home following a regrettable apartment flood, or a George Costanza for much needed banter. I’ve never worked as much on Caquinte phonological topics as he would like, but he has clarified my thinking about many aspects of the language (e.g., Rolle and O’Hagan 2019). There’s probably no one with whom I share a more kindred way of thinking about (Amazonian) language(s) than Stephanie Farmer. From her I’ve learned to think creatively, to really ask why, to pay attention. More recently she and Greg Finley have brought an old-fashioned neighborliness to my life in a time when we couldn’t go anywhere. In the field, Kelsey Neely and Emily Clem have been my closest friends. We’ve had the rare opportunity to be able to be together regularly in Peru, traveling to and spending time in Sepahua, laughing in Kelsey’s small *tres-por-cuatro* house. From Kelsey I’ve learned how to be present in language work foremost as a person, later as a researcher. Emily is simultaneously endlessly giving of her time to her friends and magically productive. My fieldwork began in 2010 with Clare Sandy, Tammy Stark, and Vivian Wauters, without whom I may have never developed the comfort to be so far from home so often.

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water with her directness, and encouraging me, like Ginny, to return to some of what I might drift from. Julia Nee and Edwin Ko have understood a whole other aspect of my professional life, and for me have kept a light shone on the communities we are fortunate to collaborate with. To many many other Berkeley graduate students past and present, thank you for your camaraderie over the years, especially Kenny Baclawski, Jr., Sarah Bakst, Maddy Bossi, Emily Drummond, Florian Lionnet, Herman Leung, Jonathan Manker, Jack Merrill, Orchid Pusey, Hannah Sande, Katie Sardinha, Martha Schwarz, Tessa Scott, and John Sylak-Glassman. Natalia Chousou-Polydouri was never a graduate student in this department, but she has been an indomitable, forgiving, and supportive collaborator for a decade. Nor was Kamala Russell, who has continually refreshed my confidence in myself as a scholar, and been an unfaltering friend.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Situating the Dissertation

Critical to human interaction is our ability not only to present information to our interlocutors, but to guide their attention to particular aspects of that information. Consequently natural language has developed a range of phonological, grammatical, and other resources that allow speakers to efficiently guide their interlocutors in this way. Among the most ubiquitous and best studied of these are topic and focus constructions, which together form the core phenomena studied under the rubric of information structure. This dissertation contributes to the crosslinguistic study of information structure with a detailed description and analysis of focus in Caquinte (Swift 1988), an underdescribed Arawak language of Peruvian Amazonia. As such, it contributes to genealogical and typological diversity in the in-depth study of focus, a burgeoning area of linguistic research especially in the context of indigenous languages (e.g., Littell 2016, Bueno Holle 2019).

Typologies of focus recognize a number of kinds of focus, with the consensus view, exemplified by Aissen (to appear), making a fundamental distinction between information focus and contrastive focus. As is common, Aissen distinguishes subtypes of contrastive focus, including selective, corrective, additive, and exclusive focus (Figure 1.1).¹ In an alternatives-based approach to focus (Rooth 1985), adopted in this dissertation, the distinction between information focus and contrastive focus corresponds to the contextual salience or lack thereof of the alternative propositions evoked by a focus.²

The Question under Discussion (QUD) framework (Roberts 1996) has emerged in the last 25 years as a prominent approach to the analysis of information structure (Beaver et al. 2017). However, QUD analyses of focus have not fully reckoned with the various types of focus, in

¹Subtypes of focus have been studied for some time in a number of theoretical frameworks, especially Functional Grammar (e.g., Dik et al. 1981). See Watters (1979) for an early typology in this vein (in Aghem; Bantu, Cameroon).

²See Zimmermann and Onea 2011:1662-1665 for discussion of the validity of the distinction in general. Scholars such as Krifka (2008:258-259) find the term contrastive misleading, preferring open focus and closed focus. For Kiss (1998), the fundamental distinction is between information focus and identificational focus, which “represents a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements” (ibid.:245), similar to the notion of salient alternatives.

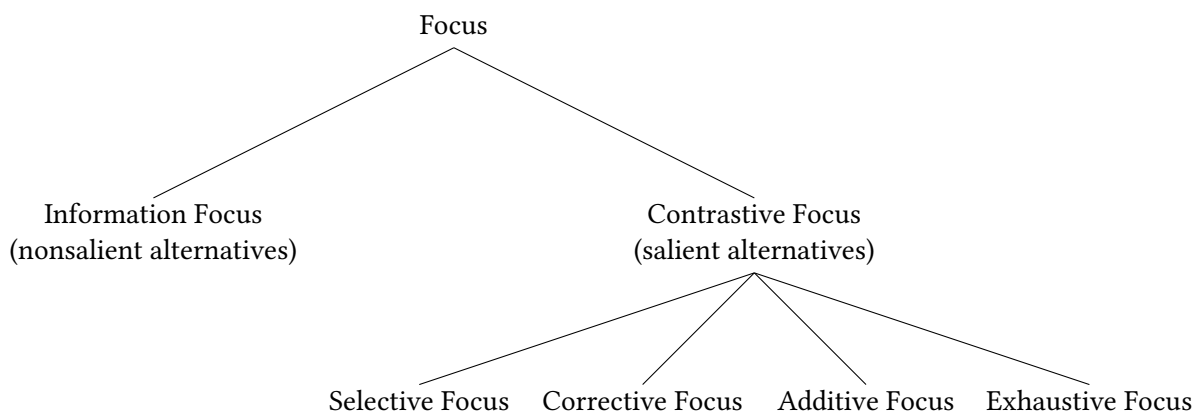


Figure 1.1: Focus Typology after Aissen (to appear)

particular the distinction between information focus and contrastive focus.³ In particular, while QUD analyses have engaged with particular phenomena associated with, for example, contrastive focus—as with Roberts’s original analysis of certain English accent patterns (2012:51-57)—they have not articulated the difference in the salience of alternative propositions in terms of the geometry of the D(iscourse)-trees (Büring 2003) that formalize QUD analyses. Nor have particles that associate with focus—such as English *only*, with its complement exclusion interpretation (Coppock and Beaver 2014:373)—been articulated in D-tree-geometric terms.⁴ There is thus a disconnect between the high degree of articulation of typologies of focus, on the one hand, and the relatively limited application of the QUD framework to the various resulting types of focus, on the other. With the goal of bridging this divide, this dissertation closely examines several focus constructions in Caquinte, establishing a series of discourse structures that distinguish them. In doing so, it contributes to the theorization of types of focus within the QUD framework.

Specifically, I analyze the nonsalient alternatives evoked in cases of information focus as answers to nonbranching QUDs (Ch. 5). In contrast, I analyze the salient alternatives of contrastive focus as answers to branching QUDs. Caquinte selective focus (Ch. 2), in turn, necessitates a distinction in whether the branching QUD is a constituent QUD (Figure 1.2) or a polar QUD (Figure 1.3). My analysis of corrective focus (Ch. 3) builds on the analysis of selective focus: I analyze corrective focus as composed of the two types of branching QUDs. In this structure (Figure 1.4) a polar QUD is a sister to an answer, both of which are daughters of a constituent QUD.⁵

³See Riester (2015:2-6) for discussion of the inconsistency in distinguishing information focus from contrastive focus in the study of focus in general.

⁴In a different vein, much QUD-based work has concentrated on non-focus-related information-structural phenomena such as contrastive topic (see Constant 2014 for a recent account), or on non-information-structural phenomena such as discourse particles that express particular discourse moves (e.g., Rojas-Esponda 2014, AnderBois 2016, Biezma and Rawlins 2017).

⁵This geometry resembles that in Sheil’s (2016:39-46) analysis of the Scottish Gaelic propositional cleft.

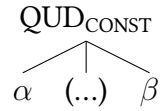


Figure 1.2: Structure of Selective Focus (Referential)

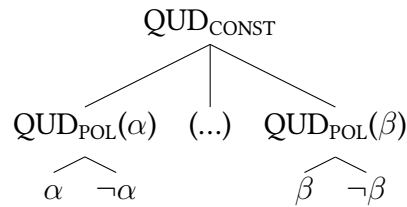


Figure 1.3: Structure of Selective Focus (Polar)

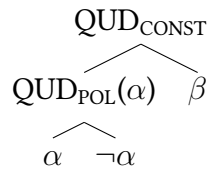
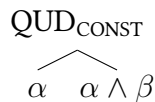
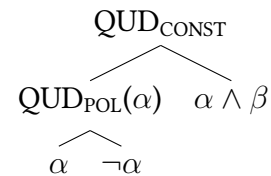


Figure 1.4: Structure of Corrective Focus

Finally, exclusive focus involves the same discourse structures, but differs in the composition of the set of alternatives. The analysis relies on a distinction between atomic alternatives and complex alternatives. The former are the regular alternatives at play in all focus types. The latter are sets of atomic alternatives that intuitively correspond to pluralities. In exclusive focus, the complex alternative is ruled out in favor of the atomic alternative (Figure 1.5). In the negation of exclusive focus, the atomic alternative is ruled out in favor of a complex alternative (Figure 1.6).⁶

Figure 1.5: Structure of Exclusive Focus
(Positive)Figure 1.6: Structure of Exclusive Focus
(Negative)

⁶Note that I do not discuss additive focus in this dissertation (cf. Figure 1.1) due to its morphosyntactic uniqueness relative to the other types of contrastive focus.

In Caquinte, selective focus is expressed by two constructions consisting of one of two series of series of copulas ending in <genti> and <ro> that are sensitive to the QUD: <genti> copulas resolve constituent QUDs, while <ro> copulas resolve polar QUDs.⁷ Corrective focus combines these two constructions: the denial consists of a <ro> construction, and the correction consists of a <genti> construction. As a consequence, I show that the marking of selective and corrective focus is overlapping; the two types are distinguished based on their discourse structure. In contrast, the marking of exclusive focus is distinct, with the numeral *aparo* ‘one’ and diachronically related forms; but its discourse structures are similar.

In Chapter 5 I analyze information focus targeting different constituents: subjects, objects, verbs, subject-verb units, predicates, and the sentence as a whole. Here I show that information focus is expressed in a notably distinct way from contrastive focus in Caquinte, namely only by a series of verb-initial word orders. That is, there is no special marking with <genti> or <ro> copulas or *aparo*, nor is anti-agreement conditioned. Following this, in Chapter 6 I examine two forms parallel to these two series of copulas—*arigenti* and *ari*, similarly sensitive to constituent and polar QUDs, respectively—which target a heterogeneous class of non-arguments or a proposition for focus. I show how their discourse structures are the same as for contrastive argument focus, and discuss a conceptualization of *ari* as a marker of polarity focus. I analyze polarity focus as distinct from verum, as evidenced by two forms of distinct expression of the latter in Caquinte. Finally, the appendices contain a historical overview (App. A), a sketch of selected grammatical topics (App. B), and an extensive lexicon (App. C).

In expanding the QUD framework to account for different types of focus—both information focus and contrastive focus—this dissertation is rooted in the old idea, going back to von der Gabelentz’s (1869) related notion of a psychological predicate as developed by Paul (1880), that focus is, in essence, “the part in an answer to a *wh*-question that corresponds to the *wh*-constituent in the question” (Krifka and Musan 2012:6). The QUD framework allows us to in part adopt this characterization—a focus always corresponds to a question (even if the question is implicit)—but the Caquinte facts require us to expand on it, since one type of contrastive focus is sensitive to a polar QUD. In turn, the difference between information focus and contrastive focus is, in my approach, a matter of discourse structure: most generally, nonbranching discourse structures correspond to information focus; branching discourse structures correspond to contrastive focus.⁸

The Caquinte data and resulting analysis are significant for a number of reasons. First, they show that QUD analyses of focus must account not only for the difference between nonsalient and salient alternatives, but also for the sensitivity to polarity mentioned above. Second, this latter distinction ramifies throughout the expression of contrastive focus in Caquinte (i.e., argument, non-argument, or proposition). From a crosslinguistic perspective, the result is an unusual sensitivity to polarity in the domain of argument focus. Third, the discourse structures I pro-

⁷Throughout the dissertation, I represent these descriptors with angle brackets, to reflect the orthographic sequences that they end in. They are pronounced [gendi] and [ro].

⁸In this vein, note that in Chapter 2 I further show that the form of constituent questions is sensitive to the branching nature of the QUD, with a clefted constituent question preferred in the branching case. This yields the possibility of what I refer to as reconfigurations of the discourse structure, that is, cases where a constituent question suggests one structure but its answer suggests another. I mention these in Chapter 2 and reflect on them in the conclusion.

pose show that selective focus, corrective focus, and exclusive focus should all be thought of in a similar fashion, as all involving the same discourse structure of a branching QUD, with important variation in how complex the discourse structures are overall. This is especially notable for exclusive focus, insofar as I analyze an *only*-like element not simply as associating with focus. Fourth, the naturalistic data on which the dissertation is based (augmented with elicited data to show infelicity) opens the door for exploring even more complex discourse structures in an underdescribed language, in particular ones in which answers dominate QUDs (see §2.4.3, cf. van Kuppevelt’s 1995 feeders). More generally, the use of naturalistic discourse builds on the work of Riester (2019) and others to continue to push the QUD framework beyond the realm of theoretical or constructed examples. Fifth, the study of information-structural categories in Amazonian languages generally is very much in its infancy (see Valle 2017 for a recent example of progress in this vein), in which context the detailed study of naturalistic data as presented in this dissertation moves our understanding of the use of these languages forward in a substantial way. I hope to indirectly illustrate a methodology that can be of assistance to fieldworkers in the future.

In the remainder of this introduction I briefly review a series of parameters that distinguish Caquinte focus constructions (§1.2). These will be useful for the reader to bear in mind as they read the subsequent description and analysis. In §1.3 I give a detailed overview of the empirical content of the dissertation, followed by background on the documentary project (§1.4) and the classification, regional context, and use of Caquinte (§1.5). Note that I provide more background to alternatives and the QUD framework in §§2.1.1 and 2.1.2.

1.2 Parameters for Types of Focus

In this section I briefly review a series of parameters that distinguish Caquinte focus constructions. Most were mentioned in §1.1, but I emphasize them here because they will be useful for the reader to bear in mind as they read the subsequent description and analysis. They are: salience, referential versus polar alternatives, target of focus, atomic versus complex alternatives, and inclusive versus exclusive disjunctive alternatives.

1.2.1 Nonsalient versus Salient Alternatives

Alternative propositions can vary in whether they are salient in context. Nonsalient alternatives are present when the context is relatively unenriched, and yield what has been known since Halliday (1967:202) as an information focus. An information focus is typically the unmarked response to a constituent question, and as a result constituent questions are often utilized as a diagnostic for information focus. For example, if the first thing I say after arriving home at the end of a day is (1a), alternative propositions are not salient (although they are nevertheless evoked, for reasons that I detail more in §2.1.1).

- (1) a. What’d you do today?
- b. I [fished for *etsikiri* in the Ageni]_F.

INFORMATION FOCUS

When alternatives are salient, the result is a contrastive focus. Alternatives can be salient either because they are made explicit (2) or inferred as such from context.

- (2) a. Did you fish for *etsikiri* in the Ageni or weed in your garden today?
 b. I [fished for *etsikiri* in the Ageni]_F. CONTRASTIVE FOCUS

For the latter case, imagine that we have a discussion about what you might do on some day, and you entertain the possibilities that you will either go to your garden to weed or go to the Ageni River to fish for *etsikiri*. I can later felicitously ask you (3a), and you can respond with the same answer as in (1b).

- (3) a. What did you end up doing today?
 b. I [fished for *etsikiri* in the Ageni]_F. CONTRASTIVE FOCUS

In English, it can be difficult to distinguish information focus from contrastive focus in some cases. In Caquinte, however, the two exhibit notably different morphosyntactic patterns. Furthermore, in the literature one often encounters information focus characterized as the response to constituent questions, and contrastive focus as something else, with no reference to questions. However, as shown in (3b), contrastive focus can also occur in the responses to constituent question; the same is true in Caquinte. Methodologically, then, it is extremely important to pay attention to context in order to evaluate whether alternatives are salient. At times a question will be present, but at other times not. In Chapter 2 in particular, I devote significant space to the interpretation of textual examples to determine whether alternatives are salient, in addition to using elicited examples in which they have been made linguistically explicit.

1.2.2 Referential versus Polar Alternatives

The way in which alternative propositions differ from each other can vary. They can vary in terms of a constituent, which we can observe with a correction in (4), in which the alternatives vary in terms of an argument.⁹ I refer to alternatives that vary in a constituent as referential alternatives.

- (4) MOJINA didn't drink the manioc beer, MESHINANTSI drank it.

Alternatives can also vary in terms of their polarity, that is, there can be polar alternatives as opposed to referential ones. Typically polar alternatives are thought of with reference to propositions, for example, p and $\neg p$. Caquinte, however, has a dedicated strategy for evoking polar alternatives that hold of arguments (in addition to one for non-arguments and the proposition). In English the closest approximation are clefts that differ in polarity (5).

- (5) a. It was Mojina who drank the manioc beer.
 b. It WASN'T Mojina who drank it.

⁹Informally, we can speak of alternatives Mojina, Meshinantsi, etc., but strictly speaking alternatives are a set of alternative propositions.

In Caquinte, the difference between referential and polar alternatives is relevant for the understanding of contrastive focus. That is, the salient alternatives can either be other referents (e.g., α , β , etc.), or differing polarity values (e.g., α , $\neg\alpha$). While the term polarity focus is common in the literature, this term is not usually applied to argument focus, and so I avoid it as a descriptive term for argument focus. Instead I opt to describe contrastive focus that evokes referential alternatives, or contrastive focus that evokes polar alternatives. Below I discuss how these terms map on to the terms selective focus and corrective focus used in this dissertation.

Finally, in Caquinte, the markers that evoke referential versus polar alternatives differ in their ability to recover the target of focus from a previous clause. The former (<genti> expressions) must occur with the focused constituent somewhere to their right. The latter (<ro> expressions), on the other hand, can either exhibit this pattern, or recover it from a previous clause. The reader should note that in such cases there is strictly speaking no overt expression corresponding to the target of focus. It can be helpful to think of these latter cases as akin to the English examples with *that* in (6) and (7).

- (6) THAT'S who I saw.
- (7) THAT'S how I did it.

1.2.3 Target of Focus: Narrow to Broad

As we have seen, different types of focus result from whether alternatives are nonsalient or salient, or referential or polar. Yet other types of focus result from the target (or scope) of the focus. This can be most easily appreciated in a case of information focus in the response to different constituent questions. In (8a), the question targets the object, and the resulting focus is an information object focus.

- (8) a. What did he drink?
- b. He drank [manioc beer]_F. OBJECT FOCUS

In (9a), on the other hand, the question targets the predicate (i.e., the verb together with its object), and the resulting focus is an information predicate focus.

- (9) a. What did he do?
- b. He [drank manioc beer]_F. PREDICATE FOCUS

Narrower foci are those that target a smaller syntactic constituent. In this case, object focus is a narrower focus than predicate focus, since the object is part of the predicate.

1.2.4 Atomic versus Complex Alternatives

Thus far we have considered alternatives that are what I will refer to as atomic. For example, the alternatives in (10) are atomic because they each consist of a single proposition. The set of alternatives containing them is thus $\{\alpha, \beta\}$.

- (10) ATOMIC ALTERNATIVE PROPOSITIONS
- a. α = Mojina drank the manioc beer
 - b. β = Meshinantsi drank the manioc beer

In my analysis of exclusive focus (Ch. 4), however, I will claim that the alternatives are necessarily complex, consisting of atomic alternatives, that is, multiple alternative propositions. A complex alternative consisting of α and β in (10) is $[\alpha, \beta]$. In turn, sets of alternatives differ in whether they consist only of atomic alternatives, or of atomic and complex alternatives. The latter, in this case, would be $\{\alpha, \beta, [\alpha, \beta]\}$.

1.2.5 Inclusive- versus Exclusive-disjunctive Alternatives

The final parameter that will be relevant in the following analyses concerns the relationship among alternatives. So far I have taken for granted that what focus does to a set of alternatives, so to speak, is pick one or more of its members. This is the intuition, for example, behind what focus does in the answer to a question. If I ask the question in (11), and the alternatives are as in (10), and you answer with α , I can reasonably follow up with *Who else?*

- (11) Who drank the manioc beer?

That is, you have not ruled out the possibility that β might also be an answer (although I may infer that you have, given Gricean reasoning regarding the maxim of quantity).

This is a case of inclusive disjunction, namely a disjunction that remains true if either or both of its arguments (read: alternatives) are true. Moreover, I will argue that there are other cases in which exclusive disjunction applies to alternatives, that is, a disjunction that is true if only one but not both of its arguments are true. Exclusive disjunction applied to alternatives has the effect of explicitly ruling out the other alternatives in the set. In combination with the complex alternatives introduced above, I utilize exclusive disjunction to account for the effect of exclusive focus, as with the English particle *only*, for example, only α and not also β . That is, α such that the complex alternative $[\alpha, \beta]$ is ruled out.

1.3 Overview of Patterns & Organization

Caquinte exhibits a morphosyntactic division between information focus and contrastive focus. Information focus shows no special morphological marking, and is instead expressed by a series of verb-initial word orders that depend on the target of focus. For example, a focused argument in an information focus context is expressed by a full noun that must follow and not precede the verb; arguments in the presupposition, on the other hand, are expressed only by agreement affixes. In (12), by way of illustration, the argument in the presupposition in the question (the second person) is expressed by an agreement prefix, as it is also in the response. The focused object follows the verb, and co-occurs with an agreement suffix.

- (12) a. Taa pisookikiti?

taa pi- sooki -ki -i
 WH 2- visit -GO.DO.RETURN -AR

Who did you go visit?

- b. Nosookikitiri [nagoonkinite]
- _F
- .

INFORMATION OBJECT FOCUS

no- sooki -ki -i -ri no- koonkini -te
 1- visit -GO.DO.RETURN -AR -3M 1- maternal.uncle -P

I went and visited my uncle.

Because information focus in Caquinte does not involve the morphosyntactic intricacy that is found with contrastive focus, I treat it later, in Chapter 5, following the description and analysis of selective, corrective, and exclusive focus. I cover argument focus, verb focus, subject-verb focus, predicate focus, and sentence focus.

Unlike information focus, contrastive focus is expressed by two competing paradigms of copulas that occur before the verb, one ending in <genti>, the other in <ro> (Table 3.1).

Table 1.1: Caquinte Contrastive Focus Markers

	REFERENTIAL	POLAR
1	naagenti	naro
1INCL	aagenti	aro
2	abigenti	abiro
3M	irigenti	irio
3F	irogenti	iro
NON-ARG	arigenti	ari

The <genti> copulas evoke referential alternatives, whereas the <ro> copulas evoke polar ones. Verbal agreement with a contrastively focused argument is obligatorily suppressed, as it is in all cases of argument extraction, including constituent questions and relativization (see Baier and O'Hagan 2019). This is shown for contrastive subject focus in (13) and (14), respectively.

- (13)
- Irigenti**
- mirakaro [Mojina]
- _F
- .

CONTRASTIVE SUBJECT FOCUS

irigenti mir -k -a -ro Mojina
 3M.COP drink -PFV -MR -3F Mojina

It was Mojina who drank it [as opposed to someone else].

- (14)
- Irio**
- mirakaro [Mojina]
- _F
- .

CONTRASTIVE SUBJECT FOCUS

irio mir -k -a -ro Mojina
 3M.COP drink -PFV -MR -3F Mojina

It was Mojina who drank it [as opposed to not Mojina].

In addition, there are analogous forms *arigenti* and *ari* that target a heterogeneous class of non-arguments (e.g., the verb, a postpositional phrase) or the proposition, as shown in (15) and (16).

- (15) **Arigenti** [nanijitanake]_F. CONTRASTIVE VERB FOCUS

arigenti no- aniji -an -k -i
FOC 1- walk -ABL -PFV -AR

I walked away [as opposed to running away].

- (16) **Ari** [nanijitanake]_F. CONTRASTIVE VERB FOCUS

ari no- aniji -an -k -i
FOC 1- walk -ABL -PFV -AR

I walked away [as opposed to not walking away].

The distribution of these markers in question-answer pairs is striking: <genti> constructions serve as felicitous answers to constituent questions (e.g., *What did you do?*), but not to polar questions; <ro> constructions serve as felicitous answers to polar questions (e.g., *Did you walk away?*), but not to constituent questions. The latter can also occur in polar questions themselves, resulting in cases of doublets in question-answer pairs.

Chapters 2 and 3 concentrate on the distribution of <genti> and <ro> copulas in expressing selective focus and corrective focus; they each play a role in both. In (17), an example of selective focus, third person masculine *irigenti* occurs in the first clause, and *irio* in the second one. I also preliminarily introduce *arigenti* and *ari* in this chapter, since corrections allow for an easy way to identify the constituents they target for focus.

- (17) Ari **irigenti** obetsataka [nomankigare]_F, **irio** tsatakero. SELECTIVE FOCUS

ari irigenti o- obetsa -k -a no- mankigare irio tsa -ak -i -ro
FOC 3M.COP 3F- speak -PFV -MR 1- spouse 3M.COP know -PFV -AR -3F

So it was my husband she spoke to, it was him who knew it.

(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:40)

In these chapters we will also encounter a number of morphosyntactic differences between <genti> and <ro> copulas, with an introduction to them as copulas proper in §2.2. The former can only occur in positive declarative clauses, and cannot occur with certain clitics that evoke polar alternatives (e.g., counterfactual = *me*). They are found in statements that are uncontroversial (e.g., in teaching the names of things). The latter occur elsewhere: in polar questions, under negation, with these clitics, etc. (The same facts hold for *arigenti* and *ari*—see below.) In Chapter 2 I also show that the form of constituent questions is affected by the salience of referential alternatives, a clefted question occurring as the preferred question preceding responses with <genti>

copulas. The cleftedness of these constituent questions raises an important question of whether the focus constructions consisting of the copulas should also be analyzed as clefts. I do not resolve this question in this dissertation, but I note that, whatever the answer, it ramifies to the larger constituents targeted by *arigenti* and *ari*, together with the proposition, which they also target.

In Chapter 4 I turn to the expression of exclusive focus with the numeral *aparo* ‘one,’ which occurs in a construction parallel to the <genti> and <ro> copulas, suppressing agreement (18).

(18) **Aparo** mirakaro [Mojina]_F. EXCLUSIVE FOCUS

aparo mir -k -a -ro Mojina
one drink -PFV -MR -3F Mojina

Only Mojina drank it [and not more people].

Following Chapter 5 on information focus (see above), in Chapter 6 I return to *arigenti* and *ari* introduced above, concentrating especially on *ari* targeting the proposition, describing a number of pragmatic effects of polar contrastive focus on the proposition. I relate this characterization to the notions of polarity focus and verum, concluding that my characterization is interchangeable with polarity focus but that verum should be conceptualized as a distinct phenomenon, which I show is realized in two distinct ways in Caquinte, one of which interacts with *ari*.

1.4 Project Background, Methodology & Representations

This dissertation is based on the documentation of Caquinte over approximately 37 weeks spent in the community of Kitepampani in the summers of 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, and 2019, preceded by a pilot trip in September 2011.¹⁰ At a meeting in 2014, community members decided that four people should be responsible for teaching me about Caquinte: Antonina Salazar Torres, Joy Salazar Torres, Emilia Sergio Salazar, and Miguel Sergio Salazar.¹¹ Without Antonina, Joy, Emilia, and Miguel, this dissertation would not exist, and I profile each of them briefly below. They are also the only Caquintes with whom I have done structured language work (e.g., elicitation, transcription, translation), the remainder of my time spent visiting and participating in community life in various ways. The language of daily life in Kitepampani is Caquinte (and Matsigenka), so one does not need to venture far to learn much. Indeed it was essential that I become conversational in Caquinte to engage with everyone on an equal footing (see §1.5.3).

Antonina was born on the Tishiro stream on the upper Pogeni River when the yellow-flowering *shimashiri* trees were in bloom, in about 1969 (see Figure A.4). At this time, most Caquinte fam-

¹⁰Although Caquinte is spoken by significant percentages of the populations of Mashía, Taini, and Maseca in the Region of Cusco, and of Tsoroja and Korinto in Junín, I have never visited these communities.

¹¹The choice of these four people was not accidental. They are from one of the extended families that most actively uses what one might call “traditional” Caquinte (see §1.5.3). They have also interacted the most with white people, Antonina’s husband †Juan having spent extended periods with his family at the SIL center in Yarinacocha.

ilies avoided regular contact with non-indigenous outsiders,¹² and it was not until 1975 or 1976 that her father †Koachaini settled with his co-wives †Abataka and †Miimi and their children in the newly formed community of Kitepampani (see §A.5). She came of age and was married there to her husband, †Juan Sergio Salazar (d. 2001), in 1983, at which point they settled in Tsoroja, returning to Kitepampani in 1988. Antonina’s dominant language is Caquinte, and she uses it in all aspects of her daily life, from the home to community meetings with foreign oil and natural gas companies. Since the late 1990s she has become passively bilingual in Matsigenka (usually responding to Matsigenkas in Caquinte). She has some facility in Spanish, but opts to avoid it unless absolutely necessary (e.g., when shopping in Sepahua). Antonina was taught to write in Caquinte in an SIL-run school, and she has written many stories in her language over the years. Apart from having the privilege to have gotten to know her family, I have worked with her mainly in recording stories, interviews, and other kinds of interaction, processing handwritten stories (i.e., typing them and checking representations), and doing monolingual elicitation on the lexicon and semantic questions.¹³

Emilia was born in Tsoroja in 1984, the daughter of Juan and Antonina. Like her mother, she prefers to speak in Caquinte but is passively bilingual in Matsigenka, and to a lesser extent in Spanish. Emilia has written and told several stories. Her brother Miguel was also born in Tsoroja, in 1986. He is trilingual in Caquinte, Matsigenka, and Spanish, having gone to high school in the Matsigenka community of Nueva Luz (Urubamba River), and then working as a boat poler (Sp. *puntero*) on the Sepahua-Camisea route before going to university in Cusco. He returned to Kitepampani in 2012. In the home, Miguel prefers to use Caquinte, and he and his wife, a native Matsigenka speaker from Nueva Luz, speak to their children in Caquinte. Work with Miguel has focused on translation, and on grammatical and lexical elicitation working in Spanish. Finally, Antonina’s youngest sibling, Joy, was born in Tsoroja in 1987. She prefers to speak in Caquinte but is passively bilingual in Matsigenka, and to a lesser extent Spanish. She settled in Kitepampani in 2005. She has written and told several stories.

1.4.1 Kinds of Linguistic Data

The majority of the examples in this dissertation are naturalistic, with elicited examples used to test particular hypotheses. The naturalistic data stems primarily from a segmented, glossed corpus of some 54,000 words of monologic texts (i.e., traditional and autobiographical stories and other histories), most of which is featured in two monolingual text collections (Salazar Torres et al. 2019; Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019) totaling over 230 single-spaced pages, one of them available online. Additionally, numerous examples are volunteered spontaneously in elicitation sessions, often in the form of brief fictive interactions. I discuss written stories, spoken stories, interviews, and elicitation below. All recordings and some associated materials (e.g., field notes) are archived with the California Language Archive (Salazar Torres et al. n.d.).

¹²In fact Caquinte women of the time did not even weave, a common practice across Nijagantsi groups, instead making clothing from (Caq.) *jooto* fiber. They also did not have access to the salt trade emanating from the Perené valley, suggesting a rather intense degree of isolation.

¹³Unless indicated otherwise, photographs are courtesy of the author.



Figure 1.7: Kitepampani from the Air (July 2018)

1.4.1.1 Written Stories

When I first began working with Antonina, Joy, Emilia, and Miguel intensively in 2014, we did group lexical elicitation sessions (see §1.4.1.5) and recorded a handful of stories. I would attempt to transcribe them myself, then do a second round of transcription with the speaker, then translate the story with Miguel. This routine did not last long, when Antonina, Joy, and Emilia realized that I, ultimately, wanted the stories written down. A few weeks into that field season they approached me as a group and indicated that they preferred to simply write the stories, which they could then read aloud if desired. The result is that the majority of the corpus is written stories, with recordings primarily of Emilia reading hers.

1.4.1.2 Spoken Stories

By 2018, we had collectively abandoned written stories, opting for audio- and/or video-recorded ones instead, in large part due to the fact that by then I could effectively transcribe texts myself, checking them with Miguel as needed. This allowed us to record more stories, since less time

needed to be spent writing them, but these stories, with one exception—Emilia’s story of *Kajebi* Mushroom (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:44-46)—went unparsed, and do not feature in the text collections. A major upcoming project is to finish transcribing and translating the texts from 2018 and 2019, and to create another text collection. Before 2018, recordings were mostly audio-only, and since then, with the exception of elicitation sessions, have been video-only.¹⁴

1.4.1.3 Interviews

One of the two other primary sources of data in the documentation of Caquinte comes from semi-structured monolingual interviews done with Antonina. These began in 2016 with a focus on genealogies (see §A.3), and in subsequent years proceeded to cover various other cultural and historical topics (e.g., marriage practices).

1.4.1.4 Visiting & Meetings

Apart from the semi-structured contexts of storytelling and interviews, I have made recordings of visits to other households, placing the recorder in a fanny pack with the zipper slightly open for a lapel microphone to clip to the outside (see Beier 2010:235-240 for more details of this method). This allows for the capture—with consent—of the spontaneous conversation of home life *modulo* my presence as a participant. Relatedly, I have often been asked to make video recordings of community meetings (e.g., with representatives of the government). Unfortunately the spaces in which these meetings take place often come with a degrading amount of echo, and in general it is difficult to capture sound adequately from so many participants spread across the room. Nevertheless, recordings of meetings document other speech styles, especially argumentative styles (i.e., remonstrations directed at outsiders, not usually among community members). As with interviews, examples from recordings of visiting and meetings do not feature in this dissertation.

1.4.1.5 Elicitation

In 2014 I carried out a number of lexical elicitation sessions in a group with Antonina, Joy, and Emilia, with Miguel serving as translator. After that period, my elicitation work mainly took the form of questions I had about particular lexical items or grammatical constructions woven into the process of text translation with Miguel. In 2017 I began doing dedicated elicitation sessions with Antonina (in Caquinte) and Miguel (in Spanish), and they are the only two with whom I have done this. They are exceedingly gifted in imagining scenarios in which particular utterances are felicitous, confirming scenarios that I may provide, modifying them or the utterance, or inventing their own scenarios to begin with.

While elicitation constitutes the minority of the time I devote to the study of Caquinte, I began some elicitation on the focus-related issues dealt with in this dissertation in 2017. The primary goal has been to obtain a modest amount of infelicitous examples of particular constructions; examples of felicitous constructions are drawn almost exclusively from the text collections. In a

¹⁴In 2018 I also began documenting flora with video, but this research remains in its infancy.

small number of cases I have been interested in whether particular words are well formed (e.g., combinations of copulas and clitics); these judgments require less contextualization. Unable to go to Kitepampani in 2020 due to COVID-19-related travel restrictions, additional elicited examples were obtained either through written messages or voice calls on Facebook Messenger with Dehiber Sergio Gregorio, Nicodemo Ríos Salazar, and Caleb Torres. Dehiber is a young man from Kitepampani. Nicodemo and Caleb are from the communities of Mashía and Maseca, respectively.

1.4.2 Translation

The translations of examples in this dissertation are either a consensus translation or my own directly from the Caquinte. In the earlier years of my study of the language, I translated out of necessity all of every parsed text with Miguel into Spanish. While he is conversationally bilingual in Spanish, he did not learn it until his late teenage years, and since 2012 does not use it with much frequency. As a result, translation could sometimes reach an impasse where he would describe to me in Spanish what a Caquinte word meant but not be able to think of the specific Spanish word, and where I, with my similarly second-language Spanish, could not think of the word either. This is one such case in which I would supply an English translation directly.

As the years have gone by, my need for a translator has subsided, as has (understandably) the willingness of people to provide me with Spanish translations of utterances they know I understand. As a result, I now do most translation on my own directly into English, consulting systematically with speakers regarding words that I do not understand or grammatical constructions that I suspect might have a meaning I am not familiar with. (See Beier 2010:223-224 for comments on translation in another Nijagantsi Arawak community of the region.)

1.4.3 Representations

1.4.3.1 Orthography

Caquintes have written their language since the late 1970s, when SIL International—then the Summer Institute of Linguistics, known in Peru as the Instituto Lingüístico de Verano—developed an orthography. This orthography is based on Hispanic conventions, per the explicit requests of Caquintes at the time (to make future literacy in Spanish easier). For example, <c> and <qu> represent /k/, the former before <o> and <a>, the latter before <i> and <e>. In 2010, the Ministry of Education—as part of a broader political program for the *normalización* (standardization) of alphabets in indigenous languages—initiated a series of workshops that culminated in the “officialization” of a new Caquinte alphabet in December 2013.

This process was based on a brief period of fieldwork by a Peruvian anthropology student in the summer of 2012, in order to document the segmental inventory and phonotactics of the language (despite Swift 1988:99-134).¹⁵ To date it has not been followed up by the development of *normas de escritura*—writing norms, that is, spelling conventions—based on the phonological

¹⁵The data collected in 2012 is far from adequately representative. For example, it is claimed that several combinations of onsets and nuclei are unattested (e.g., /tʰa/) when in fact they are readily attested.

inventory and, more importantly, on phonological processes. This has meant that storybooks produced by the Ministry at later dates are rife with spelling “errors,” that is, where one and the same word is spelled inconsistently throughout the text. This is detrimental to the acquisition of native language literacy, but it is not the fault of Caquintes. Developing these conventions for future government publications will be a fruitful next step in the dissemination of high-quality pedagogical materials across communities.

More worryingly, the process of alphabet workshops fomented significant conflicts among Caquinte communities, some of which supported the SIL orthography, others of which supported, not unreasonably, the Ministry’s. Two communities in particular did not support the Ministry’s efforts, and refused invitations to attend the final workshops beginning in 2013. The new alphabet was approved without their consultation, and now in practice there are two Caquinte alphabets. Furthermore, efforts by residents of Kitepampani to have a second alphabet approved were rejected. In official ministerial correspondence dated August 31, 2016, they were told, “Respecto al segundo planteamiento, en el marco de la Ley 29735, ley de lenguas originarias del Perú, y por lo dicho en el párrafo anterior, no se puede oficializar dos alfabetos para una misma lengua, ya que la Ley señala que se oficialice una escritura unificada para cada lengua originaria.”¹⁶ These people will now never receive official documents—including pedagogical materials—in the alphabet they desire, despite the fact that some of have used this alphabet for upwards of forty years.

A decision regarding how to represent Caquinte words is thus needless to say a political one. In my study of the language I have developed a set of conventions reflecting deeper phonological analysis that I make explicit here. I recognize distinct phenomena of lengthened short vowels and phonemic long vowels; only the latter are written with two graphemes. A common but optional postlexical process of /h/-metathesis is not represented, though a lexical, morphologically governed process morpheme-final /g/-deletion is (see §§B.2.3.2 & B.2.2.5). In terms of the consonant inventory, I do not recognize /r^j/ as a phoneme (*pace* Swift 1988:100), and so write this purported segment followed by a vowel as <ri> and not <ry>. More significant is the fact that I follow the Ministry’s new alphabet when it comes to the representation of /β/, /k/, and /g/, for consistency in the representation of one and the same (grammatical and lexical) morpheme in different phonological contexts. In short, excepting <ry>, the orthography used throughout this dissertation is the new one, *modulo* previously unstandardized spelling conventions. The only places I divert from this convention are in the name of the language, the dedication, and the acknowledgments, in recognition of the fact that the individuals who have taught me their language prefer the old alphabet. See §B.2.1 for the graphemes that deviate from the International Phonetic Alphabet.

1.4.3.2 Conventions for Interlinear Examples

Examples in this dissertation have the format in (19): a line of orthographic representation, a line of segmented morphemes given in their underlying forms, glosses, and translation in English. A citation follows, either to one of two text collections, to another text not in these collections

¹⁶Translation (mine): “With regard to the second proposal, in the framework of Law 29735, the law of indigenous languages of Peru, and given what was said in the previous paragraph, two alphabets cannot be officialized for the same language, since the law signals that one unified writing system be officialized for each indigenous language.”

(with the speaker's initials), or to an elicitation (dated with the speaker's initials). Caquinte repairs impermissible sequences of phonemes via deletion, or by epenthesis of /t/ or /a/, depending on the morphophonological environment (see §B.2.2.2). These processes are represented in the first line. In the segmentation line, however, I include the deleted vowels because they are present underlyingly, and exclude the epenthetic segments because they are not present underlyingly.

(19) Jero otsapa.

je -ro o- tsapa
PRES -F 3F- line

Here is a line.

Examples are cited at the bottom right with a reference to: one of two text collections described above; online communication, with speakers initials, 'Messenger,' and the date; in-person elicitation, simply with speaker initials and the date; a text not in the text collection, with 'text,' speaker initials, and a three-letter abbreviation of the text; or an interview or interview-like setting, with 'int.', speaker initials, and the date. Finally, some examples are drawn from the Caquinte translation of the New Testament (Anonymous 2005). Citations for these examples give book, chapter, and verse. The translations are my literal translation of the Caquinte, with a footnote appearing at the end of the translation containing the original as in the King James version.¹⁷

1.5 Classification, Regional Context & Use

1.5.1 Linguistic Classification

Caquinte belongs to what has been known as the Kampa branch (Mihás 2017d) of the Arawak language family, one of the Americas' most geographically widespread families, extending from Argentina in the south to the northern islands of the Caribbean. In an effort to avoid the Spanish term *campa*, felt by many to be used in derogatory reference to speakers of Ashaninka and Asheninka, in this dissertation I will use the term Nijagantsi, proposed by Michael (2020), to refer to this branch,¹⁸ which is typically divided into six languages: Ashaninka, Asheninka, Caquinte, Matsigenka, Nanti, and Nomatsigenga. In turn Asheninka has a number of commonly recognized varieties, the diachronic relationships between which are quite complex (see Pedrós 2018): Apurucayali, Pajonal, Perené, Pichis, and Ucayali.¹⁹ Ashaninka, in contrast, is understood to be more internally homogeneous. It is the geographically most proximal of the languages to Caquinte territory prior to the mid-20th century (see §1.5.3), spoken along the Tambo River, and farther upriver along the Ene and Apurímac. All Nijagantsi languages are spoken exclusively in

¹⁷Note that the King James version was not the version consulted for the translation.

¹⁸The word **nijagantsi* is the proto-Nijagantsi word for speech, based on the verb **nij*, event nominalizer *-*aga*, and *-(*n*)*tsi*, which derives an alienable noun from an inalienable one so that it can surface without a possessor.

¹⁹Note that Payne (1981) uses the term Axininica (and not Asheninka) to refer to the Apurucayali dialect.

the southeastern region of Peru, with the exception of the Ucayali dialect of Asheninka, which extends into neighboring Brazil.

Michael (2011) has proposed the phylogeny for these languages given in Figure 1.8.²⁰

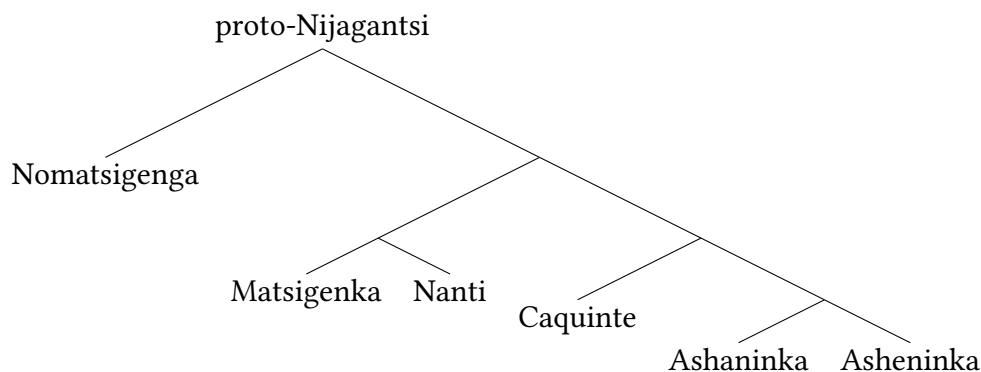


Figure 1.8: Nijagantsi Phylogeny (Michael 2011)

Michael (2008:218) proposes a different phylogeny, in which there is a primary north-south split in the proto-language (Figure 1.9), noting that this is essentially Wise's (1986) classification, with the exception that Caquinte and Ashaninka do not form a subgroup.

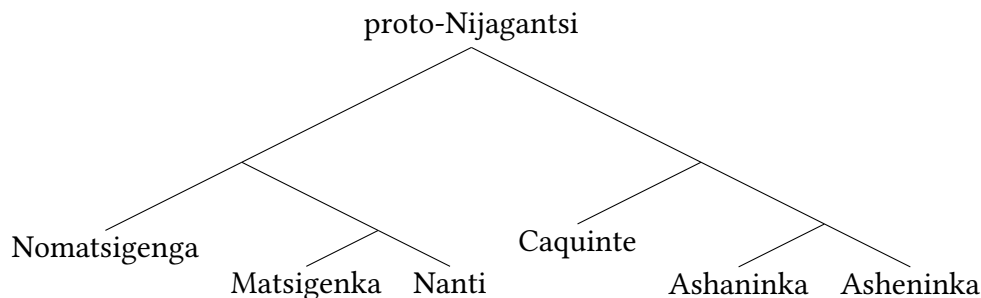


Figure 1.9: Nijagantsi Phylogeny (Michael 2008)

It is clear that Matsigenka and Nanti form a clade, as do Ashaninka and Asheninka; the position of Nomatsigenga and Caquinte are less straightforward. One sound change, monophthongization of **i* to *i*, is uniformly distributed across Caquinte, Ashaninka, and Asheninka (i.e., the northern languages), but there are no equivalent sound changes defining the southern languages (see Chen 2019:72 for discussion). In terms of morphosyntactic features, all Nijagantsi languages exhibit a very high degree of similarity, especially in the complex affixal verbal morphology. Where there is variation, it is usually most notable in Matsigenka and Nanti, and in Ashaninka and Asheninka. Impressionistically, Caquinte is pulled in two directions, as it were, when it

²⁰The only sound change defining the clade consisting of all non-Nomatsigenga languages is **s > sh* before **i*, a common sound change that may have occurred multiple times independently.

comes to these features. If one is looking for cognates of relatively obscure Caquinte grammatical morphemes, for example, they are often found only in Ashaninka (e.g., Caq. =*gitatsi*, Asha. =*itatsi*, Kindberg 1980:466). On the other hand, there are occasional conspicuous similarities with Nomatsigenga. For example, only these two languages exhibit pronouns that contain the formative *ati*, although they each have slightly different functions (e.g., second person Caq. *abiatimpa*, Nom. *obiáti*, Shaver 1996:78). They are also the only two languages attesting consonant-initial forms of what in the other languages are /a/-initial verbal suffixes (e.g., perfective *-k*, cf. Matsi. *-ak*). These could be retentions from proto-Nijagantsi, or it could suggest that Caquintes represent an Ashaninkized group of Nomatsigengas (or their close relatives). Regardless, the influence of Ashaninka over at least the last few hundred years is notable (see §A.1).

In my assessment, Caquinte does not share enough of the morphosyntactic features found only in Matsigenka and Nanti, or only in Ashaninka and Asheninka, to be considered a member of either of these subgroups (*pace* Wise 1986). It may be that the phylogeny of Nijagantsi is simply less articulated than either Wise or Michael's proposals. There has clearly been a longstanding zone of interaction along the Tambo, Ene, and Apurímac rivers that involves Nomatsigengas, Caquintes, Ashaninkas, and Asheninkas that excludes Matsigenkas and Nantis, and, with the possible exception of Yines (whose language is Arawak but non-Nijagantsi), no other languages. This has almost certainly resulted in the lateral transmission of lexical and morphosyntactic features that obscures a simple phylogeny. On this view, there may be a four-way split in proto-Nijagantsi of Nomatsigenga, Matsigenka and Nanti, Caquinte, and Ashaninka and Asheninka. Needless to say, much remains to be understood in Nijagantsi historical linguistics, especially as it pertains to the effects of intrafamily language contact.

1.5.2 Regional Context

The world in which Caquintes and speakers of other (Nijagantsi) indigenous languages circulate most regularly lies in the Andean foothills and Amazonian lowlands more or less due east of Lima. Outlined in Figure 1.10 is the La Convención province, which constitutes all of the lowlands and most of the land area of the Region of Cusco, seen in the southeast (see below).

From the coast, one travels to this region usually in one of three ways. An overland route connects Lima to Puerto Ocopa by paved road. From there it is a day's truck ride on dirt roads through stunning cloud forests to Atalaya. Alternatively, one can fly to Atalaya—via the large Amazonian city of Pucallpa farther to the north, or, more recently, direct from Lima—or to Cusco. From the latter, it is then a long, windy bus ride over the Andes to Quillabamba, and from there in vans through Kiteni and on to Ivochote, the end of the road. Thus the region between Ivochote in the south and Atalaya in the north (some 125 miles, but considerably farther by river) is traversed exclusively by river. Consequently two drainages figure prominently in the life of the region. To the west of the Otishi National Park runs (from south to north) the Apurímac River, which becomes the Ene River, and then where it joins the Perené below Puerto Ocopa it becomes the Tambo. To the east, from upriver of Machu Picchu (see Aguas Calientes) runs (south to north) the Urubamba River, which, once it passes the Pongo de Mainique (a gorge) below Ivochote, empties into the lowlands proper. The Urubamba joins the Tambo at Atalaya, and becomes the Ucayali.

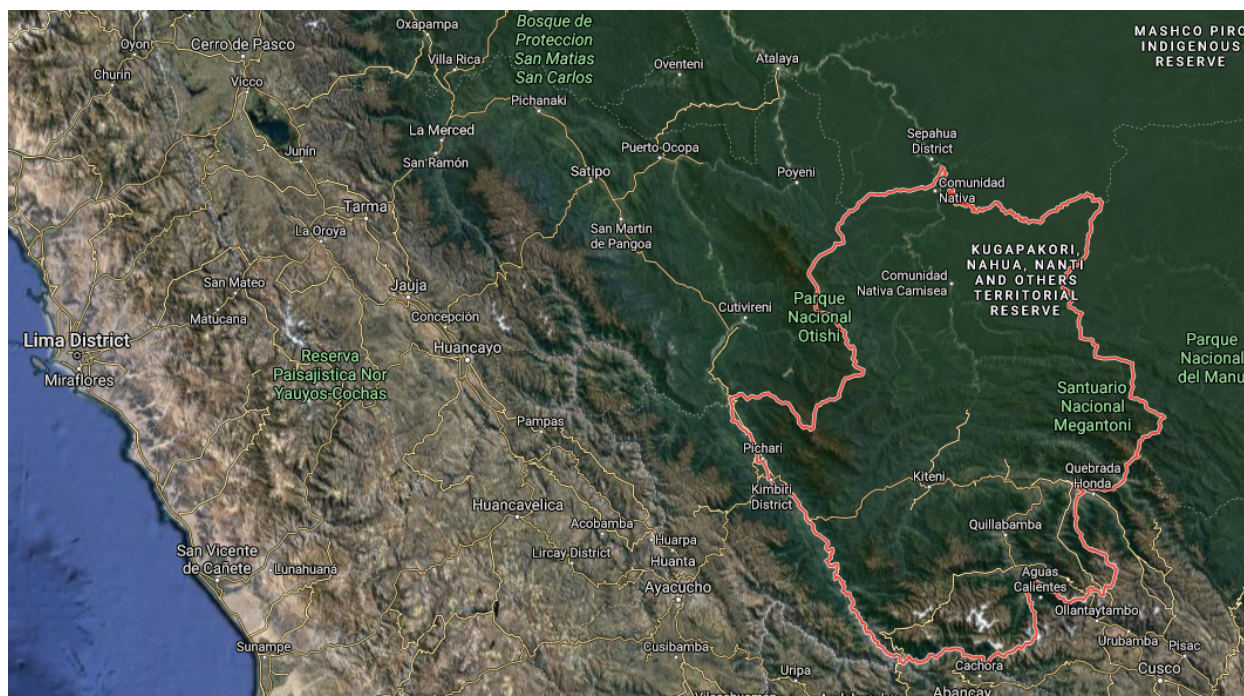


Figure 1.10: Central Region of Peru (Province of La Convención, Cusco outlined)

The area surrounding Satipo is known in Peru as the Selva Central, and in the area to the east and southeast the use of indigenous languages is widespread, in hundreds of titled indigenous communities and in urban centers. In addition to the Nijagantsi (Arawak) languages, which are all spoken in this region, Yanesha' (Arawak) is spoken northeast of La Merced, Yine (Arawak) is spoken along the lower Urubamba, especially between Atalaya and Sepahua, and Nahua (Panoan) is spoken to the east of Sepahua on the Mishagua River. In general, east of the lower Urubamba and north of Atalaya, Panoan languages predominate—to the south is Arawak country. To the east of Cusco are Harakmbut and Takanan languages, as well as other Arawak languages.

Life outside of indigenous communities in the Tambo-Ene versus Urubamba basins revolves around different points. In the northern half of La Convención is the District of Megantoni, a majority Matsigenka region. Much commercial life takes place in Sepahua (in the Region of Ucayali), but since Megantoni belongs to Cusco, much business must be transacted in Quillabamba, which, depending on the time of year, requires relatively dangerous river travel through the Pongo de Mainique. In contrast, Atalaya is a commercial center for residents on the Tambo, and many from farther upriver frequent Satipo.

In general, Matsigenka communities are spread along the upper and lower Urubamba River between Quillabamba and the northern extreme of Megantoni, with additional communities to



Figure 1.11: Road from Puerto Ocopa to Atalaya (July 2019)

the east in Manú National Park. These are shown for the lower Urubamba in the central cluster in Figure 1.13. Nanti is spoken to the east, in a handful of small communities on the Camisea and Timpía rivers inside the reserve indicated. Tambo Ashaninka is spoken upriver of Atalaya (upper left cluster in Figure 1.13), Perené Asheninka on the Perené River to the west of Puerto Ocopa (Figure 1.10), and the other dialects farther to the north. The community of Oventeri, for example, is in the Pajonal region, where that dialect is spoken.

Caquinte communities span the hilly region along the northwest border of La Convención, on the other side of which is the Region of Junín. Along with Nanti, it is one of the Nijagantsi languages with the fewest speakers and smallest geographical extent. In the 2017 census, 273 people registered Caquinte as the language “they learned to speak with.” While this figure is probably an underestimate, it is not the 3,895 for Nomatsigenka, 6,629 for Matsigenka, or the 73,567 for Ashaninka and Asheninka combined. (Nantis were not enumerated.) In the following sections we will be concerned especially with the Caquinte communities of Tsoroja, Taini, and Kitepampani, as well the “annexes” of Porotobango and Tangoshiari.

1.5.3 Language Use Today

Caquinte is a vital language learned by children in multiple communities. In Kitepampani, it is used across all generations in all aspects of daily life, for example, in the home, in church, and in community meetings (although some who are able to prefer to use Spanish in meetings with



Figure 1.12: Landing in Sepahua, Urubamba River (June 2017)

outsiders so that their words do not need to be translated).²¹ Depending on who the primary school teacher is in a given year, Caquinte may also be used in school, although to date no pedagogical materials have been produced in the language by the Ministry of Education. To spend time in the upper Mipaya River—formed by the Tsogeni and Ajeni rivers, the latter of which runs by Kitepampani—is to in effect be in a non-Spanish-speaking world. That is not to say that all one hears is Caquinte: Ashaninka and Matsigenka are also widespread. Spanish is also heard regularly among temporarily resident outsider construction workers who are there for municipal infrastructure projects.²²

Language use largely depends on the make-up of one's household and the individual experiences of the people in it. Some families rarely if ever go to the Urubamba, and have children who do not complete more than a few years of primary education (and are thus exposed less to the Spanish that is sometimes used there) and have not married Matsigenkas or Ashaninkas.

²¹This characterization goes against the label *en reemplazo* 'in replacement' given by Zariquiey et al. (2019). Although there are significant pressures from Ashaninka and Matsigenka, I do not find it appropriate to assign this label to the community of speakers of Caquinte as a whole.

²²The social and linguistic impact of these projects is unstudied but not to be underestimated. Many construction workers live in otherwise relatively isolated communities like Kitepampani for a year or more.

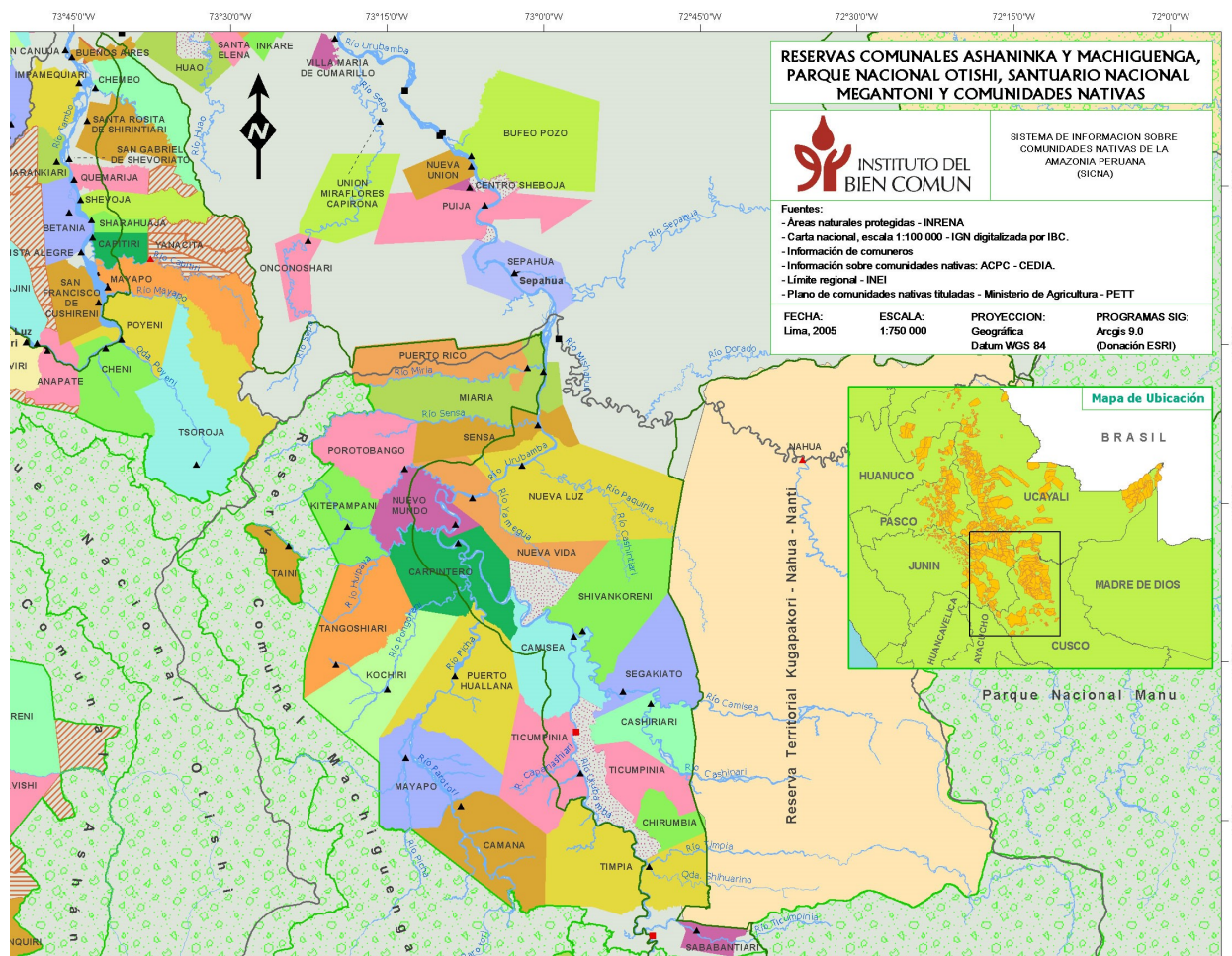


Figure 1.13: Indigenous Communities of the Lower Urubamba and Tambo Rivers (Instituto del Bien Común)

Caquinte predominates in these households, and there may be passive bilingualism in Matsigenka. Other households have a spouse that was raised on the Urubamba, and/or children who have attended high school there; more Matsigenka is heard in these households, and more recently may be exclusively heard. Yet it is not uncommon to hear Caquinte from some household members and Matsigenka from others, especially when spouses differ in which language they feel more comfortable speaking. It is not uncommon to observe one person speak in Matsigenka and their addressee respond in Caquinte. To move fluidly through Kitepampani social life, one needs to be able to speak both Caquinte and Matsigenka (or possess some combination of passive bilingualism). There is no Caquinte community in which one could visit every household and

converse reciprocally exclusively in Caquinte. This is notable, and something that is not true for speakers of Ashaninka and Matsigenka.

People who speak Matsigenka are likelier to speak Spanish, since the former often correlates with having spent significant periods of time on the Urubamba, where Spanish is heard often. That said, to my knowledge no Caquinte speaker actively residing in one of the abovementioned communities has ever married a native Spanish speaker, and in Kitepampani I have never overheard Caquintes using Spanish among themselves, unless it is to discuss political issues, and especially those with oil and natural gas companies. Conversational proficiency in Spanish is common among younger men—those forty and younger today—beginning in their later adolescent years once they have spent more time away from the community, but there are numerous exceptions to this, especially among those without a high school education on the Urubamba. This proficiency is less common among women of the same generation.

None of this is to say that Caquinte is not threatened. By far the most immediate pressures are, depending on the community, from Ashaninka and Matsigenka, in large part due to the socioeconomic, educational, and health-related draws of the Urubamba River, where Matsigenka is prevalent, and the Tambo, where Ashaninka is. Many Caquintes have recently worked seasonally for projects supported by the municipal government and Repsol, which in the main has allowed them to remain closer to their families and the active use of their native language(s), but these projects are not without consequences of their own. Most recently, as more young Caquintes have joined Facebook in the latter half of the 2010s, it is clear that Spanish predominates in an online sphere, although both Caquinte and Matsigenka are also observed. For example, the municipal government of the District of Megantoni often makes announcements or produces videos in Matsigenka and posts them to Facebook. To date nothing has been posted in Caquinte.

In my experience, speakers of Nijagantsi languages are proud people. The lower Urubamba region is still dominated by indigenous language use, and speakers of Caquinte, Ashaninka, and Matsigenka seem to be proud to be seen speaking their language to others in front of others. There is much to be hopeful for.

Chapter 2

Selective Argument Focus

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe one type of contrastive focus, namely selective argument focus, which is expressed by one of two constructions consisting of copulas ending either in <genti> or <ro>, each of which exhibits distinct forms sensitive to person. When present in a verbal clause, these copulas always express a contrastive focus of some kind; with one exception,²³ they are also required for the expression of contrastive focus, which is not expressed by any other means (e.g., by pitch, as in English). They are obligatorily preverbal, and suppress agreement with the focused argument, as in (20) and (21),²⁴ where the verbs lack subject agreement.

(20) **Irigenti** mirakaro [Mojina]_F.

irigenti mir -k -a -ro Mojina
3M.COP drink -PFV -MR -3F Mojina

It was Mojina who drank it.

(21) **Irio** mirakaro [Mojina]_F.

irio mir -k -a -ro Mojina
3M.COP drink -PFV -MR -3F Mojina

It was Mojina who drank it.

In this and subsequent chapters, I argue that contrastive focus differs from information focus in that alternatives are contextually salient, whereas with information focus alternatives are

²³That is, *aparo* ‘one’ can appear in place of these copulas, expressing exclusive focus (Chapter 4).

²⁴The <genti> and <ro> constructions have many cleft-like properties. While I do not investigate the connection to clefts in this dissertation, I systematically translate them with English clefts or pseudoclefts. This is unlike some of the introductory examples in Chapter 1, where I used capital letters to represent a focus accent in English.

not salient. I represent this fundamental distinction in terms of discourse structures that consist of questions (this term to be clarified) and answers: the information focus constructions of Chapter 5 are associated with non-branching structures; the contrastive focus constructions of this and subsequent chapters have branching structures, which instantiate the alternatives. Furthermore, the questions that (along with their answers) constitute these structures come in two types—constituent and polar—that predict the presence of <genti> copulas versus <ro> copulas, respectively, in the responses. As I explain, <genti> copulas evoke referential alternatives; <ro> copulas evoke polar ones.

My analysis of contrastive focus introduces notions of alternatives and discourse structure in terms of questions under discussion (QUDs), complementary theoretical frameworks whose relationship I delineate below. In this introduction, I first review focus alternatives (§2.1.1), relating the semantics of focus to the semantics of questions, before reviewing the notion of a discourse structure and question under discussion (§2.1.2)—I preliminarily lay out how the Caquinte empirical facts can be conceptualized in both of these frameworks. In §2.1.3 I outline the chapter.

2.1.1 Focus Alternatives & Questions

Rooth (1985) introduced the influential idea that a focus should be analyzed in terms of alternative propositions that are relevant to its interpretation—a focus is said to evoke such alternatives. As Hartmann (2008:390) summarizes, “a focused constituent α ($[\alpha]_F$) invokes [sic] a set A of alternatives to α from which α is chosen.” This definition unifies all types of focus. As she elaborates, “Depending on the interaction of α with its alternatives focus can be used in different ways and thus give rise to several focus types.” On Hartmann’s approach, information focus involves a fully implicit set A. Contrastive focus emerges when at least two members of A are explicit (n.b., below I will reframe the criterion of explicitness in terms of salience). If α is one of multiple explicit members of A, then the contrastive focus is selective; if α replaces a member of A, it is corrective.

Question-answer pairs are often used to illustrate these different types of focus, that is, to clarify the relationship of α to its alternatives. For example, a constituent question is said not to make any members of A explicit (22), its answer thus instantiating an information focus.

- (22) a. Who went downriver?
 b. [Meshinantsi]_F went downriver. INFORMATION

Alternatives can be made explicit via a disjunctive polar question (23), or via a declarative with a disjunction (24), yielding a selective focus.

- (23) a. Did Meshinantsi or Mojina go downriver?
 b. [Meshinantsi]_F went downriver. SELECTIVE
- (24) a. Kisaapakori said Meshinantsi or Mojina went downriver.
 b. [Meshinantsi]_F went downriver. SELECTIVE

Alternatives can also be made explicit in corrections. For example, a corrective focus follows the denial of a polar question (25), or a negated declarative (26).

- (25) a. Did Mojina go downriver?
 b. No, [Meshinantsi]_F went downriver. CORRECTIVE
- (26) a. Mojina didn't go downriver.
 b. [Meshinantsi]_F went downriver. CORRECTIVE

In what follows, I reframe the implicit-explicit distinction in terms of salience (§1.2.1), since the alternatives that result in contrastive focus marking can be salient but not explicit (see below).

In order to understand why question-answer pairs are used to illustrate different types of focus, it is helpful to understand the intuition behind the analysis of focus in terms of alternatives in the first place. Alternatives-based approaches to focus originate in alternatives-based approaches to questions that go back to the philosopher C.L. Hamblin (1973).²⁵ On this analysis, much like the extension of a declarative is the conditions under which it is true (i.e., the truth conditions of the proposition), the extension of a question is the conditions under which it is felicitously answered, in other words, what counts as a possible answer. This is formalized as a set of alternative propositions that serve as possible answers to a question, which Hamblin (1973:48, emphasis in original) originally put as follows.

[...] although we are inclined to class 'who' and 'which' with proper names we cannot by any stretch regard them as denoting individuals. But there is a simple alternative: they *can* be regarded as denoting *sets* of individuals. This does not mean, of course, that the formula 'who walks' asserts that the set of human individuals walks: we must modify other stipulations in sympathy. We shall need to regard 'who walks' as itself denoting a set, namely, the set whose members are the propositions denoted by 'Mary walks', 'John walks',... and so on for all individuals. Pragmatically speaking a question sets up a choice-situation between a set of propositions, namely, those propositions that count as answers to it.

The relationship between questions and focus is thus the following: the set of alternative propositions that is the extension of a question constitutes the alternatives that are evoked by a focus. For example, a constituent question like (22a) evokes alternative propositions like those in (27)—along with other possible ones, represented by three dots—which differ only in a single constituent, the subject. The selection of one of these propositions in an answer constitutes a selective focus, in this case on the subject.

- (27) {Kisaapakori went downriver, Meshinantsi went downriver, Mojina went downriver, ...}

²⁵This connection builds on the early insight that a focus can be diagnosed by its ability to respond to a question targeting a particular constituent (Paul 1880, cited in Krifka and Musan 2012).

Relatedly, a disjunctive polar question (23a) evokes exactly two alternative propositions (28), each corresponding to one of the two disjuncts. I refer to the alternative propositions that differ in a constituent as referential alternatives (see 1.2.2).

(28) {Meshinantsi went downriver, Mojina went downriver}

However, this chapter crucially depends on another type of non-referential alternatives that is not typically discussed in the domain of argument focus. These are polar alternatives, that is, alternative propositions that differ only in their polarity values, which are evoked by non-disjunctive polar questions like (25a) and represented in (29). Note that the polarity holds only of an argument, not the entire clause, which in English is most easily illustrated with a cleft.

(29) {It was Mojina who went downriver, It wasn't Mojina who went downriver}

Because polarity has only positive and negative values, alternatives of this sort are maximally two in number. Selection of one of them similarly constitutes a selective focus. I refer to the alternative propositions that differ in polarity as polar alternatives.

In this chapter I do not assume that alternatives must be explicit in order to establish a context in which a selective focus construction is felicitous. I will demonstrate that implicit alternatives can be contextually salient, and that this is sufficient for the felicity of a selective focus construction. I represent the difference between the resulting non-salient versus salient alternatives—that is, the difference between information and contrastive focus—as a difference in the non-branching versus branching structure of a discourse, respectively (see §2.1.2). And here I note an important terminological distinction: all questions and foci evoke alternatives; it is a separate matter whether those alternatives are salient. (See Mayr 2010:37-40 for an equivalent difference between formal and salient alternatives.) That is, evoking alternatives is inherent to the denotation of questions and foci; salience is a question of discourse structure.

Caquinte is especially interesting to investigate in this light because it exhibits a more elaborate system than suggested by the preceding discussion of alternatives and questions. In particular, we will see that the type of alternatives matters a great deal: the <genti> construction in (20) evokes referential alternatives, whereas the <ro> construction in (21) evokes polar alternatives (and also occurs in polar questions targeting arguments). Second, we will see that not all constituent questions are created equal: a plain constituent question occurs in contexts of non-salient alternatives; a clefted constituent question occurs in the context of salient alternatives (which, as noted above, may be implicit).

2.1.2 Discourse Structure & the Question under Discussion

The model of discourse I adopt originates in the work of Craige Roberts (1996). At its most basic level, this model assumes that interaction is organized around sets of goals shared by interlocutors that are oriented toward figuring out how the world is. They are oriented toward resolving certain topics of conversation, which can be instantiated via questions. For example, if I ask you *Is it hot outside?*, then I have established our immediate conversational goal as your assisting me in

figuring out whether it is hot outside. This question is termed a question under discussion (QUD), and the framework has come to be known by this name.

Roberts builds on the Wittgensteinian conceptualization of language as a communicative game. The game has goals, moves, rules, and strategies. The goals are either more global or more local in nature. For example, figuring out the world is a more global goal than figuring out whether it is hot outside (see above). To achieve these goals, conversational participants can make one of two basic kinds of moves. So called setup moves, after Carlson (1982), are questions. Proffered moves are assertions, or answers. In turn, moves are interpreted either based on their presupposed content or on their proffered content.

The resulting questions are understood to form a stack of questions under discussion. Roberts's original example (2012:16), with which we can appreciate the properties of a stack, is in (30). The top of the stack is the bottom of this example, with *Did Robin eat tofu?* being the immediate question under discussion.

- (30) Who ate what?
- a. What did Hilary eat?
 - i. Did Hilary eat bagels?
Ans(a_i) = yes
 - ii. Did Hilary eat tofu?
Ans(a_{ii}) = yes
 - b. What did Robin eat?
 - i. Did Robin eat bagels?
Ans(b_i) = yes
 - ii. Did Robin eat tofu?
Ans(b_{ii}) = yes

Viewed from the bottom, we can see how the stack can be added to and subtracted from. A conversational participant might ask *Who ate what?*, followed by two subsequent questions, as here. When a question is answered, it is removed from the stack. In this case, when *Did Hilary eat bagels?* is answered, it is removed, and a subsequent question can be added (i.e., *Did Hilary eat tofu?*). When participants are satisfied that the question *What did Hilary eat?* has been resolved, another question can be asked (i.e., *What did Robin eat?*), and so on.

Büring (2003:515-516) made the influential proposal that the QUD stack should be understood in terms of a discourse tree, or D-tree. For example, the hierarchical structure of (30) can be represented as in Figure 2.1.²⁶ Here the most hierarchically superior QUD—a super-QUD—is a multiple constituent QUD, which branches into two plain constituent sub-QUDs, each of which branches into two polar sub-QUDs with their corresponding answers. This tree illustrates some basic overall structural properties that will become relevant below: constituent QUDs can dominate other constituent QUDs or polar QUDs, and polar QUDs have polar answers, that is, *yes* or *no*. One property that is not illustrated is that constituent QUDs can also be answered directly.

²⁶Following the properties of adding to and subtracting from a QUD stack, this structure is to be read from the top down to the leftmost terminal node, then from the next highest node to the right downward, and so on.

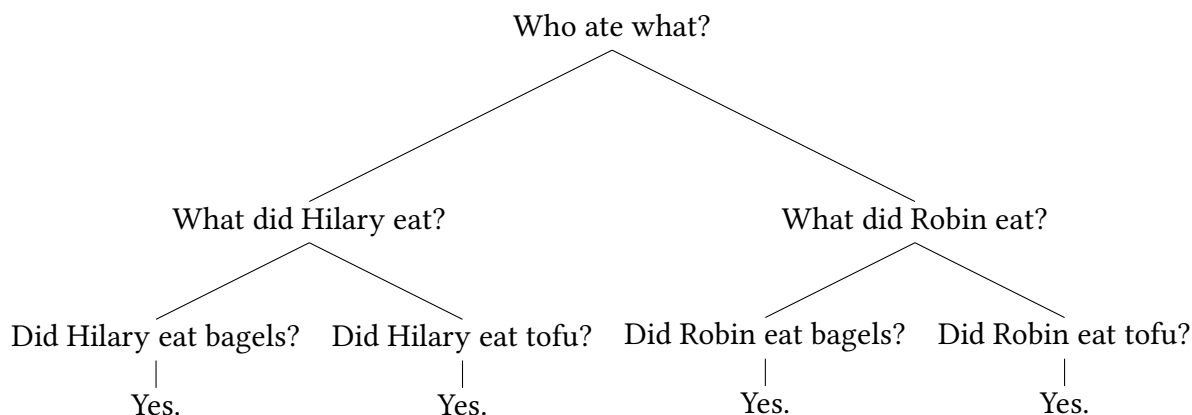


Figure 2.1: Roberts’s QUD Stack as Discourse Tree

In turn, discourse trees—or structures, as I refer to them—are subject to well-formedness constraints, namely constraints of coherence and congruence. For Büring (2003:517), coherence is determined by informativity and relevance, where informativity, based in Stalnaker’s (1978) notion of common ground, is “Don’t say known things, don’t ask for known things!” As Büring puts it (*ibid.*), relevance is “Stick to a question until it is sufficiently resolved!” For our purposes, relevance can be defined as “if q_2 is a child of q_1 , then it must be the case that any complete answer to q_2 would entail at least a partial answer to q_1 ” (Velleman and Beaver 2016:94). In Figure 2.1, for example, *What did Hilary eat?* is relevant to *Who ate what?* since answering the former partially answers the latter. Finally, tying Büring’s D-trees back to the notion of a game and its basic elements, nodes in the tree correspond to moves, and subtrees rooted in questions correspond to strategies. For example, one strategy for answering *Who ate what?* is to break it down into subquestions, as is the case in Figure 2.1.

Part of the analytical power of the QUD framework is that portions of discourse structures can be implicit, meaning that topics of conversation can be established without explicit mention. For example, in Figure 2.2, explicit linguistic content is represented in boldface (a representation I adopt throughout the remainder of this dissertation²⁷): the speaker asks where their addressee went, to which the addressee responds. Then, however, the addressee elaborates without being prompted by a question, saying what they did there. In this case, the addressee’s initial response resolves the immediate QUD, and one might expect that this conversation will end, and indeed it would be felicitous for it to. The fact that the addressee’s elaboration is also felicitous shows that a subsequent, different QUD is accommodated by the speaker, namely an implicit one *What did you do?* that the addressee’s elaboration resolves.

I emphasize that QUDs are abstract objects that are not always explicit, nor when they are explicit are they always instantiated by questions. (I will represent some declarative utterances as

²⁷This is equivalent to Büring’s (2003:525) convention of underlining.

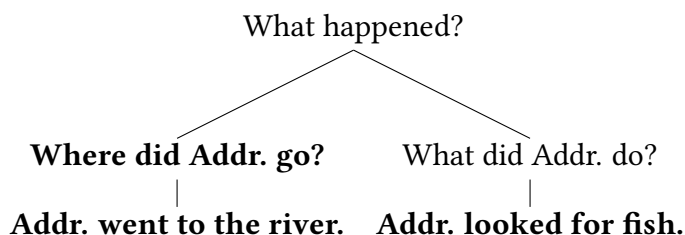


Figure 2.2: Hypothetical Discourse Structure

polar QUDs.) In keeping with their abstractness, I will not include syntactic information such as cleftedness or anaphora (i.e., pronouns) as part of QUDs either. I use ‘Sp.’ for speaker and ‘Addr.’ for addressee to stand in for first and second person pronouns. Referring to explicit versus implicit QUDs, I use the term question to refer to interrogative utterances, which are by definition always explicit. In the same vein, I refer to QUDs as (un)resolved, and questions as (un)answered.

Now I turn to how discourse structures interact with alternatives in my analysis, beginning with the general observation that the analysis centers on whether a QUD is branching. In Figure 2.1, a QUD branched only if its daughters were also QUDs (and not answers). This branching—particularly that of constituent QUDs into polar sub-QUDs—has been how the framework has dealt with the representation of alternative propositions. For example, *Hilary ate bagels* and *Hilary ate tofu* are alternatives represented as polar QUDs. I adopt this, and add to it, namely by proposing that QUDs can branch into answers: a constituent QUD can branch into multiple possible answers (referential alternatives), as can a polar QUD (polar alternatives). Branching constituent QUDs must have at least two daughters, and may have more depending on how many salient alternatives there are in the context. Polar QUDs, on the other hand, have maximally two daughters, which correspond to the notional polarity values. These two QUDs and their daughters are schematized in Figure 2.3 and Figure 2.4.

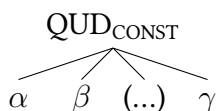


Figure 2.3: Constituent QUD

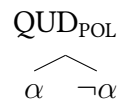


Figure 2.4: Polar QUD

As mentioned above, clefted constituent questions and answers with <genti> copulas correspond to the left figure; polar questions exhibiting a <ro> copula and answers with the same <ro> copula correspond to the right figure. I assume that all polar QUDs are dominated by constituent QUDs (Figure 2.16), which functions to indicate which constituent in a polar QUD is focused, focus accent and clefting that would indicate such constituents being absent in QUDs

given their abstract nature. Constituent QUDs may occur in the absence of polar ones.²⁸

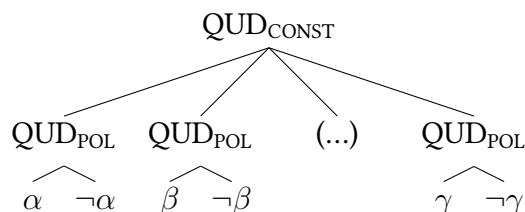


Figure 2.5: Constituent & Polar QUDs

The need to distinguish QUDs that have a nonbranching answer daughter from ones that have branching answer daughters is due to salience. I model salient alternatives as multiple daughters of a branching QUD, one of which is selected as the answer. In contrast, nonsalient alternatives have no discourse-structural reality: they correspond to nonbranching QUDs, the actual answer being a single daughter (see Ch. 5). Furthermore, the need to the answer branches of QUDs from polar QUDs themselves is that all three configurations are necessary to account for the form of Caquinte contrastive focus constructions. When the multiple daughters of a constituent QUD are possible answers (Figure 2.3), a <genti> copula occurs. When those daughters are polar QUDs (Figure 2.4), a <ro> copula occurs, both in the question that corresponds to the polar QUD and in its answer. A primary consequence of this approach is that the geometry of a branching QUD with multiple daughters is not sufficient to predict the form of selective focus marking in Caquinte; the content of those daughters—that is, whether they are answers or polar sub-QUDs—also matters.

Modeling salient alternatives as multiple daughters allows us to bring clarity to the following analytical problem: for scholars like Hartmann (*inter alia*), the difference between information focus and selective focus lies in whether alternatives are implicit or explicit, respectively. However, the morphosyntactic facts of Caquinte—namely the presence of one of the two copulas illustrated at the outset of this introduction—show us that a selective focus may be present when no alternatives have been explicitly mentioned. In short, if implicit alternatives allow for both information focus and selective focus, how do we model the difference between the two? On my view, implicit alternatives in information focus contexts have no discourse-structural reality, whereas implicit alternatives in selective focus contexts—and contrastive focus contexts generally—are the multiple daughters seen here. The same model will allow us to capture a distinction between, on the one hand, the plain constituent questions that do not occur in contexts of salient alternatives, and, on the other hand, the clefted constituent questions that do occur in this context. Lastly, I emphasize that the general distinction between constructions with <genti> copulas and those with <ro> copulas in terms of their discourse structure is expected based on the function of these copulas in nonverbal clauses, where <genti> copulas responded to constituent questions (e.g., *What is it?*) and <ro> copulas responded to polar questions (e.g., *Is it X?*).

²⁸Note that this asymmetry has implications for analyses of the semantics of constituent questions that assume that Hamblin's alternative propositions are in fact corresponding polar questions (e.g., Schoubye and Stokke 2016).

2.1.3 Chapter Outline & Extensions

This chapter has a fairly simple organization. I begin in §2.2 with a relatively atheoretical description of the two series of copulas in nonverbal clauses, as a way of introducing the reader to the basic morphosyntactic and discursive empirical facts that will be central later. Following this are two sections built around the two selective focus constructions. It will be helpful to think informally of these as the <genti> section (§2.3) and the <ro> section (§2.4), referencing the form of the two copulas that constitute the primary difference between the constructions. I begin each section with a description of basic morphosyntactic properties, which are largely parallel between the two. Then, again for both sections, I leverage a variety of different kinds of evidence in support of the interlocking claims that the <genti> construction evokes referential alternatives while the <ro> construction evokes polar alternatives, and that these alternatives are salient in both contexts (§§2.3.2 & 2.4.2). Some of this evidence is from elicitation; other evidence involves the interpretation of important textual examples. For the <genti> section only, there are then additional subsections devoted to establishing that this construction responds to clefted questions and not plain ones (§2.3.3), and that, in dialogic contexts, reconfigurations of the discourse structure between a speaker's question and an addressee's response are tolerated, and indeed widely attested in texts (§2.3.4). Because the distinction between constituent and polar questions (and by extension referential and polar alternatives) is so pervasive, throughout these sections I provide discourse structures for most examples, in order to be maximally clear regarding my analysis. One result is that, for a chapter on argument focus, there is a substantial amount of discussion of the forms of questions, but I believe this is necessary.

My main goal in this chapter is to provide the reader with a firm grounding in the distinction between selective argument focus with the <genti> construction and selective argument focus with the <ro> construction. This is for two main reasons. The first is that the two interact in more complex contexts. One I illustrate at the end of §2.4, as a segue into Chapter 3 on corrective focus, which is fundamentally based on the interaction of these two constructions. Looking farther ahead, the distinction between referential and polar alternatives extends to two analogous forms—*arigenti* and *ari*—that target a heterogeneous class of non-arguments (e.g., verbs, postpositional phrases) or the predicate. That is, the distinction between referential and polar alternatives in Caquinte ramifies well beyond the domain of argument focus, indeed to all contrastive focus in the language, regardless of constituent.

2.2 Nonverbal Clauses

The purpose of this section is to utilize the simplicity of nonverbal clauses to familiarize the reader with the basic morphosyntactic and discursive properties of the two series of copulas (Table 2.1) found in verbal contrastive focus constructions, where they exhibit the same properties. Based on these two series, Caquinte distinguishes two kinds of nonverbal clauses. One kind, a “<genti> clause,” occurs only in positive declarative contexts. The other kind, a “<ro> clause,” has no restrictions on its distribution in terms of polarity or clause type.

Table 2.1: Caquinte Copulas & Pronouns

PERSON	<genti> COPULA	<ro> COPULA	PRONOUN
1	narogenti ~ naagenti	naro	naatimpa
1INCL	arogenti ~ aagenti	aro	aatimpa
2	abirogenti ~ abigenti	abiro	abiatimpa
3M	iriogenti ~ irigenti	irio ²⁹	iriatimpa
3F	irogenti	iro	iroatimpa

Both occur optionally with nominal, pronominal, or demonstrative subjects. Moreover, a <genti> clause must occur with an explicit predicate, whereas a <ro> clause can occur with either an explicit or implicit predicate (e.g., *Iro?* ‘Is it that?’). Each exhibits a unique basic word order, described below. These properties are schematized in (31), where parentheses indicate optionality.

(31) SCHEMA OF CAQUINTE NONVERBAL CLAUSES

- a. <genti> (SUBJ) PRED
- b. <ro> (PRED) (SUBJ)

Thus the two kinds of nonverbal clauses compete only when the predicate is explicit and the clause is declarative. In this context, and elsewhere, they can be distinguished based on the type of question they felicitously answer: <genti> clauses are felicitous only as responses to constituent questions; <ro> clauses are felicitous only as responses to polar questions. This is the motivation for one of the central claims of this chapter, namely that <genti> clauses resolve constituent QUDs, and that <ro> clauses resolve polar QUDs, as well as the related claim that the alternatives evoked by such QUDs are referential and polar in nature, respectively. The difference between these referential and polar alternatives correlates with other noteworthy properties of both <genti> and <ro> nonverbal clauses and their associated verbal contrastive focus constructions: where polarity values are in play, only <ro> copulas occur. This is the case with the polar questions already mentioned, with negation, with inherently “negative” embedding verbs like *ji* ‘believe falsely,’ and with second-position clitics that express conditionality (= *geti*), modality (= *ka*), and counterfactuality (= *me*). Clauses with <genti> copulas, in contrast, cannot occur in questions, cannot be negated, cannot embed under *ji*, and cannot host these clitics. These properties are summarized in Table 2.2, illustrated with third person masculine forms.

In terms of their contexts of use, <genti> clauses are common when the proposition can be taken for granted, for example, because it is uncontroversially true, or because the addressee is ignorant (e.g., in teaching the names of objects), or because an accusation is being made and the addressee should believe the proposition to be true (even if it is false). These clauses are typically

²⁹This is a reflex of Proto-Nijagantsi **iro*, as is still attested as such in Matsigenka (Snell 2011:129).

Table 2.2: Distribution of Caquinte Copulas

PROPERTY	<genti>	<ro>
DECL	irigenti	irio
INTERR	*irigenti	irio
NEG	*tee irigenti	tee irio
COND	*irigentigeti	iriogeti
MOD	*irigentika	irioka
CNTFCTL	*irigentime	iriome

followed by expressions of understanding (e.g., *ari* ‘really’). They are less often affirmed or denied. When they are affirmed, the interpretation is one of “owning” an accusation, that is, making an affirmation not because an affirmation has been sought. In contrast, <ro> clauses, regardless of whether they occur with rising interrogative intonation or falling declarative intonation, are overwhelmingly either affirmed with *jeeje* ‘yes’ or denied with *tee* ‘no.’ The declarative use can be thought of as an indirect, very Caquinte way of “asking questions,” by which the speaker “floats” particular propositions in order to validate their truth or falsity with the addressee. Unlike <genti> clauses, declarative <ro> clauses are inherently contentious.

Before continuing, I highlight my analysis of two copulas in Caquinte, as opposed to the one copula that is described for some related languages.³⁰ In these languages, the nonverbal copula *nti* inflects for the person of the subject via an irregular set of prefixes, as in Nanti (Michael 2008:292), and there is a separate series of pronouns ending in <ro> (see the Conclusion for more extensive summary and discussion). In Caquinte, the <genti> copulas seem to correspond (partially) to the Nanti nonverbal copula, whereas the <ro> copulas seem to correspond to the pronouns. Thus my claim of two copulas in Caquinte might surprise some specialists. However, it is worth noting that there is variation in the analysis of what in Nanti is a nonverbal copula. Perené Asheninka presents yet another possibility, namely that the correspondents of *nti* are pronouns (Mihás 2015:129).

My two primary reasons for analyzing Caquinte as having two copulas is because there is a separate series of pronouns (Table 2.1),³¹ and because each of the copulas occurs with nominal, pronominal, or demonstrative subjects, as we will see in the following examples. If the Caquinte copulas were to be analyzed as pronouns, the most viable alternative analysis, then they would

³⁰Here I refer only to nonverbal copulas. Nijagantsi languages also have verbal copulas, as with Nanti *n* (Michael 2008:293) or Perené Asheninka *na* (Mihás 2015:207-208). Caquinte does not have a cognate to *n*, but it does have copular verbs such as *kan* (see §B.1.2.5), also present in Asheninka (Mihás 2015:208-209), and *ko*. Verbal copulas do not participate in focus constructions, and so are not discussed further. Caquinte also has a special negator of nonverbal clauses, *kaari* (§B.7.4), the cognate of which Mihás (2015:209-210) analyzes as a negative copula.

³¹Languages like Nanti have two series of pronouns, but others like Matsigenka have only one (see Conclusion).

have to correspond to the subjects of these nonverbal clauses. One would then need to explain why a pronominal subject co-occurs together with nominal, pronominal, and demonstrative subjects. From a Nijagantsi-internal perspective, the fact that the Caquinte copulas co-occur with full subjects in nontopicalized constructions (i.e., with the subject following the copula)—as with (32) and (51) below—is especially difficult to reconcile with a pronominal analysis. This is because, in these cases, it is not possible to appeal to an analysis of the subject as topicalized—as in (35)—and thus perhaps clause-external (permitting the occurrence of another pronoun clause-internally).

The remainder of this section is divided into two halves: one dedicated to nonverbal <genti> clauses (§2.2.1) and one to nonverbal <ro> clauses (§2.2.2). Each of these is similarly divided into two halves: the first lays out basic morphosyntactic facts related to word order, the explicitness of subjects and predicates, embedding, and co-occurrence with the abovementioned clitics; the second presents evidence for the restriction of each clause to answering a particular type of question, namely constituent or polar, as well as describing the morphosyntactic properties of that question. Throughout I make comparisons with verbal clauses, so that the reader can anticipate the similarities with contrastive argument focus constructions. As noted above, this description is intended to be atheoretical, and I make relatively little reference to alternatives and discourse structure, though I emphasize that nonverbal clauses are compatible with these analyses.

2.2.1 Copulas Ending in <genti>

2.2.1.1 Morphosyntactic Properties

Word Order The basic order of elements in nonverbal clauses containing a <genti> copula is the copula followed by two noun phrases, the subject and the predicate, as shown in (32) and (33), for masculine and feminine subjects, respectively. The first comes from a flood story in which various animals are washed through a cave into a land of female cannibals. The preceding utterance is a question, “How do they get pregnant and multiply?” The second is a statement of realization on the part of a river otter who transforms into a human in order to marry a woman.

(32) ...**Irigentitari** nomankigarejia kebetsi... Cop N N

irigenti =tari no- mankigare -jia kebetsi
3M.COP =CNGR 1- spouse -PL river.monster

...“It’s that our husbands are the river monster...” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:89)

(33) ...**Irogeniti** nomankigare mankigarentsi.” Cop N N

irogeniti no- mankigare mankigarentsi
3F.COP 1- spouse woman³²

...“My wife is a woman.” (text, JST, vam)

This order is analogous to the VSO word order associated with sentence focus (see §5.5), if one understands the copula as analogous to the verb, the nonverbal subject as the verbal subject, and the nonverbal predicate as the object. As in verbal clauses in which <genti> copulas occur, in nonverbal clauses the subject can be topicalized: in verbal clauses a topicalized argument occurs to the left of the verb; in a nonverbal clause it appears to the left of the copula, as shown in (34) for a noun and in (35) for a pronoun.

- (34) Irira masasaro **irigenti** tsimeri...

iri- ra masasaro irigenti tsimeri
3M- MED bird.sp. 3M.COP bird

Masasaro is a bird...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:111)

- (35) Iriatimpa **irigenti** pabantagarimajaka.

iriatimpa irigenti pabantagari -majaka
3M.PRO 3M.COP shaman -real

He was a real shaman.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:49)

Furthermore, subject and predicate can be inverted around the copula (36c). This pattern is attested in repetitions. In this context, Joy Salazar is walking me around her garden teaching me the names of plants. She points out *caimito* fruit to me, uttering (36a), with a precopular subject. However, my gaze is temporarily directed elsewhere, so I ask the clarificatory question in (36b). She then responds with 36c, with a precopular predicate.

- (36) a. JST: Okatika **irogenti** tsirekiro.

o- ka -tika irogenti tsirekiro
3F- PROX -OST 3F.COP caimito

This is caimito.

- b. ZJO: Kero?

Which?

- c. JST: Oka, tsirekiro **irogenti** oka.

o- ka tsirekiro irogenti o- ka
3F- PROX caimito 3F.COP 3F- PROX

This, this is caimito.

(int., JST 20180718)

Lastly, the subject argument can be omitted, as in (37), from a context in which someone has gone to tell their mother, who is at the river, who has arrived in the village.

³²The two nouns in this sentence are formed on the verb root *mankiga* ‘marry’ and the nominalizer *-re*. Although the possessed form refers to male or female spouses, the unpossessed form refers only to women.

(37) ...“**Irogenti** atoto Antonina.”

irogenti atoto Antonina
3F.COP sister.in.law Antonina

...“It’s my sister-in-law Antonina.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:35)

Incompatibility with Negation In texts, the <genti> copula is not attested in combination with the realis negator *tee* that negates the <ro> copula. In elicitation, combinations of *tee* and the <genti> copula are interpreted as the homophonous interjection *tee* ‘no, no one’ followed by a correction, that is, a positive nonverbal clause. For example, (38) is reinterpreted as (39), in the first person, with my name (in Spanish).

(38) **Tee narogenti Zacarías.*

(39) *Tee, narogenti Zacarías.*
No, it’s Zacarías.

This becomes clear in the following interaction between me and Miguel Sergio, explicated below.

[🔊 MSS 20190725]

[ZJO] ¿Puedo decir no más en caquinte *Tee narogenti...* y ahí paro. *Tee narogenti.*

[MSS] *Tee narogenti.* ... Cuando te pregunta. Es una interrogación. Si digamos, cómo se llama, tocas, “Taa ipajita?” Así. “Tee, narogenti Zacarías,” o sea que así...responder a la pregunta. Eso es. [ZJO] O sea que, yo toco a la puerta, tú estás acá, yo estoy afuera, y ¿qué dices tú primero? [MSS] “Taa ipajita?” “Tee, narogenti Zacarías.” [ZJO] Para presentarme. [MSS] Para presentar. ... También este, también solamente si escucho, si alguien está esperando. Si digamos ahora si tú me dices “a las seis,” y toco, y le dices, “Abiro, Miguel?” Y voy a decir, y otra persona dice, “Tee, narogenti Karoshi.”

[ZJO] Can I say in Caquinte *Tee narogenti...* and stop there. *Tee narogenti.* [MSS] *Tee narogenti.* When someone asks you something. It’s a question. If let’s say, what it’s called, you knock, “Who is it?” Like that. “Tee, narogenti Zacarías” [“No one, it’s Zach”], or like that...responding to the question. That’s what it is. [ZJO] Or, I knock on, you’re here, I’m outside, and what do you say first? [MSS] “Taa ipajita?” “Tee, narogenti Zacarías.” [ZJO] To introduce myself. [MSS] To introduce. ... Also, um, if I hear, if someone is waiting. If let’s say now if you tell me “[come] at six,” and I knock, and you say to them, “Is that you, Miguel?” And I’ll say, and someone else says, “Tee, narogenti Karoshi” [“No, it’s Carlos”].

MSS constructs two scenarios. In the first, I knock on someone’s door, and that person asks, “Who is it?” I respond, “No one, it’s Zach” (i.e., *Tee, narogenti Zacarías*).³³ Given that I am at-

³³The use of ‘no one’ in this context might strike the reader as unusual. It is not the case that there is no one outside (let alone no one outside who could utter a response). Rather this use seems to be equivalent to the felicitous English *no one* in the same context, that is, with a sense that it is no one notable calling.

tempting to identify myself, it is clear that this cannot be a negated nonverbal clause with the intended meaning ‘It’s not Zach.’ In the second scenario, I tell Miguel to come calling at six o’clock, but at six someone else shows up before him. Thinking that it’s Miguel, I ask, “Is that you, Miguel?” The person responds, “No, it’s Carlos” (i.e., *Tee, narogenti Karoshi*). Again, given that Carlos is attempting to correct my false assumption by identifying himself, this cannot be a negated nonverbal clause with the intended meaning ‘It’s not Carlos.’

Embedding In addition to occurring in main clauses, the <genti> copula can also be embedded. (I bracket embedded clauses for clarity.) In (40), from a moment in a story when a woman hears noises in the forest, the <genti> copula is embedded under *amen* ‘see.’ In (41), following an explanation of the differences between a jaguar’s growl and the pale-winged trumpeter’s call,³⁴ it is embedded under *tsa* ‘know.’ Note the (proleptic) object suffix on the main-clause verbs, which agrees in gender with the following <genti> copula.

(40) Opitsokanaka ameniri [**irigenti** kakinte].

o- pitsok -an -k -a o- amen -i -ri irigenti kakinte
3F- turn -ABL -PFV -MR 3F- see -AR -3M 3M.COP person

She turned around and saw that it was a person. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:47)

(41) ...antsatabakeri [**irigenti** omorinte otsempi]...

a- N- tsa -ab -k -e -ri irigenti omorinte otsempi
1INCL- IRR- know -DIR -PFV -IRR -3M 3M.COP pale.winged.trumpeter

...we’ll realize that it’s the pale-winged trumpeter... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:102)

However, a <genti> copula cannot be embedded under a negated main-clause verb (42)—see §2.2.2.1 for more details.

(42) *Tee nontsateriji irigenti piraapanite.

INTENDED: I didn’t know that he was your father.

[*irigenti* changed to *irioka*, i.e., the <ro> copula with modal =*ka*] (MSS 20190725)

Incompatibility with Some Clitics In elicitation, consultants reject words formed on combinations of the <genti> copula with the clitics =*geti* ‘if, when,’ weak modal =*ka*, and counterfactual-deontic =*me* (see also Table 2.2 in the introduction). Indeed in texts it is possible to find contexts in which one expects to observe a <genti> copula, but in which the presence of one of these clitics triggers, as it were, a <ro> copula instead. For example, compare (43), containing a <genti> copula, with (44) and (45), the latter two with these clitics.³⁵

³⁴The call of the pale-winged trumpeter is said to be confusable with the growl of a jaguar, except for a distinct final *chen* in the bird call (i.e., *jiron jiron jiron jin jin jin porororo chen*, or *jiro jiro jiron jiron chen*).

³⁵In the corpus there are no instances of =*me* in nonverbal clauses, though it is amply attested in verbal clauses.

- (43) Ari oraniki noboakotanaji, **irogenti** mankigarentsi.

ari oraniki no- bog -ako -an -aj -i irogenti mankigarentsi
 FOC there 1- give.birth.to -INDR -ABL -REG -AR 3F.COP woman

There I gave birth, it was a girl.

(text, JST, tsh)

- (44) “**Irogeti** mankigarentsi, jeeje aabakero.”

iro =geti mankigarentsi jeeje a- ag -ab -k -e -ro
 3F.COP =if woman yes 1INCL- take -DIR -PFV -IRR -3F

“If it’s a girl [and not a boy], yes we’ll take her.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:89)

(n.b., *Irogentigeti mankigarentsi, jeeje aabakero.*)

(DSG Messenger 20201123)

- (45) Yamenamajati, kejeka mankigarentsi, ikanti, “**Irokampa** orijani.”

i- amen -maja -i keje -k -a -Ø mankigarentsi i- kaN -i iro =ka
 3M- look -really -AR resemble -PFV -MR -3 woman 3M- say -AR 3F.COP =MOD
 =mpa orijani
 =INCNGR daughter

He looked hard, it resembled a woman, and he said, “Maybe it’s my daughter.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:166)

2.2.1.2 Responding to Constituent Questions

Nonverbal clauses containing a <genti> copula cannot be polar questions in themselves (46), nor can they answer polar questions—see (62) in §2.2.2.2. Instead, they function only as answers to constituent questions, as illustrated in (47). Note that <ro> clauses cannot function as answers to constituent questions (47c). The relevant constituent question *What is it?* is formed with the interrogative pronoun *taa* ‘who, what’ followed by a defective form of the verb root *paji* ‘name’ inflected only for subject agreement and middle realis (i.e., masculine *ipajita* and feminine *opajita*), and often with the last syllable truncated.³⁶

- (46) #Irigenti piraapanite?

INTENDED: Is he your father?

(DSG Messenger 20201211)

- (47) a. Taa ipaji irikatika?

taa ipaji iri- ka -tika
 WH LIGHT 3M- PROX -OST

Who is this?

³⁶The defective question based on *paji* is available only for third persons: *taa* combines directly with first- and second-person pronouns, for example *Taa abiatimpa?* ‘Who are you?’ That is, †*Taa pipaji(ta)?* is unattested.

b. **Irigenti** noraapanite.

irigenti nor- aapani -te

3M.COP 1- father -P

It's my father.

c. #Irio noraapanite.

(DSG Messenger 20200225)

In this elicitation session, Miguel Sergio had the intuition that (47c) “is used in questions.” This intuition is expressed by other speakers, and I return to it with an extended example from elicitation in the section dedicated to the <ro> copula (§2.2.2.2).

Turning to textual examples of these question-answer pairs in texts. In (48), a man introduces his brother-in-law and sister to a woman in a Matsigenka village. After the man and the woman have spoken for a while, she asks who the other man accompanying him is (48a), and he responds (48b). The <genti> copula occurs without a subject and followed by the predicate, then an elaboration is given: the demonstrative *oratika* occurs before the second instance of the <genti> copula, followed by the predicate and then an apposed noun.

(48) a. ...“Iriraga pitsipataka, taa ipajita?”

iri- ra =ga pi- tsipa -a =ka taa ipajita

3M- MED =CT 2- accompany -MR =REL WH LIGHT

...“What about the one you're accompanying, who is he?”

b. Ikantsitaro, “**Irigenti** anianishi Oaoa, oratika irogenti tsioji, irimankigare.”

i- kaN -(i)tsi -a -ro irigenti anianishi Oaoa o- ra -tika irogenti tsioji iri- mankigare

3M- say -SM -MR -3F 3M.COP brother.in.law Juan 3F- MED -OST 3F.COP sister 3M- spouse

He said to her, “He's my brother-in-law Juan, [and] that is my sister, his wife.”

(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:39)

Another pair is shown in (49). Here the question (49a) contains the demonstrative *irinta*, which heads a relative clause that follows it. The response consists of a similarly subjectless nonverbal clause, with the copula followed by the predicate (49b).

(49) a. ...“Aapani, taa ipajita irinta amajamajaitankitsika?”

aapani taa ipajita iri- nta amaja -maja -i -ankits -i =ka

father WH LIGHT 3M- DIST do.in.water -RD -RD -PFV -AR =REL

...“Father, what's that that's swimming?”

b. Ipitsokanaka, ikanti, “**Irigenti** imoroiroki.”

i- pitsok -an -k -a i- kaN i irigenti imoroiroki

3M- turn -ABL -PFV -MR 3M- say -AR 3M.COP collared.peccary

He turned around, and said, “It's a collared peccary.”

(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:35)

A response containing the <genti> copula can be morphosyntactically quite complex. Example (50b), for instance, consists of a relativized verb *atsik* ‘bite, chew’ that has been derived with the purpose applicative *-ashi*, the applied object being *inchapoa* ‘tree trunk.’ It is the base object that is relativized, and this complex expression—including the subject and base object nouns—is the predicate following the copula *irogenti*. The reference here is to the fact that the sedges, when consumed, give father woodpecker his abilities to peck his way through tree trunks.

(50) CONTEXT: A human asks various questions of baby lineated woodpeckers, this one about a quantity of sedges that he notices after being trapped by father woodpecker’s net.

a. ...“Taa opaji oratika?”

taa opaji o- ra -tika
WH LIGHT 3F- MED -OST

...“What’s that?”

b. Ikanti iriatimpa, “**Irogenti** yatsikashitiroka aapani inchapoa.”

i- kaN -i iriatimpa irogenti i- atsik -ashi -i -ro =ka aapani inchapoa
3M- say -AR 3M.PRO 3F.COP 3M- chew -PURP -AR -3F =REL father tree.trunk

They said, “It’s what father chews for the tree trunks.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:79)

Unlike other Nijagantsi languages, in which an interrogative pronoun can combine directly with a subject such as a demonstrative (e.g., Nanti *Tata oka?* ‘What’s this?’; Michael, p.c.), in Caquinte a form based on *paji* must occur between the interrogative pronoun and the subject, as is attested in all the examples in this section. Indeed when asked about the grammaticality of the Caquinte equivalent *Taa oka?*, Dehiber Sergio remarked that it seemed I had left out *opaji* (Messenger 20200225), from which I conclude that it is obligatory.³⁷ The lack of a Nanti-like distinction in Caquinte nonverbal clauses is important to highlight, for the following reason. In §2.3 I show that Caquinte verbal clauses exhibit a distinction analogous to Nanti nonverbal clauses: the interrogative pronoun *taa* can combine either directly with the verb, or the light verb *paji* can intervene between the two—the former a plain question, the latter a clefted question. Specifically in §2.3.3 I argue that a clefted question corresponds to discourse structures with multiple daughters, that is, that it occurs in contexts where alternatives are salient, whereas the plain question occurs in contexts where alternatives are not salient. The nonverbal constituent questions illustrated here do not exhibit this distinction. Indeed they all occur in contexts where alternatives are not salient, an issue I do not dwell on here, since the primary focus of this chapter is on the verbal constructions in the following sections, where alternatives are salient.³⁸

³⁷Corroborating this, there are no textual examples in which it is absent.

³⁸The nonverbal constituent question that occurs in contexts of salient alternatives is *Kero?* ‘Which one is it?’ (or ‘Where is it?’)—see my question of Joy Salazar in (36b) above. A detailed description of this type of constituent question in verbal clauses, where it also occurs, is outside the scope of this dissertation.

2.2.2 Copulas Ending in <ro>

2.2.2.1 Morphosyntactic Properties

Word Order The basic order of elements in nonverbal clauses containing the <ro> copula is the copula followed by two noun phrases, the predicate and the subject, as in (51), with a feminine subject (the demonstrative) and predicate, and in (52),³⁹ with masculine ones. This is the opposite order of nominal elements attested with the <genti> copula, but it has parallels with VOS order in verbal clauses in which a <ro> copula is present (see §2.4.1), if, as above, one understands the copula as analogous to the verb, the nonverbal predicate as the object, and the nonverbal subject as the verbal subject.

- (51) “**Iro** porijanite oratika?” COP N N

iro pi- orijani -te o- ra -tika
3F.COP 2- daughter -P 3F- MED -OST

“Is that your daughter?” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:135)

- (52) Tee **irio** igoonkinite B, irigenti imaika ityaine. COP N N

tee irio i- koonkini -te B irigenti imaika i- tyai -ne
NEG 3M.COP 3M- uncle -P B 3M.COP now 3M- grandfather -P

B is not his uncle, he is now his grandfather. (int., AST 20160905)

As with the <genti> copula, the subject can be topicalized to the left of the <ro> copula (53). The inversion of subject and predicate around the copula as in (36c) is not attested.

- (53) Abiatimpa **abiro** irorijanite J?

abiatimpa abiro iri- orijani -te J
2.PRO 2.COP 3M- daughter -P J

You, are you J’s daughter?”

Lastly in terms of similarities with the <genti> copula, the subject of the <ro> copula can be omitted altogether. In (54), only the predicate *ajagantsi* ‘year’ is present.

- (54) **Iro** ajagantsini 1987 noanakegeti Arinaki.

iro ajagantsini 1987 no- og -an -k -i =geti Arina =ki
3F.COP year 1987 1- go -ABL -PFV -AR =when Yarinacocha =LOC

It was the year 1987 when I went to Yarinacocha. (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:25)

³⁹This example is an explanation of how a marriage that violated taboos confused the use of kin terms.

Unlike the <genti> copula, both subject and predicate can be absent in a nonverbal clause with the <ro> copula, in which case both are understood from context. In (55), Antonina Salazar is teaching me about plants found near the Kitepampani health post. The subject is the plant we are currently looking at; the predicate is the *sanko* ‘sugarcane’ from the preceding clause.⁴⁰

(55) Okejebekaro sanko, kotankitsi tee **iro**.

o- keje -be -k -a -ro sanko kotankitsi tee iro
3F- be.like -FRST -PFV -MR -3F sugar.cane but NEG 3F.COP

It’s sort of like sugarcane, but it’s not that. (int., AST 20180717)

Furthermore, only the <ro> copula can be verbalized.⁴¹ This is achieved simply by suffixing the copula with perfective *-(a)k* and realis *-i*, as in (56), which also includes a topicalized possessor. Verbalized <ro> copulas are also found in verbal clauses.

(56) Irirakea katsirinkaiteri **iriotake** iraanite tai.

iri- ra =kea katsirinkaiteri irio -ak -i -Ø iri- aapani -te tai
3M- MED =EW sun 3M.COP -PFV -AR -3 3M- father -P moon

The sun, the moon is his father. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:74)

The only additional verbal morphology attested in verbalized <ro> copula stems is the frustrative *-be*, as in (57), from the introduction to the Book of John, here including a topicalized subject.

(57) ...irirakea Jesoshi **iriobetaka** kakinte kotankitsi irigenti Irioshi.

iri- ra =kea Jesoshi irio -be -ak -a -Ø kakinte kotankitsi irigenti Irioshi
3M- MED =EW Jesus 3M.COP -FRST -PFV -MR -3 person but 3M.COP God

...Jesus used to be a person, but he is God. (John, introduction)

Compatibility with Negation As we saw in (52) and (55), the <ro> copula is compatible with negation via *tee*, unlike the <genti> copula (see §2.2.1.1). In addition, there is a negator *kaari*, predominantly restricted to nonverbal clauses (58), which stands in both for *tee* and a <ro> copula (in this example, *tee irio*). That is, it does not co-occur with a <ro> copula.

(58) Kaari, irigenti ibabantikite kebetsi.

⁴⁰A common greeting is the similarly minimal nonverbal clause *Abiro?* ‘Is that you?’

⁴¹For example, stems such as **irigentitake*—an attempt to verbalize the third person masculine <genti> copula—is rejected as ungrammatical (DSG Messenger 20201211). At present the difference between the plain <ro> copulas and their verbalized counterparts is not clear, with the exception that if the frustrative needs to be expressed, the copula must be verbalized (as it is only a verbal morpheme).

kaari irigenti i- pabantiki -te kebetsi
 NEG 3M.COP 3M- flea⁴² -P river.monster

It wasn't that [fish eggs], it was the river monster's fleas. (text, JST, tai)

This negator is not found in the verbal contrastive focus constructions of the next two sections. It is attested in verbal clauses only when a relative clause is negated, hosting the relativizer =*ka*.

Embedding As with the <genti> copula, the <ro> copula may be embedded, for example, under *tsa* 'know.' This occurs when both the main and embedded clause are positive, as in (59a) and (59b), and when the main clause is positive and the embedded clause is negative (59c). In this story, a man has taken his daughter to be healed by a shaman he has never met before, and wishes to test the shaman's abilities by requesting that he heal him first.⁴³ Embedded contexts will be crucial for establishing the polar nature of the alternatives evoked by the <ro> construction in verbal clauses in §2.4.

- (59) a. "...kameetsanijite nontsake naatimpa [**irioka** pabantagarimajaka]."

kameetsa =niji =te no- N- tsa -k -e naatimpa irio =ka pabantagari -majaka
 PURP =PURP =CE 1- IRR- know -PFV -IRR 1.PRO 3M.COP =MOD shaman -real

"...so I know whether he's a real shaman."

- b. "Namenakempageti nompeanajempa, nontsake [jeeje arimaja **irio** pabantagari bean-tagetatsika]."

no- amen -k -e -mpa =geti no- N- peg -an -aj -e -mpa no- N- tsa
 1- see -PFV -IRR -MID =if 1- IRR- recover -ABL -REG -IRR -MID 1- IRR- know
-k -e jeeje ari =maja irio pabantagari beg -an -ge -ats -i =ka
 -PFV -IRR yes FOC =VER 3M.COP shaman heal -ANTIP -DSTR -IPFV -AR =REL

"If I see that I recover, I'll know that yes, it's true, he's a shaman that heals."

- c. "Irompani aatogeti nopega, nontsake [tee **irio** pabantagarimajaka]."

iro =mpani aato =geti no- peg -a no- N- tsa -k -e tee irio
 3F.COP =CT NEG =if 1- recover -MR 1- IRR- know -PFV -IRR NEG 3M.COP
pabantagari -majaka
 shaman -real

"On the other hand, if I don't recover, I'll know that he's not a real shaman."

(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:41)

⁴²This nouns refers only to fleas that live on animals.

⁴³Example (59a) happens to illustrate a third relevant property of the embedded <ro> copula, namely that, when it combines with weak modal =*ka*, it is equivalent to English *whether* (see §2.4.2.2).

The fourth possibility, where the main clause is negated and the embedded clause is positive, also attests the <ro> copula (60). In sum, an embedded <ro> clause is possible regardless of the polarity of either the main or embedded clause, whereas an embedded <genti> clause is possible only when both clauses are positive.

(60) Tee ontsatabajeriji [**irio** orijanite].

tee o- N- tsa -ab -aj -e -ri -ji irio o- irijani -te
NEG 3F- IRR- know -DIR -REG -IRR -3M -NEG 3M.COP 3F- son -P

She didn't realize it was her son.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:6)

Lastly, verbs with inherently “negative” semantics, such as *ji* ‘believe falsely,’ are only attested in texts embedding the <ro> copula (61).⁴⁴

(61) Ojikeriji [**irio** ojaajite]...

o- ji -k -i -ri -ji irio o- jaaji -te
3F- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -3M -FRST 3M.COP 3F- brother -P

She thought it was her brother [but it wasn't]...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:7)

2.2.2.2 Forming & Responding to Polar Questions

Nonverbal clauses containing a <ro> copula can occur with rising intonation, functioning as polar questions. They also occur in the answers to such questions, as in the example from elicitation in (62). Note that <genti> clauses cannot function as answers to polar questions (62c).

(62) a. Irio piraapanite?

irio pir- aapani -te
3M.COP 2- father -P

Is he your father?

b. Jeeje, iriotari.

jeeje irio =tari
yes 3M.COP =CNGR

Yes, he is.

c. #Jeeje, irigentitari.

(DSG Messenger 20200225)

⁴⁴The verbal word in (61) is relatively frozen, always attested in the corpus ($n > 50$) with only perfective *-(a)k*, active realis *-i*, person, and a suffix *-ji*. This suffix optionally co-occurs elsewhere with the negator *tee* (§B.7.1), such that these stems seem on superficial morphological grounds to be inherently negative. One argument against analyzing them as inherently negative lies in the presence of perfective *-(a)k*, which is otherwise disallowed under negation.

Caquite speakers have strong intuitions about the question-like nature of nonverbal clauses with the <ro> copula, even when they bear falling declarative intonation. The latter is evident in the following interaction from elicitation with Miguel Sergio (63). I ask about the difference between the sentences *Irigenti noraapanite* and *Irio noraapanite*, third-person copulas and ‘my father.’ Note in the associated recording the falling intonation of both clauses in boldface, which is in contrast to MSS’s translation, in which his intonation is noticeably rising, in line with the expected pattern in Spanish interrogatives.

(63) [🔊 MSS 20190725]

- a. ZJO: “Irio noraapanite.” Otro es, “Irigenti noraapanite.”
“Irio noraapanite. Another is “Irigenti noraapanite.”
- b. MSS: “Irio noraapanite”... Es que, cuando se pregunta con mamá, “**Irio noraapanite irira. Irio noraapanite.**” O sea que no conozco, o sea que, “¿Es mi papá?”
“Irio noraapanite”... It’s that, when you ask your mother, “Irio noraapanite irira. Irio noraapanite” [**“Is that one my father? Is he my father?”**]. Or it’s that I don’t know, “Is he my father?”
- c. ZJO: Y cuando es “Irigenti noraapanite?”
And when it’s “Irigenti noraapanite?”
- d. MSS: “Irigenti” es ya sabes, “irigenti.” “Es mi papá.”
“Irigenti” is that you already know, “irigenti.” “He’s my father.”

Now I turn to the ways in which <ro> clauses are taken up in subsequent stretches of discourse, as further evidence of their polar nature. Unlike the <genti> copula, which is regularly responded to with expressions of understanding, the proposition denoted by the clause containing the <ro> copula is typically affirmed or denied, regardless of whether the clause is declarative or interrogative. This is done most simply with *jeeje* ‘yes,’ as in (64b).

(64) CONTEXT: [A man wants to marry a woman, and he first confirms that the man whose permission he suspects he needs is in fact her father.]

- a. “Imaika nokorakebetaka akaniki ojaakiniki namenapojiro, **iro** porijanite?”
imaika no- korake -be -ak -a akaniki ojaakiniki no- amen -poj -i -ro iro
today 1- come -FRST -PFV -MR here to.the.river 1- see -ALL -AR -3F 3F.COP
pi- orijani -te
2- daughter -P

“Today I came here to the river and saw her, is she your daughter?”

- b. Ikantikea, “Jeeje.”

i- kaN -i =kea jeeje
3M- say -AR =EW yes

He said, “Yes.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:110)

The interjection *jeeje* may be followed by a full nonverbal clause containing a <ro> copula, as in (62) above and (65b) here.

- (65) a. ...“Natojite, **iro** pigemine ora tariankitsika?”

natojite iro pi- kemi -ne o- ra tarig -ankits -i =ka
cannibal 3F.COP 2- squash -P 3F- MED pile -PFV -AR =REL

...“Cannibal, are those your squashes what’s piled up there?”

- b. Okanti, “Jeeje, **irotarite**.”

o- kaN -i jeeje iro =tari =te
3F- say -AR yes 3F.COP =CNGR =CE

She said, “Yes, they are.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:86)

Similarly, denials may also be a simple ‘no’ (66b), or a full clause (67b). Note the declarative instance of a <ro> clause in (66a).

- (66) a. ...“Jeeje, namenakiteri, **irio** agonoro.”

jeeje no- amen -ki -e -ri irio a- gonoro
yes 1- see -GO.DO.RETURN -IRR -3M 3M.COP 1INCL- countryman

...Yes, I’ll go see them, they’re our countrymen.”

- b. Ikanti, “Tee, irigenti kajebi...”

i- kaN -i tee irigenti kajebi
3M- say -AR no 3M.COP mushroom.sp.

He said, “No, they’re mushrooms.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:45)

- (67) a. ...“Inani, **iriokea** noraapanitemajaka?”

iinani irio =kea nor- aapani -te -majaka
mother 3M.COP =EW 1- father -P -real

...“Mother, is he my real father.”

- b. Okantsitanakarikea, “Tee **irio** piraapanite, iriratari piraapanite imetojakeri.”

o- kaN -(i)tsi -an -k -a -ri =kea tee irio pir- aapani -te iri- ra =tari
3F- say -SM -ABL -PFV -MR -3M =EW NEG 3M.COP 2- father -P 3M- MED =CNGR
pir- aapani -te i- metoj -k -i -ri
2- father -P 3M- kill -PFV -AR -3M

Then she said to him, “He’s not your father, he killed your father.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:156)

2.3 Selective Argument Focus with <genti>

2.3.1 Introduction & Basic Morphosyntactic Properties

This section describes the first of the two principal selective focus constructions in Caquite, namely that involving a <genti> copula. In this construction, the copula must be preverbal, and corresponding agreement on the verb is obligatorily suppressed, a form of anti-agreement (Baier 2018). Furthermore, as in nonverbal clauses, a noun or pronoun instantiating the focused argument must co-occur with the copula,⁴⁵ unless it is a local person, in which case the copula may occur without an associated noun.⁴⁶ This noun can occur in one of two positions, either intervening between the copula and the verb, or following the verb. This is schematized in (68).

- (68) a. COPULA_i NOUN_i/PRONOUN_i VERB
 b. COPULA_i VERB NOUN_i/PRONOUN_i

The nominal expression in (68) may be the grammatical subject or object (including applied objects). These generalizations can be appreciated in (69): note the third person masculine *irigenti*, followed by a verb lacking subject agreement, and then the subject noun *ashibanti*. The subject is in focus, and the object is expressed only by the third person feminine *-ro*.

- (69) **Irigenti** kabintsajiro [ashibanti]_F.

irigenti kabintsaj -i -ro ashibanti
 3M.COP be.good.to -AR -3F spirit.type

The one who was good to her was the *ashibanti* spirit. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:18)

The less common order of preverbal noun is shown in (70). Note the similar lack of subject agreement, and an object expressed only by *-ro*.

- (70) ...**irigentikeate** [ashibanti]_F aanajiro.

irigenti =kea =te ashibanti ag -an -aj -i -ro
 3M.COP =EW =CE spirit.type take -ABL -REG -AR -3F

...it was the *ashibanti* spirit that took her. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:17)

The <genti> copula in verbal clauses exhibits the same morphosyntactic properties as in non-verbal clauses, and I do not illustrate these again here (see §2.2.1). I remind the reader of two properties: when a clause with a <genti> copula responds to a question, that question can only be a constituent question and not a polar question; and clauses with <genti> cannot be negated.

⁴⁵This is unlike selective focus with <ro> copulas, which may occur without an associated noun or pronoun, although they are compatible with them—see §2.4.

⁴⁶Local person <genti> copulas are nevertheless compatible with a co-occurring pronoun.

The remainder of this section is divided into four parts. In §2.3.2 I provide evidence for the claim that <genti> constructions occur in contexts of salient alternatives that are instantiated by multiple daughters of a constituent QUD, and thus that the construction expresses selective focus. This section incorporates elicited data about explicit alternatives, as well as the interpretation of textual data in which alternatives are implicit but nevertheless salient, as well as reasoning about how contexts would change if alternatives were not salient (as is the case with information focus). In §2.3.3, I show that <genti> constructions answer not just any constituent question, but specifically a clefted constituent question, from which I conclude that clefted questions, in addition to the <genti> construction, occur in contexts of discourse structures with constituent QUDs that have multiple daughters. This section allows us to fully reason about the discourse structures that are illustrated throughout, and serves as a segue into §2.3.4, in which I describe reconfigurations of discourse structure signaled by questions and answers, which are detectable based on whether a question is clefted and whether an answer exhibits <genti>. The overarching expositional goal of this section (§2.3) is to contrast the discourse structure of <genti> constructions (i.e., selective focus) and clefted questions with that of simple information focus and plain questions, as well as to establish a basis for the comparison of <genti> constructions with the <ro> constructions described in §2.4.

2.3.2 Salience of Referential Alternatives & Their Discourse Structure

In this section I provide evidence for the claim that <genti> constructions occur in contexts of salient alternatives—that is, in discourse structures with a constituent QUD that has multiple daughters—and as such express contrastive focus.⁴⁷ Given the fact that in these contexts the <genti> construction does not function to correct a preceding constituent, I conclude that it is a subtype of selective focus. I begin with an elicited example in which salient alternatives are explicit, then turn to textual examples in which they are not, providing evidence from elicitation that the latter examples are not acceptable with an information focus construction.

Explicitly mentioned alternatives were exemplified by the disjunctive polar question in (23) above: a question introduces at least two possible alternatives, from which one is chosen as the answer. In Caquinte it is not possible to form structurally equivalent disjunctive polar questions; instead, a constituent question must be formed, followed by two or more declarative clauses suggesting possible answers.⁴⁸ This is shown in (71a), from elicitation, in which the alternatives (i.e., plantains and manioc) are explicitly mentioned in nonverbal clauses containing weak modal =*ka*. The volunteered response (71b) is with the <genti> copula.⁴⁹

(71) a. Taa opaji pishekata? Iroka chopeki, iroka aintochapaki.

⁴⁷For an example of a <genti> construction infelicitous with nonsalient alternatives, see (202) in Chapter 5.

⁴⁸If only one possible answer is suggested, the response is with a <ro> copula—see §2.4.

⁴⁹Note that, when alternatives are explicitly mentioned following a constituent question in this way, they must be expressed by <ro> copulas, yet the attested answer is with a <genti> copula. The result is a rather complex discourse structure that I return to in §2.4.2.2 after describing <ro> constructions. For now, I highlight here that there are two explicitly mentioned alternatives, one of which is selected as the answer.

taa opaji pi-sheka -a iro =ka chopeki iro =ka aintochapaki
 WH LIGHT 2- eat -MR 3F.COP =MOD plantain 3F.COP =MOD manioc

What is it you were eating? Maybe it was plantains, maybe it was manioc.

- b. **Irogeni** noshekata [aintochapaki]_F.

irogenti no-sheka -a aintochapaki
 3F.COP 1- eat -MR manioc

It's manioc I was eating. (AST 20190726)

It is more common in texts that alternatives must be recovered from stretches of preceding discourse. For example, in (72), we can identify multiple individuals present in a particular setting, one of which is then singled out as the one who carries out a particular action. This is the funeral of the narrator's infant daughter: many people attend, afterwards a photo is taken, and then one of the attendees, K, advises the couple to return to their lodgings to take care of themselves. Then the narrator relates how she and her husband returned, and that K stayed behind. The set of alternatives corresponding to those who could stay behind is the narrator, her husband, and K, from which K is selected. Since the argument of 'stay behind' is one alternative selected from a set, a selective focus construction is called for, and the clause exhibits <genti>. Furthermore, a construction without the <genti> copula, namely an information focus on the subject (see §5.2.1) is judged to be infelicitous, demonstrating that a construction without <genti> cannot be used in a context in which alternatives are salient.

- (72) a. ...“Imaika abiatimpa poanaje tsobironakiki.”

imaika abiatimpa pi-og -an -aj -e tsobironaki =ki
 now 2.PRO 2- go -ABL -REG -IRR house =LOC

...“Now you go back home.”

- b. Ari naatimpa noajianaji, **irogenti** chookatajatsi K.

ari naatimpa no-og -jig -an -aj -i irogeni chooka -aj -ats -i [K]_F
 FOC 1.PRO 1- go -PL -ABL -REG -AR 3M.COP EXST -REG -IPFV -AR K

Then we went back, the one who stayed behind was K.

(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:50)

(n.b., #Ari naatimpa noajianaji, ichookataji K.) (DSG Messenger 20201123)

Having shown that referents drawn from a salient set of alternatives are expressed with a selective focus construction, I now discuss the discourse structure associated with selective focus. I represent the salient alternatives (here the narrator A, her husband J, and K) as possible answers to an implicit constituent QUD (see §2.3.3). Like the QUDs in this case, the alternatives that are not the actual answer are indicated without boldface in Figure 2.6, a representation of (72b).⁵⁰

⁵⁰For completeness, I also represent the discourse structure of the first clause. Furthermore, I break up the narrator and her husband, previously referred to by 'we,' into separate possible alternatives.

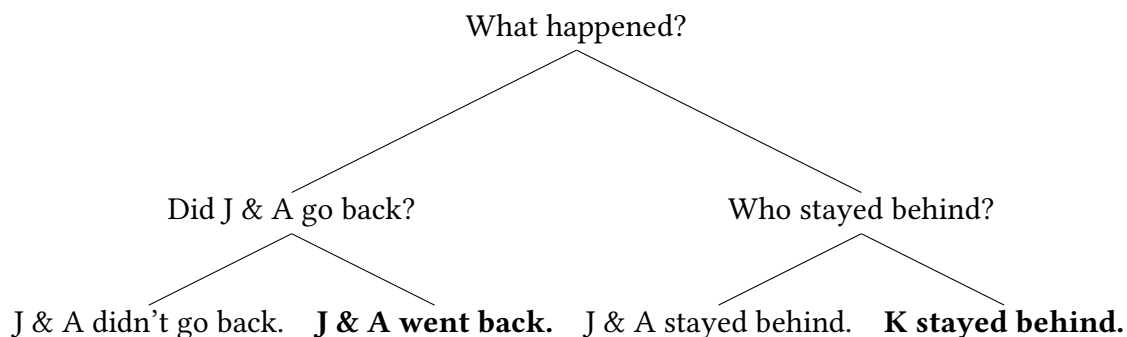


Figure 2.6: Discourse Structure of (72b)

This discourse structure gives us a clear way to appreciate the salience of the alternatives in this context. To get at this, consider how the context would be different if alternatives were not salient, as in Figure 2.7. This would be a context in which it was not possible to assume that those who stayed behind after the funeral were a subset of those who attended the funeral, an incredibly improbable assumption given what it means to stay behind after the end of an event.

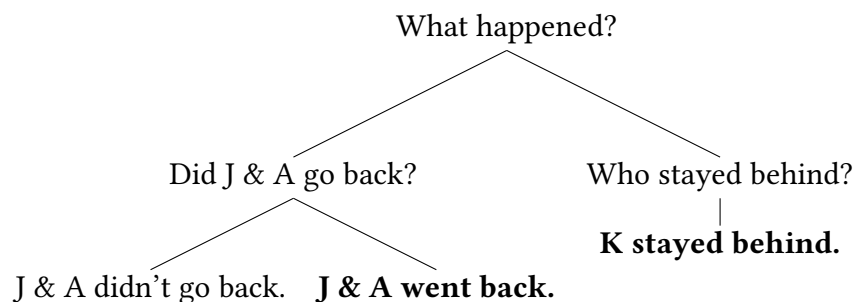


Figure 2.7: Incorrect Discourse Structure of (72b)

A different immediate QUD—for example, *Who put things away afterwards?*—might lend itself more readily to interpretations of either salient or non-salient alternatives. If the alternatives were salient, we would expect the answer to be one of the individuals who attended the funeral (or some other set of people we know tidy up); if they were not salient, we would expect the answer to be a random person who came onto the scene after the conclusion of the funeral. In Caquinte, the former would exhibit <genti>; the latter would not. That is, <genti> signals that we are already familiar with who could have stayed behind after the funeral.

A similar context of implicit but salient alternatives is in (73). Here a messenger is sent to retrieve an animal as a pet for primordial humans. Of the different kinds of animals he encoun-

ters, he retrieves a dog. This is a case of object focus, in contrast to the subject focus in (72b). Nevertheless, as with (72b), the construction in (73c) is judged to be infelicitous if the <genti> copula is removed.

(73) a. ...“Pija paabakeri biratsi.”

pija pi- ag -ab -k -e -ri bira -tsi
 go.IMP 2- get -DIR -PFV -IRR -3M pet -AL

...“Go get a pet.”

b. Arikea yoanake yamenapojiri oshekini biratsipae.

ari =kea i- og -an -k -i i- amen -poj -i -ri osheki -ni bira -tsi =pae
 FOC =EW 3M- go -ABL -PFV -AR 3M- see -ALL -AR -3M many -AUG pet -AL =PL

Then he went away and when he got there he saw many different kinds of pets.

c. Arikea **irigenti** yaapoji [shiishi]_F...

ari =kea irigenti i- ag -poj -i shiishi
 FOC =EW 3M.COP 3M- grab -ALL -AR dog

It was a dog he got...

(n.b., #Arikea yaapoji shiishi.)

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:11)

(DSG Messenger 20201123)

In this context the alternatives are not as salient as in (71). Specific kinds of animals have not been mentioned, but there is nevertheless a sortal restriction on the possible alternatives, namely, of animals, they must be plausible pet animals. This sortal restriction makes alternatives salient, and as such, (73c) is best represented with the same branching structure (Figure 2.8). Here I use three dots as an abbreviation for other possible implicit alternatives among kinds of pet animals.

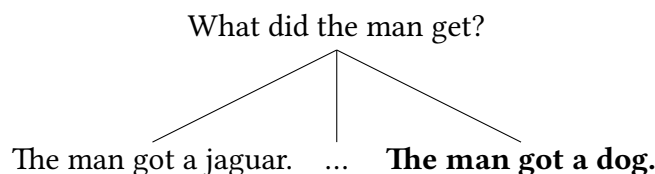


Figure 2.8: Discourse Structure of (73c)

Similarly, we can consider how the context would change with non-salient alternatives, that is, if there were a single daughter in Figure 2.8 (as in Figure 2.7), the result being information focus. This would be a construal whereby the identity of the other animals the man could have gotten did not matter, where there was no assumed set of appropriate pet animals. That is improbable in this context, because the man is supposed to have retrieved a jaguar. A jaguar may seem like an inappropriate pet, but in this story it is later made clear that this was the desired pet, a more advantageous one for primordial humans had they been able to domesticate it. This messenger’s failure to get a jaguar is why humans are stuck with dogs as pets.

Nevertheless, contexts with non-salient alternatives are plausible elsewhere, and I conclude this section by drawing our attention to attested examples of the information focus that results from these non-salient alternatives (see also Ch. 5). Consider (74), from the end of a story explaining how collared peccary came to be stuck in his animal form. Preceding this, the speaker in these examples has shown his brother-in-law how he transforms into a *shabemereto* fish, but he must get his brother-in-law drunk for him to reciprocate and show what he transforms into. The quote in (74i) contains two clauses, the latter an example of information focus on the object.

- (74) a. Ikantsitari aisa, “Jero kachojari, namakempi.”
He said also, “Here’s manioc beer, I’ve brought you some.”
- b. “Nokanti, ‘Nojokajatenerita anianishi kameetsanijite amatabijapojeri.’”
“I said, ‘I’m going to give it to my brother-in-law so it gets him drunk.’”⁵¹
- c. Irira imoroiroki yaakotabakero imirabakaro irosati amatabijamajatanakeri.
The collared peccary [still human] grabbed it and drank it until it got him really drunk.
- d. Tee iramenakotajempaji, otiontakotanakeri ishokoitoki.
He couldn’t see straight any longer, it’d made him dizzy in his head.
- e. Irira kakinte ikantiro irorijanite, “Paakitena aintochapaki ochaajempeki.”
The person said to his daughter, “Bring me small manioc cuttings.”
- f. Ari oshianaka aakitiniri oraapanite ojokapojiniri.
Then she ran and fetched her father some and gave it to him.
- g. Irira oraapanite yajirikitsitaro itabaitari imoroiroki.
Her father held onto them and and hit the collared peccary [still human].
- h. Irira imoroiroki ikajemapanjanti, “Jok jok jok,” ipeanaka imoroiroki.
At that moment the collared peccary shouted, “Jok jok jok,” and transformed into a collared peccary.
- i. Irira kakinte ishirontimentsitari, ikanti, “Opeakaanakari kachojari, ipeanaka imoroiroki]F.”

iri- ra kakinte i- shiron-imeN -(i)tsi-a -ri i- kaN-i o- peg -akag
3M- MED person 3M- laugh -REAS -SM -MR -3M 3M- say -AR 3F- transform -CAUS
-an -k -a -ri kachojari i- peg -an -k -a imoroiroki
-ABL -PFV -MR -3M manioc.beer 3M- transform -ABL -PFV -MR collared.peccary

The person laughed at him, and said, “The manioc beer transformed him, he transformed into a collared peccary.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:26)

Here a sortal restriction is less obvious. While in Caquinte stories humans often transform into animals such as mammals, birds, and fish, they also transform into trees and mushrooms. Moreover, unlike retrieving a dog when one should retrieve a jaguar, in this context I contend that the transformation into a peccary should not be construed as in opposition to other possible

⁵¹Here the final verb is *amatabij* ‘deceive,’ a euphemism for being intoxicated by alcohol.

transformations; the person did not know what his brother-in-law transforms into, he learns, and then he says it aloud. In other words, the narrator is simply reporting the information he has learned, without signaling that it is selected from a salient set of alternatives. As such, the result is a single daughter, as depicted with the right branch in Figure 2.9.⁵²

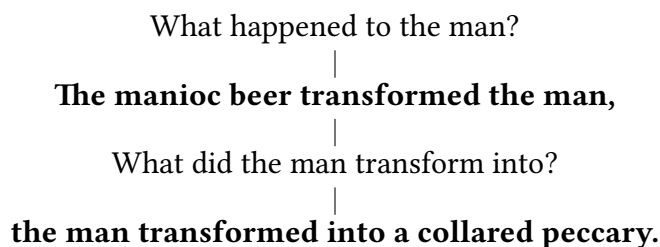


Figure 2.9: Discourse Structure of (74i)

Finally, note that it is conceivable that a context extremely similar to this one could involve salient alternatives, for example, if the person had been entertaining for himself various possibilities that his brother-in-law might transform into, or if he had been discussing with his daughter what he thought he might transform into. In this sense the choice of a selective focus construction with <genti> is facultative, in that a speaker or narrator expresses that alternatives are salient even when their interlocutor would have no reason to necessarily believe so.

2.3.3 Clefted Questions & Discourse Structure

In §2.2.2 I established for nonverbal clauses that <genti> constructions only answer constituent questions (and not polar questions). The same facts are true of verbal clauses. In this section, I extend the conclusions drawn there to describe a pattern by which verbal <genti> constructions answer clefted constituent questions that consist of the same morphosyntactic elements present in the constituent questions yielding nonverbal responses. Given that <genti> constructions evoke alternatives that I represent as multiple daughters of a constituent QUD, I thus conclude that clefted questions occur in contexts that can be modeled by discourse structures with constituent QUDs that have these multiple daughters.⁵³ As a result, I show that it is possible for Caquite speakers, when they ask questions, to construe alternatives as salient (clefted question) or non-salient (plain question). Furthermore, the purpose of establishing the clefted nature of questions in these contexts is to set the stage for the discussion of deviations from this pattern (see §2.3.4), which I claim instantiate reconfigurations of the discourse structure.

Unlike the plain questions described in Chapter 5 on information focus, which consist of an interrogative pronoun that combines directly with a following verb, clefted questions consist of

⁵²Again, as with Figure 2.6, I represent the entire sentence for completeness. The first clause is an instance of focus on the subject together with the verb, which need not concern us here. See §5.2.1 for more details on other properties of this structure, in particular answers dominating QUDs.

⁵³Importantly, I do not claim that QUDs themselves have syntactic information related to cleftedness built into them. As such, I continue to represent QUDs in an English metalanguage that lacks clefts.

an additional element, the light verb *paji*, which intervenes between the interrogative pronoun and the verb.⁵⁴ In addition, the verb is optionally relativized, as shown by the absence of the relativizer in (75) and its presence in (76). Recall from §2.2 that questions consisting of *taa* and *paji* are well formed unto themselves, and can be translated as ‘What is it?’ which I adopt in the translations here, regardless of whether the verb is relativized.

(75) ...“**Taakashiatsi opajita** ikoraketashipinitake irikatika?”

taa =ka =shiatsi opajita i- korake -ashi -pini -ak -i iri- ka -tika
 WH =MOD =ANXIETY LIGHT 3M- come -PURP -regularly -PFV -AR 3M- PROX -OST

...“What is it that this guy’s always coming around for?” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:106)

(76) ...“**Taashia ipajita** pikantakeka beaaa beaaa?”

taa =shia ipajita pi- kaN -ak -i =ka beaaa beaaa
 WH =ANXIETY LIGHT 2- say -PFV -AR =REL ONOM:voices ONOM:voices

...“What is it you were going on and on about?” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:43)

The two preceding examples show object-oriented clefted questions. The same pattern is attested for subjects, as shown in (77) and (78). As above, the first shows feminine agreement on *paji* with no relativization of the following verb; the second shows masculine agreement with the following verb relativized. (Example (77) also shows that clefted questions can be embedded.)

(77) Tee intsateroji **taa opajita** chookatankitsi oraniki.

tee i- N- tsa -e -ro -ji taa opajita chooka -ankits -i oraniki
 NEG 3M- IRR- know -IRR -3F -NEG WH LIGHT EXST -PFV -AR there

He didn’t know who it was that lived there. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:44)

(78) ...“**Taakea ipajita** chakigetankitsika?”

taa =kea ipajita chaki -ge -ankits -i =ka
 WH =EW LIGHT chop -DSTR -PFV -AR =REL

...“Who is it that’s chopping?” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:46)

Lastly, the preceding examples might suggest that feminine agreement always co-occurs with an nonrelativized verb. This is not the case, as shown in (79), with a relativized verb. In this example the questioned constituent is the applied object introduced with the instrumental applicative *-an* (§B.6.4.2), which can also introduce arguments denoting reasons, as is the case here.

⁵⁴As in nonverbal clauses, *paji* in this construction is attested only with third person masculine or feminine agreement and middle realis *-a*. As such, I gloss the stems *ipaji(ta)* and *opaji(ta)* together as LIGHT.

(79) “...**taakea opajita** pitakitsatantagekaroka kenabokirontsiki?”

taa =kea opajita pi- takitsa -aN -ge -k -a -ro =ka kenabokiro -ntsi =ki
 WH =EW LIGHT 2- set.trap -INSTR -DSTR -PFV -MR -3F =REL path -AL =LOC

“...why is it that you set traps on the path?” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:37)

In texts, responses to clefted questions often include a <genti> copula (80b). Here the questioned argument is the applied one introduced by the purpose applicative *-ashi* (§B.6.4.3). The verb is the same in both the question and the response. The response begins with a preverbal <genti> copula, and its corresponding argument is postverbal (i.e., *ora irashi* ‘that thing about him’), followed by the long verbal complement of *irashi*.

(80) a. ...“**Taakea opajita** ankapiokashikempa?”

taa =kea o- paji -a a- N- kapiok -ashi -k -e -mpa
 WH =EW 3F- name -MR 1INCL- IRR- meet -PURP -PFV -IRR -MID

...“What is it we’re going to meet about?”

b. Ikantiri, “**Irogenti** ankapiokashikempa ora irashi koraketapojake irira teeka inkameet-sateji...”

i- kaN -i -ri irogenti a- N- kapiok -ashi -k -e -mpa o- ra iri- ashi
 3M- say -AR -3M 3F.COP 1INCL- IRR- meet -PURP -PFV -IRR -MID 3F- MED 3M- about
korake -apoj -k -i -Ø iri- ra tee =ka i- N- kameetsa -e -ji
 come -ALL -PFV -AR -3 3M- MED NEG =REL 3M- IRR- be.good -IRR -NEG

He said to him, “What we’re going to meet about is how bad people have come...”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:27)

This pattern is borne out in elicitation in an important way: when speakers are presented with a verbal clause with a <genti> copula, they infer that a stereotypical (hypothetical) question preceding that clause would be clefted, not plain. That is, they explain that, if a speaker uses a <genti> construction, it sounds more like they are responding to a clefted question than a plain question. Consider the following telling passage from Antonina Salazar, in which she draws out exactly this distinction. Here we are discussing instances of predicate focus.⁵⁵ I inquire about the plain constituent question *Taa panti?* ‘What are you doing?’ AST responds with the intransitive verb *Noshekata* ‘I’m eating,’ without a <genti> copula. I then offer another possible answer, *Najakiro nobatsakaro* ‘I’m washing my clothes,’ without a <genti> copula, which she accepts by way of repetition. I then clarify, asking whether my formation of ‘I’m washing my clothes’ is good. She says it is, and then repeats back both my question and answer, adding yet another possible answer *Notionki nobaperite* ‘I’m writing [in] my book,’ without <genti>. Then I inquire about a different response to the same question, namely one with third person feminine *irogenti* in

⁵⁵These insights from elicitation are clearest in our discussion of predicate focus, not argument focus. Because the facts are the same regardless of the focused constituent, I illustrate these insights with this passage.

'I'm washing my clothes' (with appropriate anti-agreement). She says that this is also a possible response. I repeat her 'also,' as does she, but then she elaborates. She begins to repeat the response with *irogenti* but then stops midway, saying that what I would first say is *Taa opaji pantake?* That is, a clefted question with *paji*.

- (81) [▶ AST elicitation, 20190727, SCOIL 2014-13.108]
- a. ZJO: Aisati okejetaka nonkoakopojempi, nonkante, "Taa panti?"
Also it's like I'll come ask you, I'll say, "Taa panti?" ["What are you doing?"]
 - b. AST: Jeeje, "Taa panti?"
Yes, "What are you doing?"
 - c. ZJO: "Taa panti?"
"What are you doing?"
 - d. AST: "Noshekata."
"I'm eating."
 - e. ZJO: "Najakiro nobatsakaro."
"I'm washing my clothes."
 - f. AST: "Najakiro nobatsakaro."
"I'm washing my clothes."
 - g. ZJO: Kameetsatake?
Is that good?
 - h. AST: Jeeje, "Taa panti? Najakiro nobatsakaro," taaka opajita nantake. "Notionki nobaperite."
Yes, "What are you doing? I'm washing my clothes," whatever it is I'm doing. "I'm writing my book."
 - i. ZJO: Arigeti nonkoakopojempi, "Taa panti?" ari pagabejake pinkantena, "Irogenti najaki nobatsakaro."
If I come ask you, "What are you doing?" can you say to me, "Irogenti najaki nobatsakaro." ["I'm washing my clothes."]
 - j. AST: Jeeje, aisa.
Yes, also.
 - k. ZJO: Aisa.
Also.
 - l. AST: Jeeje, aisa. Nonkante, "Irogenti najaki no..." Pinkante, "Taa opaji pantake?" Iro nonkanke pinkantenageti... "Taa opaji pantake? Irogenti najaki nobatsakaro. Taa panti?" Ari "Najaki nobatsakaro" intati.
Yes, also. I'll say, "I'm washing my..." You'll say, "Taa opaji pantake?" ["What is it you're doing?"] That's what I'll say when you say... "Taa opaji pantake? Irogenti najaki nobatsakaro. Taa panti?" That's just "Najaki nobatsakaro."

She then contrasts the following two question-answer pairs, as in (82) and (83), insightfully noting that the latter is "just" *Najaki nobatsakaro*, that is, demonstrating that she is tracking on the presence versus absence of *irogenti*.

- (82) a. **Taa opaji** pantake? CLEFTED QUESTION
taa opaji pi- aN -ak -i
 WH LIGHT 2- do -PFV -AR
 What is it you're doing?
- b. **Irogeni** [najaki nobatsakaro]_F. RESPONSE WITH <GENTI>
irogenti no- ajak -i no- patsakaro
 3F.COP 1- wash -AR 1- clothes
 I'm washing my clothes.
- (83) a. **Taa panti**? PLAIN QUESTION
taa pi- aN -i
 WH 2- do -AR
 What're you doing?
- b. [**Najaki** nobatsakaro]_F. PLAIN RESPONSE
no- ajak -i no- patsakaro
 1- wash -AR 1- clothes
 I'm washing my clothes.

The discourse structures of these two examples can be contrasted as in Figure 2.10 and Figure 2.11. Both consist of constituent QUDs with answers that might resolve them. In the former, alternatives are additionally salient, as represented by the branching daughters.

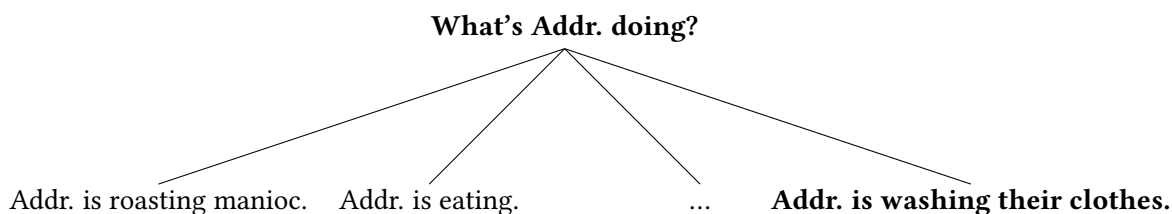


Figure 2.10: Discourse Structure of (82)

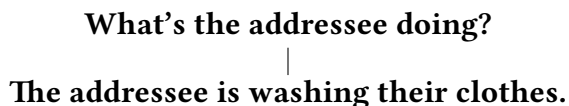


Figure 2.11: Discourse Structure of (83)

Importantly, in Caquinte, the presence of multiple daughters (Figure 2.10) is associated both with a clefted question and a response with a <genti> construction. A single daughter (Figure 2.11)

is associated with a plain question and a response without a copula. This means that, when questions and answers are both attested, these discourse configurations are doubly marked, as it were: both the question and the answer signal whether the discourse structure has multiple daughters. Furthermore, if both the question and the answer signal the same non-branching or branching structure, then the discourse structure is what I refer to as steady, or unchanging. Such structures are amply attested among naturalistic examples, including for the predicate focus used to draw on insights from elicitation: in (84), the question is clefted and the response contains <genti>; in (85), the question is not clefted, and the response lacks <genti>.

(84) a. ...**Taa opaji** panti?"

taa opaji pi- aN -i
WH LIGHT 2- do -AR

...“What is it you’re doing?”

b. Opitsokanaka chonchokoronti, okantiri, “**Irogeni** [najakatsinotiri nochaajanikirite]_F.”

o- pitsok -an -k -a chonchokoronti o- kaN -i -ri irogeni no- ajak -tsino -i
3F- turn -ABL -PFV -MR deer 3F- say -AR -3M 3F.COP 1- wash -body -AR
-ri no- chaajanikiri -te
-3M 1- child -P

Deer turned around, and said to him, “I’m washing my children.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:23)

(85) a. ...**Taate** pantake?"

taa =te pi- aN -ak -i
WH =CE 2- do -PFV -AR

...“What were you doing?”

b. Iriatimpa yobetsatanaka chonchokoronti, ikanti, “[**Notontoronki**]_F.”

iriatimpa i- obetsa -an -k -a chonchokoronti i- kaN -i no- tontoronk -i
3M.PRO 3M- speak -ABL -PFV -MR deer 3M- say -AR 1- drum -AR

The deer spoke, and said, “I’m drumming.”

(text, ESS, ptk)

However, either a question or an “answer” (i.e., when no question is present) may signal these discourse structures in the absence of the other. This is important to what follows in §2.3.4, where both question and answer are attested but they differ in terms of the discourse structures they signal. There I argue that such examples constitute cases in which the discourse structure has been reconfigured by an addressee.

2.3.4 Reconfigurations of Discourse Structure

In §2.3.3 I described question-answer pairs in which both the question and the answer signaled a steady, unchanging discourse structure, one either with multiple daughters, as in (80), or with only a single daughter. In this section, I describe naturally occurring examples in which the question and the answer signal reconfigurations of the discourse structure, demonstrating one way in which discourse structures can change dynamically. In terms of form, there are two ways in which these reconfigurations can be detected. The first is to observe a plain question with a response containing a <genti> copula, as in (86).

(86) a. ...“**Taakea** pobetsataka inkajaranki?”

taa =kea pi- obetsa -ak -a inkajaranki
 WH =EW 2- speak -PFV -MR before

...“Who were you talking to before?”

b. Ikantiro, “**Irogenti** nobetsata jeento.”

i- kaN -i -ro irogenti no- obetsa -a jeento
 3M- say -AR -3F 3F.COP 1- speak -MR ground.dove.sp.

He said to her, “It was a ground dove I was talking to.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:33)

Because clefted constituent questions correspond to branching discourse structures, as established in §2.3.3, we can infer that the speaker in (86a) signals the discourse structure in Figure 2.12. That is, they construe the expected answer as not drawn from a set of salient alternatives.⁵⁶ In contrast, the addressee construes their actual answer in exactly this way, as drawn from a salient set of alternatives (Figure 2.13). As a consequence, the addressee’s response functions to reconfigure the discourse structure, and in this way question-answer pairs can be dynamic with regard to that structure.

Who was Addr. talking to before?

|
 [hypothetical answer]

Figure 2.12: Structure of (86a)

The second way a reconfiguration can be detected is to observe a clefted question with a response lacking <genti>, as in (87). (Note that there is a preverbal element in (87b), but it is a topicalized pronoun *naatimpa* unrelated to the question of whether <genti> is present.)

(87) a. ...“**Taampate opajita** pishekataka abiatimpa...?”

⁵⁶I represent this construal with the same discourse tree, but one that lacks contentful answers as the terminal nodes of branches, indicating this with ‘hypothetical answer’ in brackets.

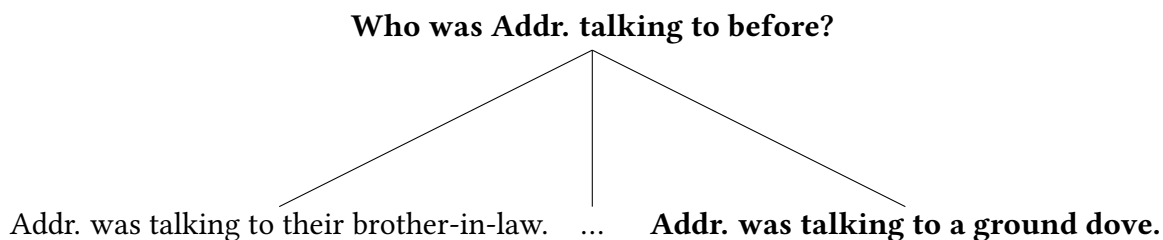


Figure 2.13: Structure of (86b)

taa =mpa =te opajita pi- sheka -ak -a abiatimpa
 WH =INCNGR =CE LIGHT 2- eat -PFV -MR 2.PRO

...“What is it that you eat [so I can give you some to eat]?”

- b. Iroatimpa okantiri imaika, “Naatimpa **noshekataka** [kempekarika kachatyakiri, imoroiroki]_F...”

iroatimpa o- kaN -i -ri imaika naatimpa no- sheka -ak -a kempe -k -a -ri
 3F.PRO 3F- say -AR -3M NOW 1.PRO 1- eat -PFV -MR be.like -PFV -MR -3M
 =ka kachatyakiri imoroiroki
 =REL spider.monkey collared.peccary

She said to him then, “I eat things like spider monkey, collared peccary...”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:16)

The discourse structures in (87a) and (87b), representing these two examples, are simply the inverses of the ones above. In this case, the speaker construes the expected answers as drawing from a salient set of alternatives, whereas the addressee responds with a construal in which alternatives are not salient, and as such have no discourse-structural representation.

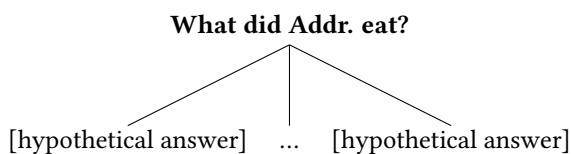


Figure 2.14: Discourse Structure of (87a)

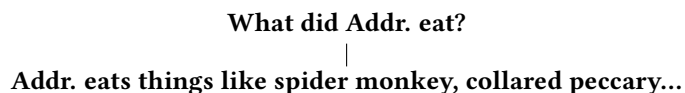


Figure 2.15: Discourse Structure of (87b)

Furthermore, parallel facts regarding these reconfigurations also obtain at the level of predicate focus. In (88), the question is plain and the response contains <genti>; in (89), the question is clefted and the response lacks <genti>.

- (88) a. ...“**Taate** panti?”

taa =te pi- aN -i
 WH =CE 2- do -AR

...“What’re you doing?”

- b. Iriatimpa ikanti, “**Irogenti** [notsinakakoti keeta]_F.”

iriatimpa i- kaN -i irogenti no- tsinak -ako -i keeta
 3M.PRO 3M- say -AR 3F.COP 1- crush -INDR -AR nut.sp.

He said, “I’m (just) crushing *keeta* nuts.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:119)

- (89) a. ...“**Taa opaji** pantake?”

taa opaji pi- aN -ak -i
 WH LIGHT 2- do -PFV -AR

...“What is it you’re doing?”

- b. Iriatimpa ikanti, “[**Notsamaroti**]_F.”

iriatimpa i- kaN -i no- tsamaro -i
 3M.PRO 3M- say -AR 1- dance -AR

He said, “I’m dancing.” (text, ESS, ptk)

My goal here has been to draw attention to the differences in form that allow us to detect reconfigurations of discourse structure. As a transition, I conclude this section on selective focus with <genti> copulas by noting that the alternatives evoked—both by clefted constituent questions and by the <genti> construction itself—are other constituents, of the sort $\{\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \dots\}$ laid out in the introduction. These are the sorts of alternatives that discussions of argument focus typically have in mind. However, this is in stark contrast to the alternatives evoked by the <ro> construction that I argue for in §2.4, which are polar, of the sort $\{\alpha, \neg\alpha\}$.

2.4 Selective Argument Focus with <ro>

2.4.1 Introduction & Basic Morphosyntactic Properties

This section describes the second of the two principal selective focus constructions in Caquinte, namely that involving a <ro> copula. In this construction, the copula must be similarly preverbal, and corresponding agreement on the verb is likewise obligatorily suppressed. However, as in nonverbal clauses, this copula (unlike <genti>) need not co-occur with a noun or pronoun instantiating the focused argument, although it can. When a noun or pronoun is present, it may, as with <genti> constructions, occur in one of two positions, either intervening between the copula and the verb, or following the verb. This is schematized again in (90).

- (90) a. COPULA_i NOUN_i/PRONOUN_i VERB
 b. COPULA_i VERB NOUN_i/PRONOUN_i

The nominal expression in (90) may be the grammatical subject or object. These generalizations can be appreciated in (91): note the third person feminine *iro*, followed by a verb lacking subject agreement, and then the subject noun *pibochokine*. The subject is in focus, and the object is expressed only by the second person *-mpi*.

(91) “...mana **iroka** katsimatakaakempi [pibochokine]_F.”

mana iro =ka katsima -akag -k -i -mpi pi- pochoki -ne
rather 3F.COP =MOD be.angry -CAUS -PFV -AR -2 2- be.sleepy -NMZ

“...maybe it’s your sleepiness that’s making you angry.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:65)

The other order, with a preverbal noun, is shown in (92). Note the similar lack of subject agreement, and an object expressed only by *-ro*.

(92) ...**irokea** [matinkori]_F ajirikabakero.

iro =kea matinkori ajirik -ab -k -i -ro
3F.COP =EW lizard.sp. hold -DIR -PFV -AR -3F

...and it was *matinkori* lizard who held it. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:83)

In most naturally occurring examples of <ro> constructions, as with <genti> constructions, only one of two verbal arguments is instantiated by a noun. When two nouns are present, however, the attested order is VOS, that is, unlike the VSO order associated with sentence focus (see §5.5). In (93), for example, the third person masculine *irio* precedes a verb lacking subject agreement, followed by the object and then the subject.

(93) **Iriokea** peajatsi majirontatsika [José]_F...

irio =kea peg -aj -ats -i majirontatsika José
3M.COP =EW become -REG -IPFV -AR chief José

The one who became chief in the end was José... (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:5)

The <ro> copula in verbal clauses exhibits the same morphosyntactic properties as in nonverbal clauses, and I do not illustrate these again here (see §2.2.2). I remind the reader of four properties that differentiate it from the <genti> copula: when a clause with a <ro> copula responds to a question, that question can only be a polar question and not a constituent question; only a <ro> copula can form a polar question; only clauses with <ro> can be negated; and only the <ro> copula can be verbalized. As in the discussion of nonverbal clauses, I do not focus on the distinction between plain and verbalized <ro> copulas, except to say that they do not differ in terms of the morphosyntactic properties of the clauses they occur in. For example, the verbalized third person masculine *iri(o)take* also induces VOS order (94).

(94) **Iritake** amakero ashinonkajagantsi [R]_F.

iritake am -k -i -ro ashinonkaj -aga -ntsi R
 3M.COP bring -PFV -AR -3F be.ill -NMZ -AL R

The one that brings disease is R.

(text, AST 20160805)

The remainder of this section (§2.4.2) is dedicated to arguing for the claim that <ro> constructions constitute a second type of selective focus in Caquite, which raises the question of how they differ from the <genti> constructions discussed in §2.3. In particular, I claim that <ro> constructions are like <genti> constructions in occurring in contexts of salient alternatives, but that they differ in the nature of those alternatives: <genti> constructions evoke alternative propositions that differ in a constituent, for example, $\{\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \dots\}$ (referential alternatives); <ro> constructions evoke alternative propositions that differ in polarity values, for example, $\{\alpha, \neg\alpha\}$ (polar alternatives). In terms of discourse structure, whereas <genti> constructions resolve constituent QUDs, <ro> constructions resolve polar QUDs. Furthermore, whereas in the discourse structures in §2.3 responses to constituent QUDs were daughters of that QUD, in this section we will see that <ro> constructions signal that an additional layer of structure is present. That is, they signal that a constituent QUD has at least one daughter that is a polar sub-QUD. For the sake of clarity, I remind the reader of this schematization from the introduction in Figure 2.16.

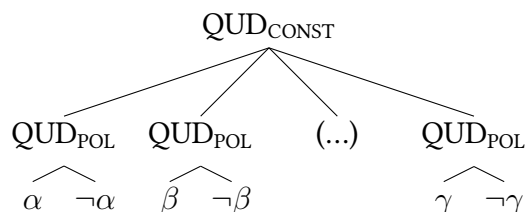


Figure 2.16: Constituent & Polar QUDs

2.4.2 Salience of Polar Alternatives & Their Discourse Structure

This section is divided into subsections in which I argue that <ro> constructions evoke polar alternatives and that these polar alternatives are salient in the same way that the referential alternatives evoked by the <genti> construction are. I begin with polar questions (§2.4.2.1), and then move on to modal, counterfactual, and inferential contexts (§2.4.2.2). Throughout the discussion of these contexts I make the regular point that a <genti> construction is always infelicitous.

At the outset, I emphasize that these polar alternatives are not the kinds of alternatives that are commonly discussed in descriptions of argument focus crosslinguistically. Canonical argument focus evokes two or more alternative propositions that differ only in a single constituent. These are the referential alternatives evoked by the <genti> construction described in §2.3. The argument focus expressed by the <ro> construction, on the other hand, evokes exactly two alternative propositions that differ only in polarity values.

I contend that polar alternatives are salient in contexts in which the set of referential alternatives has a single member. These are contexts in which the choice, as it were, is not between someone or someone else, but between someone or not that person. In the last subsection (§2.4.2.3) I expand on this notion of the non-salience of referential alternatives to account for the presence of <ro> constructions in a number of contexts related to the contradiction of imperatives, invoking a notion of specifically local salience that I explicate below. Throughout this and the preceding subsections, I intersperse the discussion of relevant discourse structures as necessary, in order to be maximally clear regarding my claims for each example. One commonality across all of these discourse structures I wish to make clear now. That is that all polar QUDs are subordinate to constituent QUDs, for reasons having to do with indicating which constituent in the polar QUD is in focus, which I elaborate on below.

2.4.2.1 Polar Questions

In this section I provide evidence for the claim that <ro> constructions evoke polar alternatives, postponing the evidence for the subsequent claim that they occur in contexts of salient polar alternatives until §2.4.2.2. Building on the discourse structures I develop, I conclude by noting that Caquinte speakers do not accommodate an implicit polar QUD when a constituent QUD is explicit. To begin, the most straightforward evidence for the claim that <ro> constructions evoke polar alternatives is that these constructions occur both in polar questions targeting arguments, and in their responses, as shown in (95). Here the response also exhibits *jeeje* ‘yes.’

(95) a. ...“**Iro** jokijitankitsi?”

iro ojokiji -ankits -i
3F.COP be.sick -PFV -AR

...“Is it her who’s sick?”

b. Ikanti, “Jeeje, **iro**tari jokijitankitsi.”

i- kan -i jeeje iro =tari ojokiji -ankits -i
3M- say -AR yes 3F.COP =CNGR be.sick -PFV -AR

He said, “Yes, it’s her who’s sick.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:40)

That is, polar questions by their very nature do not evoke alternatives that differ in terms of constituents, as is the case with constituent questions (i.e., referential alternatives), but rather ones that differ in terms of polarity values. This can be appreciated by a disjunction of possible alternative answers in a follow-up question, as in (96) and (97), where (c) cannot replace (b).

(96) a. Who ate the manioc?

CONSTITUENT QUESTION

b. Mojina or Meshinantsi?

c. #Yes or no?

(97) a. Did Mojina eat the manioc?

POLAR QUESTION

- b. Yes or no?
- c. #Mojina or Meshinantsi?

Importantly, <ro> constructions cannot serve as answers to constituent questions (98), which strongly differentiates them from <genti> constructions, which naturally do.

- (98) a. Taa pishekataka?

taa pi- sheka -ak -a
WH 2- eat -PFV -MR

What did you eat?

- b. #**Iro** noshekataka aintochapaki.

INTENDED: It was manioc I ate.

(MSS 20190725)

From this I conclude that <ro> constructions resolve polar QUDs. (Again, this differentiates them from <genti> constructions, which resolve constituent QUDs.) I argue, in turn, that these polar QUDs are always dominated by a constituent QUD. This is due to two assumptions made throughout this dissertation. The first is that all QUDs function to resolve the “big question,” namely a QUD about the general state of the world, such as *What is the way the world is?* The second is that QUDs do not have prosodic or special syntactic information built into them, such as focus accent or cleftedness. With a constituent QUD—because they are formed with interrogative pronouns that stand in for particular constituents—the targeted constituent will always be clear (argument, predicate, etc.). With a polar QUD, in contrast, it is not possible to indicate the targeted constituent without a focus accent (99) or cleft (100).⁵⁷

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| (99) | a. Is she SICK? | PREDICATE FOCUS |
| | b. Is SHE sick? | ARGUMENT FOCUS |
| (100) | a. (?)Is it sick that she is? | PREDICATE FOCUS |
| | b. Is it her who’s sick? | ARGUMENT FOCUS |

The result of these assumptions when applied to (95) is the discourse structure represented in Figure 2.17 (also compare Figure 2.16 above). A constituent QUD dominates multiple polar sub-QUDs, each of which evokes polar alternatives shown by the two daughters of each. One polar QUD and its answer are explicit.

The constituent super-QUD thus serves to indicate what the targeted constituent in a polar sub-QUD is.⁵⁸ In Caquinte it is especially important to have an analytical mechanism that makes this indication, since <ro> constructions only occur when an argument is the targeted constituent, not when other constituents are targeted. That is, we need a mechanism by which the abstract polar QUDs shown here only hold of arguments, not other possible constituents.

⁵⁷Note that a cleft on the predicate is fairly unnatural in English, indicated here with a preceding question mark.

⁵⁸Additional evidence for the presence of a constituent QUD comes from corrective focus, in which it is always possible to resolve a polar QUD via a denial, and then resolve the constituent QUD via the correction (Chapter 3).

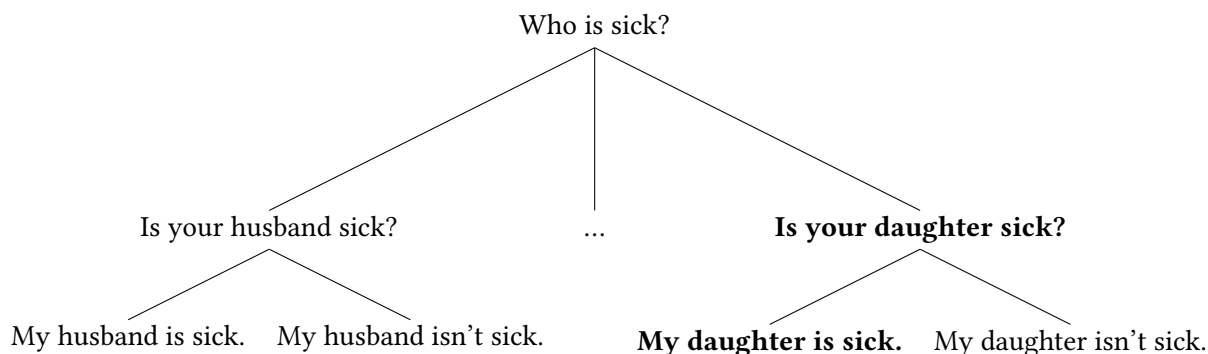


Figure 2.17: Discourse Structure of (95)

I note that I use clefts in my English translations of <ro> constructions to best capture the fact that they instantiate a polar focus of an argument, since clefts, unlike focus accents, are not subject to ambiguity regarding constituency when followed by *or not*? In (101), one possible interpretation is that no contextually salient person is sick (i.e., the *or not* targets the verb/predicate), whereas in (102) the only interpretation is that it is assumed that someone is sick, and that if it is not the person in question then it is some other contextually salient person.

(101) Is SHE sick, or not? FOCUS ACCENT

(102) Is it her who's sick, or not? CLEFT

In the remainder of this subsection, I explore the explicitness of alternatives instantiated by multiple daughters that are polar sub-QUDs. In Figure 2.17 a constituent QUD has multiple daughters that are polar QUDs, indicating that alternatives are salient, but only one is explicit, with three dots indicating that other implicit alternatives are also possible. Other textual examples, however, make it clear that multiple daughters, unsurprisingly, can be explicit, providing the best evidence for salience. Consider (103), from a story in which Old Axe is choosing one of a man's daughters to marry. The man asks an embedded constituent question, followed by two instances of the same (nonverbal) polar question based on a <ro> copula, each of which Old Axe responds to in the negative.

(103) a. ...“Imaika pinkogijake **kero** pinintakeka.”

imaika pi- N- kogij -k -e ke -ro pi- niN -ak -i =ka
 now 2- IRR- choose -PFV -IRR WH -F 2- want -PFV -AR =REL

...“Now choose which one you want.”

b. Irira Poshontyo Tsorintsoripiori yamenagetanakero.

Old Axe went down the line looking at them.

c. Irira kakinte ikantiri, “**Iro** oka?”

iri- ra kakinte i- kaN-i -ri iro o- ka
 3M- MED person 3M- say -AR -3M 3F.COP 3F- PROX

The man said to him, “Is it this one?”

d. Irira Poshontyo TsorintSORIPIORI ikanti, “Tee.”

Old Axe said, “No.”

e. Arimpa ikoakotanakeri, ikantiri, “**Iro** oka?”

ari =mpa i- koako -an -k -i -ri i- kaN-i -ri iro o- ka
 FOC -MID 3M- ask -ABL -PFV -AR -3M 3M- say -AR -3M 3F.COP 3F- PROX

Then he asked him, he said, “Is it this one?”

f. Ikanti iriatimpa, “Tee.”

He said, “No.”

This interaction is represented with the discourse structure in Figure 2.18. The embedded constituent question corresponds to a constituent QUD, with two daughters, each a polar QUD that in turn evokes two polar alternatives. Three dots in the rightmost branch represent that this discourse could continue in a similar fashion, whereas there are no other possible alternatives that could instantiate the branches of each polar QUD, there being only two polarity values.⁵⁹

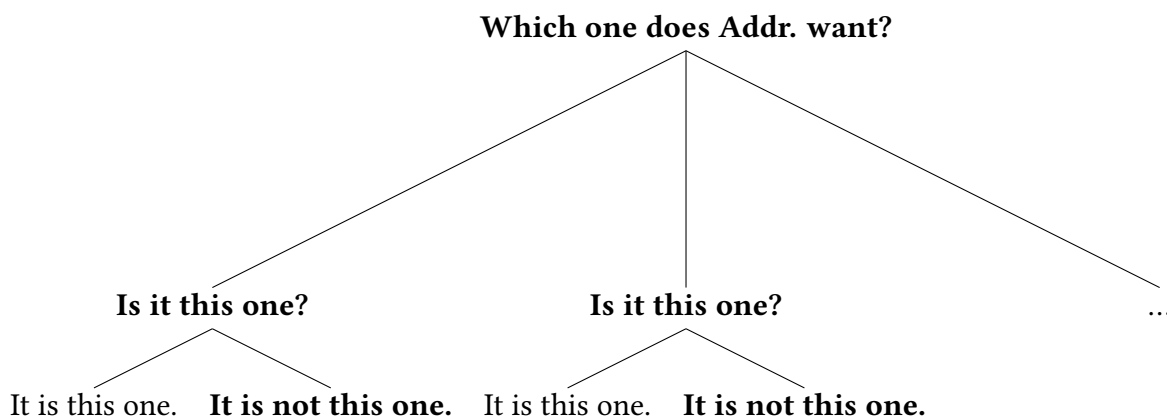


Figure 2.18: Interim Discourse Structure of (103)

I use the example of Old Axe to highlight a fundamental difference between <genti> and <ro> constructions in terms of their discourse structures: if a constituent QUD with multiple daughters is resolved directly, the answer is with a <genti> construction; if it is followed up by polar QUDs instantiating possible answers, those polar questions are with <ro> constructions, as are their answers. The form of the answer, as it were, changes, because the immediate QUD has also changed. Moreover, in examples of <genti> and <ro> constructions that do not follow

⁵⁹Note that the polar QUDs are not clefts but simple nonverbal clauses. There is a way to build impermissible structure into a nonverbal QUD of this example (i.e., *Is it THIS one?*), but that is not my claim here.

questions—as in many monologic examples—the alternation between these two copulas signals whether an additional layer of discursive structure is present: if a <ro> construction is used, it signals that there is specifically an additional layer of implicit polar QUDs present.

I conclude this section by noting that infelicitous examples like (98) show that Caquinte speakers do not accommodate an implicit polar QUD when a constituent super-QUD is explicit. This would be a discourse structure as represented in Figure 2.19, where the answer would contain a <ro> construction in the Caquinte.

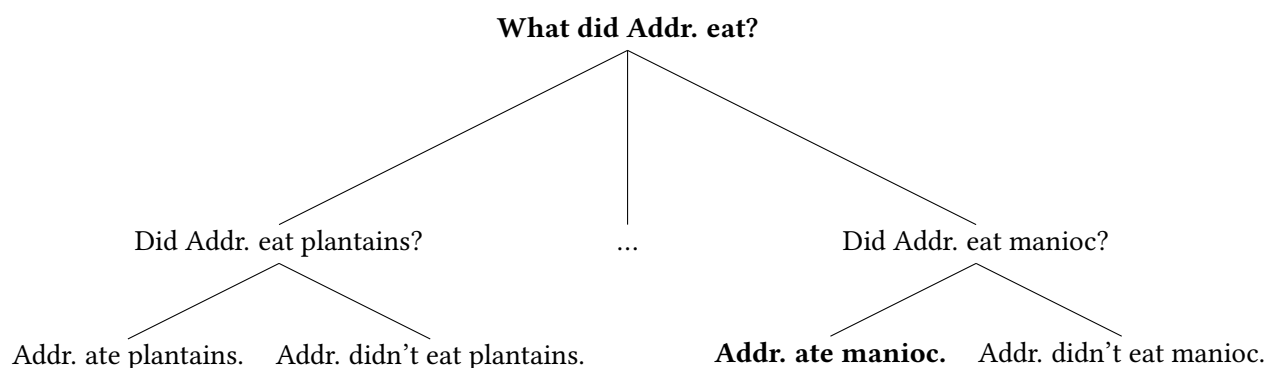


Figure 2.19: Impermissible Discourse Structure of (98)

On the analysis developed in this section, this is not surprising, since the constituent QUD evokes referential alternatives, but the answer evokes polar alternatives. There is a lack of congruity between the kinds of alternatives. A similar interaction would typically be infelicitous in English as well, as in (104), where the focus accent on *was* evokes polar alternatives. Compare this with the felicity of (105), when the polar QUD is explicit. The latter is parallel to the felicity of <ro> constructions in both the question and answer in (95).

- (104) a. What did you eat?
b. #It WAS manioc I ate.

- (105) a. What did you eat?
b. Was it manioc you ate?
c. It WAS manioc I ate.

Having established that a <ro> construction evokes polar as opposed to referential alternatives (given its occurrence in polar questions and their associated responses), I now turn to the more specific claim that the polar alternatives in this construction are salient in the same way that the referential alternatives evoked by clefted constituent questions and the <genti> construction are. To do this, I employ data from weak modal, counterfactual, and inferential contexts, which divide up the following three relatively brief subsections.

2.4.2.2 Evidence from Modal, Counterfactual & Inferential Clitics

In this section I illustrate that, as in nonverbal clauses (§2.2), several clitics expressing modal, counterfactual, and inferential meanings occur only in <ro> constructions, not in <genti> constructions. I claim that this distribution is to be expected given the fact that <ro> constructions evoke polar alternatives, and that the meanings expressed by these clitics deal in polar alternatives. Furthermore, I contend that the polar alternatives in these contexts are salient and thus subject to representation in discourse structure. However, we will see that these clitics differ in terms of whether the clause they occur in corresponds to a polar QUD (modal =*ka*) or to the response to a polar QUD (counterfactual =*me*, inferential =*sa*).

I begin with =*ka*, noting that forms in which this and the other clitics are attached to <genti> copulas are simply judged to be ungrammatical word forms. Furthermore, in texts, a <ro> copula is found when one would expect a <genti> copula (because the immediate QUD is a constituent QUD) but one of these clitics is present instead. We saw this incidentally in (71a) above, in which suggested modal answers to a clefted constituent question are with a nonverbal <ro> construction, not a <genti> one, as would otherwise be expected. This is repeated in (106) here.

(106) Taa opaji pishekata? **Iroka** chopeki, **iroka** aintochapaki.

taa opaji pi-sheka -a iro =ka chopeki iro =ka aintochapaki
 WH LIGHT 2- eat -MR 3F.COP =MOD plantain 3F.COP =MOD manioc

What is it you were eating? Maybe it was plantains, maybe it was manioc.

This empirical fact results from the fact that weak epistemic commitments to the truth of a proposition evoke both the possibilities that the proposition is true and that it is false. That is, in this context, maybe it was plantains, but maybe it was not; maybe it was manioc, but maybe it was not. In this way they are like polar questions formed on <ro> copulas, which could be responded to in the affirmative or the negative. Indeed I analyze the discourse structure of (106) as in Figure 2.20, in which the modal declaratives correspond to polar QUDs.⁶⁰

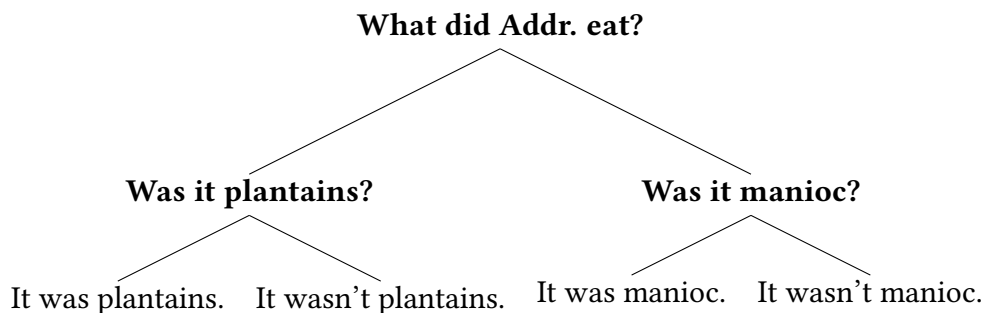


Figure 2.20: Discourse Structure of (106)

⁶⁰Again, note that these polar QUDs are not clefts, but simple nonverbal clauses (see footnote 59).

Polar questions and modal declaratives are thus two ways of explicitly listing referential alternatives, but the alternatives that they themselves evoke are polar, corresponding to their multiple daughters. In this way, the example here (106) is minimally different from that of Old Axe and his possible wives (103): in the former the alternatives are listed as modal declaratives; in the latter they are polar questions. Furthermore, with Old Axe both polar QUDs are resolved with his explicit utterances of *tee* ‘no,’ whereas here neither polar QUD is resolved. Instead the constituent QUD is resolved directly.

How can we be sure that the polar alternatives evoked by <ro> constructions are salient? In the description and analysis of <genti> constructions, I showed that referential alternatives could be made explicit by listing, the argument being that non-salient alternatives would not be amenable to explicit listing. A natural equivalent here would be to list the polar alternatives with ‘yes’ and ‘no,’ such as *Was it plantains, yes or no?* In Caquinte it is not possible to use these two interjections in a disjunction in this way (nor is it possible to attach modal =*ka* to them). However, indirect evidence for the salience of the polar alternatives evoked by <ro> constructions comes from the interpretation of them and modal =*ka* when embedded under *tsa* ‘know,’ in which case it is interpreted as ‘whether,’ as in (107).⁶¹

(107) “Imaika nontimashikeri kameetsaniji nontsakeri **irioka** agonoro.”

imaika no- N- timashi -k -e -ri kameetsa =niji no- N- tsa -k -e
 now 1- IRR- lie.in.wait.for -PFV -IRR -3M PURP =PURP 1- IRR- know -PFV -IRR
-ri irio =ka a- gonoro
 -3M 3M.COP =MOD 1INCL- countryman

“Now I’m going to lie in wait for them so I know whether or not they’re our people.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:133)

Relatedly, it is a <ro> construction and not a <genti> one that is used when the proposition is noted explicitly to be true with *arimaja* ‘it’s true.’ In (59b) this construction is similarly embedded under *tsa* ‘know.’ Such explicit commitments to the truth of the proposition rule out the possibility that the proposition is false, for which this polar alternative must be salient. Note that a <genti> copula is infelicitous as a substitute.

(108) “Namenakempageti nompeanajempa, nontsake jeeje arimaja **irio** pabantagari beantagetatsika.”

no- amen -k -e -mpa =geti no- N- peg -an -aj -e -mpa no- N- tsa -k
 1- see -PFV -IRR -MID =if 1- IRR- recover -ABL -REG -IRR -MID 1- IRR- know -PFV
-e jeeje arimaja irio pabantagari beg -an -ge -ats -i =ka
 -IRR yes it’s.true 3M.COP shaman cure -ANTIP -DSTR -IPFV -AR =REL

“If I see myself recover, I’ll know that yes, it’s true, he is a shaman who cures.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:41)

(n.b., #“...jeeje arimaja irigenti pabantagari beantagetatsika.”) (DSG Messenger 20201123)

⁶¹In contrast, when a <genti> construction is embedded under ‘know,’ the interpretation is of ‘that.’

Turning now to verbal clauses, which exhibit the same properties, I illustrate the occurrence of weak modal =*ka* in a <ro> construction in (109b). (See also (92) in the introduction.) Note that a <genti> construction is infelicitous as a substitute.⁶²

(109) a. “Poishero paamari nontajenkatapojeta.”

pi- oish -e -ro paamari no- N- ta -jenka -apoj -e =ta
 2- blow.on -IRR -3F fire 1- IRR- warm.self -CL:immaterial -ALL -IRR =PROSP

“Blow on the fire for me to warm myself.”

b. “**Iroka** aakena [rookajenkani]_F.”

iro =ka ag -k -i -na rookajenkani
 3F.COP =MOD get -PFV -AR -1 cold

“It might be a cold that’s got me.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:136)

(n.b., #*Irogentika aakena rookajenkani*.)

(DSG Messenger 20201123)

Unlike (106), in (109b) the constituent QUD is implicit, and only one possible referential alternative is listed. Nevertheless, the overall discourse structure is the same. In light of the general discourse structure established for verbal <ro> constructions in the preceding section—in which a constituent QUD is always present in order to indicate the focused constituent in the following polar QUD—this results in the discourse structure as represented in Figure 2.21.

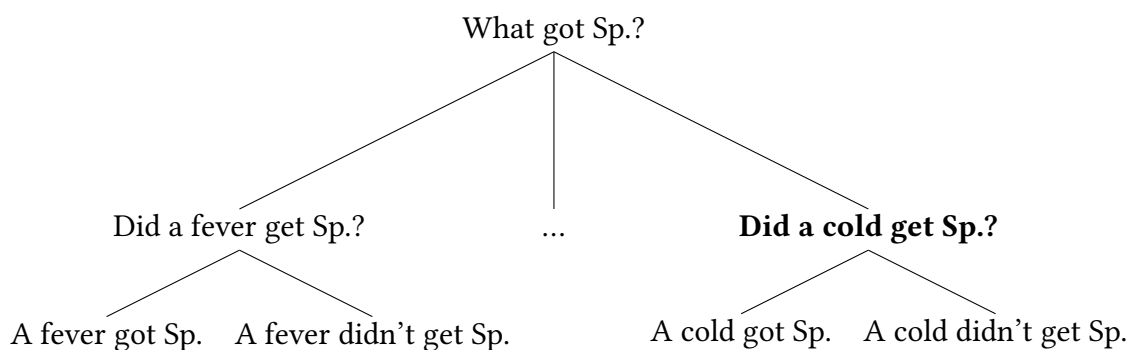


Figure 2.21: Discourse Structure of (109b)

I now turn to the two clitics that occur in responses to polar QUDs, as alluded to in the introduction, emphasizing that their co-occurrence with <ro> copulas nevertheless provides similar evidence for salient alternatives. Counterfactuals, for example, entail the truth of a polar opposite alternative, thus making it salient. Consider (110), from an exchange in which a woman is told to drink her own manioc beer, a taboo. After retorting that she made it, she continues with this counterfactual elaboration, which serves to highlight that it is in fact not her addressee who

⁶²In elicitation (20201123), Dehiber Sergio initially accepts the form **irogentika* in this example, but does not repeat it, changing it to *iroka*, which I take as evidence of the ungrammaticality of the former.

owns the manioc beer. We find counterfactual =*me* attaching to *abiro*, not to *abigenti*, which is judged to be infelicitous in this context.

(110) “**Abiromekea** ashinkemparome nomirakeme.”

abiro =*me* =*kea* *ashin* -*k* -*e* -*mpa* -*ro* =*me* *no-* *mir* -*k* -*e* =*me*
 2.COP =CF =EW OWN -PFV -IRR -MID -3F =CF 1- drink -PFV -IRR =CF

“Had it been you who owned it, I’d have drunk it.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:166)
 (n.b., #*Abigentimekea ashinkemparome nomirakeme.*) (DSG Messenger 20201123)

Epistemically stronger statements similarly occur in contexts of salient alternatives. In (111), for example, a man obtains evidence that allows him to reliably infer that it was vampire bat that killed his sisters (the bat’s wives), not a mystical swamp called Tsonkamonki, as vampire bat had claimed. That is, the man’s strong epistemic stance effectively rules out the possibility that it is NOT vampire bat who killed his sisters. Expectedly, we find the inferential =*sa* attaching to *abiro*, not to *abigenti*.

(111) …“**Abirosa** metojagekero igetyopae.”

abiro =*sa* *metoj* -*ge* -*k* -*i* -*ro* *igetyo* =*pae*
 2.COP =INFER kill -DSTR -PFV -AR -3F sister =PL

…“It must be you who killed my sisters.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:129)

Unlike modal =*ka*, which instantiated a polar QUD, these two clitics occur in clauses that instantiate responses to polar QUDs, given that they do not leave open the possible truth of either positive or negative alternative (as with ‘whether’) but instead rule out the opposite polar alternative. This is shown for inferential =*sa* in Figure 2.22.

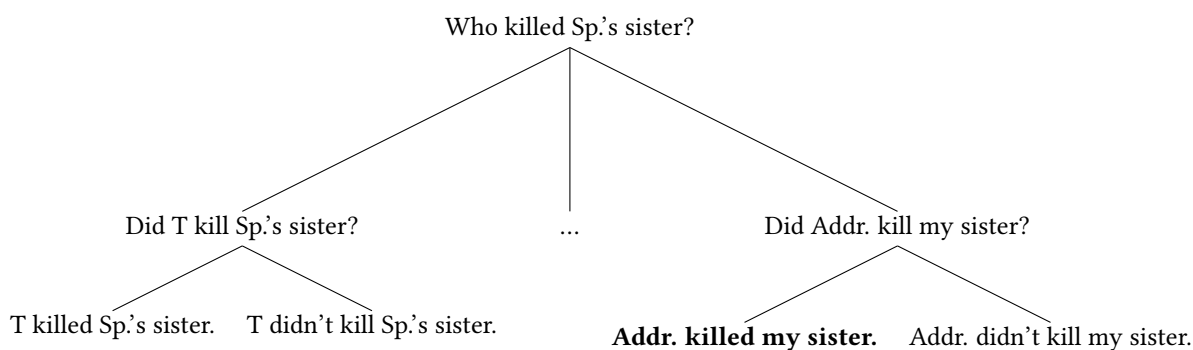


Figure 2.22: Discourse Structure of (111)

2.4.2.3 Contradicting Imperatives & Singular Sets of Alternatives

In the preceding sections, we have seen that <ro> constructions must either instantiate a polar QUD or a resolution of a polar QUD. One consequence of this has been that <ro> constructions do not ever directly resolve a constituent QUD. In apparent cases of this, as with suggested answers marked with modal =*ka*, I argued that the apparent resolution is in fact an unresolved polar QUD. In this section I leverage these conclusions to analyze the discourse structure of another common occurrence of <ro> constructions in monologic texts, namely in the contradiction of the subject argument of an imperative—<genti> constructions are never found in this context. Consider (112b). In this context, Brown Capuchin expresses interest in a large quantity of gourds in the possession of a female cannibal he is visiting. He tells her he wants her to split one open for him, but she tells him to do it instead. Her retort includes the second person *abiro*; *abigenti* is judged to be infelicitous in this context.

(112) a. ...“Pintsekero pigemine.”

pi- N- tsek -e -ro pi- kemi -ne
2- IRR- split -IRR -3F 2- gour.sp. -P

...“Split open your gourd.”

b. Okantirikea, “Serajite, **abirempa** tsekenarone.”

o- kaN -i -ri =kea serajite abiro =mpa tsek -e -na -ro -ne
3F- say -AR -3M =EW human⁶³ 2.COP =INCNGR split -IRR -1 -3F -IRR

Then she said to him, “Human, YOU split it open for me.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:87)

(n.b., #*Serajite, abigentimpa tsekenarone.*)

(DSG Messenger 20201123)

Given the assumption that a polar QUD must always be dominated by a constituent QUD, and the conclusions just mentioned, the structure of these contradictions must be as in Figure 2.23, the general configuration of which we have now seen much of. In particular, the <ro> construction in (112b) cannot instantiate the polar QUD, and must instead instantiate its answer. This is because the effect of this discourse is not the same as a case in which a <ro> construction occurs in a polar question or with modal =*ka*. In those cases, either polar alternative could in principal resolve the corresponding QUD. In this case, the effect of the command Brown Capuchin issues to the cannibal is to rule out the other polar alternative.

As noted above, it is *a priori* striking that a <genti> construction does not occur in the contradiction of imperatives. Given the restriction to two referential alternatives in these speaker-addressee interactions, one might think, for example, that the discourse structure of these contradictions could be as in Figure 2.24, where a constituent QUD dominates two direct answers instantiating the two participants. As I have established, a direct answer of this sort should manifest a <genti> construction, which is not found in this context.

⁶³That is, only in the speech of female cannibals that humans or other anthropomorphized beings (as is the case with Brown Capuchin here) address and refer to as *natojite*.

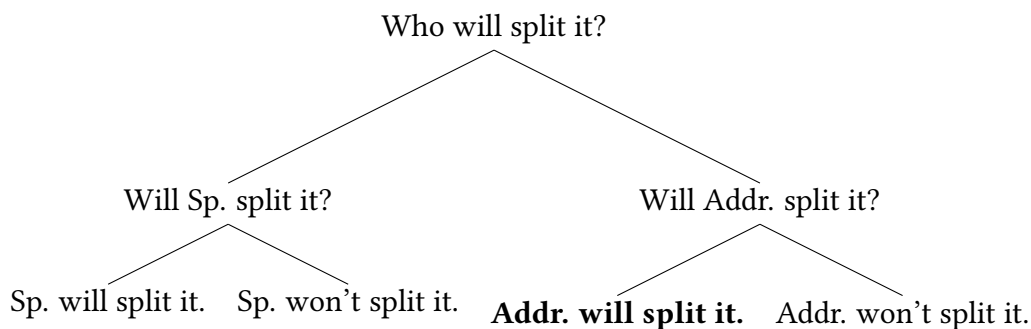


Figure 2.23: Discourse Structure of (112b)

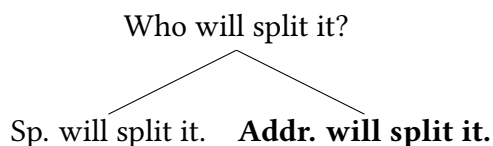


Figure 2.24: Incorrect Discourse Structure of (112b)

I contend that the impermissibility of a <genti> construction in this context is due to the nature of what it means to contradict an imperative. In short, the referent denoted by the original imperative subject—in this example the cannibal—is no longer a viable salient alternative, otherwise they would not have bothered to reissue the same imperative oriented toward their interlocutor. They have, as it were, removed themselves from the set of referential alternatives. Consequently, the set of referential alternatives evoked by a constituent QUD in this context—namely the two interlocutors (Figure 2.24)—is not well formed. In the same vein, an answer with a <genti> construction would evoke the same malformed referential alternatives. In contrast, the discourse structure in Figure 2.23 represents this “self-removal”: by dealing locally only in polar alternatives, which the attested <ro> construction instantiates (112b), the speaker is able to resolve the constituent QUD without evoking referential alternatives, which there are none of in this context.

Furthermore, a preceding imperative does not need to be explicit in order for a <ro> construction to occur, as shown in (113). In this context, a jaguar and a dog have teamed up to steal a ring from a wealthy human. After they abscond with the ring in the night, they must swim across a large river. Jaguar initially carries the ring as they are swimming, but after a while, not having said anything else, he utters this sentence. In doing so, Jaguar rules himself out as a viable alternative, not because he rejects an explicit imperative instructing him to carry the ring, but because he has already been carrying the ring and no longer wants to.

(113) “**Abiro** aanajerine, magopojana naatimpa.”

abiro ag -an -aj -e -ri -ne mago -poj -a -na naatimpa
 2.COP take -ABL -REG -IRR -3M -IRR be.tired -ALL -MR -1 1.PRO

“YOU take it, I’m already tired.”

In contrast, it is worth noting that, had Jaguar used the plain imperative *Paanajeri* ‘Take it,’ it would mean that no one had been carrying the ring previously (or been told to do so), which is of course not felicitous in this particular context.

From this reasoning about the nature of referential alternatives in these minimal speaker-addressee interactions, we can make the following important generalization: <ro> constructions occur in contexts in which—locally—the set of referential alternatives is singular, that is, when there are no referential alternatives strictly speaking. Instead, the discourse has to do with resolving a polar QUD relating to a single referent. This is not to say that polar QUDs—and as such, <ro> constructions—cannot occur in larger contexts in which referential alternatives are salient. This was the case of Old Axe and his possible wives, who instantiated explicit referential alternatives, as well as with the numerous implicit referential alternatives in the foregoing discourse structures. It is a question of whether referential alternatives are immediately, or locally salient. My claim is that, with <ro> constructions, only polar alternatives are locally salient in this way.

I extend the notion of contexts in which there are no locally salient referential alternatives to account for contexts similar to those in (112b) and (113), but where there is no sense that an imperative (implicit or explicit) is being contradicted. These are instances in which there is a single possible individual to fill a role, a notion which also generalizes to the contradiction cases above. Consider (114), from a story in which various men report to the chief whether they will move to a new village site. With most men, the chief is understanding of their desires to go or not go, but the need for one man in particular to go is very high, since he is the only adult who knows how to administer Western medicines. That is, the choice, as it were, is not between this man and another man ($\alpha \sim \beta$), but between this man or not this man ($\alpha \sim \neg\alpha$), because there is no other possible candidate.

(114) a. ...“Naatimpa aato nogi.”

naatimpa aato no- og -i
 1.PRO NEG 1- go -AR

...“I won’t go.”

b. Ikantiri, “Abiatimpa poanake...**abiotari** ajabintajiabakerine irojokijijianakempageti agonoro.”

i- kaN -i -ri abiatimpa pi- og -an -k -e abiro =tari ajabiN -jig -ab -k
 3M- say -AR -3M 2.PRO 2- go -ABL -PFV -IRR 2.COP =CNGR treat -PL -DIR -PFV
-e -ri -ne iri- ojokiji -jig -an -k -e -mpa =geti a- gonoro
 -IRR -3M -IRR 3M- be.sick -PL -ABL -PFV -IRR -MID =when 1INCL- countryman

He said to him, “You will go...because YOU have to treat our people when they get sick.”
 (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:14)

Similarly, in contexts where there are multiple people and multiple roles, but the same number of each, we also find <ro> constructions. These are contexts not where one person but not another should do something, but where one person should do one thing and another person should do another. This overall construction is found in the assignment of tasks. In (115), the two individuals assigned to tasks are the speaker and an addressee. In (116), they are the addressee and a third party.⁶⁴ In the former, two people plot to kill a shaman; in the latter, animals arrange to save tapir, who is being dragged underwater by the river monster.

(115) “...**naro** aashirekitemparine, **abiro** aanakerine Tsonkatagaroniki.”

naro ag -shire -ki -e -mpa -ri -ne abiro ag -an -k -e -ri -ne
 1.COP take -soul -GO.DO.RETURN -IRR -MID -3M -IRR 2.COP take -ABL -PFV -IRR -3M -IRR
Tsonkatagaroni =ki
 Tsonkatagaroni =LOC

“...I’LL take his soul, YOU’LL take him to Tsonkatagaroni.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:56)

(116) “**Abiro** shogirikakokerine, irira chonchokoronti **iriokea** noshikakokerine.”

abiro shogirik -ako -k -e -ri -ne iri- ra chonchokoronti irio =kea noshik
 2.COP crank -INDR -PFV -IRR -3M -IRR 3M- MED deer 3M.COP =EW pull
-ako -k -e -ri -ne
 -INDR -PFV -IRR -3M -IRR

“YOU crank on him, deer HE’LL pull on him.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:76)

These constructions seem to be textbook cases of contrastive topic, by which there is a complex QUD broken down into sub-QUDs (Constant 2014). In this case, the super-QUD is *Who will do what?*, with sub-QUDs *What will I do?* and *What will you do?* In Caquinte, the focus constructions in these two examples and similar ones compete with a construction with a topicalized subject but no subsequent <ro> copula, resulting notably in agreement on the verb. The alternation between these two constructions, and how they would inform an analysis in terms of contrastive topic, is not well understood and awaits future research.

2.4.3 Combining <genti> & <ro> Constructions

I conclude this chapter by showing one way in which <genti> and <ro> constructions combine. This will require a discourse structure that we have not yet encountered, but is one that will recur in chapters 3 and 5. Consider (117d), where a <genti> construction in one clause is followed by a <ro> construction in a following clause.

(117) a. Naatimpa nokantiro, “Tee nonkemempiji.”
 I said to her, “I don’t understand you.”

⁶⁴Example (116) also exhibits a topicalization preceding the third person masculine *irio*, which is irrelevant here.

- b. Teetari nontsateroji koramani igenketsatsare pacheri.
A long time ago I didn't know Matsigenka.
- c. Kerokampa nonkantakeroni nogipiantakenemparoka?
How was I supposed to respond to her?
- d. Ari **irigenti** obetsataka [nomankigare]_F, **irio** tsatakero.

ari irigenti o- obetsa -k -a no- mankigare irio tsa -ak -i -ro
FOC 3M.COP 3F- speak -PFV -MR 1- spouse 3M.COP know -PFV -AR -3F

So it was my husband she spoke to, it was him who knew it.

(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:40)

Cases like (117d) are ones in which the QUD that the second clause resolves is sponsored, as it were, by the preceding answer. In this example, there is a focused constituent in the first clause, in which referential alternatives are evoked (constituent QUD), that goes on to be the focused constituent in the second clause, in which polar alternatives are evoked (polar QUD). In particular, *irio* refers back to *nomankigare* 'my husband,' the contrastively focused noun. I follow Riester in considering the lower QUD in these cases to be an "anaphorically dependent [question], since [it] necessarily build[s] on given material from the feeder" (2019:169), where feeders are, in the terms of this dissertation, answers that dominate QUDs.⁶⁵

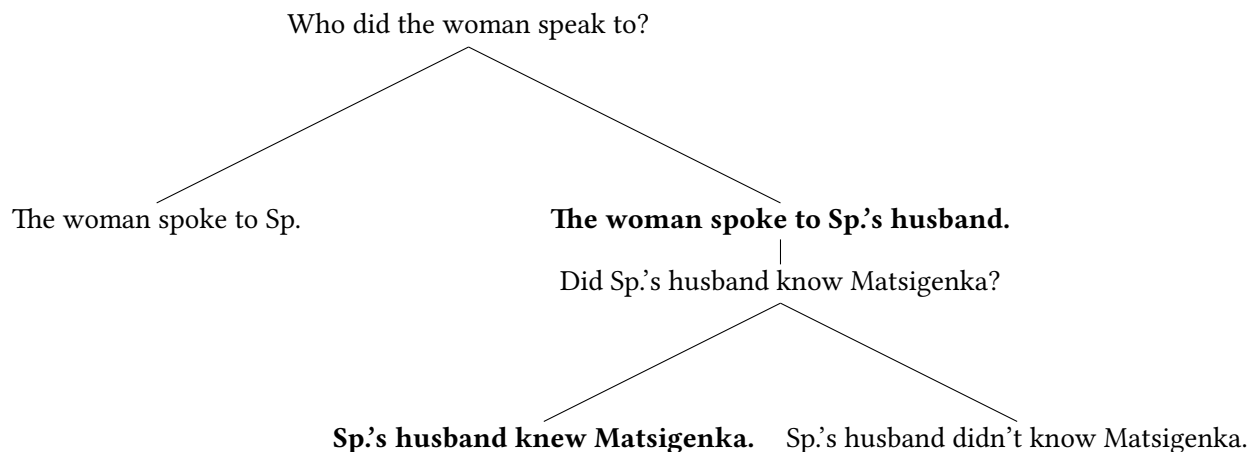


Figure 2.25: Discourse Structure of (117d)

We can now combine the discourse structures we have established for <genti> and <ro> constructions as in Figure 2.25. In this structure, the initial <genti> construction resolves an implicit constituent QUD. Its two daughters instantiate the two salient alternatives, the speaker

⁶⁵The term feeder is due to van Kuppevelt (1995), with a rather different conceptualization, namely "a topicless unit of discourse, e.g. a single sentence, or one whose topic is no longer PROMINENT at the moment of questioning" (ibid.:119, emphasis in original). QUD geometries in which answers are not terminal nodes diverge from Roberts's (1996) and Büring's (2003) conceptualizations, but are adopted by others (e.g., Velleman and Beaver 2016).

and her husband. The following <ro> construction resolves an implicit polar QUD that is itself dominated by the answer. This latter QUD functions as an elaboration that provides the reason for why the answer to the first constituent QUD was who it was. In the terms laid out in this section, referential alternatives are not salient in the elaboration: it is not the case that we are interested in who of some set of individuals knew how to speak Matsigenka, but whether it is true of this man and is thus the reason that he was spoken to. I intend this to be a segue to the following chapter on corrective focus, where we will also see the <genti> and <ro> constructions come together in a slightly different way, as well as more examples of answers dominating QUDs.

Chapter 3

Corrective Focus

3.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on the alternatives- and discourse structure-based analysis of selective focus (Chapter 2) in order to analyze corrective focus. As another subtype of contrastive focus, corrective focus similarly occurs in contexts of salient alternatives; it occurs when one member of a set of alternatives replaces another member, or, in Aissen’s (to appear:5) terms, “corrects the previous utterance.” Aissen’s example of corrective focus, which serves as a useful starting illustration, consists of an interaction between two people, one of whom makes an assertion (118a), the other of whom denies that assertion (118b) with *no*, followed by a clause that replaces the incorrect portion of the assertion with the correct “answer.” In these examples I use brackets and a subscripted F to indicate the focused constituent.

- (118) a. Kim had pancakes for breakfast.
 b. No, she had [eggs]_F for breakfast.

In what follows, a more articulated example will be useful, namely one in which the addressee’s denial is a full clause with a focus of its own (119). We can think of these cases as ones in which a speaker prefigures a correction via a negation that scopes over a focus.⁶⁶

- (119) Kim didn’t have [pancakes]_F for breakfast, she had [eggs]_F for breakfast.

I refer to the denials in (118b) and (119) as truncated and clausal, respectively; each is followed by the clause that supplies the correction. I use the term correction in a broad sense of replacement. In particular, I use it to encompass certain epistemic modal and counterfactual-deontic contexts in which an assertion replaces a false belief or unrealized eventuality, respectively. These two cases are shown in (120) and (121), modifying Aissen’s example. As we will see below, in Caquinte, there is a verb *ji* with the specific meaning of ‘believe falsely,’ and a counterfactual-deontic clitic =*me*, both of which entail the truth of the polar opposite of the clause in which they occur (e.g., *should have done X, but did not do X*).

⁶⁶Compare English *Kim didn’t have PANCAKES for breakfast...*, which is infelicitous without a following correction.

- (120) I thought Kim had [pancakes]_F for breakfast, but she had [eggs]_F for breakfast.
 (121) Kim should've had [pancakes]_F for breakfast, but she had [eggs]_F for breakfast.

Denials, false beliefs, and counterfactual-deontic statements, together with their subsequent corrections, are expressed with a single construction in Caquinte that forms the heart of this chapter. This construction combines the two copulas that have pervaded the discussion of non-verbal clauses and selective focus in the preceding two chapters: the first clause includes a <ro> copula, then the verb; the correction includes a <genti> copula, then the verb (122). When the first clause is negated, it also includes one of the two negators *tee* or *aato* (see §B.7). Agreement with a focused argument is suppressed, as with <genti> and <ro> constructions generally.

- (122) CORRECTIVE FOCUS SCHEMA
 (*tee/aato*) <ro> VERB, <genti> VERB

This schema is rigid, in the sense that the two copulas cannot appear in the opposite order, nor can the copula in both clauses be the same (see below). I note that we have already seen this general schema in nonverbal clauses, and that it is common in texts for only one of the two clauses to be verbal (the other being nonverbal), which we will also see below.

In terms of discourse structure, I will argue that polar clauses and corrections are best represented as in Figure 3.1, where a polar QUD is dominated by a constituent QUD: the polar clause resolves the polar QUD ($\neg\alpha$) but leaves the super-QUD unresolved; the correction serves as an answer (β) to the constituent QUD, resolving it. The discourse of corrective focus, then, involves a particular strategy by which a speaker makes a move to a higher QUD and resolves it without entertaining further sub-QUDs.⁶⁷ Importantly, the alternatives instantiated by the multiple daughters of the constituent QUD are non-uniform, in that one is a polar sub-QUD while the other is an answer. To my knowledge this is a theoretical innovation, and derives from positing QUDs that branch into multiple answers (see §2.1.2).

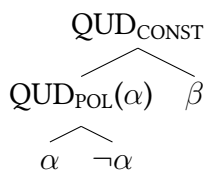


Figure 3.1: Schematic Structure for Corrective Focus

Furthermore, I claim that a polar QUD, in referring to one member of a set of referential alternatives, will occur only in contexts in which referential alternatives are salient. As a result, the polar QUD thus always has a sister. This is what yields corrections always expressed with a

⁶⁷This move to a higher QUD is unlike, for example, Rojas-Esponda's (2014) analysis of German *überhaupt* (see pp. 17-18). With corrective focus the move is to the QUD that interlocutors are currently attempting to resolve, whereas with *überhaupt* the move is to an even higher QUD, one that interlocutors are not currently attempting to resolve.

<genti> copula, given that the <genti> copula always corresponds to the answer to a branching constituent QUD. If the QUD were non-branching, we would expect to observe unmarked information focus (Ch. 5), but this is not attested.

I emphasize that the canonical corrective focus construction in Caquinte is empirically and analytically compositional, in that it brings together the two constructions I described for selective focus, namely ones involving <genti> and <ro> constructions, and their respective discourse structures, which I remind the reader of in Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3.

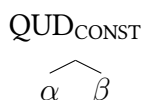


Figure 3.2: Constituent QUD

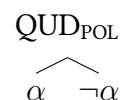


Figure 3.3: Polar QUD

Given these discourse structures—where <genti> constructions resolve constituent QUDs and <ro> constructions resolves polar QUDs—this is to be expected. That is, while <ro> constructions resolve polar QUDs, they leave the larger topic of conversation—the super-QUD—unresolved. The correction serves to resolve the super-QUD, as summarized using Caquinte forms in Figure 3.4 (n.b., negator *tee*). Finally, it should strike the reader that the discourse structure of the correction is the same as for selective focus with a <genti> construction, namely a constituent QUD with multiple daughters. What differentiates corrective focus from selective focus is that daughters can be non-uniform.

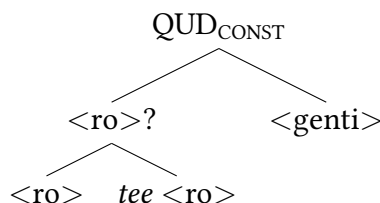


Figure 3.4: Summary Structure for Corrective Focus

This chapter is divided into two halves. In §3.2 I describe and analyze corrective focus where the focused constituent is an argument. I begin with the basic case (§3.2.1), and then move on to the epistemic and counterfactual-deontic contexts (§3.2.2). Then in §3.2.3 I briefly illustrate cases in which the initial negated clause has focus properties different from those in the correction. In the second half (§3.3), I present data that will be newer to the reader, namely concerning corrective focus where the focused constituent is a heterogeneous class of non-arguments, including verbs, predicates, postpositional phrases, and direct speech complements. This contrast is expressed by two forms, *arigenti* and *ari*, which have a distribution parallel to that of <genti> and <ro> copulas (Table 3.1). Here I walk through examples of each of the different possible types of focused constituent. Indeed I include part of the description of *arigenti* and *ari* in this chapter because

corrections provide a very useful way of determining the constituent in focus, which with these two forms, as mentioned, can be variable.⁶⁸

Table 3.1: Caquinte Contrastive Focus Markers

CONSTITUENT	REFERENTIAL ALTS.	POLAR ALTS.
ARGUMENT	<genti>	<ro>
VERB		
PREDICATE	<i>arigenti</i>	<i>ari</i>
ADVERBIAL		
DIRECT SPEECH		

Finally, in §3.3 I continue with the anaphorically dependent QUDs introduced in §2.4.3 to account for cases in which the denial does not have the same focus structure as the correction. As in Figure 3.5, the answer to a nonbranching constituent QUD dominates a branching constituent QUD. One of the lower branches corresponds to the clause containing *arigenti*, and the other branch instantiates an alternative proposition that derives from the preceding negated clause. That is, there is a constituent within α that is the constituent by which β varies with γ .⁶⁹ Put differently, the constituent targeted by the lower QUD is one introduced in α .

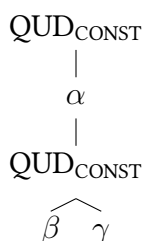


Figure 3.5: Discourse Structure for Noncanonical Corrective Focus

3.2 Corrective Argument Focus

3.2.1 Denials and Corrections: The Basic Case

The basic case of a denial and correction is exemplified in (123), from a story in which the narrator explains that a group of Ashaninkas believes they have killed the Caquinte warrior Taatakini.

⁶⁸I treat the selective focus functions of *arigenti* and *ari* separately in Chapter 6. This is in part due to the many functions of *ari* that warrant detailed description in their own right.

⁶⁹Note how this is different from the discourse structure in §2.4.3. There the answer to a branching constituent QUD dominated a branching polar QUD. What is common is that an answer dominates a QUD.

Note the third person masculine *irio* in the denial, with *irigenti* in the correction, and that the resulting focus is on the object.

(123) ...tee **irio** irimetojeji, **irigenti** imetojake [irigentijegite]_F.

tee irio iri- metoj -e -ji irigenti i- metoj -k -i iri- igentijegi -te
 NEG 3M.COP 3M- kill -IRR -NEG 3M.COP 3M- kill -PFV -AR 3M- brother -P

...it wasn't him they killed, the one they killed was his brother.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:164)

This example maps neatly onto the discourse structure schematized in Figure 3.1, as shown in Figure 3.6. Again, boldface is used to represent explicit QUDs.

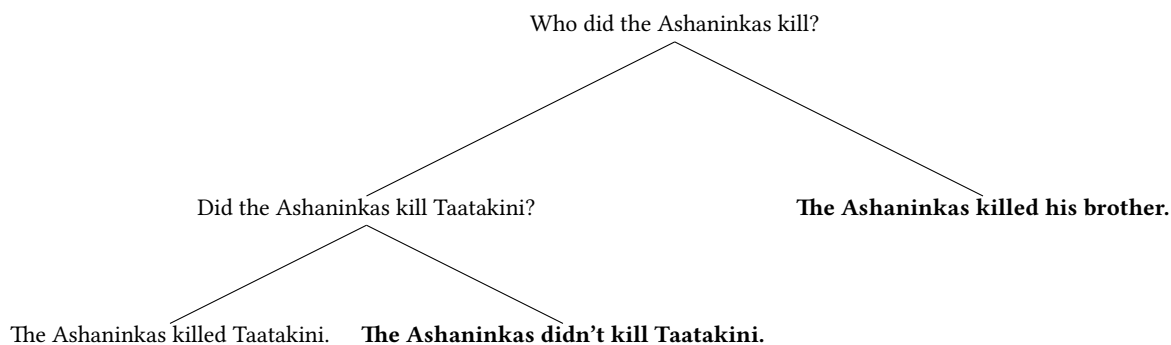


Figure 3.6: Discourse Structure of (123)

In elicitation, Miguel Sergio rejects out of hand a version of (123) with *irio* in place of *irigenti* in the second clause, as shown in (124). When asked about a version of (123) with *irigenti* in place of *irio* in the first clause, as shown in (125), he initially accepts it, but does not repeat it back.

(124) #Tee **irio** irimetojeji, **irio** imetojake irigentijegite.

(125) *Tee **irigenti** irimetojeji, **irigenti** imetojake irigentijegite. (MSS 20190725)

Then, when asked about when one would say *tee irio irimetojeji* versus *tee irigenti irimetojeji*—that is, the two initial clauses in these examples—he constructs an example with the same <ro>-<genti> structure as (123). From this I conclude that it is not in fact felicitous to alter these copulas in any of these ways (n.b., no other pattern is attested in texts either), and consequently that the discourse structure of corrective focus constructions is only ever as schematized in Figure 3.1, namely a constituent QUD branching into a polar sub-QUD and an answer.

In elicitation, reflection on (123) from Antonina Salazar provides additional evidence for the implicit structure in Figure 3.6, as well as for the way in which that structure can result from reconfiguration, in particular how a polar sub-QUD can be removed and substituted with an

answer. When asked about (123), she remarks that it sounds as if someone has asked the question in (126a).⁷⁰ She then gives a paraphrase of what the response would be (126b).

(126) [♣ AST elicitation, 20190723, SCOIL 2014-13.108]

- a. Taa metojankitsi? Irioka Taatakini o irigentijegite.

taa metoj -ankits -i =ka irio =ka Taataki -ni o iri- igentijegi -te
 WH die -PFV -AR =REL 3M.COP =MOD Taataki -DEC or 3M- brother -P

Who died? Maybe it was Taatakini or his brother.

- b. Tee **irio** metojatsine Taatakini, **irigenti** metojankitsi [irigentijegite]_F.

tee irio metoj -ats -i -ne Taataki -ni irigenti metoj -ankits -i iri- igentijegi -te
 NEG 3M.COP die -IPFV -AR -IRR Taataki -DEC 3M.COP die -PFV -AR 3M- brother -P

It wasn't Taatakini who died, it was his brother who died.

The example begins with a question, followed by two listed alternatives, suggesting two polar sub-QUDs as represented in Figure 3.7.

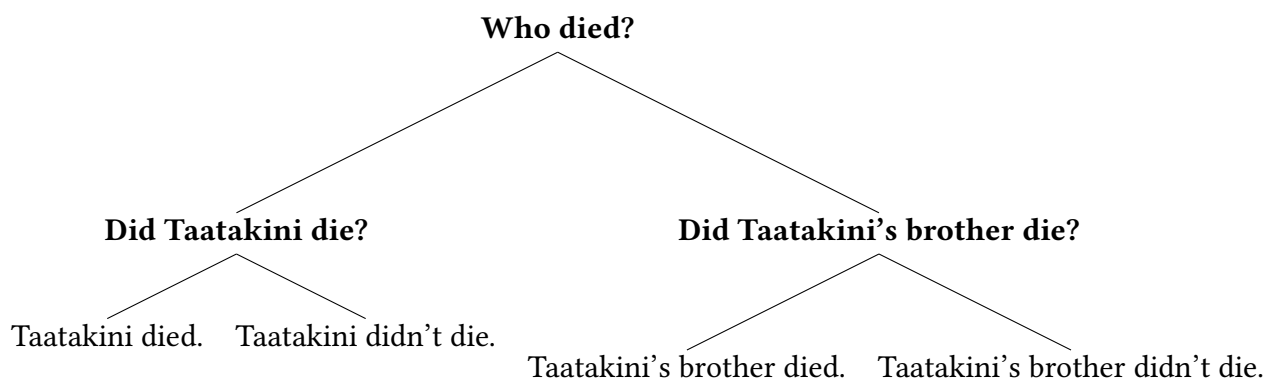


Figure 3.7: Partial Discourse Structure of (126)

I contend that the denial resolves the polar sub-QUD *Did Taatakini die?*, and there is good evidence for this in the form of the Caquinte, given that the polar sub-QUD is explicit as a polar question, and that I have previously established that only <ro> constructions respond to polar questions. There is no equivalent evidence, however, that the correction resolves the polar sub-QUD *Did his brother die?*. This is because, similarly, the polar sub-QUD is explicit, but a <genti> construction is found in the apparent answer, which is unexpected given that I have established that <genti> constructions do not respond to polar questions. Upholding a correspondence between constituent QUDs and constituent questions, on the one hand, and polar QUDs and polar questions, on the other, then the occurrence of the <genti> construction in the correction must

⁷⁰Note that this “question” takes the same general form used to establish explicit alternatives that was laid out in (71) in Chapter 2. That is, a constituent question followed by alternatives expressed as declarative nonverbal clauses. Note also that here AST borrows Spanish *o* ‘or,’ instead of using another instance of *irioka*.

mean that the immediate QUD is a constituent QUD. If a polar QUD were resolved by this clause, we would expect a <ro> construction, but we have seen that <ro> copulas are in fact infelicitous in a correction (124). This must mean that the second polar sub-QUD is not available to be resolved, and that the constituent super-QUD is resolved directly. This in turn means that the discourse structure has been reconfigured: while the speaker's initial questions have the structure in Figure 3.7, the addressee's answers have the structure in Figure 3.8.⁷¹

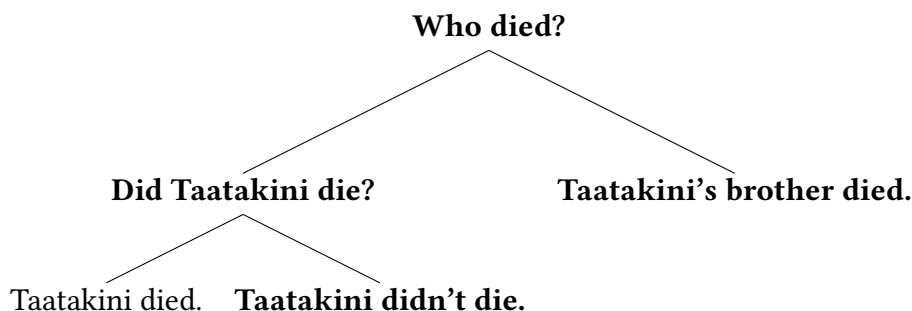


Figure 3.8: Discourse Structure of (126)

I conclude this section with an example in which the denial is truncated to *tee* ‘no’ (127b). In the preceding sentence, a quote, someone is told to drink something. Then the story turns back to the narrator, who explains that the person who uttered the imperative saw that his addressee did not drink what they had been told, but something else. The correction includes the expected <genti> construction, but, because the denial is truncated, a <ro> construction is absent.

(127) a. ...“Imaika pimirakerokeate shoshichagito.”

imaika pi- mir -k -e -ro =kea =te shoshi- chagito
 now 2- drink -PFV -IRR -3F =EW =CE 1.VULTURE- decapitated.head

...“Now drink (from) my decapitated head.”

b. Arikeate iriatimpa kakinte yamenabakerokeate tee...**irogenti** imirajatakakeate [iga-
 bosare shintsiri]_F.

ari =kea =te iriatimpa kakinte i- amen -ab -k -i -ro =kea =te tee irogenti i-
 FOC =EW =CE 3M.PRO person 3M- see -DIR -PFV -AR -3F =EW =CE no 3F.COP 3M-
mir -ja -ak -a =kea =te i- kabosa -re shintsiri
 drink -CL:fluid -PFV -MR =EW =CE 3M- defecate -NMZ tapir

⁷¹The question of why the second polar QUD is not available to be resolved is an interesting one. While I do not have a complete answer to this question, I note a similar infelicity with polarity focus on a cleft in English, that is, *It WASN'T Taatakini who died, it WAS his brother who died*. This prosodic pattern strikes me as felicitous only in response to a polar question (with a final rise, where the speaker is curious about whether either of the brothers died), as opposed to an alternative question (with a final fall, where the speaker believes that one of them died but does not know which one). I have not investigated this distinction in questions in Caquinte.

Then the man saw that no...he drank the tapir's shit.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:105)

This example can be represented with the same discourse structure argued for the preceding example, as in Figure 3.9, which differs from Figure 3.8 only in that the two QUDs are implicit.

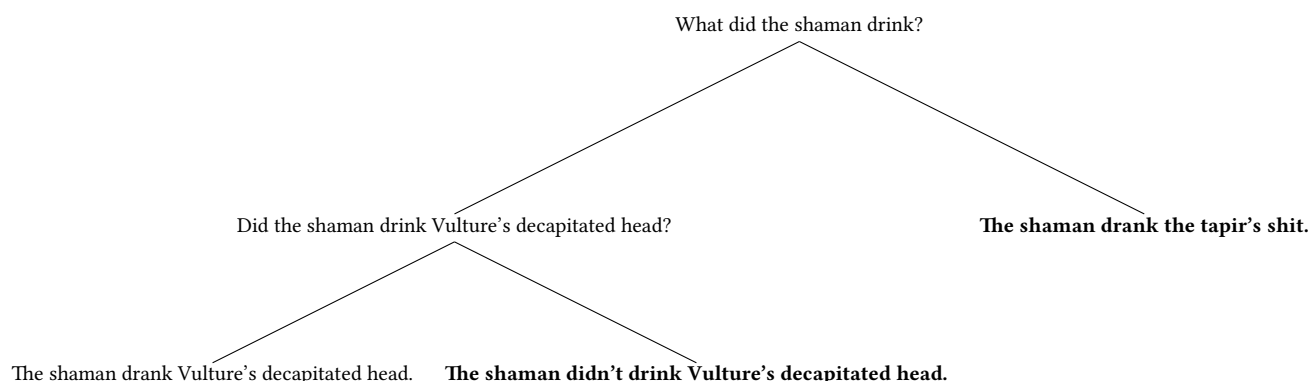


Figure 3.9: Discourse Structure of (127b)

3.2.2 Epistemic & Counterfactual-deontic Contexts

Having reviewed the basic corrective focus construction in which the first clause is a denial, in this section I concentrate on the epistemic and counterfactual-deontic contexts. These are contexts in which the correction is an assertion that replaces a false or belief or unrealized eventuality. The former is shown in (128). First is a <ro> construction embedded under *ji* ‘believe falsely.’⁷² Then comes a truncated denial, followed by a correction with a <genti> copula in a nonverbal clause.

(128) ...*ijikerojitari iro ikitajitaji [imankigare]_F, tee, irogenti chopekitsapaki.*

i- ji -k -i -ro -ji =tari iro i- kita -ji -aj -i i-
 3M- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -3F -FRST =CNGR 3F.COP 3M- bury -NR -REG -AR 3M-
mankigare tee irogenti chopeki -tsapaki
 spouse no 3F.COP plantain -young.sprout

...because he thought it was his wife they'd buried, but no, it was young plantain sprouts.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:112)

In this context, the QUD is *Who did they bury?* (Figure 3.10), which is relevant to this particular stretch of text because Vulture has made the decision to sleep at the base of his deceased wife's burial mound, but in fact his wife is alive, which the narrator introduces via a description of Vulture's false belief. I model this false belief as the same polar sub-QUD that we have seen previously, with the following *tee* ‘no’ instantiating an answer to it.

⁷²Recall from §2.2.2.1 that this verb embeds only <ro> constructions, not <genti> ones.

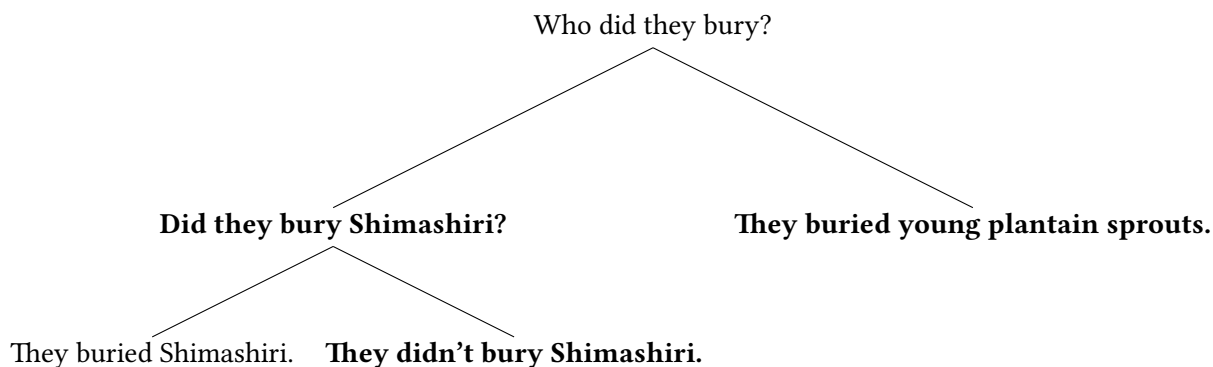


Figure 3.10: Discourse Structure for (128)

The constituent super-QUD remains unresolved in a similar fashion; the <genti> construction instantiates the answer that directly resolves it. In this case, the <genti> construction happens to be a nonverbal clause, and so does not contain the same verb *kita* ‘bury.’

When we investigate the preceding portion of the example of Taatakini in (123), we observe that it is an epistemic case with *ji* ‘believe falsely’ like (128), and I reproduce it in full in (129). The Ashaninkas who believe they killed Taatakini utter (129a), which is followed by the narrator’s explanation of the Ashaninkas’ false belief (129b), and then the corrective construction.

(129) a. ...“Nometojakeri Taataki.”

no- metoj -k -i -ri Taataki
1- kill -PFV -AR -3M Taataki

...‘I’ve killed Taataki.’

b. Ijikeriji **irio** imetojake.

i- ji -k -i -ri -ji irio i- metoj -k -i
3M- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -3M -FRST 3M.COP 3M- kill -PFV -AR

He thought it was him he’d killed.

c. Kotankitsi tee **irio** irimetojeji, **irigenti** imetojake [irigentijegite]_F.

kotankitsi tee irio iri- metoj -e -ji irigenti i- metoj -k -i iri- igentijegi -te
but NEG 3M.COP 3M- kill -IRR -NEG 3M.COP 3M- kill -PFV -AR 3M- brother -P

It wasn’t him they killed, it was his brother they killed.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:164)

The discourse structure (Figure 3.11) is also parallel to that in Figure 3.10. In this case, the denial is a verbal clause and not simply *tee* ‘no,’ and the correction is also a verbal clause.

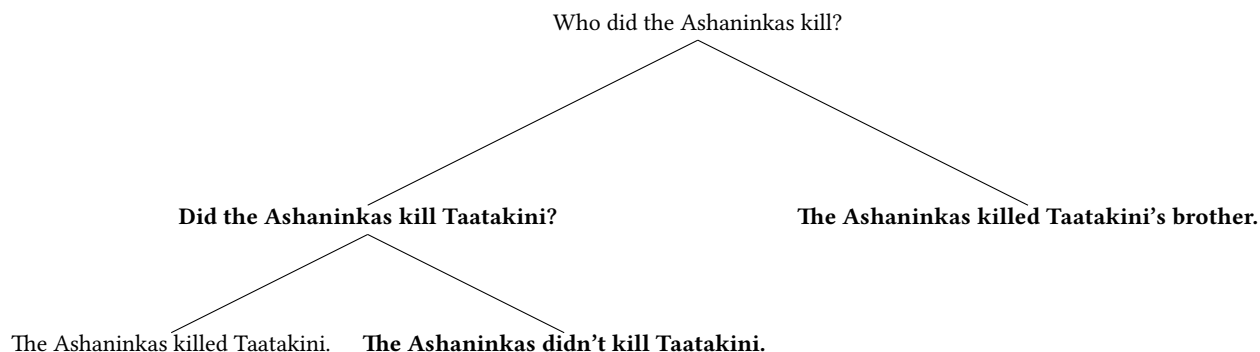


Figure 3.11: Possible Discourse Structure for (129)

Turning now to the deontic case, I emphasize that they again exhibit a parallel discourse structure. A canonical deontic example is in (130), in which a <ro> construction is followed by a <genti> construction, the former marked with the deontic second-position clitic =*me*. The clause in which the <genti> copula occurs denotes a realized eventuality that replaces the unrealized obligation denoted by the clause in which the <ro> copula occurs.

(130) ...“**Irome** paakeme [marikishi]_F, **irogenti** paake [kokashi]_F.”

iro =*me* *pi-ag -k -e* =*me* *marikishi* *irogenti pi-ag -k -i* *kokashi*
 3F.COP =DEON 2- get -PFV -IRR =DEON plant.sp. 3F.COP 2- get -PFV -AR plant.sp.

...“What you should’ve gotten was *marikishi*, but what you (actually) got was *kokashi*.”
 (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:12)

As established in Chapter 2, =*me* occurs only in <ro> constructions, not <genti> ones. There I described the counterfactual function of this same clitic, and how that entailed the truth of a polar opposite alternative, thus making it salient. The same holds here: in its deontic function, =*me* expresses only past-oriented deontics that are unrealized, which similarly entails the truth of a polar opposite alternative (in this context, informally, “What you should’ve gotten was *marikishi*, but that’s not what you got”). Consequently the salient alternatives of the <ro> clause in (130) are, expectedly, polar in nature, suggesting that the =*me*-clause similarly instantiates a polar QUD. Thus I model this construction as in Figure 3.12.

Unlike the explicit denial with *tee* ‘no’ (128), which resolves the polar sub-QUD, in (130) there is no explicit denial, but the super-QUD is nevertheless resolved directly in parallel fashion. This lack of explicit denial is possible not only in the deontic case, but also in the epistemic case, as shown with the nonverbal clause embedded under *ji* in (131). Note that it is not problematic that the polar sub-QUD is not directly resolved, since resolving the constituent super-QUD simultaneously resolves the sub-QUD.

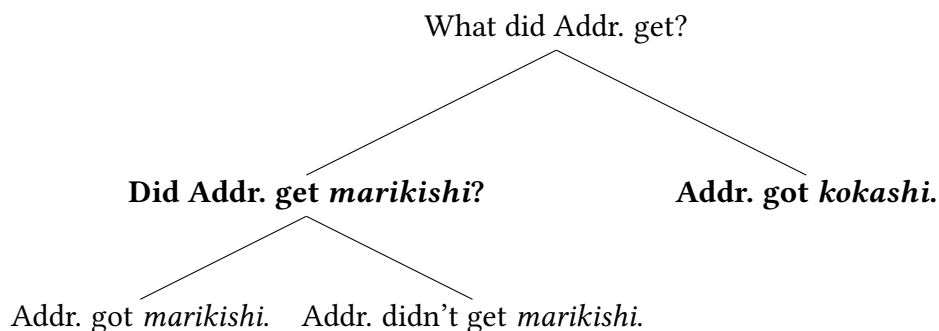


Figure 3.12: Possible Discourse Structure for (130)

(131) Nojikeriji **irio**, **irigentimpa** emooki.

no- ji -k -i -ri -ji irio irigenti =mpa emooki
 1- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -3M -FRST 3M.COP 3M.COP =INCNGR grub.sp.

I thought it was that [a peccary], but it was grub. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:52)

3.2.3 Denials with Different Focus Structures

Before concluding this larger section on corrective argument focus, I draw the reader's attention to a pattern attested in texts by which a correction consists of a <genti> construction but the denial lacks a <ro> construction. This is shown in (132), in which the denial exhibits a topicalized subject in the form of a preverbal demonstrative noun phrase. The second clause is a contrastive subject focus beginning with third person masculine *irigenti*, with its associated noun separated by the same verb *kog* 'look for,' which lacks subject agreement.

(132) Irirakea pamakabiribakitsate tee irijateji inkoajateroji, **irigenti** koajatakero [shetyaonkani]_F...

iri- ra =kea pamakabiribakitsate tee iri- ja -e -ji i- N- kog -ja -e
 3M- MED =EW osprey NEG 3M- go -IRR -NEG 3M- IRR- look.for -CL:fluid -IRR
-ro -ji irigenti kog -ja -ak -i -ro shetyaonkani
 -3F -NEG 3M.COP look.for -CL:fluid -PFV -AR -3F turkey.vulture

Osprey didn't go and look for her, it was Turkey Vulture who went to look for her.
 (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:112)

I analyze the denial and correction in this example as having different focus structures. The denial is a topicalization followed by an information focus on the predicate; it cannot be a case of information focus targeting the argument, as a full noun does not occur in postverbal position (see

§5.2.1), nor can it be a case of contrastive focus targeting the argument, since no <genti> or <ro> construction is present, and corresponding agreement is preserved. However, the correction is indeed a contrastive focus targeting the argument, as evidenced by the presence of a <genti> copula and anti-agreement. Consequently, the denial does not anticipate a correction with a contrastive focus with salient alternatives. That is, these are cases in which a speaker does not prefigure a correction via a negation scoping over a focus. To appreciate the difference, compare the version in (133) in which the first clause contains a contrastive argument focus.

(133) Tee **irio** koajaterone pamakabiribakitsate, **irigenti** koajatakero shetyaonkani. (ZJO)

The basic property of these cases is that the denial contains an unfocused constituent that becomes one of the constituents by which the salient alternatives in the correction vary. In this case, *pamakabiribakitsate* ‘osprey’ is not in focus the denial, but is a salient alternative in the correction, together with *shetyaonkani* ‘turkey vulture.’ The primary effect of this pattern is the following: sometimes speakers prefigure a correction via an explicit denial of a salient alternative construed as such. That is, they establish the discourse structure that we have seen throughout this chapter by which a polar QUD is resolved, but a constituent super-QUD is left unresolved. This is the function of the <ro> clause in the preceding sections, and of the truncated denials in *tee* ‘no.’ Other times, speakers address a different QUD, only later deciding, as it were, to correct a particular constituent in a preceding utterance. The exact nature of these changes in discourse structure await future research into the discourse structure of topicalizations in Caqunte. But I raise these issues here because they are relevant to the next section on corrective non-argument focus, where there can be—but often is not—special marking in the first clause that would be equivalent to the explicit denials via <ro> constructions at the level of argument focus. I will analyze the latter clauses of such examples as corrections, but I will not analyze the former clauses as prefiguring those corrections.

3.3 Corrective Non-argument Focus

In this section I introduce two Caqunte forms that express contrastive focus of a heterogeneous class of constituents—verbs, predicates, postpositional phrases, and direct speech complements—and extend the analysis in §3.2 to them. The two forms are *arigenti* and *ari*, and they exhibit a distribution parallel to the <genti> and <ro> copulas: *arigenti* evokes referential alternatives; *ari* evokes polar alternatives. My goal is to demonstrate how the fundamental distinction in Caqunte between polar QUDs and constituent QUDs and their associated answers ramifies beyond the domain of argument focus. I exemplify these different constituents, and provide trees representing their discourse structures.

To begin, consider the fictive interaction in (134), volunteered by Antonina Salazar in elicitation. The speaker’s assertion, with falling declarative intonation, is preceded by *ari*. That assertion is denied by the addressee with *tee* ‘no,’ whose correction begins with *arigenti*.

(134) a. **Ari** [pipeaka]_F.

VERB FOCUS

ari pi-peg -k -a
FOC 2- be.lost -PFV -MR

So you got lost.

- b. Tee, **arigenti** [notimpinake]_F, nokenanake otsipaki kenabokirontsi.

tee arigenti no- timpina -k -i no-ken-an -k -i o- tsipa =ki kenabokiro -ntsi
no FOC 1- go.wrong.way -PFV -AR 1- go -ABL -PFV -AR 3F- other =LOC path -AL

No, I went the wrong way, I went on another path. (AST 20190726)

Unlike <genti> and <ro> constructions in cases of argument focus, where corresponding verbal agreement is suppressed, the focused constituent here is the verb, and agreement is preserved: *pipeaka* and *notimpinake* are well formed words independent of *arigenti* or *ari*. I contend that the discourse structure of corrective verb focus examples like (134) is the same as for corrective argument focus (Figure 3.13). Here the declarative clause (134a) with *ari* corresponds to the polar QUD, which is denied, and then the constituent QUD is resolved directly.

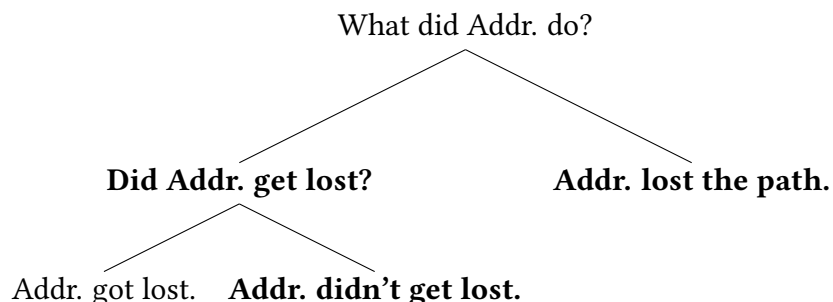


Figure 3.13: Discourse Structure of (134)

As with <ro> constructions in cases of corrective argument focus, *ari* can occur between negator *tee* and the verb, resulting in a non-truncated denial, as shown in (135). (Compare the basic case of corrective argument focus in (123) in §3.1 at the outset of this chapter.) This example has the same QUDs and discourse structure as in Figure 3.13, except that the polar QUD is implicit.

- (135) Tee **ari** [nompegempaji]_F, **arigenti** [notimpinake]_F. VERB FOCUS

tee ari no- N- peg -e -mpa -ji arigenti no- timpina -k -i
NEG FOC 1- IRR- be.lost -IRR -MID -NEG FOC 1- go.wrong.way -PFV -AR

I didn't get lost, I went the wrong way. (AST 20190726)

In the text corpus, there are no examples in which *ari* occurs in a denial followed by a correction. However, there are other naturally occurring examples in which *ari* occurs between negation and the verb as in (135), and this pattern is also volunteered by Antonina Salazar in elicitation, again,

independent of a following correction.⁷³ More common is a pattern by which the first clause simply lacks *ari*, as we saw for <ro> constructions in §3.2.3. This is true regardless of what type of constituent is in focus, and I return to it below.

The two examples we have seen so far show *ari* in the denial and *arigenti* in the correction, and they have been cases where the set of alternatives are propositions that differ only in the verb. The same pattern of *ari* and *arigenti* is found when alternative propositions differ only in a location, here expressed with a postpositional phrase headed by =*ki*. Consider (136), in which *ari* is embedded under *ji* ‘believe falsely.’ After having learned that Natán Sergio was not where I thought he was, I describe my false belief, which he then rejects (with a truncated denial), correcting for his actual location.

- (136) a. ZJO: Nojikeji **ari** pichookataji [Kitepampaniki]_F. PP FOCUS
I thought you were back in Kitepampani.
- b. NSV: Tee, **arigenti** nohookatake [akaniki Mazamariki]_F.
tee arigenti no- chooka -ak -i akaniki Mazamari =ki
no FOC 1- EXST -PFV -AR here Mazamari =LOC
No, I’m here in Mazamari. (NSV Messenger 20200417)

This example exhibits the same discourse structure that we are now familiar with. Here the constituent QUD does not target an argument, but a location. The clause embedded under *ji* instantiates the polar QUD, and NSV’s *tee* ‘no’ instantiates the answer to this polar QUD. His correction resolves the constituent super-QUD directly.

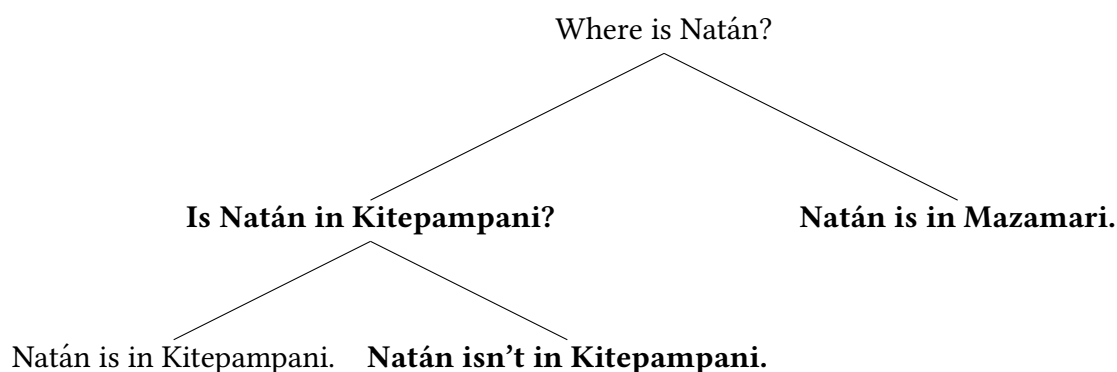


Figure 3.14: Discourse Structure of (136)

In the text corpus, a correction with *arigenti* often follows a clause that lacks *ari*. In fact with corrective non-argument focus, this is a more frequent pattern than with corrective argument focus (§3.2.3). This pattern is shown in (137). The narrator begins by describing her state of mind when she was not able to live with her parents as a girl, as detailed in (137a) and the first clause

⁷³The fact that *ari* can occur in this position is taken up further in Chapter 6 on selective focus of non-arguments.

of (137b). Then she provides a reason for her state of mind, explaining that it was due to the fact that she could not live with her parents (137b). Here she uses the phrase *noniinaniteki* ‘at my mother,’ and in this way it is a locative relation and not one of accompaniment.⁷⁴

(137) a. Osheki ajagantsini natsipeka, niraaka osheki.

Many years I suffered, I cried a lot.

b. Osheki noshimampoankaka teetari nonchookatenika noniinaniteki.

osheki no- shimampoank -k -a tee =tari no- N- chooka -e -nika non-
 much 1- be.sad -PFV -MR NEG =CNGR 1- IRR- live -IRR -NEG.CNGR 1-
iinani -te =ki
 mother -P =LOC

I was very sad because I didn’t live with my mother.

c. **Arigenti** nohookati [itsobironakiteki S]_F osheki ajagantsinipae... PP FOCUS

arigenti no- chooka -i i- tsobironaki -te S osheki ajagantsini =pae
 FOC 1- live -AR 3M- house -P S many year =PL

I lived at S’s house for many years... (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:3)

As in §3.2.3, I analyze this example as one in which the denial exhibits a different focus structure from the correction. In particular, the denial exhibits an information focus on the predicate where the correction exhibits a contrastive focus on the postpositional phrase. The effect is the same: no correction is prefigured in the denial because no contrastive focus with salient alternatives is present. I model the discourse structure of (137) as in Figure 3.15, which exhibits two important properties. The first is that the denial, in not being a contrastive focus, is represented by a nonbranching QUD. Second, we encounter another instance of a feeder, or an answer dominating a QUD. Recall from §2.4.3 that the motivation for this representation is that the QUD *Where did you live?* is sponsored by the answer to the preceding QUD. That is, only once we know that the reason for the narrator’s sadness is where she did not live is it relevant to ask where she did live. In the framing of §3.2.3, the denial contains an unfocused constituent (*with my mother*) that corresponds to one of the salient alternatives evoked by the subsequent QUD.⁷⁵ That alternatives are salient in the context of the subsequent QUD is due to the negation in the first clause: we know where the narrator did not live, thus when we ask where she did live there are (at least) two salient alternatives.⁷⁶

A similar locative example is in (138), volunteered by Antonina Salazar in elicitation. During this session we were working in the community health post, and while we were working Antonina’s sister Joy was leaving to go visiting in Pamencharoni. She had passed by Antonina’s house

⁷⁴This locution, with a noun referring to a person and locative =*ki*, is used to refer to being at someone’s house.

⁷⁵An alternative analysis could posit a single super-QUD that dominates both *Why were you sad?* and *Where did you live?*, but it is difficult to reason about what single coherent QUD this could be.

⁷⁶We will encounter similar structures in the discussion of information focus in §5.2.1, but there the answer to the first QUD is not negative, and thus alternatives are not salient in the context of the subsequent QUD.

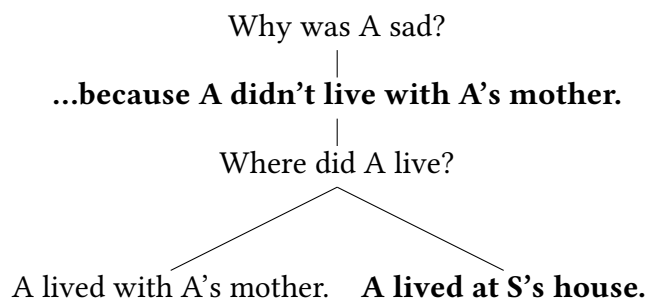


Figure 3.15: Discourse Structure of (137)

and did not find her, so she came by the health post looking for her, inferring that she must be working with me. In (138), Antonina is paraphrasing what Joy said when she arrived at the health post explaining why she had come.

(138) *Namenabetanakempi pitsobironakiteki kajaragiteni, arigenti nokorakeke [aka]_F.*

no- amen -be -an -k -i -mpi pi- tsobironaki -te =ki kajara -gite
 1- look.for -FRST -ABL -PFV -AR -2 2- house -P =LOC empty -CL:environment
-ni arigenti no- korake -k -i aka
 -ADJ FOC 1- come -PFV -AR here

I looked for you at your house but it was empty, so I came here. (AST 20190726)

Although JST does not prefigure a correction with a contrastive focus in the first clause, that clause nevertheless contains a constituent *at your house* that corresponds to one of the salient alternatives of the following clause. That is, alternatives corresponding to locations are salient because JST has mentioned one (AST's house) in the first portion of her utterance. The occurrence of *arigenti* in the second portion of her utterance is thus expected, since the health post (cf. *aka* 'here') is selected from a set of alternatives that also includes the house.

Since I have established that *arigenti* and *ari* can evoke alternative propositions that differ in verbs and postpositional phrases, the reader may wonder whether there is a more general process of clausal opposition at work (e.g., English *instead*), and whether it is right to think of these two forms as targeting a specifically defined class of non-argumental constituents. A clausal opposition analysis would predict that *arigenti* and *ari* could target arguments in addition to non-arguments, but this is not the case. This is easily shown in responses to constituent questions targeting arguments, in which *arigenti* (the expected form in the response to a constituent question, as opposed to *ari*) is infelicitous. This is shown both for subject- and object-oriented questions in (139) and (140).

(139) a. *Taa shekataro aintochapaki?*
 Who ate the manioc?

- b. #**Arigenti** noshekatakaro.
INTENDED: I ate the manioc. (MSS 20190725)
- (140) a. Taa pishekataka?
What'd you eat?
- b. #**Arigenti** noshekataka aintochapaki.
INTENDED: I ate manioc. (MSS 20190725)

In contrast, when the constituent question targets the verb, *arigenti* is felicitous (141).

- (141) a. Kero pinkokerini kobiroti?
b. **Arigenti** [nontashitakeri]_F. (MSS 20190725)

I now use additional textual examples to briefly illustrate how the alternative evoked by *arigenti* and *ari* can also differ in constituents that are predicates and direct speech complements, demonstrating the heterogeneity of the class of constituents that these two forms target for focus. Given the nature of the examples from the text corpus, these are all examples in which *ari* is absent, only *arigenti* being present. Thus they are all the now familiar cases in which no correction is prefigured, but where one occurs anyway. First, consider (142), an instance of intransitive predicate focus. Here going is contrasted with sitting on a rock, where *arigenti* occurs in the clause denoting the latter proposition. Crucially, this is not an instance of verb focus, since, although the subjects of the two verbs are held constant, the predicates differ in the presence of a postpositional phrase (n.b., verb focus would be lying on a rock as opposed to sitting on a rock).

- (142) Irira imoroiroki tee irogeji, **arigenti** [ichokotitaji amperitaki]_F amashaitake.

iri- ra imoroiroki tee iri- og -e -ji arigenti i- chokoti -aj -i
3M- MED collared.peccary NEG 3M- go -IRR -NEG FOC 3M- sit -REG -AR
amperita =ki amashai -ak -i -Ø
rock.outcropping =LOC sing -PFV -AR -3

The collared peccary didn't go, he sat on the rock outcropping singing.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:26)

This pattern is attested in the New Testament, as in (143), in which looking up at the sky is contrasted with chest-beating (an incorporated structure and thus intransitive). Similarly *arigenti* occurs in the clause denoting the latter proposition.

- (143) ...teekea iramenimateji jenoki inkiteki, **arigentikea** [itinkitinkinegintanaka]_F...

tee =kea iri- amen -ima -e -ji jenoki inkite =ki arigenti =kea i- tinkitinki
NEG =EW 3M- look -EXTR -IRR -NEG high sky =LOC FOC =EW 3M- hit(.blunt)
-negi -N -an -k -a
-chest -VBLZR -ABL -PFV -MR

...he didn't look at all up at the sky, he beat his chest...⁷⁷

(Luke 18:13)

Focus on a direct speech complement is shown in (144b), where the speaker contrasts what was said with what was not said, quoting each. Again, *arigenti* occurs in the clause containing the latter quotation.

- (144) a. ...“Jaame oanaje teetari ankantanakeji akorakekegeti, ‘Ari noanake pabantagariki.’”

jaame a- og -an -aj -e tee =tari a- N- kan -an -k -e -ji
 HORT 1INCL- go -ABL -REG -IRR NEG =CNGR 1INCL- IRR- say -ABL -PFV -IRR -NEG
a- korake -k -i =geti ari no- og -an -k -e pabantagari =ki
 1INCL- come -PFV -AR =when FOC 1- go -ABL -PFV -IRR shaman =LOC

“Let’s go back, because we didn’t say as we were leaving when we came [here], ‘It’s the shaman we’re going to.’”

- b. “**Arigenti** akanti, [‘Noanake Kirigetiki namenakaantakitero]_F...’”

arigenti a- kan -i no- og -an -k -e Kirigeti =ki no- amen -akag -an
 FOC 1INCL- say -AR 1- go -ABL -PFV -IRR Kirigeti =LOC 1- see -CAUS -ANTIP
-aki -e -ro
 -GO.DO.RETURN -IRR -3F

“We said, ‘We’re going to Kirigeti to have her seen...’”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:41)

In this context, the speaker is explaining to her husband why she feels they should return home, that is, because they did not tell their families the real motive for their trip, which has now delayed them. It has a discourse structure parallel to that in Figure 3.15, as shown in Figure 3.16, in which I use ‘X’ and ‘Y’ to stand in for the quotes. The constituent QUD that the *arigenti* construction resolves does not dominate a polar QUD; it is a sister to another constituent QUD having to do with the reason for the narrator’s suggested course of action. The first utterance makes salient one quote, which is then one of the alternatives from which a different quote is selected in the following utterance, namely the one that contains *arigenti*.

I conclude this section on *arigenti* and *ari* by making three observations that differentiate these two markers of contrastive focus from the argumental ones. First, they come with a certain degree of indeterminacy with regard to the focused constituent. That is, a clause-initial *arigenti* or *ari* simply indicates that there is a focused non-argument to its right. Because this constituent can be a verb, predicate, postpositional phrase, or direct speech complement, it is often not straightforward to determine which of the following constituents is in focus.⁷⁸ However, corrective focus constructions, which involve some comparison with a preceding utterance, give us a relatively straightforward heuristic for determining which constituent is in focus, and that is my principal

⁷⁷The original reads [...] *He would not even look up to heaven, but beat his breast [...]* The stem *tinkitinki* is a reduplicated form of the verb *tinkig* ‘hit (with blunt object),’ here, for example, referring to the man’s fists.

⁷⁸An important question for future research is whether intonation is a cue for the focused constituent in these cases.

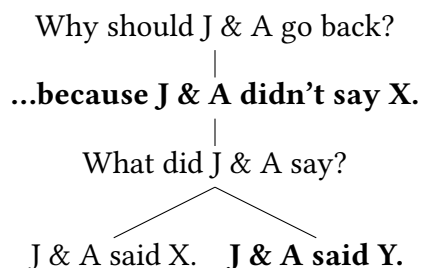


Figure 3.16: Discourse Structure of (144)

reason for first introducing these markers here and not in Chapter 2 on selective focus. For example, consider the “out-of-the-blue” utterance in (145a), from a story in which it is written on a sign that a character encounters upon arriving at a particular village.

(145) a. ...“Irira A, **arigenti** pinkoakeri [ontaniki Shampabireniki]_F.”

iri- ra A arigenti pi- N- kog -k -e -ri ontaniki Shampabireni =ki
 3M- MED A FOC 2- IRR- look.for -PFV -IRR -3M over.there Shampabireni =LOC

...“For A, look for him over there on the Shampabireni.”

b. “**Ari** pamenakeri, **ari** ichookatake.”

ari pi- amen -k -e -ri ari i- chooka -ak -i
 FOC 2- see -PFV -IRR -3M FOC 3M- EXST -PFV -AR

“That’s where you’ll find him, that’s where he is.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:35)

Without more context, it is not possible to tell whether the focused constituent is the postpositional phrase, the verb, etc. However, the subsequent utterance (145b) makes it clear that the location is in focus, and thus the postpositional phrase. Note further that (145b) illustrates another way in which *ari* resembles the <ro> copulas, namely in being able to recover the target of focus from a preceding clause (here *ontaniki Shampabireniki* ‘over there on the Shampabireni’), where *arigenti* is not able to function in this way.

My second concluding observation concerns the apparent facultativeness of these markers. Consider (146), a version of (135) without *arigenti*.

(146) Tee nompegempaji, notimpinake.

tee no- N- peg -e -mpa -ji no- timpina -k -i
 NEG 1- IRR- be.lost -IRR -MID -NEG 1- go.wrong.way -PFV -AR

I didn’t get lost, I went the wrong way.

(AST 20190726)

This example was accepted and repeated in elicitation, based on inquiry about the textual example in (135), and equivalent facts are widely attested in texts. The example in (147b), for instance, begins with the same negated verb as (146), and two apposed corrections follow it.

(147) a. ...“Nojikeji peakempi.”

no-ji -k -i -ji peg -k -i -mpi
1- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -FRST be.lost -PFV -AR -2

...“I thought you’d gotten lost.”

b. Okanti, “Tee nompegempaji, nokenabetanaka tomirishiki, notimpinake.”

o- kan-i tee no- N- peg -e -mpa-ji no-ken-be -an -k -a no-
3F- say -AR NEG 1- IRR- be.lost -IRR -MID -NEG 1- go -FRST -ABL -PFV -MR 1-
timpina -k -i
go.wrong.way -PFV -AR

She said, “I didn’t get lost, I went into the forest, I went the wrong way.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:62)

Yet the utterances in (147a) and (147b) are exactly parallel to those in (148a) and (148d) below, from exceedingly similar interactions in different stories. In the former, *arigenti* is absent, and in the latter it is present, but it is not clear that we should think of the discourse structures of these two examples as different.

(148) a. ...“Nojikeji jaaji peakempi.”

“I thought, brother, that you’d gotten lost.”

b. “Yamenagebetajatimpi panianishite, kajaragiteni.”

“Your brother-in-law went back again and looked around for you, but nothing.”

c. “Nokantiri, ‘Peaka, oshekitarite ishimampojankakaro irimankigare.’”

“I said to him, ‘He’s gotten lost, it’s that he’s really sad about his wife.’”

d. Arikea Okitsipokani ikantikea, “Tee nompegempaji, **arigenti** [notimpinake]_F.”

ari =kea Okitsipokani i- kan-i =kea tee no- N- peg -e -mpa-ji
FOC =EW Okitsipokani 3M- say -AR =EW NEG 1- IRR- be.lost -IRR -MID -NEG
arigenti no- timpina -k -i
FOC 1- go.wrong.way -PFV -AR

Then Okitsipokani said, “I didn’t get lost, I went the wrong way.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:96)

My third observation is to briefly note that *arigenti* is not frequent in the text corpus, with some two dozen attestations. Relatedly, to my knowledge, it also has no cognates in related languages. This is unlike the argumental <genti> and <ro> copulas, which have (partial) cognates that are widely attested across Nijagantsi languages, and unlike *ari*. Moreover, in the corpus, *ari* stands out in having over 3,000 attestations, one of the most frequently attested roots. This is due

to its numerous functions that I delineate in Chapter 6 on selective non-argument focus. I conclude by tying the remaining observations back to <genti> and <ro> constructions. Whereas *arigenti* and *ari* exhibit indeterminacy regarding the focused constituent, a <genti> or <ro> construction, together with the suppression of corresponding agreement on the verb, will always indicate exactly which argumental constituent is in focus. Similarly, <genti> and <ro> constructions are not at all facultative: a contrastive argument focus must be expressed with either one of these constructions.

Chapter 4

Exclusive Argument Focus

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe and analyze the third subtype of contrastive focus dealt with in this dissertation, namely exclusive focus targeting arguments. Unlike English, in which exclusive focus is expressed by a particle (*only*) that associates with focus (e.g., as expressed by accent), in Caquinte exclusive focus is expressed by the numeral *aparo* ‘one,’ which takes the place of a <genti> or <ro> copula (see Chs. 2 & 3) in the same obligatorily preverbal position, and cannot co-occur with them. As with those constructions, the (optional) focused constituent can occur pre- or postverbally, and corresponding agreement on the verb is suppressed, as schematized in (149).⁷⁹ In addition, forms diachronically related to *aparo*, as well as the only other numeral, *mabite* ‘two,’ can occur in place of *aparo*. These constructions are also described in this chapter.

- (149) a. *aparo* [NOUN/PRONOUN]_F VERB
 b. *aparo* VERB [NOUN/PRONOUN]_F

Semantically, exclusive focus expresses that an alternative proposition is the maximal one in a set of alternative propositions. By way of example, consider the exchange in (150). The speaker asks about who came to an event, a question to which they are given an answer. They then ask if there were others who came, to which they are told that no one else came. The last meaning is expressed by the English exclusive particle *only*. The proposition that Mojina came to the event is the maximal one because no one else came to the event. This interpretation is commonly known as an exhaustive interpretation.

- (150) a. Who came to the event?
 b. [Mojina]_F came to the event.
 c. Who else came?
 d. **Only** [Mojina]_F came.

⁷⁹The *aparo* construction only targets arguments, so I do not describe or analyze exclusive focus targeting other constituents in this dissertation (cf. the adverb *intati* ‘only,’ which does not target arguments).

The same facts hold of Caquinte exclusive focus expressed by *aparo* (151).⁸⁰ Indeed Caquinte speakers intuit that this construction “sounds” as if someone has asked a *Who else?* question, as opposed to a simple *Who?* question (DSG Messenger 20201204).

(151) a. Taa koraketankitsi aisa?

taa korake -ankits -i aisa
WH come -PFV -AR also

Who else came?

b. **Apaniro** koraketankitsi [Zacariás]_F.

apaniro korake -ankits -i Zacariás
one come -PFV -AR Zach

Only Zach came.

(DSG Messenger 20201204)

Furthermore, when negation scopes over the exclusive particle *only*, it targets the exhaustive interpretation, that is, expressing that the alternative is not maximal. In (152), with negation, the resulting interpretation is that other people besides Mojina drank the manioc beer. The same facts hold of the Caquinte *aparo* construction. In (153), the interpretation is that others besides the speaker love the addressee.

(152) Not **only** [Mojina]_F drank the manioc beer, [Meshinantsi]_F also drank it.

(153) ...tee **apaniro** [naatimpa]_F pintsajigempine, ipintsajiakempikeate maasano tsajakeroka Kenketsatsarensimajaka.

tee apaniro naatimpa pintsajig -e -mpi -ne i- pintsajig -k -i -mpi =kea =te
NEG alone 1.PRO love -PL -IRR -2 -IRR 3M- love -PL -PFV -AR -2 =EW =CE
maasano tsa -jig -k -i -ro =ka kenketsatsare -ntsi -majaka
all know -PL -PFV -AR -3F =REL language -AL -REAL

...it is not only me who loves you, everyone who knows the real language loves you.⁸¹

(2 John 1)

The notion of exhaustivity is a variable one across focus constructions in many languages,⁸² and so I avoid the term here, making use of paraphrases such as *nothing other than* and labeling the interpretation complement exclusion (Coppock and Beaver 2014:373). In turn, many scholars

⁸⁰Here a variant of *aparo* is used, namely *apaniro*. For at least some younger speakers bilingual in Matsigenka, *apaniro*, which is cognate to the animate form of the Matsigenka numeral ‘one’ (see §4.2), is preferred over *aparo*, at least with animate referents. There is no animacy distinction in Caquinte.

⁸¹The original: *whom I love in the truth; and not I only, but also all they that have known the truth.*

⁸²For example while English clefts are often analyzed as exhaustive (e.g., *It was Jane who scored highly on the test*), exhaustivity is not targeted by negation: *It was not Jane who scored highly on the test* does not mean that Jane scored highly on the test in addition to other individuals. See Destruel et al. (2019:3) for discussion.

analyze particles such as *only*, which has a complement exclusion interpretation,⁸³ as scalar, in that they locate alternative propositions at weaker or stronger points on a scale. For example, in their QUD-based analysis of a wide variety of English exclusive particles, Coppock and Beaver (2014) argue that *only* presupposes that the proposition it combines with—called the prejacent—is “the weakest of the viable answers to the [Current Question],” for our purposes a QUD; it further “contributes an ordinary at-issue entailment that the prejacent is the strongest of the viable answers” (ibid.:374). Notably, the scale is not integrated into the structure of their QUD analysis itself (see below).

For Roberts (2012:39), in contrast, sentences with *only* like her (154) presuppose the question in (155). On this view, other questions that more typically precede ones like (154) in actual discourse (e.g., *Who did Mary invite for dinner?*) must be accommodated.

(154) Mary **only** invited [Lyn]_F for dinner.

(155) Which individual(s) is/are such that Mary has no properties apart from having invited that/those individual(s) for dinner?

In this chapter, I propose an analysis of the Caquinte *aparo* construction that instead builds on the basic conceptual framework developed in this dissertation, of, at its core, branching QUDs, and particular resultant discourse structures. This analysis accounts for the complement exclusion interpretation with two augmentations. First, I propose that the internal composition of the set of alternatives evoked by *aparo* is complex. Instead of consisting only of atomic alternatives (156), it consists of one atomic alternative and at least one other complex alternative (represented with brackets) that itself is a set consisting of the atomic alternative and at least one other (157).

(156) $\{\alpha, \beta\}$ ATOMIC ALTERNATIVES

(157) $\{\alpha, [\alpha, \beta]\}$ COMPLEX ALTERNATIVES

Second, I propose that the relationship among the alternatives in (157) is one of exclusive disjunction, by which one but not both disjuncts can be true.⁸⁴ Together these two augmentations have the following effect: selection of the atomic alternative α from the set in (157) rules out a larger number of alternative propositions, deriving the notion of maximality. This would not be true of (156), even with an exclusive disjunctive relationship: selection of α would rule out β (i.e., α and not β instead), but it would not rule out the possibility that the answer could also be β . My proposal also accounts for the effect of negation shown in (153). For example, if the atomic alternative α is ruled out (i.e., $\neg\alpha$), then the only other alternative is one that consists of the same α , and also β .⁸⁵ This derives a primary difference between the effect of negation on the

⁸³The other interpretation of *only* is a so-called rank-order interpretation (see Coppock and Beaver 2014).

⁸⁴I thank Line Mikkelsen for suggesting to me the possibility of relationships of inclusive and exclusive disjunction holding between alternative propositions.

⁸⁵There are two other necessary restrictions on sets of alternatives containing complex alternatives. First, there can only be one atomic alternative in the set, since otherwise it would be possible, for example, for β to be selected following negation, as discussed for (156). Second, all complex alternatives must include the atomic alternative, in order for the “also” interpretation mentioned here to obtain. For example, in (166) below, with three salient alternatives, there is no complex alternative $[\beta, \gamma]$.

simple selective focus described in Chapter 2 (where a <ro> construction was negated) versus on the exclusive focus described here. The set of alternatives evoked by the <genti> and <ro> constructions was as in (156), meaning that ruling out α meant the answer was β , as it were; here ruling out α means the answer is more than α . Lastly, the proposal also builds the notion of a scale into the set of alternatives itself. For example, a scalar increase can be read from left to right in (157), with the complex alternative corresponding to a higher point on the scale.

Complex alternatives map simply on to the branching discourse structures that I argued for in chapters 2 and 3, as shown in Figure 4.1, where I use the wedge \wedge to abbreviate the complex alternative. My claim is that the Caquinte *aparo* construction is an explicit instantiation of α in this discourse structure, that is, in the presence of a complex alternative.⁸⁶ This is in contrast to the <genti> construction, which explicitly instantiates these alternatives in the absence of a complex alternative; yet it is like a <genti> construction in resolving a constituent QUD.

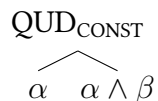


Figure 4.1: Discourse Structure for Positive *aparo*

A more complex discourse structure represents those instances when the *aparo* construction scopes under negation (Figure 4.2). Here the atomic alternative is instantiated by a polar sub-QUD: $\neg\alpha$ corresponds to the negated *aparo* construction (153), while a following clause with *aisa* ‘also’ corresponds to the complex alternative. This discourse structure is parallel to that for corrective focus argued for in Chapter 3, in that a polar sub-QUD is first resolved with a negative answer that leaves the constituent super-QUD unresolved, which is then resolved. Consequently, we can appreciate that, unlike <genti> and <ro>, which resolve constituent and polar QUDs, respectively, *aparo* exhibits flexibility with regard to the QUDs it resolves.

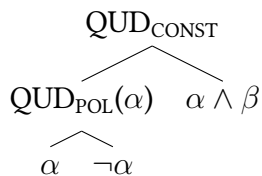


Figure 4.2: Discourse Structure for Negative *aparo*

In the remainder of this chapter, I first provide describe the functions of forms historically related to *aparo* (§4.2), all of which are illustrated in exclusive focus constructions in §4.3, where I present the core data and analysis.

⁸⁶As with all discourse structures in this dissertation, the QUDs and the answers that resolve them are abstract. In particular, the answer corresponding to the *aparo* construction does not include *only* in the English metalanguage. It is the total configuration—the selection of an atomic alternative in the presence of a complex one that is its sister—that represents exclusive focus.

4.2 Other Expressions Based on ‘one’

In this section I describe two forms that are diachronically related to *aparo* ‘one,’ since both participate in the exclusive focus constructions that are the subject of §4.3. They are *apaniro* ‘alone, each’ (§4.2.1) and *apatiroti* ‘only (one)’ (§4.2.2). These expressions do not always adhere cleanly to particular word classes, which I discuss. Before progressing further, a historical note is in order, so that the reader understands the significance of why these different forms exhibit similar properties when it comes to exclusive focus.

Nijagantsi languages canonically have three native, morphologically simplex numerals that agree in animacy with the nouns they modify. The animacy distinction can be reconstructed to proto-Nijagantsi, expressed by **-ni* ANIM and **-ti* INAN (Table 4.1). In addition, Shaver (1996) documents a series of Nomatsigenga “adjectival” numerals that do not agree in animacy. And in Caquinte and the various Ashaninka and Asheninka varieties, numerals do not agree in animacy. For those languages preserving the animacy distinction, the position of the suffix seems to vary. For ‘one,’ animacy suffixes appear to be infixes following the first CV syllable, whereas with ‘two’ and ‘three’ they appear to be suffixed. This suggests that ‘one’ originally lacked its final syllable.

Table 4.1: Numerals in Some Nijagantsi Languages

LANGUAGE	‘one’	‘two’	‘three’
Nomatsigenga	poro, pániró, pátiró	píte, píteni, pítetí	mába, mábani, mábatí
Matsigenka	paniro, patiro	piteni, piteti	mavani, mavati
Nanti	paniro, patiro	piteni, piteti	—
Tambo Ashaninka	aparo	apite	maava
Perené Asheninka	aparoni	apite	mava
Caquinte	aparo	mabite	—

4.2.1 *apaniro* ‘alone’ & *apaniropae* ‘each’

The word *apaniro* appears to be a reflex of what in other Nijagantsi languages is an animate form of ‘one’ (Table 4.1). Indeed in its two functions it occurs only when the referent with which it associates is animate (in the corpus, $n > 45$). Most frequently, *apaniro* is an adverb meaning ‘alone,’ which can associate with either subject or object. In (158) and (159) it associates with the subject, occurring post- and preverbally, respectively; in (160) it associates with the object.

(158) Arikea osabinkagitetanakegeti ari ikatianaja yoanaji **apaniro**.

ari =kea o- *sabinkagite* -an -k -i =geti *ari* i- *katig* -an -aj -a i- og -an
 FOC =EW 3F- be.morning -ABL -PFV -AR =when FOC 3M- stand -ABL -REG -MR 3M- go -ABL
 -aj -i *apaniro*
 -REG -AR alone

Then in the morning he stood up and went back. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:6)

(159) ...“Teekatsi nontsipatempaka, **apaniro** notineokitake.”

teekatsi no- N- tsipa -e -mpa =ka apaniro no- tineoki -ak -i
NEG.INDEF 1- IRR- be.with -IRR -MID =REL alone 1- sleep -PFV -AR

...“I wasn’t with anybody, I slept alone.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:47)

(160) “Tee noninteji pogeji osamani, pojokanakena naatimpa **apaniro**.”

tee no- niN -e -ji pi- og -e -ji osamani pi- ojok -an -k -i -na naatimpa apaniro
NEG 1- want -IRR -NEG 2- go -IRR -NEG far.away 2- leave -ABL -PFV -AR -1 1.PRO alone

“I didn’t want you to go far away, you left me behind alone.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:29)

Like *aparo* ‘one,’ *apaniro* can be pluralized with =*pae*.⁸⁷ This is surprising, since “singular” *apaniro* in the corpus is otherwise never argumental. This pluralization is attested only twice, but its meaning is distinct from pluralized *aparo*, exhibiting a distributive interpretation. Because this meaning is not compositional based on *apaniro* ‘alone,’ I consider it to be lexicalized. In this function it can co-occur with the verbal distributive plural *-ge*, as in (161). In this story, a group of Shamakis raids Kotyarini’s garden, and each makes off with some of his cultigens.

(161) **Apaniropae** yaagetanake.

apaniropae i- ag -ge -an -k -i
each 3M- grab -DSTR -ABL -PFV -AR

Each grabbed [some] and left.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:132)

In (162), a group of girls returns to their respective sleeping places after having been awoken in the middle of the night by their father.

(162) Ari oaoaitanaji **apaniropae** itineokitanajigeti.

ari o- og -oa -i -an -aj -i apaniro =pae i- tineoki -an -aj -i =geti
FOC 3F- go -REDUP -REDUP -ABL -REG -AR one =PL 3M- sleep -ABL -REG -AR =where

Then each one went back to where they had been sleeping.

(text, ESS, ptk)

⁸⁷Plural *aparopae* means ‘some.’ See (168) below.

4.2.2 *apatiroti* ‘only (one)’

The word *apatiroti* appears to be a reflex of what in other Nijagantsi languages is an inanimate form of ‘one’ (see Table 4.1), with an extra final *ti* (n.b., †*apatiro*). However, in the corpus, it always associates with animate referents. It means that there is a unique instance of some referent, and in many ways it behaves like the <genti> and <ro> copulas we encountered in nonverbal clauses in §§2.2.1 and 2.2.2. This can be appreciated in (163), where the nonverbal clause has the word order of a <genti> clause, namely the copula followed by the subject and then the predicate. In this story, Amamani has been away from his mother’s house for some time, and has been unable to provide for her and his sister.

(163) “...osheki nopintsatakempi **apatirotitari** abiatimpa shirabari.”

osheki no- pintsata-ak -i -mpi apatiroti =tari abiatimpa shirabari
 much 1- miss -PFV -AR -2 only(.one) =CNGR 2.PRO man

“...I missed you a lot because you are the only man.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:3)

Like both <genti> and <ro> nonverbal clauses, the subject may be omitted, as in (164), with *norijanite* ‘my daughter’ as the subject. In this story, a Caquinte woman refuses to give her daughter in marriage to Moon.

(164) ...“Aato nojokimpiro **apatirotitarite** norijanite, roatimpa teetari onintempinika.”

aato no- ojok -i -mpi -ro apatiroti =tari =te no- orijani -te roatimpa tee =tari o-
 NEG 1- give -AR -2 -3F only.one =CNGR =CE 1- daughter -P 3F.PRO NEG =CNGR 3F-
niN -e -mpi -nika
 want -IRR -2 -NEG.CNGR

...“I won’t give her to you because she is my only daughter, and she doesn’t want you.”
 (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:71)

In the exclusive focus constructions in §4.3, we will see that *apatiroti* also exhibits a unique property of <ro> clauses, namely its ability to occur without an associated noun. It is these cases that lead me to add ‘one’ in parentheses at the start of this section.

Finally, the translation of the New Testament attests to an adjectival use of *apatiroti* that is not attested in my corpus (165). I suspect this is a calque based on Spanish *un solo Dios*.

(165) Chooka **apatiroti** Aapani Irioshi, irigentikea Aapanite aatimpajia maasano.

chooka -Ø apatiroti Aapani Irioshi irigenti =kea a- aapani -te aatimpa -jia maasano
 EXST -3 only(.one) God 3M.COP =EW 1INCL- father -P 1INCL.PRO -PL all

There is only one God, He is all of our Father.⁸⁸ (Ephesians 4:6)

⁸⁸The original reads: *One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.*

4.3 Exclusive Focus with *aparo* ‘one’ & Derivatives

In this section I first consider examples of exclusive focus constructions consisting of the numerals *aparo* ‘one’ and *mabite* ‘two,’ followed by *apaniro* and *apatiroti*. Importantly, we will see that, even though these forms have clearly different meanings outside of the exclusive focus construction, it has not been possible to determine differences among them in the exclusive focus construction, syntactically or semantically. When *aparo* and its derivatives occur in positive clauses, they express that the proposition does not hold of a larger group, which is either explicitly stated or readily understood from context, which I provide. When *aparo* and its derivatives scope under negation, they express that the proposition holds not only of some group, but also a larger one. In all the examples I provide of this, the larger group is explicitly specified. Throughout, note that agreement with the focused argument is suppressed (with one exception, see fn. 95).

I begin with examples in which *aparo* occurs without an associated noun. The example in (166) comes from a context in which the warrior Taatakini has killed all of a group of Ashaninkas, except for one, who escapes. Numeral *aparo* occurs preverbally, targeting the subject.

(166) **Aparo** oanajatsi, ikamantapojiri igonoro...

aparo og -an -aj -ats -i i- kaman -apoj-i -ri i- gonoro
 one go -ABL -REG -IPFV -AR 3M- tell -ALL -AR -3M 3M- countryman

Only one got away, and he told his people... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:165)

In Figure 4.3 I model the discourse structure of this example with a more tractable set of three alternatives corresponding to a small group of Ashaninkas, that is, with a set of alternatives $\{\alpha, [\alpha, \beta], [\alpha, \beta, \gamma]\}$. Note that with a set of three salient alternatives—unlike the more simple case of two from the introduction—there are two complex alternatives. This is conceptually necessary since negation targeting the atomic α could result in any larger complex alternative being selected, although I do not illustrate this in this chapter.

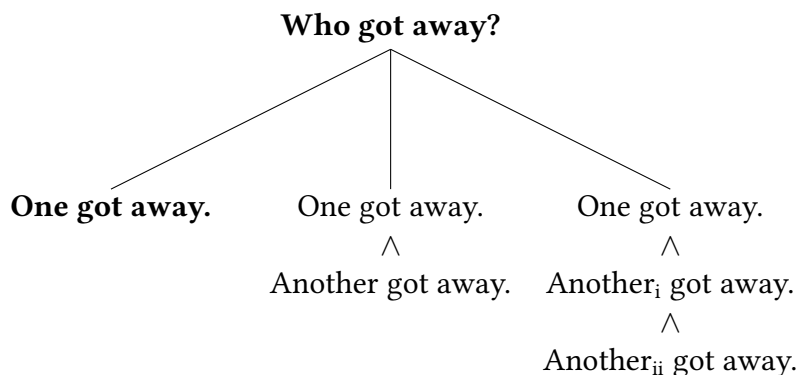


Figure 4.3: Discourse Structure of (166)

Example (167) illustrates *aparo* targeting an object. In this context the shaman Amamani's sister collects all of many *manairokiti* fruits that have fallen from the sky except for one.

(167) Arisano **aparo** ogabisake apasorokagikero abisanake.

ari =sano aparo o- ogabis -k -i o- apasorok -gi -k -i -ro
 FOC =really one 3F- let.pass -PFV -AR 3F- not.catch -CL:small.round.hard -PFV -AR -3F
o- abis -an -k -i
 3F- pass -ABL -PFV -AR

Only one did she let pass by, she didn't catch it and it passed by.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:11)

Furthermore, *aparo* may trigger anti-agreement even when it is pluralized, in which case it means 'some,' as in (168). In this context, a Caquinte ancestor Kotyarini dams a branch of the Pogeni River to fish with barbasco root. However, instead of stunning all the fish in the dammed area, as is typical, only some are stunned and rise to the surface.

(168) Arikea yamenitsigebetabakarikea kajaragiteni, **aparopae** metojagetanankitsi.

ari =kea i- amen -itsi -ge -be -ab -k -a -ri =kea kajara -gite
 FOC =EW 3M- look -SM -DSTR -FRST -DIR -PFV -MR -3M =EW empty -CL:environment
-ni aparo =pae metoj -ge -an -ankits -i
 -ADJ one =PL die -DSTR -ABL -PFV -AR

Then he looked around in vain for them but it was empty, only some died.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:138)

The same is true of *mabite* 'two,' as in (169), from an earlier point in the same story of Taatakini, when he has killed all of yet another group of Ashaninkas, except for two. In this case, note that the salient alternative selected is one of the subsets consisting of two Ashaninkas.

(169) **Mabite** oanajatsi, ikamantapojakeri igonoro...

mabite og -an -aj -ats -i i- kamaN -apoj -k -i -ri i- gonoro
 two go -ABL -REG -IPFV -AR 3M- tell -ALL -PFV -IRR -3M 3M- countryman

Only two got away, and they told their people...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:161)

So far I have provided examples in which *aparo* 'one' occurs without an associated noun or pronoun.⁸⁹ In these cases, a quantity of one is still transparent, as is especially apparent when comparing it with the focused *mabite* 'two' in the preceding example. However, *aparo* can also combine with a noun or pronoun, which can occur pre- or postverbally. The preverbal position

⁸⁹In this way this construction resembles a <ro> construction, the <ro> copula being able to occur without an associated noun, unlike the <genti> copula (see §2.2.2).

is shown in (170), a subject focus, from the story of Lineated Woodpecker. In this context, a man's wife has told him that she went to her brother's partially cleared garden and found it much larger than she anticipated. She expects he has had secret help from others. The man then goes for himself to check up on his brother-in-law, expecting to find many people assisting in his garden clearing, but only finding his brother-in-law (who is in cahoots with able Woodpecker).

(170) Isotoabetapoja, **aparo** [iriatimpa]_F chakitankitsi, iranianishite.

i- sotog -be -apoj -a aparo iriatimpa chaki -ankits -i iri- anianishi -te
 3M- emerge -FRST -ALL -MR one 3M.PRO chop -PFV -AR 3M- brother.in.law -P

He emerged, but only he was chopping, his brother-in-law. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:81)

The postverbal position is shown in (171), from the story of Piranha, who works for a wealthy man. One day the wealthy man announces to his peons that he will give his most beautiful daughter to whomever can tolerate being in a pot of boiling water and come out alive. The peons all throw themselves into the pot and die. Piranha goes in last, having covered himself with dirt and rocks for protection. The wealthy man stares at Piranha as he emerges, at which point the narrator describes the scene in this way. (Note that this and the preceding example are not instances of the numeral 'one' in the sense above. It is not the case that only one piranha emerged from the boiling water, as opposed to multiple piranhas, but that only Piranha and not Piranha together with a larger set of animals emerged.)

(171) **Aparotari** sotoajatajatsi [kachapa]_F.

aparo =tari sotog -ja -aj -ats -i kachapa
 one =CNGR emerge -CL:fluid -REG -IPFV -AR piranha.sp.

Only Piranha emerged.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:38)

I model the discourse structure of (171) as in Figure 4.4, where an implicit QUD has multiple daughters. For ease of illustration, I reduce the set of alternatives to Piranha, one other peon, and the complex alternative of the two of them together.

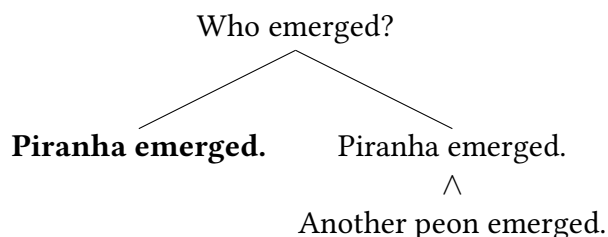


Figure 4.4: Discourse Structure of (171)

Another example of subject focus with *aparo* is shown in (172), from the same story of Woodpecker. Earlier in the story, Woodpecker has given the man different kinds of sedges that increase

his efficiency in clearing land. But by the end of the story the man has given away Woodpecker’s identity, after which he is no longer able to find the magical sedges. Instead, he finds only one kind of wild sedge, here referred to in two different ways at the end of the sentence.

- (172) Ishiitabetanaka yamenabetaro sankenakojaribenki kajaragiteni, **aparo** bintyakanajatsi [inchatobenki, tomirishibenki]_F.

i- shig -it -be -an -k -a i- amen -be -a -ro sankenakojaribenki kajara
 3M- run -SM -FRST -ABL -PFV -MR 3M- see -FRST -MR -3F sedge empty
-gite -ni aparo obintyak -an -aj -ats -i -Ø inchato -benki tomirishi -benki
 -CL:environment -ADJ one plant -ABL -REG -IPFV -AR -3 tree -sedge forest -sedge

He ran and looked for the sedges, but it was empty, only wild sedge was planted.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:82)

A case of object focus with an associated noun is shown in (173). In this story, Okitsipokani, a shaman, acquires the ability to transform into a jaguar and kill others, to exact revenge on his wife for her abandoning him to run away with his brother. The bird that grants Okitsipokani these abilities gives him these instructions, so he does not destroy all of humanity.

- (173) “**Aparo** pantsikaje [pimankigare aisa pigentijegite]_F.”

aparo pi- N- atsik -aj -e pi- mankigare aisa pi- igentijegi -te
 one 2- IRR- bite -REG -IRR 2- spouse also 2- brother -P

“Only bite your wife and your brother.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:99)

This example demonstrates that the focused constituent can be a coordinate structure, that is, limiting Okitsipokani’s actions to two individuals and not more. It is thus a useful example for illustrating the composition of the set of alternatives in such cases. I suggest here that the set contains no atomic alternatives, but only one corresponding to the woman and brother, and one, for the sake of illustration, corresponding to the woman, brother, and some third party $\{[\alpha, \beta], [\alpha, \beta, \gamma]\}$. This can be represented discourse-structurally as in Figure 4.5. Important is the fact that it is the presence of a “more complex” alternative that yields the maximality interpretation. That is, just as in Figure 4.4 the atomic alternative was interpreted maximally due to the presence of a complex alternative, so here is a complex alternative interpreted maximally due to the presence of an even more complex one.

Finally, an example of *aparo* scoping under negation is shown in (174), from the New Testament. The second clause indicates the subset of which the proposition additionally holds—note *aisa* ‘also,’ which we encounter here for the first time.

- (174) Kotankitsikea teekea **aparo** atsipetatsine ipeakaagekaka Aapani Irioshi, atsipebaekakeate aatimpajia aisa.

not only; it is the total configuration—a negative answer to a polar sub-QUD in the presence of a complex alternative instantiated as the sister of its mother—that represents an exclusive focus scoping under negation. Moreover, the metalanguage in the right branch corresponding to the second clause of (174) is abstract in a different way. Not only does it lack *also*, but it also contains a conjunction that is absent in the Caquinte. That is, the Caquinte is not something like *We and one person suffer*. I contend that this is an analytically desirable result. Languages will expectedly differ in the morphosyntactic realization of these abstract discourse structures: English has *not only...also*, whereas Caquinte has *tee aparo...aisa* ‘not one’...‘also.’

In the remainder of this section I illustrate exclusive focus constructions that consist of one of the derivative forms of *aparo* ‘one’ described in §4.2. They exhibit the same morphosyntactic properties as constructions with *aparo*, with the exclusive focus marker occurring clause-initially, and optionality in whether an associated noun occurs pre- or postverbally. I begin with *apaniro* in (175), which is followed by the associated noun and then the verb. In this context, an SIL plane has landed in the community of Tsoroja. The narrator expects the group aboard to include the pilot, as well as Kenneth and Joy Swift, but only the pilot is aboard.

(175) Ari omposaka, **apaniro** [piroto]_F tetankitsi.

ari o- ompos -k -a apaniro piroto te -ankits -i
FOC 3F- land -PFV -MR alone pilot be.inside -PFV -AR

Then it landed, only the pilot was inside. (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:23)

At present it is not clear what differentiates this construction from one with *aparo* and an associated preverbal noun. I preliminarily note, however, that there are seemingly exclusive uses of *apaniro* ‘alone’ that resemble postnominal uses of English *alone*, which may be related. This is first shown in (176). The context for this example is this: in the late 1980s, during a period of regional violence involving terrorists from the Shining Path, a Caquinte man terrified some of his people by convincing them that he had access to a piece of technology that flew around like a hummingbird and could detect their breathing and thus where they were hiding in the forest. When the narrator’s husband is told this, he dismisses it. Here *apaniro* seems to be an adjective modifying *Aapani Irioshi* ‘God.’

(176) a. ...“Aato agabeja otsati.”

aato o- agabej -a o- tsa -i
NEG 3F- be.able -MR 3F- know -AR

...“It won’t be able to know.”

b. “**Apaniro** Aapani Irioshi itsake, kakinte tee intsateji.”

apaniro Aapani Irioshi i- tsa -k -i kakinte tee i- N- tsa -e -ji
alone God 3M- know -PFV -AR person NEG 3M- IRR- know -IRR -NEG

“God alone knows, man doesn’t know.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:46)

A second example of this pattern is shown in (177b), in which *apaniro* modifies the third person masculine pronoun *iriatimpa*.⁹¹ This example is from a story about the founding of Kitepampani in the mid-1970s, the first chief of which did not initially want to relinquish his newfound role.

(177) a. Tee irininteji impegempa itsipa.

tee iri- niN -e -ji i- N- peg -e -mpa i- tsipa
NEG 3M- want -IRR -NEG 3M- IRR- become -IRR -MID 3M- other

He didn't want someone else to be [chief].

b. **Apaniro** iriatimpa ipeaka majirontatsika, teekatsi peankitsineka itsipa.

apaniro iriatimpa i- peg -k -a majirontatsika teekatsi peg -ankits
alone 3M.PRO 3M- become -PFV -MR chief NEG.INDEF become -PFV
-i -ne =ka i- tsipa
-AR -IRR =REL 3M- other

He alone was chief, no one else was [chief]. (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:3)

There are two important aspects of the preceding two examples to note, one syntactic and one semantic. First, from a Caquinte-internal perspective, these are not contrastive focus constructions, because they do not trigger anti-agreement on the verb (n.b., †*tsatankitsi* and †*peankitsi*, respectively). Second, they do not involve the “only-one-of-many” meaning that we have encountered with all other examples of exclusive focus. That is, it is not the case that it is only God and not multiple individuals including God that know, nor is it the case that it is only this particular man who is chief and not him together with other individuals. Rather, it is God and not man, and it is this particular man and not another in the role of chief. This use of *apaniro* is rare in the corpus ($n = 2$), and I do not treat it further here.

Finally in the discussion of *apaniro*, I note two negated examples analogous to (174) above. The first depicts the arrival of a very large number of Ashaninka warriors in the story of Taatakini. The inalienable noun *jite* ‘insect body’ is infixed into *apaniro*, which occurs between the negator and the verb. The use of this word is an allusion to the fact that so many Ashaninkas come that they resemble a swarm of ants.

(178) Tee **apajiteniro** ogatsine, ikaramirinkabaeke jmm osheki.

tee apajiteniro og -ats -i -ne i- kara -mirinka -bae -k -i jmm osheki
NEG alone(.insect) go -IPFV -AR -IRR 3M- number -CL:uniform -DUR -PFV -AR IDEO:sizable many

Not only one went, many came in single file *jmm*. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:153)

The second example (179) shows a negated *apaniro* co-occurring with an associated pronoun, the first person *naatimpa*. The universal quantifier *maasano* ‘all’ in the second clause indicates that the proposition also holds of the entire remainder of the set of alternatives.

⁹¹Note that adjectival modification of pronouns is otherwise unattested in the language.

- (179) Nopintsamajajakempi, kotankitsi tee **apaniro** [naatimpa]_F pintsajigempine, ipintsajiakem-pikeate maasano tsajakeroka Kenketsatsarensimajaka.

no- pinta -maja -jig -k -i -mpi kotankitsi tee apaniro naatimpa pinta -jig -e -mpi
 1- love -really -PL -PFV -AR -2 but NEG alone 1.PRO love -PL -IRR -2
-ne i- pinta -jig -k -i -mpi =kea =te maasano tsa -jig -k -i -ro =ka
 -IRR 3M- love -PL -PFV -AR -2 =EW =CE all know -PL -PFV -AR -3F =REL
kenketsatsare -ntsi -majaka
 language -AL -REAL

I love you all very much, but it is not only me who loves you, everyone who knows the real language loves you.⁹² (2 John 1)

These two negated examples are important for highlighting two morphosyntactic properties of these biclausal constructions. The first is that the *also*-clauses first encountered in (174) above do not include *aisa* ‘also.’ Instead, they express the fact that the complex alternative is “larger” in a different way, in particular with the quantifiers *osheki* ‘much, many’ and *maasano* ‘all.’ That is, it is not just one but many insects, and it is not just the speaker but all people who know the truth. On my view, there is no reason to suspect that these examples have different discourse structures. Both can be represented by the same discourse structure given in Figure 4.6: there is a polar sub-QUD that is resolved with a negative answer, followed by resolution of the super-QUD with an answer instantiating the complex alternative. This is another desirable result of the abstract nature of the discourse structures, namely that regardless of the language-specific expressions that indicate that the complex alternative is larger, the same discourse structure persists.

The second property concerns the fact that *also*-clauses robustly exhibit verbal agreement with the argument(s) targeted by *aisa* ‘also’ and other quantifiers. This, in combination with the postverbal position of the corresponding arguments—see (174), (178), (179), and (183) below—makes these clauses resemble cases of information focus on the subject (see §5.2.1). It also strongly differentiates these clauses from corresponding corrections targeting arguments, the <genti> constructions in which always suppressing agreement (see Ch. 3)—this is despite the discourse-structural similarity of *also*-clauses with these corrections. I consider these to be morphosyntactic idiosyncracies of the realization of complex alternatives, and not evidence that alternatives are not salient (i.e., that the *also*-clause is information focus), or that these clauses are more distinct discourse-structurally from corrections targeting arguments.

Turning now to *apatiroti* ‘only (one)’ and its occurrence in exclusive focus constructions, I note (180), from the New Testament. This example abides by the same pattern of preverbal exclusive focus marker, verb, and postverbal associated noun seen for *aparo* and *apaniro*. Here for the first time we observe a positive clause containing the exclusive focus, with an additional negative clause indicating that the proposition does not hold of other members of the set of alternatives (here presumably all sentient beings, including God). That is, it is only God, and not Him alongside many humans, who are familiar with the nature of Jesus.

⁹²The original: *whom I love in the truth; and not I only, but also all they that have known the truth.*

- (180) Teekea kerikaka tsamajatatsineka kerokaka ikotani Irijanite Aapani Irioshi, **apatiroti** tsatankitsi [Aapani]_F...

tee =kea ke -ri =ka =ka tsa -maja -ats -i -ne =ka ke -ro =ka =ka i-
 NEG =EW WH -M =EMB.Q =REL know -really -IPFV -AR -IRR =REL WH -F =EMB.Q =? 3M-
ko -a -ni iri- irijani -te Aapani Irioshi apatiroti tsa -ankits -i aapani
 be -MR -INT 3M- son -P God only(.one) know -PFV -AR father

Not anyone knows how the Son of God is, only God knows...⁹³ (Matthew 11:27)

The examples of *apatiroti* in (181) and (182), for subject and object focus, respectively, demonstrate that *apatiroti*, as we have seen for the exclusive focus markers more generally, can occur without an associated noun.

- (181) Aisa teekea onchookateji otsipa kenajarontsi, **apatirotitari** chookatankitsi...

aisa tee =kea o- N- chooka -e -ji o- tsipa kenajaro -ntsi apatiroti =tari
 also NEG =EW 3F- IRR- EXST -IRR -NEG 3F- other canoe -AL only(.one) =CNGR
chooka -ankits -i
 EXST -PFV -AR

Also there wasn't another canoe, there was only one...⁹⁴ (John 6:22)

- (182) “**Apatirotitari** norijanintaka, tee onchookateji otsipa nojokajempika.”

apatiroti =tari no- orijani -N -ak -a tee o- N- chooka -e -ji o-
 only.one =CNGR 1- father(.daughter) -VBLZR -PFV -MR NEG 3F- IRR- EXST -IRR -NEG 3F-
tsipa no- ojok -aj -e -mpi =ka
 other 1- give -REG -IRR -2 =REL

“I fathered only one [daughter], there isn't another one to give you.”
 (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:112)

Like (180), the exclusive focus construction is in a positive clause, with an additional negative clause indicating that the proposition does not hold of other members of the set of alternatives, including the complex alternatives. This is the mirror image of examples like (174) above—compare Figure 4.6 above with Figure 4.7 below. In the former, the polar sub-QUD instantiated the atomic alternative, and the answer that directly resolved the constituent super-QUD was a complex alternative. It was a case of subset to superset, as it were. In the latter, the polar sub-QUD instantiates the complex alternative, and the answer to the super-QUD is an atomic alternative. It is a case of superset to subset, that is, not this canoe and another, but only this canoe.

⁹³The original: *and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father.*

⁹⁴The original: *there was none other boat there, save that one.*

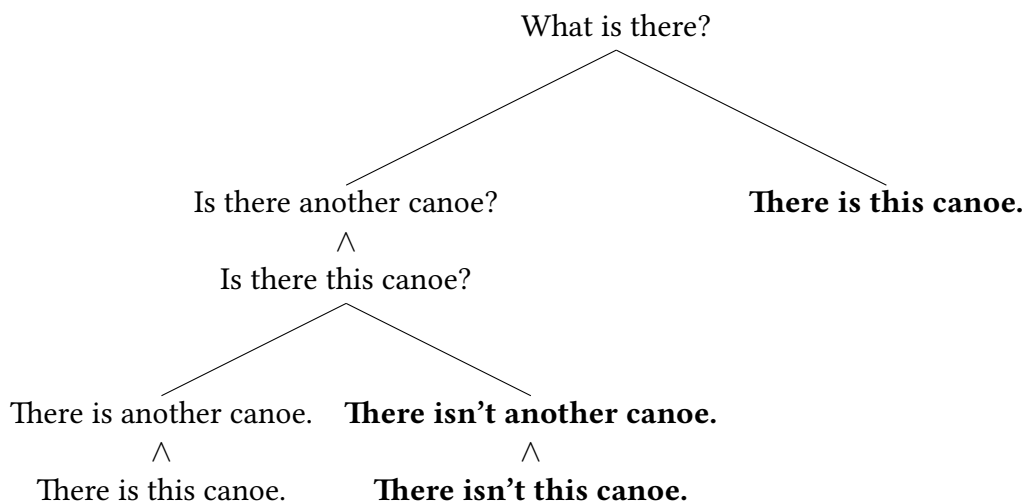


Figure 4.7: Discourse Structure of (181)

Finally, the example in (183) shows *apatiroti* negated by *tee*. Here the associated noun, an applied object, occurs postverbally, with *apatiroti* in the preverbal position. In this position it follows negator *tee*, as is the case for <ro> constructions, as well as *aparo* and *apaniro* above. The second clause again contains *aisa* ‘also.’ Here the salient of alternatives are the two annual tropical seasons, wet and dry season. The proposition holds not only of one, but also the other.

(183) Tee **apatiroti** nonkatsiketantemparoji⁹⁵ [osarintsi]_F, nokatsiketantarokea aisa tejajarontsi.

tee apatiroti no-N- katsike -aN -e -mpa-ro -ji osari -ntsi no-
 NEG only(.one) 1- IRR- clear.land -INSTR -IRR -MID -3F -NEG dry.season -AL 1-
katsike -aN -a -ro =kea aisa tej -ja -ro -ntsi
 clear.land -INSTR -MR -3F =EW also fall -CL:fluid -NMZ -AL

It's not only in the dry season that I clear land, I also clear land in the wet season.

(Swift 1988:174)

⁹⁵The presence of object agreement on this verb is surprising, as it is not present in any of the other examples in which an exclusive focus scopes under negation. This requires further research, though it is notable that all other cases are subject foci, and include examples from the New Testament, where this example comes from.

Chapter 5

Information Focus

5.1 Introduction

In chapters 2-4 I argued that alternative propositions are salient in contexts of contrastive focus, and that this salience corresponds to a branching discourse structure. This chapter concerns information focus, which holds of the constituent that answers a simple constituent question. Here I argue that alternatives are not salient in contexts of information focus, and consequently that their discourse structures are nonbranching. In this vein, I interpret textual examples to argue for the nonsalience of alternatives in particular contexts, using some elicited examples especially to demonstrate infelicity. I also continue with the answer-dominating-QUD discourse structures introduced in §2.4.3, showing how they play out in information focus contexts. In particular, they model what I refer to atheoretically as elaborations, by which it is common to observe subject, object, or verb focus in texts where questions are not explicit. I argue for these interlocking claims by showing that information focus is morphosyntactically quite distinct from contrastive focus in Caquinte. Whereas contrastive focus has been shown to always involve dedicated clause-initial marking (e.g., the <genti> copulas), information focus is expressed solely through verb-initial word orders. It does not involve dedicated marking or anti-agreement.

I describe various focus structures (in the sense of Lambrecht 1994) that differ in the constituent in focus: arguments, verbs, subject-verb units, predicates, and whole sentences. I do this primarily using constituent questions and their answers as a diagnostic for determining which constituent is in focus: the constituent that is targeted by the question is the focus in the answer. For example, the question in (184a) targets the predicate. The response (184b) is thus an instance of predicate focus, that is, the verb and, in the case of a transitive verb, its object. The subject is contained in what Lambrecht calls the presupposition (*ibid.*:222).

- (184) a. [What] did you do?
 b. I [roasted manioc]_F.

PREDICATE FOCUS

I illustrate how six questions and their answers are realized in Caquinte. These questions consist of combinations of a verb and its arguments, as summarized in Table 5.1. I use *you* and *see*

to stand in for any argument and verb, respectively, with the Caquinte question in translation.

Table 5.1: Caquinte Focus Structures

QUESTION	FOCUSED UNIT	CAQ. WORD ORDER	SECTION
Who saw (you)?	ARGUMENT (SUBJECT)	VS (tr. & intr.)	§5.2.1
Who did you see?	ARGUMENT (OBJECT)	VO (tr.)	§5.2.2
What did you do to it?	VERB	V (tr.)	§5.3
What happened to you?	SUBJECT-VERB	VS (tr.)	§5.4.1
What did you do?	PREDICATE	VO (tr.), V (intr.)	§5.4.2
What happened?	SENTENCE	VSO (tr.), VS (intr.)	§5.5

I demonstrate how the resulting information focus correlates with three morphosyntactic properties in the language: the presence of agreement with the focused constituent, in the case that the focus targets an argument; that nouns and pronouns in the focus occur postverbally; and that there is no dedicated morphosyntactic marking. Unlike contrastive focus, which always exhibits special marking and allows a focused argument to occur preverbally, information focus is expressed solely by verb-initial word orders. For example, if I ask the equivalent of *What did you do?* (predicate focus), and the response contains a transitive verb, the object will be realized by a noun, preceded by a verb that agrees minimally with the subject, as schematized in (185).⁹⁶

- (185) a. [What did you do?]
 b. SUBJ-VERB OBJECT PREDICATE FOCUS

This is illustrated in (186). In the question, the subject is realized only by the agreement prefix *pi-*, as is the case in the response (with *no-*). There the verb is followed by the nominal object *pochatyakiri* ‘fish sp.’, which does not agree with the verb because it is indefinite (see fn. 96).

- (186) a. ...“Ari, taampate panti?”
ari taa =mpa =te pi- an -i
 hello WH =INCNGR =CE 2- do -AR
 ...“Hello, what’re you doing?”
 b. Ibetsatanaka kachatyakiri, ikanti, “Chochochochocho [nobichajakoti pochatyakiri]_F.”
i- obetsa -an -k -a kachatyakiri i- kan -i chochochochocho no-
 3M- speak -ABL -PFV -MR spider.monkey 3M- say -AR IDEO:wind 1-
obichaj -ako -i pochatyakiri
 set.perimeter -INDR -AR fish.sp.

⁹⁶Whether the object also agrees with the verb is dependent on a differential object marking system. Note also that, in the typical case, the argument in the presupposition, in this case the subject, has no realization besides an agreement affix, and we will see this throughout the examples in this chapter. Whether the argument can have additional realization (e.g., as a noun) interacts with topicalization, which warrants further investigation.

Spider Monkey spoke, he said, “*Chochochochocho* I’m damming for *pochatyakiri* fish.”
(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:41)

Turning now to the discourse-structural properties of information focus, in this chapter I model the discourse structures of information focus contexts with the same QUD-based framework adopted in the preceding chapters. In particular, I use a QUD with a single daughter to model the nonsalience of alternatives in information focus contexts. That is, because in information focus contexts alternatives are not mentioned, not recoverable, or not inferable, I assume that they have no discourse-structural reality. In this way, information focus is minimally different from contrastive focus with referential alternatives, the latter of which I modeled with the multiple daughters that instantiate salient alternatives (Chs. 2-4). I stress that these structures hold not only of argument focus but also of broader foci, and that the alternatives we will deal with in this chapter are all referential alternatives, not polar.

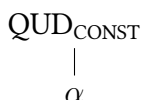


Figure 5.1: Information Focus

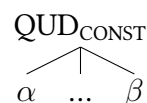


Figure 5.2: Contrastive Focus w/Ref. Alts.

Furthermore, we will again encounter QUDs dominated by answers, as in Figure 5.3 (cf. §§2.4.3 & 3.3). For the purposes of this chapter, we can think of such cases as similarly elaborative, and here occurring when the focused constituent in the superordinate answer (or part of the focused constituent) combines with the presupposition of that answer to form the presupposition of the subordinate QUD.

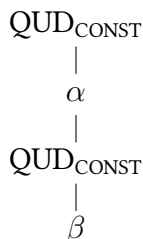


Figure 5.3: Information Focus in Elaboration

In the remainder of this introduction, I home in on two morphosyntactic properties—word order and agreement—so that the reader develops a sense of how the expression of information focus is distinct from contrastive focus. Regarding word order, as seen in Table 5.1, all word orders associated with information foci are verb-initial (including verb-only)—this is an identifying property of information focus. With contrastive focus, on the other hand, some preverbal element must occur, as we have seen. In (187), the parentheses around SUBJECT and OBJECT reflect the fact that both occur only in the case of sentence focus, in this order. The focused constituent in (187b) can also be an argument. The term VERB stands for the entire verbal word.

(187) DIFFERENCES IN ORDER

- a. VERB (SUBJECT) (OBJECT) INFORMATION FOCUS
 b. MARKER (CONSTITUENT_F) VERB (CONSTITUENT_F) CONTRASTIVE FOCUS

The second difference is specific to argument focus. With information argument focus, verbal agreement is unaffected; with contrastive argument focus, verbal agreement with the focused argument is suppressed. This is schematized for subjects in (188). Parentheses indicate one of two possible positions of the subject.

(188) DIFFERENCES IN AGREEMENT

- a. SUBJ-VERB SUBJECT INFORMATION FOCUS
 b. MARKER (SUBJECT) Ø-VERB (SUBJECT) CONTRASTIVE FOCUS

The combination of the (possible) preverbal word order and lack of agreement that occur with contrastive focus yield surface strings that are notably different from each other, making contrastive focus easy to detect. Compare the information focus in (189) with the contrastive focus in (190), where the latter exhibits a <genti> pronoun and the suppression of agreement.

(189) Ishekatakarō [Mojina]_F. INFORMATION FOCUS

i- sheka -ak -a -ro Mojina
 3M- eat -PFV -MR -3F Mojina

Mojina ate it. (ZJO)

(190) Irigenti [Mojina]_F shekatakaro. CONTRASTIVE FOCUS

irigenti Mojina sheka -ak -a -ro
 3M.COP Mojina eat -PFV -MR -3F

It was Mojina who ate it. (ZJO)

The differences are made even more apparent by the fact that the suppression of subject agreement comes with its own morphosyntactic effects, namely special marking of irrealis and, in the case of intransitive verbs, aspect, as well as the neutralization of voice contrasts (see Baier and O'Hagan 2019). This is shown in (191) and (192). In the latter, note special perfective *-ankits* (and not *-(a)k*), "realis" *-i* in an irrealis context, and special irrealis marker *-ne* (and not irrealis *-e*).

(191) Iroanake [Mojina]_F. INFORMATION FOCUS

iri- og -an -k -e Mojina
 3M- go -ABL -PFV -IRR Mojina

Mojina will go. (ZJO)

(192) Irigenti [Mojina]_F oanankitsine. CONTRASTIVE FOCUS

irigenti Mojina og -an -ankits -i -ne
 3M.COP Mojina go -ABL -PFV -AR -IRR

It's Mojina who will go. (ZJO)

The remainder of this chapter is divided into sections beginning with argument focus, divided into subsections for subject and object focus (§5.2). Then I turn to verb focus (5.3), before moving on to two focus structures consisting of a verb and one argument—subject-verb focus (§5.4.1) and predicate focus (§5.4.2)—and then sentence focus (§5.5). I note that for intransitive clauses the verb and the predicate are coextensive, and so the section on verb focus is restricted to transitive clauses, intransitive clauses being treated together with transitive clauses under predicate focus. In each section I begin with examples containing explicit QUDs, then move on to textual examples with implicit ones. I concentrate on illustrating the verb-initial word orders (and infelicitous non-verb-initial ones) and in arguing for the nonsalience of alternatives in the relevant context.

5.2 V[ARG] in Argument Focus

5.2.1 VS in Subject Focus

Subject focus occurs in response to constituent QUDs targeting subjects. In Caquinte, the question that instantiates this QUD is formed with *taa* 'who, what' followed by a verb that obligatorily lacks corresponding agreement. The response consists of a postverbal subject that co-occurs with agreement on the verb. In (193a), for example, the intransitive verb in the question lacks subject agreement, whereas the same verb in the response exhibits it.

(193) a. ... "Inani, taakea chookatankitsi ontaniki antakeronta?"

iinani taa =kea chooka -ankits -i ontaniki antakeronta
 mother WH =EW EXST -PFV -AR over.there other.side

... "Mother, what is over there on the other side?"

b. Okantiri, "Chooka [oshekini kakinteja]_F..." VS

o- kaN -i -ri chooka -Ø osheki -ni kakinte -jia
 3F- say -AR -3M EXST -3 much -AUG person -PL

She said to him, "There are many people..." (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:4)

In this example, a young shaman, Amamani, one day asks his mother what is in a neighboring river basin. He has never been there before, he and his mother have not discussed what might be on this particular river, and there is no indication in the story that he has been entertaining possible answers as to what is there. His mother must simply inform him of the relevant answer. Given Amamani's ignorant state, we can reasonably infer that no alternatives are salient in the context. Their interaction is represented with the simple discourse structure in Figure 5.4, in which the constituent QUD has a single daughter.

What is over there?
|
There are many people.

Figure 5.4: Discourse Structure of (193)

A subject cannot be preverbal in response to a constituent question, regardless of whether the subject is a noun, as in (194), or a pronoun (195)—see the first person *naatimpa*. In the following three examples, instances of a preverbal subject with agreement on the verb were judged infelicitous; rather a form with the same agreement but a postverbal subject were preferred.

- (194) a. Taa arejetankitsi?
taa areje -ankits -i
 WH arrive -PFV -AR
 Who arrived?
- b. #Zacaría's yarejetaka. SV
 INTENDED: Zach arrived.
 PREFERRED: Yarejetaka [Zacaría]_F. (CT Messenger 20201116)
- (195) a. Taa shekataro aintochapaki?
taa sheka -ak -a -ro aintochapaki
 WH eat -PFV -MR -3F manioc
 Who ate the manioc?
- b. #Naatimpa noshekataro. SV
 INTENDED: I ate it. (MSS 20190725)

In these pragmatically unenriched elicitation contexts, a <genti> construction is sometimes judged to be infelicitous (196).

- (196) a. Taa shekataro aintochapaki?
taa sheka -ak -a -ro aintochapaki
 WH eat -PFV -MR -3F manioc
 Who ate the manioc?
- b. #Irigenti shekataro chaajanikiri.
 INTENDED: The children ate it.
 PREFERRED: Ishekataro [chaajanikiri]_F. (NRS Messenger 20201117)

At other times, however, a <genti> construction is judged to be felicitous, as with (197) as a response to (196a). I consider this to be a case of reconfiguration of the discourse, whereby a QUD with one daughter is reconfigured into a QUD with multiple daughters, as we saw in §2.3.4.⁹⁷ Below in §5.2.2 I show for object focus that, with more control of the salience of alternatives, <genti> is judged to be infelicitous in contexts of nonsalient alternatives.

(197) Naagenti shekatakaro.

naagenti sheka -ak -a -ro
1.COP eat -PFV -MR -3F

It was me who ate it.

(MSS 20190725)

In monologic contexts, subject focus can be difficult to detect because VS word order also corresponds to intransitive sentence focus and transitive subject-verb focus (see Table 5.1). Elaborations where the predicate is repeated and the subject is substituted are one of the most reliable indicators. For example, in (198) the verb *ko* ‘do to’ appears in two clauses. In the first, the verb bears the suffix *-ji*, which expresses that the subject is nonreferential, translatable as English *someone* or impersonal *they*. In the second clause, the speaker specifies a particular subject: the verb no longer bears *-ji*, and the subject is postverbal.

(198) ...“Arigenti ikojitakero, ikokero [pigonoro]_F.”

VS

arigenti i- ko -ji -ak -i -ro i- ko -k -i -ro pi- gonoro
FOC 3M- do -NR -PFV -AR -3F 3M- do -PFV -AR -3F 2- countryman

...“Someone did it to her, your people did it to her.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:40)

In this example, an Ashaninka shaman has removed malevolent objects from an infant girl as part of his curing ritual, and then slept for three days. The following night he comes to see the girl again, blows on her, and utters this to the girl’s parents. It is culturally expected that he provide information about the source of the girl’s illness ascertained in his ayahuasca trances, but he has had no previous conversation with the parents regarding possible sources, there are no indications in the preceding discourse or in the physical surround as to what they might be, and the parents have not come to the shaman with any beliefs about what has harmed their daughter. We can thus similarly infer that there are no salient alternatives in the context. The shaman simply needs to inform the couple of his conclusions. He does this first with the somewhat evasive assertion in the first clause (cf. ‘someone’), then specifies precisely who—a subject focus—in the second clause. I model the latter clause in Figure 5.5, with an implicit QUD targeting the subject. Note that the VS word order cannot be a case of intransitive sentence focus (otherwise exhibiting VS order) because the verb is transitive, nor can it be a case of subject-verb focus because the verb does not also change between the first and second clauses, only the subject does.

⁹⁷There I observed that a speaker could construe the expected answer to their question as not being drawn from a salient set of alternatives, while an addressee could construe their actual response in the opposite way. The claim here is that my elicitation prompt in (195a) was the former kind of construal, and that MSS’s acceptance of an answer with *naagenti* is an acceptance of the latter kind of construal.

Who did it to her?
|
Your people did it to her.

Figure 5.5: Discourse Structure of (198)

5.2.2 VO in Object Focus

Object focus occurs in response to constituent QUDs targeting objects. In Caquinte, the question that instantiates this QUD is formed in the same way as subject-oriented constituent questions, with *taa* followed by a verb that obligatorily lacks corresponding agreement. The response consists of a postverbal object that co-occurs with agreement on the verb, *modulo* the differential object marking system, as in (199a)—see below for a case of object agreement.

(199) a. ...“Taa pinintake?”

taa pi- niN -ak -i
WH 2- want -PFV -AR

...“What do you want?”

b. Ikantiri, “Nonintake [nochanchanaji]_F.”

VO

i- kaN -i -ri no- niN -ak -i no- chanchanaji
3M- say -AR -3M 1- want -PFV -AR 1- tooth

He said to him, “I want my teeth.”

c. Ikantiri, “Iintsijate pinkogijanake kameetsamajatankitsika.”

He said to him, “Go ahead, pick the best ones.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:11)

The context of this example is especially useful for ruling out salient alternatives. Here Amamani sends his classificatory brother to retrieve the teeth that humans will use after the end of the world. The goal is for this man to obtain the best possible teeth from a tooth-keeper, who keeps a variety of different kinds of teeth (e.g., soft, hard). When he arrives, the tooth-keeper asks him the question in (199a). At first blush, this may seem to be a constituent question in the context of salient alternative answers (i.e., different kinds of teeth), but there is reason to believe that the tooth-keeper in (199a) is not asking the man what kind of teeth he wants, but rather what he is there for in general. The clearest reason is that this is how the man interprets it in his response, announcing generally that he is there for his teeth, not which kind of teeth he wants. The second reason is that it is only in (199c) that the tooth-keeper goes on to instruct the man to select particular teeth. Another way of viewing this example is that there are no other probable reasons why one would visit a tooth-keeper if not to acquire teeth, meaning that there are no salient alternative answers for the man to provide except to say that he is there for teeth.

An object cannot be preverbal in response to a constituent question, as shown in (200).

What do you want?

I want my teeth.

Figure 5.6: Discourse Structure of (199)

(200) a. Taa pisookikiti?

taa pi- sooki -ki -i
WH 2- see -GO.DO.RETURN -AR

Who did you go see?

b. #Nagoonkinite nosookikitiri. OV

INTENDED: I went and saw my uncle.

PREFERRED: Nosookikitiri [nagoonkinite]_F. (CT 20201113, NRS 20201117; Messenger)

The pattern of VO word order is borne out in pragmatically unenriched elicitation contexts. In (201), Miguel Sergio and I are role-playing, and I have not provided any details of a possible context for our interaction. I ask him a question (201a), asking how he would respond if he had eaten manioc, for which he volunteers (201b). He then takes on both roles.

(201) a. Taa pishekataka?

taa pi- sheka -ak -a
WH 2- eat -PFV -MR

What did you eat?

b. Noshekataka [aintochapaki]_F. VO

no- sheka -ak -a aintochapaki
1- eat -PFV -MR manioc

I ate manioc.

(MSS 20190725)

Indeed when the salience of alternatives is further controlled in elicitation, a <genti> construction is judged to be infelicitous (202).

(202) CONTEXT: The speaker arrives in the US and is unfamiliar with American cuisine.

a. Taa ishekata pigonoro?

b. #Irigenti ishekata chaapa.

INTENDED: They eat chicken.

PREFERRED: Ishekata [chaapa]_F.

(CT Messenger 20201202)

As with subject focus, information object focus in monologic contexts can be difficult to detect because the VO word order also corresponds to transitive predicate focus. Elaborations with repetition of the verb and its subject are a reliable indicator: we observe that the verb and its subject are in the presupposition, the only element substituted in the second clause being the object. In (203), the verb in the first clause is *irag* ‘cry.’ In the second clause, it is transitivized with applicative *-ako*.⁹⁸

(203) Osheki iraaka, irakokero [Shimashiri]_F. VO

osheki i- irag -k -a i- irag -ako -k -i -ro Shimashiri
 much 3M- cry -PFV -MR 3M- cry -INDR -PFV -AR -3F Shimashiri

He cried a lot, he cried over Shimashiri. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:111)

This example raises the issue of the discourse-structural representation of these elaborations, as mentioned in the introduction and first encountered with subject focus in (198) above. In that example and in (203), we observe that the elaboration comes about due to the narrowing of the QUD in terms of the constituent it targets. In (198) specifically, the implicit QUD that the first clause resolves targets the predicate, with only the subject in the presupposition. The focused predicate (*cry*) is then added to the presupposition with the subject (*he*), constituting a subsequent QUD that targets only the object (*Shimashiri*). Viewed from the perspective of the declarative answers to these QUDs, the focus narrows, from predicate focus to object focus.⁹⁹ Put differently, a more complete answer to the initial QUD targeting the predicate—that is, *He cried over Shimashiri*—is broken down into two QUDs: one targeting the predicate but resolved only by an intransitive clause, then one targeting the object. I represent this addition to the presupposition via a hierarchical relationship by which the narrower QUD is a daughter of the answer to the broader QUD, as in Figure 5.7. In this particular example, I again infer that alternatives are not salient, and thus that the constituent QUD targeting the object has a single daughter, because the narrator has not given any indication in the foregoing portions of the story that Turkey Vulture could be made miserable by anyone else than the lost Shimashiri.

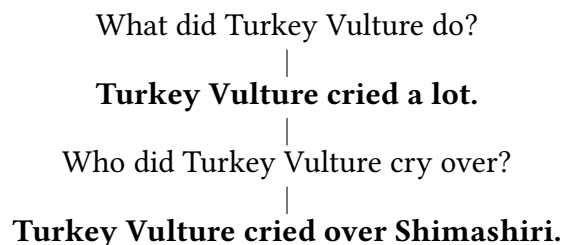


Figure 5.7: Discourse Structure of (203)

⁹⁸This example incidentally shows that object agreement can co-occur with object focus.

⁹⁹Note that, depending on the target of the focus in the initial answer, focus does not always narrow in this way when this discourse structure is present (cf. §3.2.3).

The primary analytical reason for representing elaborations as resolving a QUD subordinate to an answer is that that QUD is relevant only given the preceding answer, as shown by the fact that it is not felicitous for the two questions to follow each other (204). This differentiates them from the polar sub-QUDs observed throughout the analysis of contrastive focus (205).

- (204) a. What did he do?
b. #Who did he cry over?
- (205) a. What did he do?
b. Did he cry over Shimashiri?

The alternative configuration—in which the narrower QUD is a sister of the broader QUD—does not capture this dependency as part of the inherent structure of the discourse itself. Furthermore, it results in unlike sisters (Figure 5.8), in that the resulting sisters do not instantiate alternatives evoked by a super-QUD (cf. contrastive focus), nor do they break a super-QUD down into “smaller” sub-QUDs, as with the sub-QUDs in contrastive topic (Constant 2014).

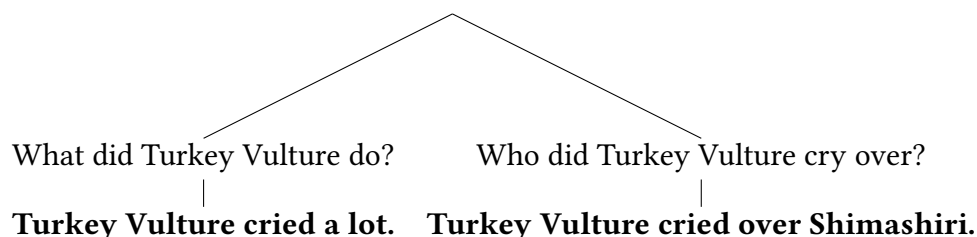


Figure 5.8: Incorrect Discourse Structure of (203)

I emphasize the importance of focus narrowing in identifying focus structures in monologic texts. Recall that VO order also corresponds to transitive predicate focus; thus one might at first blush ask whether the second clause of (203) is a predicate focus. This can be ruled out, however, given the infelicitousness of *He cried over Shimashiri* as an answer to a QUD targeting the predicate specifically in this context, that is, following a QUD that itself has already targeted a predicate consisting of the same verb. This can be appreciated by making all the necessary QUDs and their answers explicit, as in (206). The response in (206d) is infelicitous because it does not represent a distinct event, which the second predicate-targeting QUD necessitates.

- (206) a. What did he do?
b. He cried a lot.
c. Then what did he do?
d. #He cried over Shimashiri.

If (206d) is to be felicitous, then (206c) must target the object, not the predicate, as in (207c). These are exactly the QUDs and answers as given in Figure 5.7.

- (207) a. What did he do?
 b. He cried a lot.
 c. Who did he cry over?
 d. He cried over Shimashiri.

I conclude by noting that there are other sorts of focus narrowing besides proceeding from predicate focus to object focus. In (208), for example, the first clause contains a subject-verb focus (see §5.4.1), with the object in the presupposition. The second clause is an object focus, with the subject and the verb in the presupposition. In this case, part of the focus of the first clause, namely the verb, is added to the presupposition of the second clause together with the object of the first clause already in the presupposition. This can be made clearest with the QUDs in the discourse structure in Figure 5.9, analogous in structure to Figure 5.7 above.

- (208) ...“Opeakaanakari kachojari, ipeanaka [imoroiroki]_F.” VO

o- peg -akag -an -k -a -ri kachojari i- peg -an -k -a
 3F- transform -CAUS -ABL -PFV -MR -3M manioc.beer 3M- transform -ABL -PFV -MR
imoroiroki
 collared.peccary

...“The manioc beer transformed him, he transformed into a collared peccary.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:26)

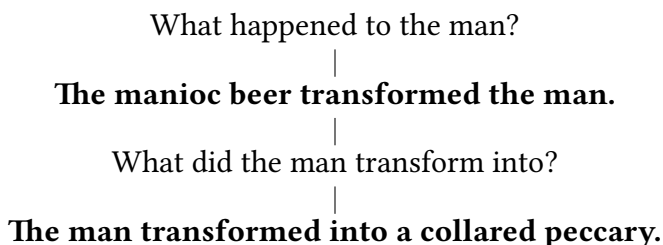


Figure 5.9: Discourse Structure of (208)

5.3 V in Verb Focus

Verb focus occurs in response to constituent QUDs targeting verbs. In Caquinte, the question that instantiates this QUD (*What are you doing to it?*) is formed with the interrogative pronoun *ke* inflected for feminine gender, and the verb *ko* ‘be, do (to),’ as in (209). This question is much like an English *how*-question, for example, here referring to the manner in which someone might cook. The response consists solely of the verbal word, with subject and object realized as agreement affixes. Note that the subject and the object are held constant between the question and the answer, that is, they are both in the presupposition, to the exclusion of the verb.

- (209) a. Kero pinkokerini kobiroti?

ke -ro pi- N- ko -k -e -ri -ni kobiroti
 WH -F 2- IRR- do.to -PFV -IRR -3M -INT brown.capuchin

What're you going to do to the brown capuchin?

- b. [Nontashitakeri]
- _F
- .

V

no- N- tashi -ak -e -ri
 1- IRR- roast -PFV -IRR -3M

I'm going to roast him.

(MSS 20190725)

This example comes from a pragmatically unenriched elicitation context. I presented Miguel Sergio with the question (209a), and asked him how he would respond if he wanted to express that he would roast the monkey (209b). I had not suggested possible things he could say, we had not been discussing cooking methods, roasting is not an unusual way to prepare a monkey for consumption,¹⁰⁰ etc. Thus I infer that alternatives are not salient, and represent verb focus in the same way as argument focus (Figure 5.10), with a single daughter.

What's Addr. going to do to Brown Capuchin?

Addr. is going to roast Brown Capuchin.

Figure 5.10: Discourse Structure of (209)

In texts, verb focus often follows predicate focus. For example, in (210) the predicate consisting of the verb *ag* 'grab' and the object *chopekitsapaki* 'young plantain sprout' is in focus, and in the following two clauses the subject and object are held constant while the verb alone changes, to *kita* 'put in ground' and *tijabio* 'cover in ground.' That the first of these three clauses is not object focus (n.b., VO order) can be determined based on the preceding clause, also included here, given the fact that it does not consist of the verb *ag* 'grab.' That is, it is not a case of repetition as with the object focus in the context of Turkey Vulture and Shimashiri in (203) above.

- (210) Arikea ikoraketaji tsobironakiki, [yaakero chopekitsapaki]
- _F
- , [ikitakero]
- _F
- [itijabiotakero]
- _F
- .

ari =kea i- korake -aj -i tsobironaki =ki i- ag -k -i -ro chopeki
 FOC =EW 3M- come -REG -AR house =LOC 3M- grab -PFV -AR -3F plantain
-tsapaki i- kita -ak -i -ro i- tijabio -ak -i -ro
 -young.sprout 3M- put.in.ground -PFV -AR -3F 3M- cover.in.ground -PFV -AR -3F

Then he came back to the house, grabbed the young plantain sprouts, put them in the ground, and covered them. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:112)

¹⁰⁰That is, given the normalness of roasting monkeys, it is unlikely that Miguel sought to construe his utterance as contrasting roasting as opposed to some more normal method of preparing monkeys.

I model sequences of predicate and verb focus like these with the same answer-dominating-QUD discourse structures encountered above. In Figure 5.11, the higher QUD is a constituent QUD targeting the predicate, which is answered directly. The focused constituent consists of the verb and its object; the presupposition is the subject. The object then combines with the subject in the presupposition to form the presupposition of the lower QUD(s), leaving the QUD to target only the verb. In this example, there are two such elaborations, resulting in the branching answer seen here. That is, there are two equivalent subordinate QUDs, one for each of the elaborations. (See Riester 2019:171-172 for discussion of identical sister QUDs in “and-then-what” contexts.)

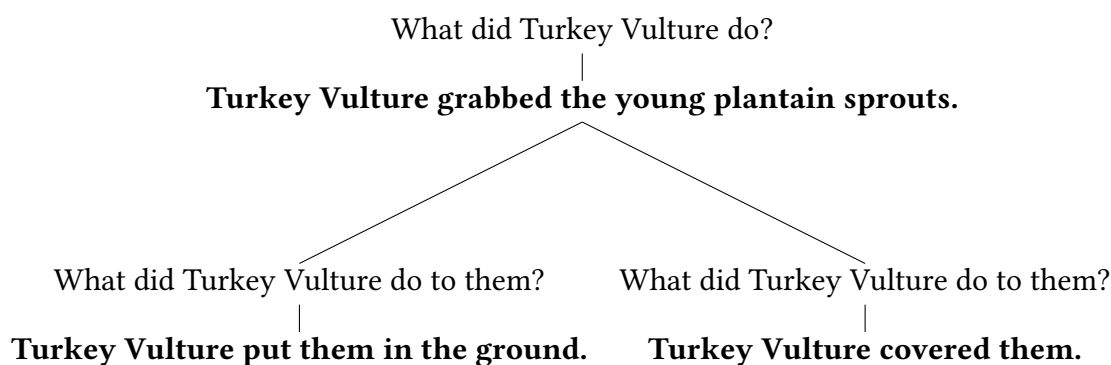


Figure 5.11: Discourse Structure of (210)

5.4 Foci Targeting a Verb & Argument

This section is devoted to the focus of two units that consist of a verb and one of its arguments. The first I treat is subject-verb focus (§5.4.1), that is, the unit consisting of a verb and its subject. This is not a syntactic constituent, but it can be targeted for focus in the way I describe. The second is the more familiar predicate focus (§5.4.2), consisting solely of a verb in the case of intransitives, and of a verb and its object in the case of transitives.

5.4.1 VS in Subject-verb Focus

Subject-verb focus occurs in response to QUDs targeting the verb and its subject. In Caquinte, the question that instantiates this QUD (*What happened to X?*) is formed with *taa* ‘who, what’ and the verb *og* ‘happen to, treat,’ as in (211). The response consists of a postverbal subject that co-occurs with agreement on the verb. Note that the object is held constant between the question and the answer, and is expressed only via agreement on the verb. That is, the object is in the presupposition. Note that SV order in the same context is judged to be infelicitous.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹The speaker indicated that the SV version of this sentence was well formed in general, but that in this context VS sounded better. I take the SV version to be a topicalization.

(211) a. ...“Taakea oakempi?”

taa =kea og -k -i -mpi
 WH =EW happen.to -PFV -AR -2

...“What happened to you?”

b. Ikantiri, “[Otashitakena natojite]_F.”

VS

i- kan -i -ri o- tashi -ak -i -na natojite
 3M- say -AR -3M 3F- roast -PFV -AR -1 cannibal

He said to him, “The cannibal roasted me.”
 (#*Natojite otashitakena.*)

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:87)
 (SV, DSG 20201211)

This example comes from a story in which Brown Capuchin has gone to steal plantains from a female cannibal. She catches him and roasts him, singeing his hair. One of his companions who had not gone with him on this expedition asks him the question in (211a). Given the preceding portions of the story, this companion has not been entertaining possible things that could have happened to Brown Capuchin, nor have the two of them been discussing possible things that could have happened to him, etc. Brown Capuchin simply shows up looking burnt. The companion’s question is thus one of ignorance; he is effectively asking Brown Capuchin why his hair is the way it is. From this I infer that alternatives are not salient, which I represent with the simple discourse structure in Figure 5.12.

What happened to Addr.?

|
The cannibal roasted Addr.

Figure 5.12: Discourse Structure of (211)

The same VS word order is attested in elicitation, in which (212b) is accepted as a felicitous response to the same question. SV order in the same context is judged to be infelicitous.¹⁰²

(212) a. Taa oakempi?

What happened to you?

b. [Aakena rookajenkani]_F.

VS

o- ag -k -i -na rookajenkani
 3F- get -PFV -AR -1 cold

¹⁰²In this case (cf. footnote 101), the speaker more strongly ruled out an SV version as well formed in general. I suspect this is due to the fact that *natojite* is somewhat like a proper name in Caquinte, which are often topicalized without the demonstrative *ra*. This is not the case for the subject of this sentence, however, making it possible that the apparent topicalization without *ra* is more strongly dispreferred. However, a topicalized version with the demonstrative (*Ora rookajenkani aakena*) has also been judged to be infelicitous in this context (MSS 20190725), which is not surprising given that the question establishes a context for subject-verb focus.

A cold got me. (MSS 20190725)
 (#Rookajenkani aakena.) (SV, DSG 20201211)

In texts, other questions besides *What happened to X?* yield subject-verb focus. Consider the manner question in (213a), addressed to a girl by a man who has just arrived at a house clearing. Her response has VS word order, with an object expressed only via agreement.

- (213) a. ...“Kerokea okotakani pikoraketantakaka akaniki?”
ke -ro =kea o- ko -ak -a -ni pi- korake -an -ak -a =ka akaniki
 WH -F =EW 3F- be -PFV -MR -INT 2- come -INSTR -PFV -MR =REL here
 ...“How did you come here?”
- b. Naatimpa nokanti, “[Yamakena irira Oajio]_F.” VS
naatimpa no- kan -i i- am -k -i -na iri- ra Oajio
 1.PRO 1- say -AR 3M- bring -PFV -AR -1 3M- MED Oajio
 I said, “Oajio brought me.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:5)

Recall from Table 5.1 that VS order superficially corresponds to either sentence focus, subject-verb focus, or subject focus. In this case, we can rule out an interpretation of sentence focus because the verb is transitive, VS corresponding only to sentence focus with intransitive verbs. Less straightforward is whether we should interpret (213b) as a case of subject focus, that is, whether we should interpret it as actually responding to subject-oriented QUD like *Who brought you here?* I do not attempt to resolve this issue here.

5.4.2 V(O) in Predicate Focus

Predicate focus occurs in response to QUDs targeting the predicate, that is, the verb and, in the case of a transitive, its object. In Caquinte, the question that instantiates this QUD (*What are you doing?*) is formed with *taa* ‘who, what’ and the verb *an* ‘do.’ The response consists minimally of a verb, and, in the case of a transitive verb, a postverbal object that co-occurs with agreement on the verb (*modulo* differential object marking). Note that the subject is held constant between the question and the answer, and is expressed only via agreement on the verb. That is, the subject is in the presupposition. This is shown for both predicate types in (214b) and (215b).

- (214) a. ...“Ari, taate pantajiake?”
ari taa =te pi- an -jig -k -i
 hello WH =CE 2- do -PL -PFV -AR
 ...“Hello, what’re you doing?”
- b. Oroatimpa okantiri, “Tee, mana [namajamajabijiti]_F.” V
oroatimpa o- kan -i -ri tee mana no- amaja -maja -biji -i
 3F.PRO 3F- say -AR -3M nothing rather 1- swim -RD -DSTR -AR

She said to him, “Nothing, we’re swimming around.” (text, ESS, ptk)

(215) a. ...“Ari, taa panti?”

ari taa pi- an -i
FOC WH 2- do -AR

...“Hello, what’re you doing?”

b. Okanti, “Tee, [nogijiri irira nomankigare]_F...” VO

o- kan -i tee no- ogij -i -ri iri- ra no- mankigare
3F- say -AR nothing 1- wait.for -AR -3M 3M- MED 1- spouse

She said, “Nothing, I’m waiting for my husband...” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:110)

The example in (215) comes from the story of Turkey Vulture and his wife Shimashiri, who is lured away from Turkey Vulture by Osprey. This is their first interaction, when Turkey Vulture is inattentive. Osprey and Shimashiri have not been discussing what it could be that Shimashiri is doing, Shimashiri has not been considering what she should report to Osprey that she is doing, it is not clear from the context that there is one of many things she could be doing, etc. Osprey’s question is one of ignorance, and Shimashiri must simply inform him. From this I conclude that alternatives are not salient, representing (215) with the discourse structure in Figure 5.13.

What is Addr. doing?

Addr. is waiting for Addr.’s husband.

Figure 5.13: Discourse Structure of (215)

In (216), we see intransitive and transitive predicate focus side-by-side. The answer includes multiple verb phrases, the first two of which are intransitive.

(216) a. ...“Taate pantake?”

taa =te pi- an -ak -i
WH =CE 2- do -PFV -AR

...“What’re you doing?”

b. Iriatimpa ikanti, “Tee, mana [namashaiti]_F, irosati [notsamarojigi]_F, [notsipatari jagitya]_F.”

iriatimpa i- kan -i tee mana no- amashai -i irosati no- tsamaro -jig -i no-
3M.PRO 3M- say -AR nothing rather 1- sing -AR and 1- dance -PL -AR 1-
tsipa -a -ri jagitya
accompany -MR -3M Spix’s.guan

He said, “Nothing, I’m singing, and we’re dancing, I’m accompanying Spix’s guan.” (text, ESS, ptk)

This pattern is attested in elicitation, in which (217b) is accepted as a felicitous response to the same question. Note that OV order in the same context is judged to be infelicitous.

- (217) a. Taa panti?
What're you doing?
- b. [Najakiro nobatsakaro]_F. VO
- no- ajak -i -ro no- patsakaro*
1- wash -AR -3F 1- clothes
- I'm washing my clothes.
(n.b., #*Nobatsakaro najakiro*) (OV, NRS Messenger 20201117)

When an intransitive verb is stative, predicate focus occurs in responses to a different question, namely that consisting of *og* 'happen to, treat' discussed for subject-verb focus in §5.4.1.

- (218) a. ...“Taa oakero?”
- taa og -k -i -ro*
WH happen.to -PFV -AR -3F
- ...“What's wrong with her?”
- b. Naatimpa nokanti, “[Osheki ojokijitaka]_F, irotari omatsatontiikijanikitantabaetanakaka.”
- naatimpa no- kan -i osheki o- ojokiji -ak -a iro =tari o- matsatontiiki*
1.PRO 1- say -AR much 3F- be.sick -PFV -MR 3F.COP =CNGR 3F- be.emaciated
-janiki -an -bae -an -k -a =ka
-DIM -INSTR -DUR -ABL -PFV -MR =REL
- I said, “She's very sick, that's why she's gotten so emaciated.”
(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:48)

Stative intransitive predicate focus is similar to the active intransitive predicate focus above in that only the verb is replaced in the answer. They differ in that, in the latter, the subjects are held constant, whereas in the former the object of the question corresponds to the subject of the answer, but its reference is nevertheless held constant.

5.5 VS(O) Order in Sentence Focus

In this section I first describe sentence focus that occurs in the responses to explicit QUDs (§5.5.1), then implicit ones (§5.5.2). In the latter, I describe dialogic contexts of reporting news, providing background, experiencing realizations, and giving admonishments, before describing one common monologic context. Throughout I show that sentence focus is expressed by VSO order, that is, with arguments expressed by full nouns or pronouns.

5.5.1 Sentence Focus with Questions

Sentence focus occurs in response to QUDs targeting the entire sentence, for our purposes the verb and all of its arguments. In Caquinte, the question that instantiates this QUD (*What happened?*) is formed with *taa* ‘who, what’ and the light verb *paji*, which takes minimal verbal morphology and can be truncated. It can also be translated as ‘What is it?’ In (219), from elicitation, I presented Miguel Sergio with a context where there is commotion at a house due to the somewhat rare killing of a spider monkey. A passerby approaches the house and asks (219a). I then asked him whether it would be felicitous for them to respond to the passerby with the VSO sentence in (219b), which he said it would be.¹⁰³

(219) a. *Taa ipaji?*

taa ipaji
WH LIGHT

What happened?

b. [Imetojakeri Natán kachatyakiri]_F.

VSO

i- metoj -k -i -ri Natán kachatyakiri
3M- kill -PFV -AR -3M Natán spider.monkey

Natán killed a spider monkey.

(MSS 20190725)

Turning now to naturally occurring examples with an explicit QUD, we find that the only attested order is a verb-initial one. This is shown for the intransitive stem in (220), a segment of dialogue from a story about the shaman Okitsipokani. In (220a), Okitsipokani asks *What happened?* after waking up. His sister then responds (220b), quoting herself. The intransitive verb is the antipassivized *ag* ‘take,’ which is followed by the grammatical subject *kasekari* ‘jaguar.’

(220) a. ...“*Taa ipaji, tsioji?*”

taa ipaji tsioji
WH LIGHT sister

...“What happened, sister?”

b. Okantiri, “*Tee, nokanti, [Yaantake kasekari]_F.*”

VS

o- kaN -i -ri tee no- kaN -i i- ag -aN -ak -i kasekari
3F- say -AR -3M nothing 1- say -AR 3M- take -ANTIP -PFV -AR jaguar

She said to him, “Nothing, I say, ‘The jaguar took things.’”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:98)

¹⁰³My initial reasons for asking about VSO order directly were that it is found in texts in contexts of reporting news (the context simulated here), and because VOS is found only in a single syntactic environment (see §2.4.1).

In terms of alternatives, I first note that, unlike all the narrower information foci we have encountered, alternative propositions at the level of sentence focus share no constituent in common. Thus alternatives to the jaguar taking things could in principle be events such as Okitsipokani's wife washing clothes. In this context, however, as in all information focus contexts, alternatives are not salient. There is no reason to believe that Okitsipokani is entertaining various possibilities of events that could have transpired. Indeed he has just awoken from a deep sleep and is ignorant regarding what has gone on during that period. As such, cases of information sentence focus have the same discourse representation seen previously (Figure 5.14).

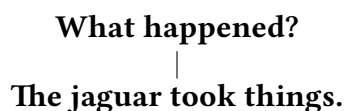


Figure 5.14: Discourse Structure of (220)

5.5.2 Sentence Focus without Questions

It is more common in texts for VS(O) order to occur in the absence of a preceding question (i.e., with implicit QUDs). Because VSO order invariably corresponds to sentence focus (whereas VS may correspond to other focus structures), I concentrate here on transitive sentence focus. I walk through the dialogic contexts of reporting news, providing background, experiencing realizations, and giving admonishments, as well as several monologic examples.

Reporting News One of the most ubiquitous contexts in which sentence focus occurs is when speakers inform their addressees of events in a relatively unprompted fashion. In (221c), a young Caquinte man has traveled to ask his uncle Kiabenkirini to make him arrows. Once he retrieves the arrows and returns, he utters this sentence. The only prior discussion that the young man has had with his interlocutors related to these events is that he should go visit his uncle. Note that non-VSO orders in the same context have been judged to be not well formed in general (SOV)¹⁰⁴ or marginal (SVO).¹⁰⁵

- (221) a. Yaakerokea yoishobatitakero yobebatijakenerika.
He grabbed and tied what he'd whittled for him.
b. Arikea yoanaji yarejetaja ontaniki ichookakegeti.
Then he went back and arrived there where they were.

¹⁰⁴For now I take the more conservative approach in labeling such cases with a pound sign for infelicity as opposed to an asterisk for ungrammaticality, even though SOV structures are not attested in the corpus (with the exception of topicalized subjects followed by a contrastive argument focus on the object, not discussed here).

¹⁰⁵The version with a preverbal subject again seems to be a case of topicalization (cf. footnote 101). In this context it is difficult to control for the (non)acceptability of topicalization because no question is explicit. That is, if the speaker wishes to construe their utterance as about someone they have already been talking about with their interlocutor (i.e., *koonkini* 'maternal uncle'), then a topicalization would be warranted.

- c. Ikantirikea, “[Ipeakaakena koonkini shikiripi]_F.” VSO
i- kaN -i -ri =kea i- peakag -k -i -na koonkini shikiripi
 3M- say -AR -3M =EW 3M- make -PFV -AR -1 uncle arrow
 He said to them, “My uncle made me arrows.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:158)
 (#Koonkini shikiripi ipeakaakena.) (SOV, DSG 20201211)
 (?Koonkini ipeakaakena shikiripi.) (SVO, DSG 20201211)

Providing Background Another context in which we find sentence focus is when speakers provide background to contextualize subsequent utterances. In (222), Antonina Salazar has accompanied her husband Juan to Pucallpa so he can translate the New Testament. She is not experienced with cooking the foods she is given, and so when her host comes to check on her, she draws an analogy between Antonina’s being in Pucallpa and her being in a Caquinte village. Antonina was only a girl when the events conveyed in (222b) occurred, and did not witness them.

- (222) a. ...“Pikejekena naatimpa iroakerageti noanake Kitepampaniki.”
 ...“You’re like me when I first went to Kitepampani.”
- b. “[Yojokakena pignonoro tyontiiki]_F, tee nontsateriji nonchijerenkakeri.” VSO
i- ojok -k -i -na pi- gonoro tyontiiki tee no- N- tsa -e -ri -ji no-
 3M- give -PFV -AR -1 2- countryman snail.sp. NEG 1- IRR- know -IRR -3M -NEG 1-
N- chijerenk -k -e -ri
 IRR- fry -PFV -IRR -3M
 “Your countrymen gave me snails, but I didn’t know to fry them.”
 (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:25)

Experiencing Realizations When speakers externalize realizations that they experience, we also find sentence focus. In (223), a man comes across a group of humans singing and dancing in the forest at night. He joins them, but in the morning when he wakes up all he finds are mushrooms on a log. He reasons that the mushrooms must be the humans transformed, as the narrator relays in (223c). His utterance begins with the mirative expression *arisakanika*, followed by a clause with VSO word order, the verb bearing the inferential evidential clitic =*sa*. Note that, as with (221c), non-VSO orders in the same context have been judged to be not well formed in general (SOV) or marginal (OVS)—see footnote 105.

- (223) a. Yamenabetari inkajarankitika yamenakeka kakinte, tee anejeriji, kajaragiteni, irogenti yamenake kajebi.
 He looked for the people he’d seen before, but they weren’t there, it was empty, he saw only mushrooms.
- b. Oshekini ochookatake, osabisabiitake inchapoaki.
 There were many of them, they were sitting on the trunk.
- c. Ikanti, “Arisakanika, [ipegasa kakinte kajebi]_F.” VSO

i- kaN -i ari =sakanika i- peg -a =sa kakinte kajebi
 3M- say -AR FOC =MIR 3M- transform -MR =INFER person mushroom.sp.

He said, “I see, the people must transform into *kajebi* mushrooms.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:45)

(#*Kakinte kajebi ipegasa.*)

(SOV, DSG 20201211)

(?*Kajebi ipegasa kakinte.*)

(OVS, DSG 20201211)

A similar context is in (224). In this flood story, a group of humans and animals is washed away through a cave in an ark-like canoe—when it is unplugged and the waters rapidly recede—to a land of female cannibals. They are left hungry, and White-faced Capuchin makes several attempts to steal food from one of them. He is successful on a later attempt when the cannibal’s attention is diverted, and when he reaches the edge of her garden, he utters (224a).

(224) a. ...“Natojite, pamenenaja.”

natojite pi- amen -e -na =ja
 cannibal 2- look.at -IRR -1 =PROSP

...“Cannibal, look at me.”

b. Opitsokabetanaka ameni, okanti, “Ooo, [yaitsitanakena serajite nochopekite]_F.” VSO

o- pitsok -be -an -k -a o- amen -i o- kaN -i ooo i- aitsi -an -k
 3F- turn -FRST -ABL -PFV -MR 3F- look -AR 3F- say -AR IDEO 3M- steal -ABL -PFV
-i -na serajite no- chopeki -te
 -AR -1 human 1- plantain -P

She turned and looked, saying, “Ooo, the human stole my plantains from me.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:85)

Admonishments Last in the dialogic contexts, we also find sentence focus in admonishments expressed with the initial particle *kaabiji*. This particle occurs at the beginnings of sentences and expresses that an unfortunate or undesirable state of affairs is likely to result given the following proposition. In (225), Okitsipokani, who can transform into a jaguar, wakes up and asks his sister the question in (225a). He follows immediately with his own admonishment toward those who play without care in the river (225b). (The quote foreshadows his own ravenousness for humans at a later point in the story.)

(225) a. Arikea itinajanaka, ikantiro itsiojite, “Taate antanajabijitankitsi ojaaki?”

Then he got up, and said to his sister, “Who’s playing around in the river?”

b. “Kaabiji [ikatsimatakotiro kasekari kajagantsi]_F matega matega matega.” VSO

kaabiji i- katsima -ako -i -ro kasekari kaj -aga -ntsi
 ADMON 3M- be.angry -INDR -AR -3F jaguar do.in.water -NMZ -AL
matega matega matega
 IDEO:raucousness

“Jaguars get angry over doing things in the water *matega matega matega*.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:97)

Monologic Texts Thus far we have walked through examples of sentence focus expressed by VSO word order in constructed dialogues. Sentence focus is also found in the monologic portions of stories and other texts. One such context is following clauses subordinated by =*geti* ‘if, when’ that function to reset the temporal frame of the story. This is shown for an intransitive clause in (226d), from the beginning of a story in which Deer convinces Jaguar to let her bathe his children.

- (226) a. Imaika nontsabetantero ora chonchokoronti, ochookati tomirishiki otsipajiakari ochaajanikirite.
Now I’m going to tell about Deer, she lived in the forest with her children.
- b. Okantiri ochaajanikirite, “Jaame oajianake ojaaki ajakajiakero atsino.”
She said to her children, “Let’s go to the river to wash our bodies.”
- c. Ajakajiakeri ochaajanikirite.
She bathed her children.

- d. Osamanijenkapojigeti, [ikorakepoji ajitsi]_F... VS

o- osamanijenka -poj -i =geti i- korake -poj -i ajitsi
3F- be.later -ALL -AR =when 3M- come -ALL -AR jaguar

Later, a jaguar came...

(text, ESS, caa)

The same pattern is shown for a transitive clause in (227c). The narrator tells about interactions between Oajio and her father in the preceding portions of the story, but then some time elapses. It is following this lapse of time that we observe VSO word order.

- (227) a. Naatimpa tee noshekatempaji noshekatakatari inkajaranki yamakeka noraapanite.
I didn’t eat because I’d eaten what my father had brought before.
- b. Arasokakena, teekatsi noninteka aisa noshekatempa.
I was already full, I didn’t want anything, or to eat.
- c. Arikea opitsekajenkatanakegeti, [ikamantakeri Oajio noraapanite]_F... VSO

ari =kea o- pitsek -jenka -an -k -i =geti i- kamaN -ak -i -ri
FOC =EW 3F- be.night -CL:immaterial -ABL -PFV -AR =when 3M- tell -PFV -AR -3M
Oajio nor- aapani -te
Oajio 1- father -P

Then when night fell, Oajio told my father... (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:10)

Chapter 6

Selective Focus of Non-arguments & Propositions

6.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on the introduction of the contrastive focus markers *arigenti* and *ari* in Chapter 3 on corrective focus, where I demonstrated that they are parallel to <genti> and <ro> copulas from the domain of argument focus, evoking referential and polar alternatives, respectively, and occurring in contexts in which those alternatives are salient. They differed from the <genti> and <ro> copulas, however, in targeting a heterogeneous class of non-arguments for focus. In this chapter, I describe and analyze *arigenti* and *ari* in terms of selective focus. In doing so, I demonstrate that the basic distinctions that we have encountered—between referential and polar alternatives, between salient and nonsalient alternatives, between branching and nonbranching constituent and polar QUDs—ramify from the domain of argument focus through the domain of non-argument focus. In addition, I demonstrate that *ari* can alternatively target the proposition as a whole, evoking alternatives p and $\neg p$.¹⁰⁶ The bulk of this chapter is dedicated to arguing that p and $\neg p$ are salient in contexts in which *ari* occurs, and that they are not salient when it is absent. In practical terms, this means that this chapter is more about *ari* than *arigenti*.¹⁰⁷

In what follows, it will be helpful to view the empirical generalizations concerning *arigenti* and *ari* from two perspectives. From a Caquinte-internal perspective, these markers reflect a distinction between referential and polar alternatives. Insofar as they similarly select one of multiple salient alternatives (referential or polar)—we can think of them as a kind of selective focus, regardless of whether the focus targets a non-argumental constituent or the proposition by the clause in which it occurs. From a crosslinguistic perspective, however, the fact that *arigenti* and *ari* can target the proposition relates them to other phenomena often described with different

¹⁰⁶I note that *arigenti* also appears to be able to target the predicate in a parallel way (evoking alternatives p and q), but further research is required in this vein.

¹⁰⁷*Arigenti* appears to have no cognates in other Nijagantsi languages, suggesting it is either an archaism in the family or a nascent innovation, both of which might account for its rarity.

terminology, in particular propositional clefts (*arigenti*) and what has been called polarity focus or verum (*ari*). I discuss in this chapter the ways in which *ari* relates to notions of polarity focus and verum. In brief, I propose that polarity focus is best understood as selective focus that evokes polar alternatives and targets the proposition. I note that emphasis on the truth of the proposition—the intuition motivating the term verum—is a distinct phenomenon that is expressed in two unique ways in Caquinte depending on whether alternative propositions are salient: a second position clitic =*maja* combines with *ari* in contexts of salient alternatives (e.g., disagreement, incommensurate beliefs); a biclausal construction consisting of the verb *ko* ‘be, do (to)’ and a lexical verb occurs in contexts of nonsalient alternatives (e.g., agreement).

Before moving on, I draw attention to three analytical issues for the sake of clarity. The first is the claim that *arigenti* and *ari* target non-arguments or the proposition for focus. It is tempting to think of these two markers as fully underspecified in terms of the target of focus, and to a certain degree they are underspecified: they can target non-arguments or the proposition. Importantly, however, as established in §3.3, these markers cannot target arguments, as would be expected if they were fully underspecified. The second issue concerns a property of polar alternatives that we have not yet encountered. That is that, like referential alternatives, polar alternatives may differ in terms of whether they are salient. This might at first blush seem unintuitive: unlike referential alternatives, which do not have a logically limited number, polar alternatives are only ever two in number. I will claim that these two polar alternatives are always evoked, but that they are not necessarily salient, in line with other scholars (e.g., Onea and Zimmerman 2019). Concretely, I will claim that not all polar questions occur in contexts of salient alternatives; only those with *ari* do. The third issue concerns the ability of *arigenti* and *ari* to recover the target of focus from preceding clause. With the <genti> copulas, I observed that they must occur with an associated noun that followed them. With the <ro> copulas, on the other hand, I observed that they could either occur with an associated noun, or recover the target of focus from a preceding clause. The same generalizations can be stated for *arigenti* and *ari*. The reader should bear this in mind in the discussion of *ari* as a propositional anaphor.

Having established in §3.3 that *arigenti* and *ari* target non-arguments for focus, in this chapter I concentrate on providing additional evidence for the salience of alternatives in the contexts in which they appear, as well as for the fact that *ari* can target propositions. I begin with a brief section on *arigenti*, demonstrating that the constituent QUDs it resolves can be explicit (§6.2). Section 6.3 is then devoted to *ari*, beginning with two subsections that provide additional evidence for the claim that it evokes polar alternatives, and that those alternatives are salient in the contexts in which *ari* occurs. From there, §§6.3.3 and 6.3.4 home in on the presence versus absence of *ari* in declarative and interrogative clauses, respectively. Then in §6.4 I relate *ari* to notions of polarity focus and verum. Finally, in §6.5 I make comparative remarks about cognates to *ari* in Nanti and Perené Asheninka, in particular their similar functions when it comes to propositions and polarity, and as clause-linkers resembling English *then*, both of which I relate back to my account. As in preceding chapters, I bracket focused elements; when clauses with *ari* lack brackets, the claim is that the target of focus is the proposition.

6.2 Selective Focus with *arigenti*

In this section, I build on the description of *arigenti* in §3.3 to illustrate how the constituent QUDs that *arigenti* constructions resolve can be explicit, as we saw for <genti> constructions in Chapter 2, reasoning in a similar fashion about the salience of alternatives. Consider first the constituent question targeting a locative expression in (228), with a response lacking *arigenti*. This comes from a story in which Old Axe has been searching for his lost wife for a long time with his sidekick Yellow-crowned Brush-tailed Rat. When they reunite, Old Axe’s wife asks him this question, having no idea where he has been, and not having discussed where he might be. As such, I conclude that it is a case of information focus in which alternatives are not salient. As we have seen for information focus elsewhere, there is expectedly no special marking, the postpositional phrase occurring after the verb. As established for information focus in Chapter 5, I assume it has the nonbranching structure represented in Figure 6.1.

- (228) a. ...“Kero pikenapojajini?”
- ke -ro pi- ken -poj -aj -i -ni*
 WH -F 2- follow.route -ALL -REG -AR -INT
- ...“Where are you coming back from?”
- b. Iriatimpa ikanti, “Nokenapojaji [tomirishiki]_F.”
- iriatimpa i- kaN -i no- ken -poj -aj -i tomirishi =ki*
 3M.PRO 3M- say -AR 1- follow.route -ALL -REG -AR forest =LOC
- He said, “I’m coming back from the forest.” (text, ESS, ptk)

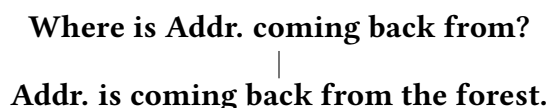


Figure 6.1: Discourse Structure of (228)

In contrast, example (229a) contains an embedded constituent question similarly targeting a locative. This question instantiates a constituent QUD, which is then resolved in (229b), in which *arigenti* appears. This comes from a story in which a young woman has fallen in love with Snake transformed into a human. One day her father, suspicious of where she has been spending her time, hides in the forest to see who might be passing nearby. He spots a man who he does not know walking along the path clad in an unusually striped cushma (corresponding to Snake’s stripes). Instead of making his way along the path and on to another location, Snake heads for the house, from which the young woman’s father infers that this is his daughter’s lover.

- (229) a. Tee inkajemakoteriji, mana yamenabakeri kero inkenanakeni.

tee i- N- kajem -ako -e -ri -ji mana i- amen -ab -k -i -ri ke -ro
 NEG 3M- IRR- call -INDR -IRR -3M -NEG rather 3M- watch -DIR -PFV -AR -3M WH -F
i- N- ken -an -k -e -ni
 3M- IRR- follow.route -ABL -PFV -IRR -INT

He didn't call to him, instead he watched where he was going.

b. **Arigenti** ikenanake [itsobironakiteki]_F ohookakegeti irorijanite.

arigenti i- ken -an -k -i i- tsobironaki -te =ki o- chooka -k -i
 FOC 3M- follow.route -ABL -PFV -AR 3M- house -P =LOC 3F- EXST -PFV -AR
 =geti iri- orijani -te
 =where 3M- daughter -P

He_j went to his_k house where his_k daughter was. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:48)

Crucially, because Snake is a stranger, the man would not expect him to approach his house so nonchalantly. That is, the man assumes he is heading somewhere else, which establishes a salient set of alternatives that consists of the man's house and some other unspecified destination.¹⁰⁸ I give the location *to the forest* as one of the salient alternatives that are instantiated by the multiple daughters in Figure 6.2, which is the same configuration that we have seen for selective focus.

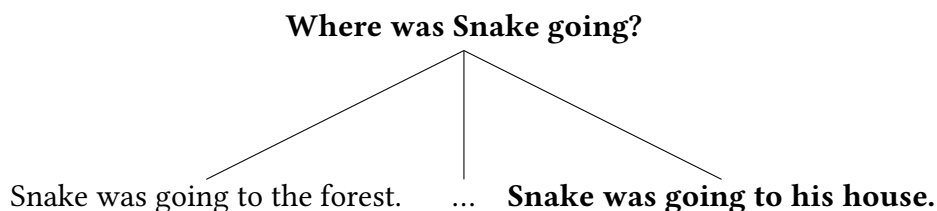


Figure 6.2: Discourse Structure of (229)

In elicitation, where particular contexts can be specified, *arigenti* can be directly shown to be infelicitous in contexts where alternatives are nonsalient. For example, in a context in which the speaker has recently met the addressee (the author) and is exchanging personal details with him, in this case about where the addressee was born, *arigenti* is infelicitous (230). This is a context in which the speaker is exceedingly unlikely to be entertaining a salient set of alternatives, not being familiar with locations in the United States.

(230) a. Kero piboakeni?

ke -ro pi- bog -k -i -ni
 WH -F 2- be.born -PFV -AR -INT

Where were you born?

¹⁰⁸Note that the fact that Snake's expected destination is unspecified does not mean that it is nonsalient. It is sufficient that the man expected Snake to go there to establish it as a salient alternative to the house.

b. #Arigenti noboake Californiaki.

INTENDED: I was born in California.

PREFERRED: Noboake Californiaki.

(CT Messenger 20201209)

Together with the empirical facts from §3.3, these examples allow us to reason about the permissibility of *arigenti* in other elicitation contexts which are less clear. For example, when asked how he would respond to (231a)—a constituent question targeting the verb—Miguel Sergio responded with the simple verbal word in (231b), an information focus (see §5.3). When asked whether *arigenti* can be added, he readily accepts this as another felicitous response, as in (231c).

(231) a. Kero pinkokerini kobiroti?

ke -ro pi- N- ko -k -e -ro -ni kobiroti
 WH -F 2- IRR- do.to -PFV -IRR -3F -INT brown.capuchin

What will you do to the brown capuchin?

b. [Nontashitakeri]_F.

no- N- tashi -ak -e -ri
 1- IRR- roast -PFV -IRR -3M

I'm going to roast it.

c. Arigenti [nontashitakeri]_F.

(MSS 20190725)

The permissibility of *arigenti* in this context is expected for three reasons. First, I have established that it can target only the verb, which the constituent question in (231a) also does. Second, we have seen that discourse structures can be reconfigured between a question and its answer (see §2.3.4), as concerns the salience of alternatives. Third, however, it is not clear that one even needs to invoke a notion of reconfiguration in this way. This is because, unlike constituent questions formed on *taa*, for which I have shown that there are plain and clefted counterparts (§2.3.3), constituent questions formed on *ke* only come in one plain kind. That is, there is no clefted equivalent of either (228a) or (231a), for example, with the light verb *paji* that derives clefts of *taa*-questions. As such, when he accepts *arigenti* in elicitation, MSS is simply accepting either a nonbranching or branching discourse structure, both of which are compatible with the Caquite *ke*-question as given.

6.3 Selective Focus with *ari*

In this section I first provide additional evidence, building on §3.3, that *ari* evokes polar alternatives (§6.3.1), and then that it occurs in contexts when these alternatives are salient (§6.3.2). I examine the pragmatic differences between assertions with and without *ari* in §6.3.3, and between polar interrogatives with and without *ari* in §6.3.4, in order to illustrate how salient polar alternatives play out in context.

6.3.1 Evoking Polar Alternatives: Evidence from Polar Questions

This section provides evidence parallel to that in §2.4.2.1 on <ro> constructions for the claim that *ari* constructions evoke polar alternatives. The most straightforward evidence for this claim is that *ari* occurs both in polar questions targeting non-arguments, and in their responses, as shown in (232), here targeting the adverb *aka* ‘here.’ In the question, *ari* occurs together with the adverb; in the response it stands on its own, recovering the target of focus (*aka*) from the previous clause, and corresponding to *that* in the translation.

(232) a. ...“**Ari** [aka]_F okenabokitanaka kenabokirontsi?”

ari aka o- ken -boki -an -k -a kenabokiro -ntsi
FOC here 3F- go -CL:path -ABL -PFV -MR path -AL

...“Is it here that the path goes?”

b. Irira shaapio ikanti, “Jeeje, **ari** okenabokitaka kenabokirontsi.”

iri- ra shaapio i- kaN-i jeeje ari o- ken -boki -ak -a kenabokiro -ntsi
3M- MED currasow.sp. 3M- say -AR yes FOC 3F- go -CL:path -PFV -MR path -AL

The currasow said, “Yes, that’s where the path goes.” (text, ESS, ptk)

Polar questions like those in (232) do not evoke referential alternatives, but polar ones. Relatedly, *ari* constructions cannot serve as answers to constituent questions (233), which strongly differentiates them from *arigenti* constructions, which do (§6.2).

(233) a. Kero pinkokerini kobiroti?

ke -ro pi- N- ko -k -e -ro -ni kobiroti
WH -F 2- IRR- do.to -PFV -IRR -3F -INT brown.capuchin

What will you do to the brown capuchin?

b. #**Ari** nontashitakeri.

INTENDED: I’m going to roast him.

(MSS 20190725)

Because (233) demonstrates that, when a QUD preceding an *ari* construction is explicit it cannot be a constituent question, and because textual examples like (232) demonstrate that *ari* constructions can respond to polar questions, I conclude that *ari* constructions resolve polar QUDs. As with <ro> constructions, I argue that these polar QUDs are always dominated by a constituent QUD, for reasons having to do with maximal QUDs (“the big question”) and with the lack of special syntactic information built into QUDs (see §2.4.2.1). The result of these assumptions when applied to (232) is the discourse structure represented in Figure 6.3.

As we saw in §3.3, the focused non-argument can be entirely understood from context. In (234), for example, *ari* recovers the target of focus from the visible manner in which the addressee is going about his work. (In this case, *ari* is similar to English *thus*, or *in this way*.) In this example, Speckled Chachalaca (a pheasant-like bird, *Ortalis guttata*) goes to visit his brother-in-law, *mocharanti* (another bird, *Aramides* sp.), who he finds making a bow. Mocharanti is unsure

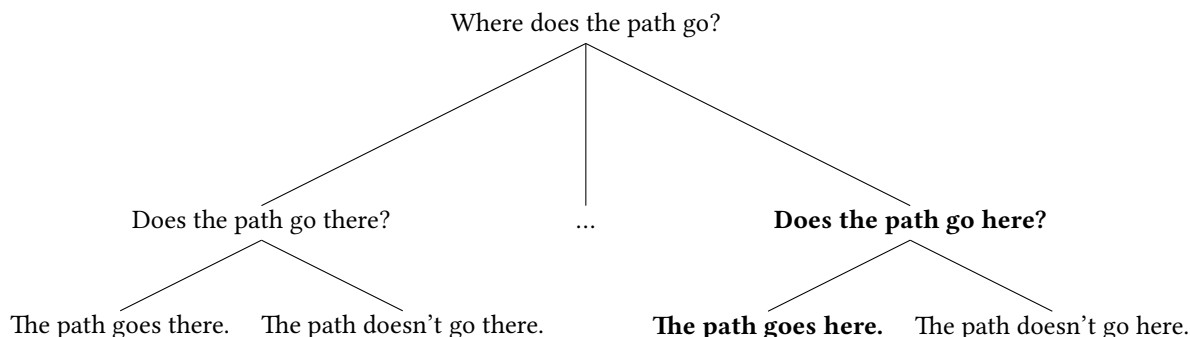


Figure 6.3: Discourse Structure of (232)

of what he is doing, so when Speckled Chachalaca arrives, he asks him if he is making the bow correctly (234b).

(234) a. ...“Anianishi, nopeakaga notyotyobeane.”

anianishi no- peakag -a no- tyotyobeane
 brother.in.law 1- make -MR 1- bow

...“Brother-in-law, I’m making my bow.”

b. “**Arika** anianishi ikojitiro?”

ari =ka anianishi i- ko -ji -i -ro
 FOC =MOD brother.in.law 3M- do -NR -AR -3F

“Is this really how they do it, brother-in-law?”

c. Ikantirikea, “Jeeje, **ari** ikojitiro.”

i- kaN -i -ri =kea jeeje ari i- ko -ji -i -ro
 3M- say -AR -3M =EW yes FOC 3M- do -NR -AR -3F

Then he said to him, “Yes, this’s how they do it.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:92)

6.3.2 Occurring in Contexts of Salient Polar Alternatives

The purpose of this section, like §2.4.2.2, is to provide evidence for the claim that *ari* not only evokes polar alternatives, but that the alternatives in the contexts in which it occurs are salient. As with the description of the <ro> construction, where I mentioned that it was not possible in Caquite to explicitly list polar alternatives with a disjunction (e.g., *yes or no*), evidence for the salience of polar alternatives must be arrived at indirectly. I do this by way of some of the same clitics, in particular weak modal *=ka* and *=me*.

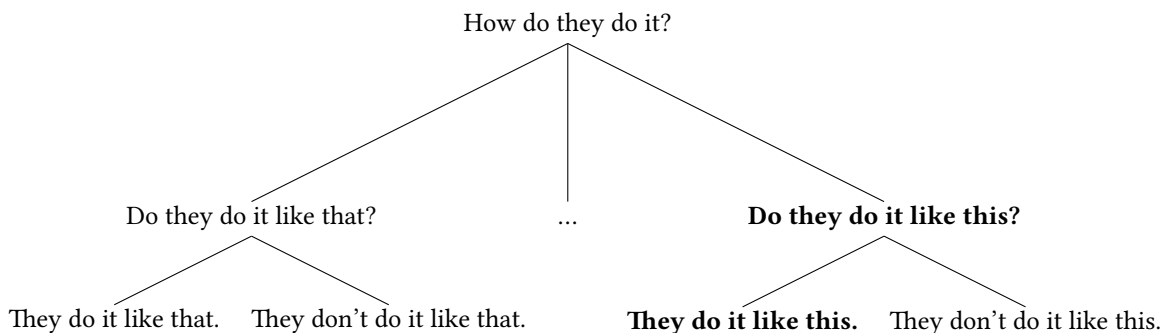


Figure 6.4: Discourse Structure of (234)

Beginning with *=ka*, recall that weak commitments to the truth of a proposition evoke the possibilities that the proposition is true and that it is false. Just as speakers reject forms of <ro> copulas hosting *=ka*, so too do they reject *arigenti* hosting it (see below). Only *ari* is permitted (235). I represent these modal cases with the discourse structure I first gave in Figure 2.20 in Chapter 2, as shown in Figure 6.5. Note that, as in Figure 2.21, the polar QUD is left unresolved. That is, these declarative clauses with *ari* instantiate a polar QUD.¹⁰⁹

(235) **Arika** [aparo imagorejantajitaka]_F ichookatake ontaniki yoakitigeti chapinki.

ari =ka *aparo imagorejantajitaka i- chooka -ak -i ontaniki i- og -ki*
 FOC =MOD one week 3M- EXST -PFV -AR there 3M- go -GO.DO.RETURN
-i =geti chapinki
 -AR =where recently

Maybe it was one week he stayed there where he'd gone recently.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:12)

The salience of polar alternatives can similarly be detected when *ari* is embedded under *tsa* 'know' with modal *=ka*, as in (236), in which case it is translatable as 'whether.' Note that *arigenti* is infelicitous in this context.

(236) Ininke intsake **arika** pininke poanake itsobironakiteki.

i- niN -k -i i- N- tsa -k -e ari =ka pi- niN -k -i pi- og -an -k
 3M- want -PFV -AR 3M- IRR- know -PFV -IRR FOC =MOD 2- want -PFV -AR 2- go -ABL -PFV
-e i- tsobironaki -te =ki
 -IRR 3M- house -P =LOC

¹⁰⁹Other declarative clauses with *ari* instantiate the answer to a polar QUD, as we will see below.

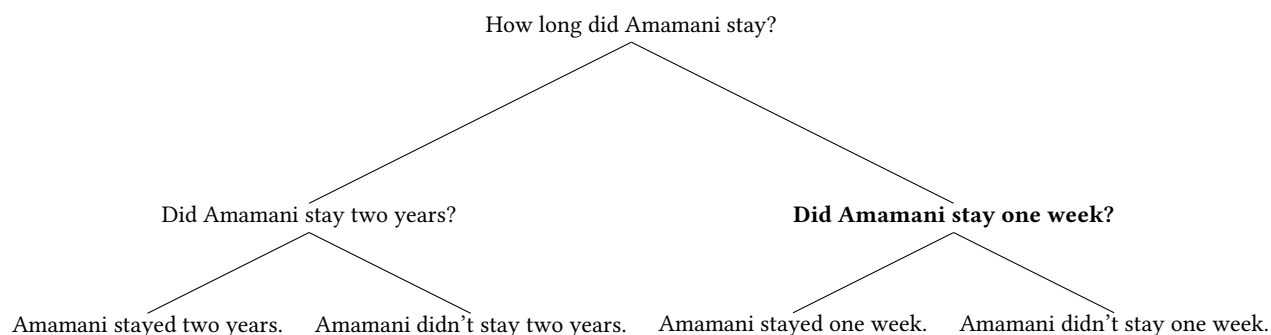


Figure 6.5: Discourse Structure of (485)

He wants to know whether or not you want to go to his house. (AST 2018)

(n.b., #*Ininke intsake arigentika pininke poanake itsobironakiteki.*)

(NRS Messenger 20201210)

Rounding out the comparisons with <ro> constructions, I note that only *ari* occurs with counterfactual-deontic =*me*, as shown by the infelicitous version with *arigenti* included below. This is shown in (237), where *koramani* ‘a long time ago’ is in focus. As before, the counterfactual-deontic entails the truth of a polar opposite proposition, thus making it salient.

(237) “**Arimekea** pimiritsikemparome [koramani]_F teekeratage*ti* pinkenkebarote*ji*.”

ari =*me* =*kea* *pi-mir* -*itsi* -*k* -*e* -*mpa-ro* =*me* *koramani tee* =*kerata* =*geti*
 FOC =DEON =EW 2- drink -SM -PFV -IRR -MID -3F =DEON long.ago NEG =yet =when
pi-N- kenkebaro -*e* -*ji*
 2- IRR- be.of.age -IRR -NEG

“You should’ve drunk it a long time ago, before you’d come of age.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:65)

(n.b., #*Arigetimekea pimiritsikemparome koramani.*)

(NRS Messenger 20201210)

Similarly, the verb *ji* ‘believe falsely’ embeds a clause denoting a proposition whose polar opposite is true. Clauses embedded under *ji* attest *ari*, as in (238b), in the same way that <ro> was embedded under *ji* in cases of argument focus. Note that *arigenti* is infelicitous in this context.

(238) a. ...“Osheki notsaroapoji, namenabepojaro pitsiojite kajaragiteni.”

...“I was really afraid, I saw it was empty at your sister’s.”

b. “Nojike*ji* **ari** imetojakero.”

no-ji -*k* -*i* -*ji* -*i-* *metoj-k* -*i* -*ro*
 1- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -FRST 3M- kill -PFV -AR -3F

“I thought he’d killed her.”
(n.b., #Nojikeji arigenti imetojakero.)

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:38)
(NRS Messenger 20201210)

6.3.3 Assertions with & without *ari*

The purpose of this section is to show how declarative clauses with *ari* are regularly interpreted as needing to be affirmed or denied, as can be seen in the ways they are followed up in texts. I take this as further evidence for the salience of polar alternatives in such contexts, analyzing them as instantiating polar QUDs, despite their declarative sentential mood. (Their answers, also attesting *ari*, instantiate a daughter of that polar QUD.) To appreciate the salience of polar alternatives, it is helpful to begin with an example in which *ari* is absent (239). In this context, a man is traveling to a village and has stopped to visit a relative. She asks him whether he will make it that day (i.e., whether it is feasible), and he says he will not, adding that he will rest and then continue.

(239) ...“Aato ñañioki narejeta, nontineokitanaje kenabokirontsiki...”

aato no- añaiki no- areje -a no- N- tineoki -an -aj -e kenabokiro -ntsi =ki
NEG 1- cross.niece 1- arrive -MR 1- IRR- sleep -ABL -REG -IRR path -AL =LOC

...“I won’t arrive, niece, I’m going to sleep along the path.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:43)

In contrast, the example in (240) attests the same verb with the same subject, but with a preceding *ari*. In this context, a man has arrived at his brother’s house during the day to visit, and needs a place to spend the night (240a). The brother responds in the affirmative, repeating *ari*. He is not stating what he plans to do but asking for permission to do it.

(240) a. ...“Igentijegi, **ari** nontineokitake akaniki pitsobironakiteki.”

igentijegi ari no- N- tineoki -ak -e akaniki pi- tsobironaki -te =ki
brother FOC 1- IRR- sleep -PFV -IRR here 2- house -P =LOC

...“Brother, I’m going to sleep here in your house.”

b. Ikanti, “Jeeje, **ari** pintineokitake oraniki jenoki.”

i- kaN -i jeeje ari pi- N- tineoki -ak -e oraniki jenoki
3M- say -AR yes FOC 2- IRR- sleep -PFV -IRR there up

He said, “Yes, you’ll sleep up there.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:22)

Notably, this exchange—that is, a request and affirmation—is judged to be infelicitous when the two clauses lack *ari* (NRS Messenger 20201210), providing evidence for the claim that *ari* is required when polar alternatives are salient, the salience of polar alternatives deriving the interpretation of a request. Indeed one consultant gave the Spanish translation *Voy a dormir en tu casa, sí o no* (‘I’m going to sleep in your house, yes or no’), in contrast to the version without *ari*, for which *sí o no* was not present in the translation (DSG Messenger 20201211). I interpret

this as consistent with the salience of polar alternatives, and an especially insightful reflection on the context, given that Caquinte does not otherwise have means with which to make these polar alternatives explicit.¹¹⁰

The idea that declaratives with *ari* can be interpreted as requests for permission can be further corroborated by texts, as can be appreciated in (241). Here we observe the same sort of declarative on the part of the speaker, but the addressee's response, instead of repeating *ari*, utilizes *kameetsatake* 'it's fine,' that is, permission is granted.

(241) a. ...“Igentijegi, **ari** nontineokitake pitsobironakiteki.”

igentijegi ari no- N- tineoki -ak -e pi- tsobironaki -te =ki
brother FOC 1- IRR- sleep -PFV -IRR 2- house -P =LOC

...“Brother, I’m going to sleep in your house.”

b. Ikanti, “Jeeje, kameetsatake pintineokitake.”

i- kaN -i jeeje kameetsa -ak -i -Ø pi- N- tineoki -ak -e
3M- say -AR yes be.good -PFV -AR -3 2- IRR- sleep -PFV -IRR

He said, “Yes, it’s fine that you sleep [there].” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:26)

I contend that the request for permission is best analyzed as a request for affirmation or denial that falls out from the fact that *ari* constructions can instantiate polar QUDs with multiple daughters. The presence of these multiple daughters signals that either possibility is on the table, as it were (read: both polar alternatives), one of which is selected by the addressee, resolving the polar QUD. Thus the discourse structure of (240) can be represented as in Figure 6.6. The declarative in (240a) corresponds to the polar QUD, and the declarative in (240b) to the answer.

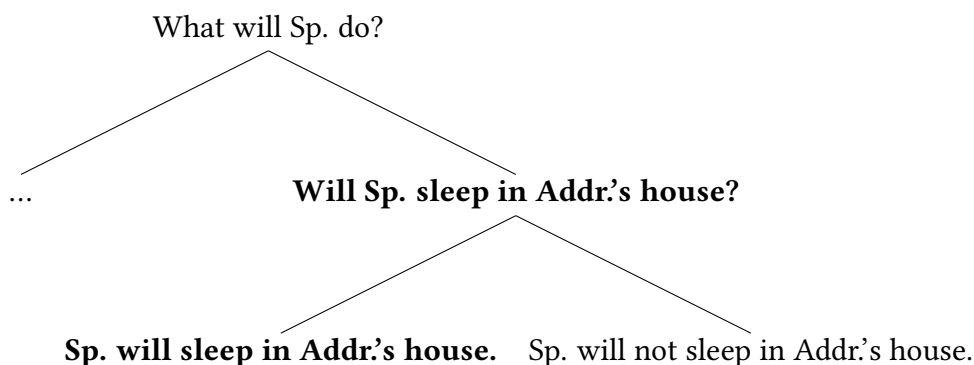


Figure 6.6: Discourse Structure of (240)

This is a very different sort of discourse structure than the single daughters representing information focus contexts. For example, (239) at the outset of this section can be represented as in Figure 6.7. No request for permission is apparent because no polar QUD is present. In the

¹¹⁰That is, one cannot form a disjunction on *jeeje* 'yes' and *tee* 'no.'

context of this story, moreover, a request for permission would not be felicitous. The man is not asking his niece for her permission to sleep on the path (which she has no say over); he is merely informing her of what he will do. His sleeping on the path can be taken for granted in the sense that his niece need not weigh in on that course of action.

What will Sp. do?
|
Sp. will sleep along the path.

Figure 6.7: Discourse Structure of (239)

I emphasize that, on this view, both interrogative and declarative uses of *ari* are effectively questions, insofar as they both instantiate polar QUDs (cf. Figure 6.3 and Figure 6.7). This in turn ties back to the descriptive statements I made about <ro> clauses in nonverbal clauses (§2.2.2), namely that, even when declarative, they are often affirmed or denied in texts.

In the remainder of this section I provide examples like those above but with other persons and reality statuses, to more comprehensively describe the ways in which salient polar alternatives can be interpreted, beyond requests for permission. When the subject is first person inclusive, for example, clauses with *ari* are often interpreted as suggestions (242). In this story, the narrator and her immediate family are moving to a new village site, but some of her relatives, including her mother, have reservations about settling there. After they happen to spend two weeks at a midway point, her mother suggests they stay there permanently, but her husband refuses, having promised his brother (to be chief at the new site) that he would come so that there will be someone who knows how to administer Western medicines there.

(242) a. *Ari* nochookake mabite imagorejantajitaka, okantabeta iinani, “**Ari** anchookapojaje akaniki.”

ari no- chooka -k -i mabite imagorejantajitaka o- kan -be -a iinani ari
FOC 1- EXST -PFV -AR two week 3F- say -FRST -MR mother FOC
a- N- chooka -poj -aj -e akaniki
1INCL- IRR- EXST -ALL -REG -IRR here

There we stayed for two weeks, and my mother said, “We’ll stay here.”

b. *Ikanti* nomankigare, “Aato, jaame oabaetanaje ontaniki Pogeni...”

i- kan -i no- mankigare aato jaame a- og -bae -an -aj -e ontaniki Pogeni =ki
3M- say -AR 1- spouse NEG HORT 1INCL- go -DUR -ABL -REG -IRR there Pogeni =LOC

My husband said, “No, let’s go there to the Pogeni.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:18)

When the verb is realis, the clause containing *ari* is often interpreted as a simple request for confirmation. This is shown for a second person subject in (243). In this story, Lineated Woodpecker has left a human tied up in the care of his voracious children. When he returns, the human is gone. In (243b) he seeks confirmation regarding how he escaped, which one of his children provides in (243c).

(243) a. ...“Kero yoanakeni?”

ke -ro i- og -an -k -i -ni
WH -F 3M- go -ABL -PFV -AR -INT

...“Where did he go?”

b. “**Ari** poishorejakokeri.”

ari pi- oisho -rej -ako -k -i -ri
FOC 2- tie -REV -INDR -PFV -AR -3M

“You untied him.”

c. Ikanti itsipa, “Jeeje, ikankena, ‘Poishorejakotena pishekatabakenaniji noshokoityometyaiki.’”

i- kaN -i i- tsipa jeeje i- kaN -k -i -na pi- oisho -rej -ako -e -na pi-
3M- say -AR 3M- other yes 3M- say -PFV -AR -1 2- tie -REV -INDR -IRR -1 2-
sheka -ab -k -e -na =niji no- shokoityometyai =ki
eat -DIR -PFV -IRR -1 =PURP 1- little.head =LOC

Another said, “Yes, he said, ‘Untie me so you can eat me on my little head.’”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:79)

It is shown for a third person feminine subject in (244). This example comes from a story where a shaman arrives at the mouth of a cave through which all the world’s rivers drain. It is blocked because the bird responsible for keeping it clear of debris (*marabinti*) has gotten lazy. The shaman makes an observation in (244a) that Marabinti confirms in (244b).

(244) a. ...“**Ari** oshepitaka.”

ari o- shepi -ak -a
FOC 3F- cover.hole -PFV -MR

...“It’s blocked.”

b. Ikanti, “Jeeje, kaakateshiatsi, pamitakopojena ashepirejajerota ajanajeta.”

i- kaN -i jeeje kaaka =te =shiatsi pi- ami -ako -poj -e -na a-
3M- say -AR yes come.here =CE =ANXIETY 2- help -INDR -ALL -IRR -1 1INCL-
shepi -rej -aj -e -ro =ta o- aj -an -aj -e =ta
cover.hole -REV -REG -IRR -3F =PROSP 3F- go.down(.water) -ABL -REG -IRR =PROSP

He said, “Yes, come here, help me so we can unblock it so it goes down.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:84)

I conclude this section with the impressionistic remark that declarative statements with *ari* that are interpreted as questions are a notably Caquinte way of “asking questions,” making requests, offering suggestions, etc. In my experience, Caquintes often do not frame what are effectively polar questions as actual interrogative utterances with a rising intonation. Rather, they

make a statement and put *ari* at the front, as it were. Relatedly, the language lacks expressions akin to English *What if we X?* or *How would you feel about Y?* or *Is it the case that Z?*, that is, expressions that make explicit that one is seeking the addressee’s feelings on a suggestion, or confirmation of the truth of a proposition, etc. (i.e., *yes* or *no*, or the two polar alternatives). In particular, Caquintes seem to get uncomfortable when requests for permission are framed with the verb *agabej* ‘be able, be appropriate,’ a way that I often found myself asking questions early in my study of the language (i.e., a direct translation from English). For example, it would be locally fairly odd to ask if one could sleep at someone’s house with this verb—compare (240). At the very least, when actual polar interrogative utterances are used, they often bear *ari*, meaning that plain polar questions are infrequent, and this is true of the corpus.

6.3.4 Polar Questions with & without *ari*

Thus far in this dissertation I have made arguments for two different kinds of alternatives—referential and polar—that can be salient or nonsalient. However, these two dimensions have not been entirely orthogonal: I have claimed that referential alternatives can be salient or nonsalient (i.e., contrastive versus information focus, respectively); polar alternatives, on the other hand, I have claimed, tacitly, are always salient (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Kinds of Alternatives and Their Salience

	SALIENT	NONSALIENT
REFERENTIAL	<genti>, <i>arigenti</i>	no marking
POLAR	<ro>, <i>ari</i>	?

This is because I have concentrated on argument focus, for which polar alternatives are evoked only when a <ro> construction is present. However, the propositional focus of this chapter opens up a new possibility, namely that polar alternatives may also differ in terms of their salience. In discourse-structural terms, the question is this: whereas constituent QUDs can have single or branching daughters, do polar QUDs have only branching daughters? I contend that the answer to this question is no, that in fact polar QUDs can have both single and multiple daughters, as represented in Figure 6.8 and Figure 6.9. This is the subject of this section.

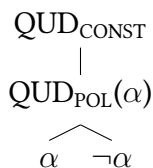


Figure 6.8: Polar QUD, Salient Alternatives

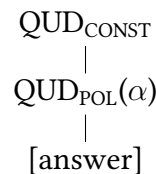


Figure 6.9: Polar QUD, Nonsalient Alternatives

The logic in my answer to this question is simple: if *ari* occurs in contexts in which polar alternatives are salient—where it is required (240)—what of the contexts in which *ari* is absent? By analogy with contrastive focus and information focus constructions that evoke referential alternatives—where the former is marked and the latter is not—then the contexts in which *ari* is absent should be expected to lack salient polar alternatives. That is, plain polar questions can be thought of as a kind of information focus over polar alternatives, as opposed to the traditional conceptualization of information focus as over referential alternatives.

Empirically, we will thus be interested in polar questions that do and do not exhibit *ari*. I conclude that *ari* signals that polar alternatives are salient, unlike a plain polar question without *ari*, for which polar alternatives are not salient. The difference between the two contexts is subtle and worth dwelling on momentarily. As Gutzmann et al. (2020:7) neatly summarize, a simple polar question in English, although it evokes propositions p and $\neg p$, does not make both of those propositions salient (it only makes p salient), as evidenced by the infelicity of (what they refer to as) *verum* in the response (245). In contrast, polar alternative questions make both propositions salient, in which case *verum* is felicitous (246).

- | | | |
|-------|---|-------------------------------|
| (245) | a. Is it raining?
b. #It IS raining. | NONSALIENT POLAR ALTERNATIVES |
| (246) | a. Is it raining or is it not raining?
b. It IS raining. | SALIENT POLAR ALTERNATIVES |

In short, I propose that plain polar questions in Caquinte are akin to (245), whereas polar questions with *ari* are akin to (246).¹¹¹ In §6.4 I relate this proposal to the notion of polarity focus. In this section I will be concerned with the pragmatic effect of the different questions in Caquinte. I suggest that plain polar questions are the pragmatically neutral way of asking polar questions in the language, whereas polar questions with *ari* occur in contexts in which the speaker wishes to explicitly express that either a positive or negative answer is on the table. The neutral way is attested in what we can think of as uncontroversial situations, or ones in which interlocutors are comfortable with each other. Since the negative alternative is not salient, they may also come with a presumption that the positive alternative is true. The way with *ari* is attested, for example, in contexts where it is intrusive to ask a question in the first place (and thus the speaker wishes to express that the addressee should feel free to respond either in the affirmative or negative), where the speaker does not want to presume that the positive proposition is true, where the speaker has evidence that the positive alternative is true but wishes the negative alternative were, etc.¹¹²

¹¹¹Recall Dehiber Sergio's insightful *sí o no* regarding (240) in this vein.

¹¹²I emphasize that there is no evidence to suggest that a plain polar question in Caquinte is equivalent to a biased question (i.e., one that prejudices a positive or negative answer): just because polar alternatives are salient with *ari* (and thus this construction can be used in contexts where a presumption wishes to be avoided), it is not the case that nonsalient alternatives yield bias. I note that it would be surprising from a crosslinguistic perspective for a morphosyntactically unmarked construction like the Caquinte plain polar question to exhibit an inherent bias, given that biased questions are usually marked in some way, as with English tag questions or negative polar questions (see Reese 2007), special question words (Xu 2017), or other particles (Hirayama 2018).

I now turn to textual examples with plain polar questions, before contrasting the contexts of these examples with those of examples in which *ari* is present. Consider (247a), from a context in which the narrator has accompanied her husband Juan to the SIL center in Yarinacocha. After he has left in the morning for one of their sessions, one of their hosts comes to ask the narrator whether he was able to eat before he left, so that she could take him food during the session if not. Juan was not able to eat because the narrator did not allow enough time for the food (Western food that she was unfamiliar with) to be cooked. The two women have known each other since the narrator was a girl, treating each other as sisters in the kin system, such that the interaction is one between people who are familiar with each other, allowing them to be relatively direct.

(247) a. ...“Igetyo, ishekatanaka Oaoa?”

igetyo i- sheka -an -k -a Oaoa
sister 3M- eat -ABL -PFV -MR Juan

...“Sister, did Juan eat before leaving?”

b. Nokanti, “Tee, teekerata omposateji.”

no- kaN -i tee tee =kerata o- N- posa -e -ji
1- say -AR NO NEG =yet 3F- IRR- be.cooked -IRR -NEG

I said, “No, it wasn’t cooked yet.”

c. Okanti, “Arisakanika, tee nontsateji chapinki, nojikeji ishekatanaka.”

o- kaN -i ari =sakanika tee no- N- tsa -e -ji chapinki no- ji
3F- say -AR FOC =MIR NEG 1- IRR- know -IRR -NEG recently 1- believe.falsely
-k -i -ji i- sheka -an -k -a
-PFV -AR -NEG 3M- eat -ABL -PFV -MR

She said, “Oh, I didn’t know that before, I thought he ate before leaving.

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:24)

Furthermore, in (247c) the host explicitly states that she believed that the proposition denoted by the interrogative clause was true.¹¹³ This is a common property of positive polar questions in texts. In (248), for example, the narrator’s husband has gone to check on a new village site. When he returns, his wife asks him how things will be there (e.g., *What will we eat?*). It is common for men to go ahead to build a temporary house and perhaps begin clearing a garden before an entire family moves; husbands and wives are also familiar with each other, as with the preceding case of the classificatory sisters.

(248) a. ...“Pipeakaakitakea tsobironaki?”

pi- peakag -ki -a =kea tsobironaki
2- build -GO.DO.RETURN -MR =EW house

¹¹³I note again how this is distinct from bias: even though the speaker may hold a particular belief, that is not equivalent to their construing their question as prejudicing confirmation or denial of that belief.

...“Did you build a house?”

- b. Ikanti, “Jeeje, nopeakaakita tsobironakijaniki, irogenti kepijashi.”

i- kan -i jeeje no- peakag -ki -a tsobironaki -janiki irogenti kepija -shi
 3M- say -AR yes 1- build -GO.DO.RETURN -MR house -DIM 3F.COP tree.sp. -leaf

He said, “Yes, I built a small house, it’s *kepija*.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:20)

Similarly, in (249) a man has transformed into a jaguar in front of his nephew after he explicitly told him watch. Unless his nephew willfully found some way to block his vision, the man has every reason to believe that he will have seen him transform. His question is again unmarked.

- (249) a. ...“Notinerijaniki, pamenakena nopeaka kasekari?”

no- tinerijaniki pi- amen -k -i -na no- peg -k -a kasekari
 1- cross.nephew 2- see -PFV -AR -1 1- transform -PFV -MR jaguar

...“Nephew, did you see me transform into a jaguar?”

- b. Ikantiri, “Jeeje, namenakempi.”

i- kan -i -ri jeeje no- amen -k -i -mpi
 3M- say -AR -3M yes 1- see -PFV -AR -2

He said to him, “Yes, I saw you.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:101)

The question in (250) is uttered by a man after retrieving his daughter from a village where she has been living apart from her parents. She was not fed well there, which he notices, and once they begin their long walk back to Kitepampani, it is likely that she will be hungry.

- (250) a. ...“Orijani, taseapojimpi?”

orijani taseg -poj -i -mpi
 daughter be.hungry -ALL -AR -2

...“Daughter, are you hungry?”

- b. Nokanti, “Jeeje.”

no- kan -i jeeje
 1- say -AR yes

I said, “Yes.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:6)

In contrast, polar questions with *ari* are often found in situations where the speaker needs to express that they do not presume an answer one way or the other. As mentioned above, this may be because it is intrusive to ask a question in the first place. In this vein, consider the difficult example in (251), where a man (A) accuses his brother (B) of mistreating his (A’s) daughter, who he has taken to live at his house on more than one occasion. I include several lines of A’s accusations to illustrate the contentiousness of the situation. In short, B has no legitimate grounds on which

to ask the question in (251i), but he has the gall to do so anyway. He asks the question, but with *ari* signals that both positive and negative alternatives are salient, in other words, that A can assent or refuse, but B is going to ask the question anyway; A refuses (251j).

- (251) a. A: ...“Namenakero osabataki.”
...“I saw her shoulder blade.”
- b. “Pichatikankaro iyapa, okisaabaetanake.”
“You jabbed her with the shotgun, it’s turned really black.”
- c. “Osheki atsipetaka, igentijegi.”
“She’s suffering a lot, brother.”
- d. “Tee kameetsa pogeroji orijani.”
“You haven’t treated my daughter well.”
- e. “Tee pininteji iramijitempiji.”
“You don’t want people to help you.”
- f. “Chooka pibako abiatimpa pantakempaka.”
“You have your hands to use.”
- g. “Imaikampani naanajero.”
“Now I’m going to take her back.”
- h. “Chookatirajana naatimpa, teekerata nometojeji.”
“I’m still here, I haven’t died yet.”
- i. (B:) Arikea yagakegeti ikankeri, ikantikea O, “Igentijegi, **ari** pogipiajatero?”
ari =kea i- aga -k -i =geti i- kaN -k -i -ri i- kaN -i =kea O
FOC =EW 3M- finish -PFV -AR =when 3M- say -PFV -AR -3M 3M- say -AR =EW O
igentijegi ari pi- ogi- pig -aja -e -ro
brother FOC 2- CAUS- return -REDEP -IRR -3F

Then when he finished saying this to him, O said, “Brother, will you return her again?”

- j. (A:) Ikanti noraapanite, “Aato nogipiajiro.”
i- kaN -i nor- aapani -te aato no- ogi- pig -aj -i -ro
3M- say -AR 1- father -P NEG 1- CAUS- return -REG -AR -3F

My father said, “I won’t return her again.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:10-11)

In the example in (252), a Caquinte woman, Biicho, has been captured by Ashaninkas (see §A.1.5 for these historical details). After spending much of one day away out of view of her captors, she returns, to be told by one Ashaninka woman that she thought she had run away. Biicho says she will not run away, that she has gotten used to things. Some time passes, and on another day another woman comes to her and asks the question in (252a), with *ari*. The speaker’s use of *ari* signals that she does not want to suggest that Biicho should run away, but simply inquire as to whether she will. Put differently, the polar questions in these two examples deal with sensitive subjects about which the speakers do not want to express a presumed belief.

(252) a. ...“**Ari** pishianaje?”

ari pi- shig -an -aj -e
FOC 2- run -ABL -REG -IRR

...“Will you run away?”

b. Okanti, “Aato noshiga.”

o- kaN -i aato no- shig -a
3F- say -AR NEG 1- run -MR

She said, “I won’t run away.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:166)

I stress the differences and commonality between this and the preceding example. In (251), O does in fact want his brother to return his daughter, but frames his polar question as “open-ended” (i.e., with salient polar alternatives) to avoid seeming too committed to that proposition, since it is an unreasonable request given his past actions. In (252), on the other hand, the speaker does not in fact want Biicho to run away, but is curious enough to ask her about her intentions, and so similarly frames her question as open-ended. Importantly, this is unlike the relative triviality of the subjects in (247)-(250) above, that is, asking your sister whether her husband has eaten, asking your husband whether he has built a temporary home, asking your nephew whether he saw you do something, asking your daughter whether she is hungry, or asking your brother-in-law whether he has slept. In these situations, we can construe a polar question as likely true or likely false without much consequence, whereas doing so in these charged situations is considerably more consequential.

Another sensitive context is shown in (253). In this story, Vampire Bat has killed his first wife in order to drink her blood, but reports to her parents that she has died in a mysterious swamp named Tsonkamonki. He then marries her sister, who he also kills, and when he returns again to his in-laws his mother-in-law asks him the question in (253b). She is familiar with Tsonkamonki, since it is how her other daughter supposedly died, so it is natural for her to suspect that, when her son-in-law fails to return with her daughter again that Tsonkamonki is the cause. Nevertheless she uses *ari* in her question.

(253) a. ...“Kerokampate orijani?”

ke -ro =ka =mpa =te orijani
WH -F =MOD =INCNGR =CE daughter

...“But where is my daughter?”

b. “**Ari** ometojakero Tsonkamonki?”

ari o- metoj -k -i -ro Tsonkamonki
FOC 3F- kill -PFV -AR -3F Tsonkamonki

“Did Tsonkamonki kill her?”

c. Iriatimpa ikanti, “Jeeje, ometojakero.”

iriatimpa i- kaN -i jeeje o- metoj -k -i -ro
 3M.PRO 3M- say -AR yes 3F- kill -PFV -AR -3F

He said, “Yes, it killed her.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:124)

A more mundane minimal pair can be appreciated in (254) and (255). The former is a common greeting if one encounters what seems to be someone walking back from somewhere, for example, if I went to visit an outlying house and am walking back to the center of the village.

(254) Poakiti?

pi- og -ki -i
 2- go -GO.DO.RETURN -AR

Did you go?

(255) **Ari** poakiti?

ari pi- og -ki -i
 FOC 2- go -GO.DO.RETURN -AR

Did you go?

In elicitation, Antonina Salazar remarks that, unlike (254), example (255) would be used in a context where the speaker had recently been told by someone that the addressee had gone somewhere, or if the speaker and the addressee had had a previous discussion to the effect that the latter was going to go somewhere. That is, when the speaker does not necessarily see the addressee seemingly returning from somewhere, but instead has previous reason to believe they went somewhere. These intuitions are consonant with the proposal in terms of salient polar alternatives laid out here: in (254) there is no need, as it were, to use *ari* (i.e., to signal that polar alternatives are salient), since it is relatively obvious that the addressee has gone somewhere and is returning. It is impossible that they have gone nowhere, ruling out the negative alternative. In (255), on the other hand, the speaker is following up on a previous report from a third party or on a previous conversation with the addressee, in which case they lack the direct evidence that the addressee went somewhere and instead need to consider the possibilities that they did or did not go somewhere. That is, they frame their utterance as signaling that polar alternatives are salient. Tying this minimal pair back to the discourse structures that I opened this section with, I represent them as in Figure 6.10 and Figure 6.11. As assumed throughout this dissertation, the polar QUDs are dominated by constituent QUDs, but the QUDs differ in whether they have single or multiple daughters. In Figure 6.10 I also represent a possible affirmative answer *I went*, though the answer could also be in the negative.

Lastly in this section, I relate these two discourse structures to those proposed for the plain versus “*ari*-assertions” that I described in §6.3.3. There I argued that many declarative instances of *ari* instantiated polar QUDs, despite their declarative sentential mood (Figure 6.6). Interrogative instances of *ari* have the same discourse structure (Figure 6.11). However, there is no such

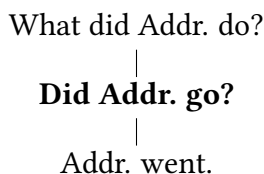


Figure 6.10: Structure of (254)

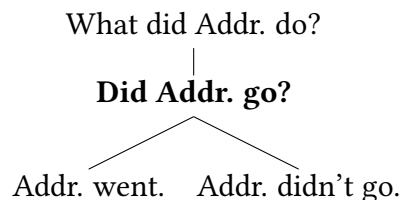


Figure 6.11: Structure of (255)

analogy between plain declarative clauses (Figure 6.7) and plain polar questions (Figure 6.10). The former resolve constituent QUDs directly; the latter instantiate an intermediate polar QUD that intervenes between that constituent QUD and the answer that resolves it.

6.4 Does *ari* Express Polarity Focus?

I have so far presented evidence for the claim that *ari* evokes polar alternatives—targeting either a non-argumental constituent or the proposition—and that these alternatives are salient in contexts in which *ari* is attested. Notably, evidence that *ari* can target a particular class of constituents—as opposed to only the proposition as a whole—comes from its ability to recover the target of focus from a preceding clause, and the fact that it cannot target arguments; it also has a counterpart in *arigenti*, which evokes, referential alternatives, for which one needs to also define this class of constituents. The purpose of this section is to relate cases of *ari* targeting the proposition to the notion of polarity focus, and to ultimately distinguish the latter from verum.

Polarity focus and the related notion of verum focus (this distinction to be clarified below) have traditionally been studied through the lens of a particular accent pattern in English and German. The canonical case—although one that I contend has been misleading—is one in which the truth of the proposition is emphasized (as noted originally by Höhle 1992), as in the refutation of negative declaratives. In English, this corresponds to a focus accent on an auxiliary (256).

- (256) a. Mojina didn't drink the manioc beer.
b. He DID drink the manioc beer.

This same prosodic pattern is found in the responses to polar questions (257).

- (257) a. Did Mojina drink the manioc beer.
b. He DID drink the manioc beer.

Indeed it is also found in responses to constituent questions (258).

- (258) a. Who drank the manioc beer.
b. MOJINA drank the manioc beer.

The identity of the prosodic patterns across these different examples has led to an influential approach to the study of this phenomenon that takes as its basis that the apparent focus in (256) is fundamentally the same as in (258): in one case the focus alternatives are p and $\neg p$, and in the other they are α , β , etc., that is, alternatives to Mojina. In Goodhue's (2018:21) conceptualization, "Polarity focus is licensed by contrast between the PF utterance and a focus alternative with opposite polarity salient in the context." What licenses it in (256), for example, is an explicit preceding negative proposition.

Goodhue notes, however, that the accent pattern found with polarity focus seems to be optional in a way that is not the case with constituent focus.

- (259) Who submitted her paper? (Goodhue 2018:18)
 a. IVY submitted her paper.
 b. ?? Ivy submitted her paper.

- (260) Did Ivy submit her paper? (ibid.)
 a. She DID submit her paper.
 b. She submitted her paper.

This leads him to conclude that, in contexts where polar alternatives are salient, an addressee has two choices: if they choose, as it were, the positive polar alternative as their antecedent, they respond with the prosodically unmarked form; if they choose the negative polar alternative as their antecedent, they respond with the marked form, that is, the polarity focus construction.

Goodhue's analysis is complicated by two factors. First, it is not obvious that (260b) is a felicitous answer without *yes*, casting doubt on whether he needs to explain this apparent optionality as part of his account of polarity focus. More consequentially, it is not obvious that (260a) is the unmarked answer. As noted by Gutzmann et al. (2020:7), the acceptability of polarity focus marking in English is improved when two polar alternatives are made salient, as shown in (261) and (262), repeated from (245) and (246) above.

- (261) a. Is it raining? (Gutzmann et al. 2020:7)
 b. #It IS raining.

- (262) a. Is it raining or is it not raining? (ibid.)
 b. It IS raining.

This is not an inherent problem for analyses of polarity focus like Goodhue's that rely on salient alternatives; it is merely to say that the phenomenon is more restricted than he presents. However, Gutzmann et al. (2020:12-14) go on to note that, for English, salient polar alternatives are in fact not sufficient to license polarity focus marking in all cases. Consider their example (33), represented in (263). Note that they use the term *verum* instead of polarity focus (see below).

- (263) a. Given all these new theories, I become more and more uncertain about basic terminology. Take morphemes for instance. Are morphemes part of syntax or are morphemes not part of syntax?

b. Oh, I am unsure too. #They ARE part of syntax, I would guess. But I might be wrong.

As they remark, “the use of *verum* seems too strong and not completely felicitous. The reason [...] is that *verum* invokes a feeling of emphasis, something that would be unsuitable in the context.” As they go on to say, there must be “open conflict between salient alternatives or the final settlement of a question (regarding salient alternatives)” to license *verum*, casting doubt on approaches that reduce *verum* to focus understood in terms of salient alternatives.

This leads Gutzmann et al. (2020) to conclude that *verum* is not focus targeting propositions, but a different phenomenon altogether, namely a lexical operator that realizes a special *verum* predicate that is present syntactically only when *verum* occurs. They term this the lexical operator thesis, and contrast it with the focus accent thesis, which includes approaches like Goodhue’s. Analytically, the main difference between the two theses is that, in the latter, one must posit a null predicate that is always present in the syntax, which the focus accent targets. As Gutzmann et al. (2020) note, their lexical operator thesis is inspired by the fact that, in many languages, constituent focus and *verum* are morphosyntactically distinct (unlike English).¹¹⁴ In particular, they are concerned with whether predicate focus in a language resembles *verum*, since the focus accent thesis is most natural in languages where focus on the *verum* predicate resembles focus on any other overt predicate.

Setting aside these analytical differences, an important empirical observation that is common to both focus accent theories and lexical operator theories is that there seem to be “weaker” cases of polarity focus (in Goodhue’s terms) or *verum* (in the terms of Gutzmann et al.), and there seem to be the stronger or emphatic cases, including those where salient polar alternatives do not seem to be sufficient to predict whether polarity focus/*verum* is felicitous. Goodhue’s solution is to attempt to derive the emphatic cases via pragmatic reasoning from salient polar alternatives; the solution of Gutzmann et al. is to abandon accounting for this phenomenon in terms of focus altogether. The latter claim that this leads to be a more natural crosslinguistic prediction, namely that one should more often encounter languages in which *verum* is expressed in a morphosyntactically distinct fashion from focus.

6.4.1 Distinguishing Polarity Focus from *Verum*

Caquinte *ari* is revealing in light of this general discussion. In §6.3.2 I argued that *ari* occurs in contexts of salient polar alternatives, in the subsequent two sections illustrating how these cashed out in different contexts with *ari* occurring in both declarative and interrogative clauses. For example, we saw that it occurs in requests for permission, suggestions, and requests for confirmation; it also occurred in numerous so-called sensitive contexts, in which the speaker leaves open the possibility that either an affirmative or negative answer is acceptable. I contrasted these with contexts in which *ari* is absent: the latter are relatively simple cases of relaying information, or asking uncontroversial questions. To the extent that *ari* evokes polar alternatives and occurs in contexts in which they are salient, it seems to be a good candidate for a marker of polarity focus.

¹¹⁴However, they note that this is not an argument *per se* for the lexical operator thesis, since languages are known to exhibit different morphosyntactic patterns even among types of constituent focus.

In particular, it would seem to support the focus accent thesis—assuming of course that the basis of this approach is that polarity focus resembles other types of focus in a language (and not that it has to do with accent)—given that *ari* expresses constituent focus elsewhere, and resembles other types of focus in the language, existing in a paradigm with *arigenti* in a way that mirrors the <genti> and <ro> copulas of argument focus.

Importantly, however, *ari* does not seem to yield the emphatic interpretations present with focus accent on an auxiliary in English. For example, a polar question with *ari* is not like (264).

(264) DID Mojina drink the manioc beer?

Unlike English *verum*, *ari* questions can be asked out of the blue—for example, see (252) above—and, as we have seen, they do not express that the speaker doubts the truth of a belief held by the addressee, as is the case for a context in which (264) is felicitous. The emphatic interpretation is also absent in declaratives.

This suggests that a focus category targeting propositions is distinct from a “stronger” category emphasizing the truth (or falsity) of a proposition. In other words, polarity focus strictly speaking is notionally distinct from *verum*—a term I will use to refer to the emphatic category—although in English the expression of these two categories is conflated. If that is the case, then we expect to find distinct marking in the emphatic cases. I claim that Caquinte exhibits two such kinds of emphatic marking. The first is with =*maja*, which attaches to *ari*. In (265), from the end of the story of Amamani, the narrator explains how Amamani’s mother had held the false belief that her daughter was committing incest with Amamani. The clitic =*maja* emphasizes that the proposition is indeed false, despite the mother’s previous belief to the contrary.

- (265) a. Okatsimatashikarotari intati.
She only got upset with her for no good reason.
b. Teetari **arimaja** ompashininkempariji ojaajite.

tee =tari ari =maja o- N- pashinink -e -mpa-ri -ji o- jaaji -te
NEG =CNGR FOC =VER 3F- IRR- commit.incest -IRR -MID -3M -NEG 3F- brother -P

Because she DIDN’T commit incest with her brother. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:12)

In (266), the narrator first believes a report made to her about the whereabouts of a dangerous man. The clitic =*maja* occurs in a clause embedded under *ji* ‘believe falsely,’ emphasizing that the narrator believed that the proposition was indeed true, despite the fact that it was not. A second instance of =*maja* emphasizes that the proposition is indeed false.

- (266) a. Okanti, “Jeri irira amajatakotapojatsika.”
She said, “There he is coming downriver.”
b. Naatimpa nojikeji **arimaja** amajatakotapoji, kotankitsi tee **arimaja**...

naatimpa no- ji -k -i -ji ari =maja amaja -ako -apoj
1.PRO 1- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -NEG FOC =VER do.in.water -CL:vessel -ALL
-i kotankitsi tee ari =maja
-AR but NEG FOC =VER

I thought he WAS coming downriver, but he WASN'T...

(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:45)

In these two examples, as in all the naturally occurring examples of =*maja*, the emphasis is either on the truth of the proposition in view of its falsity, or on the falsity of the proposition in view of its truth. In all contexts in which truth or falsity are emphasized in this way, polar alternatives are necessarily salient. Thus it follows naturally that the emphatic construction is based on a form that occurs in contexts of salient polar alternatives, namely *ari*.

A different kind of intuitive emphasis on the truth of a proposition occurs in contexts where an assertion that does not originally evoke polar alternatives is affirmed. This kind of emphasis is expressed differently in Caquinte, with a form of the verb *ko* 'be, do (to),' followed by a repetition of the verb of the original assertion. For example, in (267), the speaker makes the uncontroversial observation that their daughter is too injured to survive, with *ometojake*. Her husband's response includes *ko*, followed by the same verb. In this context, there is no salient alternative proposition that the couple's daughter will not die; they both believe that she will. Thus it follows naturally that this emphatic construction lack *ari*, as is indeed the case.

- (267) a. ...“Aato ohookataji orijani, ometojake.
 ...“Our daughter won't exist anymore, she'll die.”
 b. “Jerompa okobaeta.”
 “That's how it is.”
 c. Ikanti nomankigare, “Jeeje, **onkokempa** ometojake...”

i- *kaN-i no- mankigare jeeje o- N- ko -k -e -mpa o- metoj -k -e*
 3M- say -AR 1- husband yes 3F- IRR- do -PFV -IRR -MID 3F- die -PFV -IRR

My husband said, “Yes, she WILL die...” (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:29)

In what way can these two kinds of emphasis inform a distinction between polarity focus and verum? The clitic =*maja* shows that verum—a category emphasizing the truth or falsity of a proposition—must be distinct from a category of polarity focus that evokes the polar alternatives that correspond to the truth or falsity of a proposition, because it occurs in addition to marking of polarity focus. The biclausal construction with *ko*, however, shows that the category of verum is itself internally complex, and in particular that emphasis on the truth or falsity of a proposition does not require that polar alternatives be salient. If they are, as with =*maja*, the result of emphasizing truth or falsity will be to draw attention to the fact that it is not the other. This kind of verum would be expected in contexts of disagreement, incommensurate beliefs, etc., as above. If polar alternatives are not salient in the context of verum, there will be no “other,” as it were, to draw attention to. This kind of verum would be expected in contexts of agreement.

Returning to the data at the beginning of this section, we can better observe how languages differently express the meanings under discussion here. In the case of English, there is maximal conflation in the form of focus accent: verum is expressed like polarity focus which is expressed like constituent focus. In the other languages analyzed by Gutzmann et al. (2020), polarity focus

and *verum* are distinct from constituent focus—part of the motivation for treating them as semantically distinct phenomena—but there seems to be no distinction between polarity focus and *verum* (or different kinds of *verum*). In Caquinte, there are different kinds of *verum* depending on the salience of polar alternatives, each of which is distinct from polarity focus, but polarity focus overlaps with some kinds of constituent focus, namely of non-arguments; furthermore, it is one of a set of forms (with *arigenti*, and the <genti> and <ro> copulas) that constitute the bulk of the expression of contrastive focus in the language. One effect in Caquinte is that polarity focus resembles constituent focus more than it may in other languages. This is perhaps unsurprising if polarity focus is divorced from *verum*.

Relating polarity focus back to the ontology of focus types as expressed in Caquinte, I stress that polarity focus is terminologically equivalent to selective focus evoking polar alternatives and targeting the proposition. The latter conceptualization is more straightforward from a Caquinte-internal perspective, since there is a related marker expressing selective focus (*arigenti*) that evokes referential alternatives but similarly targets the proposition. *Verum* as defined here—emphasis on the truth value of the proposition—is notionally distinct from selective focus targeting the proposition, and indeed it is expressed in a distinct fashion in Caquinte.

6.5 Analyses of *ari* in Other Nijagantsi Languages

I conclude this chapter by making brief comparative remarks about the function of cognates of *ari* in other Nijagantsi languages, mentioning how my analysis in this section can account for the descriptions of those languages. In Nanti, cognate *ari* (with variant *aryo*) is analyzed as a positive polarity marker ‘indeed’ (variously glossed ‘truly’ and POSITIVE POLARITY) which “serves to indicate truth value focus” (Michael 2008:272). This seems to suggest a more emphatic function that I have termed *verum*. However, inspection of examples with *ari* suggest that some translations with ‘indeed’ may be too strong (268).

- (268) a. Irota hanta itsamaitashitaka, intsagate kobiri, mamori, sankena, intagati. NANTI
That’s why he farmed there, in order to fish for *kobiri*, *mamori*, and *sankena*, that’s all.
- b. Heehee, **ari** ikanti, ikanti hara nokemi pariki, oga aka nontsamaite, hara nokemi pariki.
Yes, **indeed** he said, he said, “I will not listen to the park officials, I will farm this land here, I will not listen to the park officials.” (Michael 2008:195)

Elsewhere Michael glosses *ari* but does not include ‘indeed’ in the translation (269), suggesting it may at times yield the non-emphatic interpretation attested with Caquinte *ari*.

- (269) **Ari** otimabeta ikoriti, inpo ishigaka. NANTI
He had a spouse (but she left him), then he left. (Michael 2008:275)

Other times Michael’s translation suggests that Nanti *ari* can recover the target of focus from a preceding clause, like Caquinte *ari*, as in (270).

- (270) Iro pinka **ari** nokanti. NANTI
 Yeah, **that's what** I say. (Michael 2008:169)

The presence of Nanti *arisano*, based on =*sano*, a second position clitic with a function very similar to Caquinte =*maja* VERUM, additionally suggests that *ari/aryo* may not yield the inherently emphatic interpretation suggested by ‘indeed’ and English *verum* more generally.¹¹⁵

Michael goes on to mention a closely related function of Nanti *ari/aryo*, in which it resembles English *really*, as shown in (271). This function is also attested in Caquinte (272c).

- (271) a. Maganiro yamutakena. NANTI
 Everyone helped me.
 b. **Aryo?**
 Really?
 c. Hee. Maganirota nantabagetahigake.
 Yes. As I said, we all worked. (Michael 2008:317)

- (272) a. F: Oraniki chooka ikantajitika *coronavirus*? CAQUINTE
 Is there what they call coronavirus there?
 b. Z: Jeeje, chooka osheki...
 Yes, there's a lot...
 c. F: **Ari**, tee nontsateji.
ari tee no- N- tsa -e -ji
 FOC NEG 1- IRR- KNOW -IRR -NEG
 Really, I didn't know. (FGS Messenger 20200315)

In these cases, I analyze *ari* as a propositional anaphor, an analysis that seems to extend to Nanti. Consider the felicity in English of repeating (271), with the same effect as *really* (273).

- (273) a. Everyone helped me.
 b. Everyone helped you?

Polar alternatives are salient because the addressee's repetition of the asserted proposition in a question expresses that they are not committed to it being true. That is, they are entertaining $\neg p$ in view of p . On this view, these are not cases of *verum*, but simply cases of a polar question being asked with only a propositional anaphor (cf. English *Is that so?*). These “anaphoric” questions will only ever occur in contexts of salient alternatives, given that they express that the speaker is considering $\neg p$ but are anaphoric on p .

For Perené Asheninka Mihás (2015:562) analyzes cognate *ari* as a positive polarity verb ‘be the case, be true.’ In Caquinte the restriction to positive polarity *per se* cannot be correct, since *ari* can scope under negation. Nevertheless the connection to polarity and by extension propositions is striking. Mihás's (ibid.) description is also noteworthy here.

¹¹⁵A singularly attested form *aryoro* (Michael 2008:175) is also intriguing in this light.

Literate language consultants often ignore the verb *ari* in their transcripts of recorded texts. When asked about the meaning of the verb, they translate it in Spanish as *así* ‘so’, ‘in this manner’, *es verdad que* ‘it is true that’, or as the place adverb *allí* ‘there’.

Mihas translates most instances of *ari* in her grammar with the general structure ‘That X is the case,’ which becomes quite cumbersome in English and which I avoid here. However, the three functions she describes—related to manner, truth values, and locative expressions—are all captured under my analysis of Caquinte *ari* in terms of a focus targeting propositions that evokes polar alternatives. Furthermore, the subattentive nature of Perené Asheninka *ari* for speakers is also similar, especially in narrative discourse, and this is the final point I make in this chapter.

At the outset of §6.3.1, I observed that, like <ro> constructions, *ari* can be recover the target of focus from a preceding clause. We have especially seen cases where the target is a manner or locative expression. However, there are many examples of *ari* where a particular constituent cannot be identified in this way, as shown in (274), to such a degree that *ari* is the most frequent word in the corpus, with over 3,000 attestations. It is so frequent that I often use it as a diagnostic for sentence breaks. Sometimes it can be felicitously translated with English *then*, as is the case here, but not always. It often goes untranslated in Spanish in this function, as Mihas mentions for Asheninka.

(274) a. **Arikea** aapojajageiti sabinkagiteri ikoraketaji aisa.

ari =kea ag -poj -aj -a -Ø =geti sabinkagiteri i- korake -aj -i aisa
FOC =EW arrive -ALL -REG -MR -3 =when day 3M- come -REG -AR again

Then one day he came back again.

b. **Ari** ikorakepinike irosati aparopae tai yamenamajatakeri.

ari i- korake -pini -k -i irosati aparopae tai i- amen -maja -ak -i -ri
FOC 3M- come -regularly -PFV -AR each.and.every month 3M- watch -really -PFV -AR -3M

He would come each and every month and watch him intently.

c. **Arikea** yametanakari iroriji ikoraketapinike.

ari =kea i- ame -an -k -a -ri iroriji i- korake -apini -k -i
FOC =EW 3M- be.used.to -ABL -PFV -MR -3M because 3M- come -regularly -PFV -AR

He got used to him because he would come regularly.

d. **Arikea** ikantiri katonkoniri, “Jaame ashimirintempari Taatakini.”

ari =kea i- kaN -i -ri katonkoniri jaame a- ashimirin -e -mpa -ri Taatakini
FOC =EW 3M- say -AR -3M Ashaninka HORT 1INCL- fight -IRR -MID -3M Taatakini

Then the Ashaninkas said to him, “Let’s fight Taatakini.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:162)

One can detect a general distribution of *ari* at the beginnings of sentences. In this vein, I note that not all events denoted by verbs in Caquinte are separated by *ari*. Instead, events that are

intuitively construed as being grouped together show *ari* only at the beginning of the relevant grouping. This is apparent in (275), which is representative of a widespread pattern. (Here I underline each verb.)

- (275) a. **Ari** yaagekiti osheki, ikamajagetakero omoropae oshekini agonaki ikijakijaitake.
Then he went and fetched a lot, he searched for them in the holes in the water, many *agonaki* fish went in.
- b. **Ari** isatajakeri igentsirokijiteki, inoshikakoetabakeri yogisotoajagekeri.
Then he speared them with his *kentsirokiji* spear, he pulled on them, and he brought them out of the water.
- c. **Ari** ikatsinkatanake ikoraketaji, yamake oshekini agonaki aisa kintero.
Then he got cold and came back, and brought many *agonaki* fish and also *kintero*.
(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:26-27)

I suggest that *ari* in this function is a noncanonical tail-head linkage.¹¹⁶ In the canonical case, the main verb of a sentence (i.e., the tail) is repeated at (read: linked to) the beginning of the following sentence for “discourse cohesion” (Guillaume 2011). Caquinte attests a less canonical case, whereby it is not the verb that is repeated, but the propositional anaphor *ari*. We can think of it as paraphrasable as *with that*, like Miguel Sergio’s intuition that Caquinte *ari* is like Spanish *de ahí*, literally ‘from there.’

¹¹⁶Following Aikhenvald’s (2019) distinction between recapitulating linkage and summary linkage for (very) distantly related Tariana, Caquinte *ari* in this function would seem to be a type of summary linkage, although it is not a dependent verb, as in Tariana.

Conclusion

In what follows I provide a summary of the dissertation, followed by reflections on ways in which I see its empirical content making contact with related linguistic phenomena, which opens up several lines of future inquiry. I discuss referential versus polar alternatives and reconfigurations of discourse structure; clefts, the alternatives they evoke, and exhaustivity; and polarity focus and *verum*. I then give a more extended Amazonian contextualization, concentrating especially on pronouns and copulas in Nijagantsi languages, which I see as critical to a deeper understanding of contrastive focus in this branch of the Arawak family. Finally, I note here that the primary analytical goal of the dissertation has been to understand not only the morphosyntactic properties of Caquinte focus constructions, for example, special marking, combinatorial possibilities with other markers, and word order. It has in particular sought to understand their discourse structures, for which I extended the QUD framework to account for differences between nonsalient and salient alternatives, and between other subtypes of focus (i.e., selective vs. corrective). A worthwhile kind of crosslinguistic comparison moving forward will be to evaluate whether focus constructions in other (especially unrelated) languages can be understood with equivalent or similar structures.

Summary In Chapter 2 I showed that selective focus is expressed by <genti> and <ro> constructions, analyzing them as evoking salient alternatives that are referential or polar in nature, respectively. I represented these with discourse structures consisting of branching constituent or polar QUDs, representing salient alternatives as daughters of these QUDs. I differentiated plain and clefted constituent questions, showing that only the latter correspond to a branching structure. I showed that constituent and polar QUDs combine into larger structures in which <ro> constructions were represented as sub-QUDs of constituent super-QUDs. This was based on an introduction to the morphosyntactic properties of <genti> and <ro> copulas in nonverbal clauses, which are the same as in the verbal clauses that serve as focus constructions. Throughout, I provided evidence for the salience of referential and polar alternatives in context, and concluded by noting how these QUDs could be embedded under answers, relating the latter to Riester's (2019) anaphorically dependent questions. Then in Chapter 3 I extended these basic discourse structures to account for distributional patterns of <ro> and <genti> in denials and corrections, respectively, arguing that denials correspond to an answer to a polar sub-QUD that is a sister to an answer to a constituent super-QUD. From there I showed that denials do not necessarily have the same focus structure as their corrections, arguing that these cases constituted other instances in

which answers dominated QUDs. Finally, Chapter 3 introduced two other markers of contrastive focus—*arigenti* and *ari*—which I showed targeted a heterogeneous class of non-arguments.

Chapter 4 took an empirically and analytically different turn. There I focused on the exclusive focus construction based on *aparo* ‘one’ and related forms. While I analyzed it with the same branching discourse structures as in chapters 2 and 3, I proposed that the difference in interpretation (i.e., the complement exclusion interpretation) is due to a difference in the composition of the set of alternatives evoked by *aparo*, namely that the set consists of a single atomic alternative and various complex alternatives built from atomic alternatives.

After examining the morphosyntactically more complex constructions expressing selective, corrective, and exclusive focus, Chapter 5 turned to information focus, which is expressed by different verb-initial word orders that depend on the target of focus. I analyzed information focus as evoking nonsalient alternatives, representing it with nonbranching discourse structures. That is, nonsalient alternatives are not represented as daughter branches in the same way as salient alternatives. Following this, in Chapter 6 I returned to issues of contrastive focus as relevant to *arigenti* and *ari*, concentrating on showing that *ari* evokes salient polar alternatives, and that it can target a proposition for focus. I then homed in on the difference in interpretation between unmarked polar questions and those containing *ari*, distinguishing nonsalient and salient polar alternatives. I provided a variety of examples illustrating how speakers’ construals of polar alternatives as salient or not cash out in interaction. Finally I discussed how polarity focus can be understood in the framework of this dissertation (i.e., selective focus evoking salient polar alternatives and targeting the proposition), and I distinguished two kinds of separate marking of verum in Caquinte.

Referential versus Polar Alternatives & Reconfiguration In this dissertation I analyzed <genti> and <ro> elements and the constructions they occur in as resolving constituent and polar QUDs, respectively. This is transparent when such QUDs are explicit, but as we observed with many textual examples, QUDs are often not explicit. In these latter contexts, speakers nevertheless presuppose a particular QUD, revealing their beliefs, in essence, about whether alternatives are salient in the context, and in particular whether referential or polar alternatives are salient. For example, the evocation of salient referential alternatives might occur in a context in which interlocutors have simply been talking about many referents and need to specify which one a proposition holds of (i.e., contrastive argument focus). In contrast, the evocation of salient polar alternatives might occur in a context in which interlocutors have been entertaining the possibility of whether the referent is a particular one or not. More often, I suspect, these constructions are used when the speaker believes their interlocutor holds an opposing belief with regard to an alternative (see the discussion of clefts below), for example, that they believe the referent is a different one (referential alternatives), or that it is not that referent (polar alternatives), even if they have no one else in mind.

These issues are tied to the function of the reconfiguration of discourse structures that we encountered in Chapter 2. Recall that these are contexts in which someone asks a clefted constituent question (evoking salient referential alternatives) but is responded to with an information

focus construction, or in which someone asks a plain constituent question but is responded to with a <genti> construction. Why do speakers do this? I would like to offer some very preliminary thoughts as to the interactive function of these reconfigurations, noting that multiple Caquinte speakers have expressed to me that clefted questions “sound” as if they are being asked because the speaker believes that the expected answer will yield information regarding an odd or unusual state of affairs. For example, if I see you eating, and ask you the clefted question *Taa opaji pishékata?* ‘What is it you’re eating?’ then what you are eating is said to be “algo diferente” (something out of the ordinary), these speakers remarking that it is like asking Spanish *qué cosa* (literally ‘what thing’), as opposed to simply *qué*. Indeed the “oddness interpretation” has been noted for other languages (see Hauge 2018). In this context, if the addressee responds with a <genti> construction, it is often translated as ‘just’ (e.g., ‘I’m just eating X’), which expresses that the answer is in fact not odd, countering the intimation of oddness on the part of the speaker. Reconfigurations seem to figure into this picture in the following way. If the speaker expresses that they believe the expected answer is odd (clefted question), but the addressee does not want to endorse that stance, then the addressee does not respond to the speaker’s question with a <genti> construction, but instead with a plain information focus construction. This functions not to counter the intimation of oddness, but to ignore it altogether. On the other hand, if the speaker asks a plain question, not imparting a belief about the oddness of the expected answer, but the addressee feels obliged to recognize that their forthcoming answer is odd, they will use a <genti> construction.

I suggest that the use of clefted questions and <genti> constructions in these interactions falls out fairly straightforwardly from the alternatives-based account proposed in this dissertation: the clefted questions, says, in effect, “I expected what you’re eating to be X, but it’s Y.” The addressee’s reconfigured response does not adopt the discourse structure of the speaker’s question, instead saying, “You should not have had such expectations.” On the other hand, a plain question does not come with any obvious expectations about what is being eaten, whereas the reconfigured response (i.e., with the <genti> construction) says, “You’re probably expecting what I’m eating to be X, but it’s Y.” In future research it will be valuable to corroborate these preliminary thoughts with additional interactional data and metapragmatic commentary from Caquinte speakers.

Cleft Analysis, Beliefs about Alternatives & Exhaustivity One direction for future research into focus in Caquinte concerns the status of <genti> and <ro> constructions as clefts, given the status of these elements as copulas. This is important for a few different reasons. First, assuming a cleft analysis, Caquinte is a language, unlike English, in which it is not possible to separate contrastive focus from clefts. That is, there are no other candidate constructions for the expression of contrastive focus in the language apart from clefts. In this way, Caquinte resembles languages such as K’iche’ (see Yasavul 2013). Second, the cases of reconfiguration suggest that there is more to the nature of the alternatives evoked by Caquinte contrastive focus constructions than meets the eye. In particular, they seem to lend themselves to Destruel et al.’s (2019) recent proposal that “clefts indicate a conflict with a doxastic commitment held by some discourse participant,” and that their acceptability is improved by increased “contrariness.” Indeed when eliciting

<genti> constructions speakers often devise scenarios exhibiting exactly this property (i.e., a belief that X, but Y). This suggests that the notion of contrariness is fairly apparent to speakers.

Third, <genti> constructions are sometimes interpreted exhaustively, an observation often noted about clefts. In fact, if one is eliciting question-answer pairs and then asks how one would instead respond with “I only X-d,” a <genti> construction is invariably used. The distribution of this exhaustivity interpretation warrants further investigation, given that Yasavul (2013), for example, shows that in K’iche’ it is present in the response to a question but not elsewhere. Relatedly, the exhaustivity interpretation of clefts is well known for not being targeted by negation (unlike English *only*). While <genti> constructions themselves cannot be negated (see below), it is clear that their negatable counterpart <ro> constructions are like clefts in that their exhaustivity interpretation is not targeted by negation. This was apparent in the corrective focus examples illustrated in Chapter 3, where the interpretation of such cases was *not X, but Y*, not *not only X, but also Y* (the latter observed instead with the *aparo* construction of Ch. 4). Finally, engaging with a cleft analysis will also involve establishing whether there is a hard or soft existence presupposition, the former often noted for clefts (e.g., Abusch 2009).¹¹⁷

Polarity Focus versus Verum In Chapter 6 I proposed that Caquinte distinguishes polarity focus from verum, in particular that polarity focus (*ari*) can be thought of as contrastive focus evoking polar alternatives and targeting the proposition. I emphasize here that it is descriptively and analytically useful to conceptualize polarity focus as consisting of the same types that we are used to encountering when speaking of focus that evokes referential alternatives. That is, we have seen in Caquinte that focus evoking polar alternatives can target different constituents (i.e., arguments with the <ro> construction vs. non-arguments with *ari*), and that there are subtypes of polarity focus depending on whether alternatives are salient (i.e., plain polar questions vs. *ari*-questions). On this view, the emphasis-like category of verum is distinct, and in Caquinte we see evidence for two types of it sensitive to exactly the preceding parameter of whether polar alternatives are salient. There is a research project to be conducted concentrating solely on these issues of unmarked polar questions, *ari*-questions, the verb *ko* ‘be, do (to),’ and the clitic =*maja*.¹¹⁸

Amazonian & Other Nijagantsi Languages Detailed study of information-structural categories in Amazonian languages is relatively scarce. Some exceptions include Turner (2006), a study of intonation and information in Wari’, a Chapakuran language of Bolivia and Brazil, and Valle (2017), who devotes Part II of his dissertation to topic and focus in Kakataibo, a Panoan language of Peru, along with detailed studies of particular morphemes in particular languages (e.g., Vallejos’s 2009 focus-based analysis of Kukama-Kukamiria =*pura*). Furthermore, in reference grammars, information structure is often given shorter shrift than other grammatical domains.

¹¹⁷Interestingly, Erlewine (2020:14) suggests for focus-related functions of the Mandarin copula *shì* that the “existence inference” is due to its resolving a previously accepted QUD (i.e., a valid question) that as such must have an answer.

¹¹⁸Relatedly, in this dissertation I was not able to investigate the cleft-like properties of *arigenti*, which also appears to be able to target the proposition in the way that *ari* can. This is reminiscent of the broad but contrastive focus type by which Sheil (2016) characterizes the Scottish Gaelic propositional cleft.

My review of ten extensive grammars of genealogically diverse languages published between 2003 and 2016 revealed a total of four percent in terms of page count dedicated to the description of these phenomena in dedicated chapters, for example, Olawsky’s (2006) chapters “Focus” and “Discourse Strategies and Expressive Elements” in Urarina, an isolate language of Peru.¹¹⁹ This is understandable—the empirical issues are difficult, and require knowledge of many areas of grammar that interact in the expression of information-structural categories. This dissertation also falls short in this regard, homing in solely on focus. Nevertheless my hope is that it will serve as a model for how to think about focus in the description of Amazonian languages moving forward, independent of the particular analysis.

Future study of contrastive focus in Nijagantsi Arawak languages needs to carefully consider the morphosyntax, semantics, and pragmatics of pronouns and copulas in the various languages, and in the remainder of this conclusion I bring specialists’ attention to the relatively significant differences among Nijagantsi languages in this domain, without making any proposals as to what the system in proto-Nijagantsi was. In particular, my analysis of two series of copulas and only one series of pronouns in Caquinte (Table 6.2) might strike specialists as unusual.¹²⁰

Table 6.2: Caquinte Copulas, Pronouns & Agreement Affixes

PERSON	<genti> COPULA	<ro> COPULA	PRONOUN	SUBJ	OBJ	SUBJ
1	narogenti ~ naagenti	naro	naatimpa	no-	-na	-na
1INCL	arogenti ~ aagenti	aro	aatimpa	a-	-aji	-aji
2	abirogenti ~ abigenti	abiro	abiatimpa	pi-	-mpi	-mpi
3M	iriogenti ~ irigenti	irio	iriatimpa	i-	-ri	-∅
3F	irogenti	iro	iroatimpa	o-	-ro	-∅

In Nanti, in contrast, there are instead two series of pronouns and one series of copulas (Table 6.3).¹²¹ The Nanti focus pronouns are cognate with the Caquinte <ro> copulas, and the Nanti copulas resemble the Caquinte <genti> copulas (n.b., *nti*). The Nanti topic pronouns are not cognate with the Caquinte pronouns.

In Matsigenka, there is no distinction between topic and focus pronouns. A single series of pronouns, cognate with the Nanti topic pronouns, occurs in both functions (Table 6.4), as follows.

¹¹⁹The ten grammars selected were: Aikhenvald (2003) on Tariana (Arawak; Brazil), Dixon (2004) on Jarawara (Arawak; Brazil), Van der Voort (2004) on Kwaza (isolate; Brazil), Olawsky (2006) on Urarina (isolate; Peru), Epps (2008) on Hup (Nadahup; Brazil), Guillaume (2008) on Cavineña (Takanan; Bolivia), Thiesen and Weber (2012) on Bora (Witotoan; Colombia, Peru), Stenzel (2013) on Kotiria (Tukanoan; Brazil), Mihás (2015) on Perené Asheninka (Arawak; Peru), and Vallejos (2016) on Kukama-Kukamiria (Tupí-Guaraní; Peru, Brazil).

¹²⁰Caquinte has cognates to series ending in the formatives *-keti* ‘first’ and *-sati* ‘likewise’ that have been analyzed as pronouns in some languages and that the reader should bear in mind do not figure into my discussion here. In Caquinte these forms obligatorily suppress anti-agreement on the verb. Their status in the ontology of pronouns and copulas discussed here warrants attention in the future.

¹²¹I adapt Michael’s orthography for comparability with the Caquinte forms. The parenthetical *-jegi* is a (pro)nominal plural suffix that is necessary for topic pronouns to be plural. Focus pronouns cannot bear this suffix.

Table 6.3: Nanti Pronouns & Copulas (based on Michael 2008:292-293, 348)

PERSON	TOPIC PRONOUN	FOCUS PRONOUN	COPULA
1	naro(jegi)	naro	nanti
1INCL	jarojegi	jaro	janti
2	biro(jegi)	biro	binti
3M	iriro(jegi)	irio	inti
3F	iroro(jegi)	iro	onti

Table 6.4: Matsigenka Pronouns & Copulas (based on Snell 2011:821, 870)

PERSON	PRONOUN	COPULA
1	naro	nanti
1INCL	aro	anti
2	biro	binti
3M	iriro	inti
3F	iroro	onti

Matsigenka pronouns, like Caquinte pronouns, can appear post- or preverbally, co-occurring with agreement, as in (276) and (277).

(276) Nokemakotiro **naro** okamantanara novagirote... MATSIGENKA

no- kem -ako -i -ro naro o- kamant -a -na =ra no- pagiro -te
 1- hear -INDR -AR -3F 1.PRO 3F- tell -MR -1 =SUB 1- paternal.aunt -P

I found out based on what my aunt told me...

(adapted from Vargas Pereira et al. 2013:992)

(277) “**Naro** nokemakempi pikantakerira.” MATSIGENKA

naro no- kem -ak -i -mpi pi- kant -ak -i =rira
 1.PRO 1- hear -PFV -AR -2 2- say -PFV -AR =REL

“I heard what you said.”

(adapted from Vargas Pereira et al. 2013:1053)

Furthermore, the same pronoun may occur without agreement (278), a type of contrastive focus illustrated for Caquinte in Chapter 2.

(278) “Naro kogankitsi noatakera.” MATSIGENKA

naro kog -ankits -i no- a -ak -e =ra
 1.PRO want -PFV -AR 1- go -PFV -IRR =SUB

“It’s me who wants to go.” (adapted from Vargas Pereira et al. 2013:851)

Notably, the Caquinte cognate of Matsigenka *naro* only has the distribution found in (278), occurring preverbally and without agreement. In this way, it is more like the dedicated focus pronouns described for Nanti.

An additional difference between Matsigenka *naro* and Caquinte *naro* becomes evident in nonverbal clauses. In Matsigenka, the single series of pronouns occurs with the copula (279).

(279) “Arisano, *naro nanti terira nonkovintsate*.” MATSIGENKA

arisano naro nanti te =rira no- N- kovintsate -e
 it’s.true 1.PRO 1.COP NEG =REL 1- IRR- be.good.hunter -IRR

“It’s true, I’m someone who isn’t a good hunter.”

(adapted from Vargas Pereira et al. 2013:436)

In Caquinte, only the pronouns—but not the <ro> copulas that are cognate to the Matsigenka pronouns—occur with the copula. Compare the Caquinte equivalent of (279) in (280).

(280) *Arimaja, naatimpa naagenti teeka nonkobintsateji*. CAQUINTE

arimaja naatimpa naagenti tee =ka no- N kobintsate -e -ji
 it’s.true 1.PRO 1.COP NEG =REL 1- IRR- be.good.hunter -IRR -NEG

It’s true, I’m someone who isn’t a good hunter.

(ZJO)

In other words, what I analyze as two series of copulas in Caquinte never co-occur with each other. This is superficially surprising from a comparative perspective because one of the series of copulas because the <ro> copulas are related to forms that in other languages like Nanti and Matsigenka are clearly pronouns that do co-occur with the copulas in those languages. On the other hand, within Caquinte it is less surprising, since Caquinte exhibits a series of pronouns that has no cognates in Nanti or Matsigenka.

In the variety of Asheninka spoken on the upper Perené River, substantially different series of pronouns are found (Table 6.5). Mihas (2015:128-134) describes four series differentiated by information-structural function. A relatively unmarked set of continuous topic pronouns resemble the Caquinte <ro> copulas.¹²² A separate set of exhaustive focus pronouns are verbalized forms of the continuous topic pronouns.¹²³ A series of additive focus pronouns, all ending in <ri>, are formed on a portion of the continuous topic pronouns, namely that portion excepting

¹²²For local persons they additionally bear what diachronically must have been a separate morpheme *-ka or *=ka.

¹²³See Reed and Payne (1986:327) for explicit mention of this morphological composition. This verbalization also occurs with the Caquinte <ro> copulas.

the final <ka> in the local person forms.¹²⁴ Lastly, a series of contrastive topic pronouns all end in <intsi>, formed on an even more reduced base, lacking even the <ro> sequence common to (most of) the continuous topic pronouns.

Table 6.5: Perené Asheninka Pronouns (based on Mihás 2015:129)

PERSON	CONTINUOUS TOP	ADDITIVE FOC	EXHAUSTIVE FOC	CONTRASTIVE TOP
1SG	naaka	naari	naakataki	naintsi
1PL	aroka	arori	arotaki	aintsi
2	aviroka	avirori	avirokataki	avintsi
3M	iri(ro)	irirori	iritaki	irintsi
3F	iro	irori	ivotaki	irointsi

The Perené Asheninka contrastive topic pronouns are cognate to the Caquinte <genti> copulas. Asheninka *ts* before *i* corresponds to Caquinte *t* in the same position. The Asheninka varieties also exhibit rampant loss of intervocalic **g* and raising of the mid-vowel **e*. This results in the <i> of these Asheninka pronouns being cognate to the <ge> of the Caquinte ones.

Finally, to my knowledge, Nomatsigenga is the only language that exhibits apparent (partial) cognates to the Caquinte pronouns. Shaver (1996:34-36) describes a series of free personal pronouns, bound nominal and verbal person markers, and then a variety of “suffixes” that combine with the personal pronouns (cf. fn. 120). As in Perené Asheninka, this combination cannot be productive, as they involve morphemes that resemble those in particular paradigms, but never entirely so. For these suffixes, he provides a series of brief Spanish glosses with no further description, making it difficult to discern their function. The relevant resulting stems are summarized in Table 6.6. The Spanish gloss is given after a Spanish pronoun, such that *mismo*, for example, is meant to be interpreted as *yo mismo* ‘I myself,’ etc. (Note that *solamente* means ‘only.’)

Table 6.6: Nomatsigenga Pronouns & Related Forms (based on Shaver 1996)

PERSON	PRONOUN	‘solamente’	‘mismo’
1	naro(jégi)	naánti	naáti
1INCL	eíró	?	eáti
2	obiro(jégi)	obiánti	obiáti
3M	iríro(jégi)	iriánti	iriáti
3F	iroro(jégi)	iroónti	iroóti

¹²⁴This <ri> is cognate with the Matsigenka clitic =*ri*, which occurs primarily on preverbal pronouns and demonstratives to express what seem to be switches in topic. (Speakers of Caquinte, many with regular Matsigenka input in their day-to-day lives, occasionally substitute the native =*mpani* for this clitic.) This clitic is not required for the general sort of topicalization that occurs preverbally—see (277).

The Nomatsigenga forms glossed as ‘solamente’ resemble the Caquinte <genti> copulas, and those glossed as ‘mismo’ resemble the pronouns, without the final <mpa>, which likely has a likely source in the incongruent stance clitic =*mpa*. Because no examples are given, it is not possible to evaluate whether the first of these two series might exhibit properties resembling a copula, as in Caquinte. Similarly, unlike Perené Asheninka, it is more difficult to establish full cognacy with these forms, since there is no obvious counterpart with the Caquinte sequence <ge>. The second series is clearly more pragmatically marked than its Caquinte counterpart. I mention them here to conclude with the observation that—in addition to the probable information-structural relevance of these derivative forms—future comparative work should bear in mind the similarity of Nomatsigenga and Caquinte in this way (cf. comments in §1.5.1). Furthermore, the Nomatsigenga “solamente” forms, the Perené Asheninka contrastive topic pronouns, and the Caquinte <genti> copulas are important for understanding the origin of the Matsigenka and Nanti copulas, which similarly end in *nti*. With a better understanding of the status of these elements, together with the Nomatsigenga and Caquinte “ati” forms, reconstruction of a series of pronouns proper in proto-Nijagantsi will be on a better footing.

Ariotapoji.

Appendix A

Caquinte History

In my experience, (non-indigenous) fieldworking linguists are exposed—purposefully or otherwise—to a wider variety of knowledge held by speakers of indigenous languages than practically any other kind of outsider. I believe that they have a responsibility to make this knowledge available in a centralized fashion alongside linguistic work, which is the purpose of this chapter of the appendix. In the case of my involvement with Caquintes, including this information also more faithfully reflects my research process. For example, I have had to learn to be a conversational speaker of the language, given relatively high degrees of monolingualism, and I have had access to much of this knowledge because of my ability to understand what is going on around me spontaneously. It is also important because most Caquintes arguably do not view the time that I spend in Kitepampani in terms of a language project. I have only ever done structured language work with four adult members of the community, and, more to the point, I dedicate a large amount of time to “informal” interactions (e.g., visiting, meetings with outsiders). At this point, I feel that, when I am there, most residents of Kitepampani view me as a friend and ally who happens to be in part interested in Caquinte as a language. That said, many Caquintes have supported me specifically in the endeavor of conducting research for a doctoral dissertation.

I have in particular been interested in the role of genealogies and their associated oral histories in the context of broader regional histories. As a result, in §§A.1-A.5 I provide a detailed English-language rendition of Antonina Salazar’s written history of her great-grandfather Taatakini; discuss the presence of another people, the Shamaki, formerly resident in Caquinte territory; make inferences about the number of distinct Caquinte ancestors; map 15 surnames used by Caquintes onto descendants of these ancestors and others; and then discuss more recent events in the latter 20th century. Inferences regarding distinct ancestors, for example, suggest that there were perhaps not even a dozen Caquinte extended family groups on the upper Pogeni River in the late 19th century, with several of these killed by Ashaninkas. This sort of information, in turn, is invaluable for how we understand the sociocultural and linguistic pressures that would be exerted on speakers of Caquinte, and consequently the historical linguistics of Nijagantsi languages.

A.1 Historical Memory in an Account of Taatakini

A.1.1 Working Back to the Earliest Remembered Times

Imaika nontsabetanteri nobaesatiniteni ikanta Taatakini. Koramani irio ashimirin-tankitsika, yashimirinkari katonkoniri. Iriotake netsanatakobentajiajana nohookatantajiakaka kameetsa. Aatomegeti ichookatime iriatimpa, aatome nohookajiajime naatimpajia. Interonkajiakename katonkoniri. Nomparianakemparo imaika nontsabetanteri kero ikokani iroakerageti yashimirintakarigeti katonkoniri. Koramani nobaesatiniteni irio chookatantajiakaro oshibonkitijapojakageti Pogeni. Imaika ikantajitajiro Misi3n. Irio chookajiankitsi maasano kakinteja. Koramani naatimpajia ikantajiana katonkoniri, “Abigentija kachomashiri, aisa abigenti pontonisati.” Irotari naatimpa nokantantakarika katonkoniri.

Now I’m going to tell a story about my ancestor named Taatakini. Long ago he was the one who fought, he fought the Ashaninkas. He was the one who made it so that we could live well. If he hadn’t lived, we wouldn’t have lived. The Ashaninkas would have finished us. I’m going to begin now and tell a story about what he was like when he first fought the Ashaninkas. Long ago my ancestors, they were the ones who lived at the mouth of the Pogeni River. Now they call it Misi3n. All Caquintes lived there. Long ago the Ashaninkas said to us, “You’re *kachomashiri*, you’re also *pontonisati*.” That’s why we called them *katonkoniri*.

So begins Antonina Salazar Torres’s account of the famed Caquinte warrior Taatakini, her paternal and maternal great-grandfather, penned in the summer of 2014 (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:150-168).¹²⁵ These eleven sentences teach us much about a complex history that is present in a vibrant oral tradition maintained by speakers of Caquinte. This language is spoken in six named communities and nearby households in the hilly lowland region of Amazonia that spans the eastern border of the Jun3n region and the northwestern border of the Cusco region of Peru—and in the places that Caquintes have moved to relatively recently and over a generation ago, in neighboring indigenous communities and in more urban spaces such as Sepahua, Mazamari, and Lima. We learn that Caquintes originally lived elsewhere. The communities of Tsoroja and San Luis de Korinto now lie in the headwaters of this river, the Pogeni.

Based on this location, Caquintes referred (and continue to refer) to Ashaninkas, speakers of a related language, as *katonkoniri* ‘upriver people’—relative to the mouth of the Pogeni, they indeed live upriver, on the Tambo and Ene rivers. There were conflicts with Ashaninkas, and Taatakini bore a large portion of the burden of protecting his people. The names that Ashaninkas used to refer to Caquintes are today considered derogatory: *kachomashiri* is based on *kacho* ‘be sour, fermented,’ and the otherwise endocentric nominalizer *-mashi*, which derives nouns that

¹²⁵The idealized marriage partner in Caquinte society is one’s cross-cousin, that is, the child of a parent’s opposite-sex (classificatory) sibling. The result is the conflation of distinct ancestors at the generation of great-grandparents.

refer to places with an abundance of a particular object, often plants (as with Spanish *-al*), but also people and planes (i.e., *oaporomashi* ‘airport’); *pontonisati* consists of another endocentric nominalizer, *-sati* (cf. feminine *-sato*), which derives demonyms, nouns that refer to people from particular places; but the place Pontoni is unidentified. In fact this suffix occurs in the name of this section, a verbalized form of the noun *paesatini* ‘ancestor’ (281), also found in the excerpt above.

- (281) *paesatini -jig -ankits -i =ka*
 ancestor -PL -PFV -AR =REL
 those who were ancestors

Synchronically unanalyzable (through related to its feminine counterpart *paesatoni*),¹²⁶ diachronically this noun can be decomposed further, into a presumably nominal root *pae*, *-sati*, and the deceased referent marker *-ni*. That this noun is unanalyzable is evidenced by the fact that, when it is possessed, *nobaesatiniteni* ‘my ancestor,’ the deceased referent marker recurs. In turn the root *pae* is mysterious. It is superficially most similar to the alienable noun *paetsi* ‘partner’s ex-partner,’ but there is little semantic relatedness, nor is there with the inalienable noun *paje*, referring to gray or white hair sparsely distributed in darker hair. The present-day meaning of *-sati* suggests that there was a place Pae. Comparatively we can note the Matsigenka verb root *pae* ‘be gray-/white-haired,’ and what due to regular loss of **j* in that language seems to be the related form *paesato* ‘be faded, dull due to age.’¹²⁷ In Asheninka this root is *paisato* ‘be old (things),’ which would seem to be related to *pairani* ‘long ago’ (Payne 1980:98-99), except that it is identical in Matsigenka (Snell 2011:347).

It is plausible that all living Caquintes are descendants of Taatakini in some way, and his name has become a surname for one extended family of Kitepampani residents. Taatakini died circa 1960, at a ripe age. Antonina Salazar’s mother †Abataka (Susana),¹²⁸ herself born probably in the late 1940s, is said to have seen her paternal grandfather Taatakini as a girl, and is said to have said of him that “*imae maasano kitamaromaetanaji, aisa ikanaanaja ikamaritanaji. Tee iragabejajempaji inkatajeji.*”¹²⁹ Triangulating when Taatakini was born is essential to learning more about Caquinte history, since many stories are told calibrated relative to his life. We can work backwards in this calculation with careful attention to genealogical detail.

In 2014 one of Taatakini’s great-grandchildren died in Tsoroja, a woman named Esperanza Sergio Salazar (Oyaki), estimated by Joy Swift (p.c.) to be about 75 years old. This is consistent with Esperanza’s claim that she was already a teenager (Sp. *adolescente*) at the time of the birth of her brother David, born in the early 1950s.¹³⁰ As an adult, Esperanza was the eldest of her siblings—children of another famed warrior, †Shankentini (aka Manabirontsi),¹³¹ and †Metaki—

¹²⁶See the adverb *paesatoniki* ‘in mythical times,’ based on this form.

¹²⁷That is, “ser descolorido o deslustrado por ser viejo” (Snell 2011:345).

¹²⁸In this and the following appendices, I use the text dagger upon first mention of deceased individuals, or to indicate that a particular linguistic form is unattested.

¹²⁹“His hair had become entirely white, and also he went on all fours and crawled along. He could no longer stand.”

¹³⁰This range is calculated on his being a few years younger than Kenneth Swift.

¹³¹This man was originally known as Manabirontsi. Upon the death of his grandfather he acquired his name.

but it is possible that Metaki had had one child before Esperanza, a boy named †Paakorojati, who died young. If Metaki was married and had her first child shortly after her first menstruation, as was customary, we can estimate that she was born in the early 1920s, perhaps circa 1923.

Metaki's parents were in turn †Aakeni and †Biicho (aka Komaro, see Figure C.5). It is said that Biicho, Taatakini's daughter, was kidnapped by Ashaninkas while pregnant with Metaki. She gave birth in captivity, but shortly thereafter escaped and returned to the headwaters of the Pogeni River. In this account, Biicho is not mentioned as having any previous children, but she was already married to Aakeni at the time of her capture, and it is possible that two boys, †Kapashini and †Tooroni, had already been born. If so, we can estimate that Biicho had her first child in the late 1910s, and so was herself probably born in the middle of the first decade of the 1900s—let's assume circa 1905. A birth date of this year is consistent with the fact that Biicho had her last known child, Oajio (Gabriel), in the late 1930s or early 1940s, and also that she was still living, in Kitepampani in the late 1970s, when Antonina Salazar, her granddaughter, was a girl.



Figure A.1: Metaki (Carola Salazar) weaving, Kitepampani, circa 1978
(photograph courtesy of Kenneth & Joy Swift, used with permission)

It should be emphasized that the certainty of exact genealogical relationships at distant moments in time is fraught. Oftentimes living Caquintes know only that someone they knew earlier in life treated someone they only heard about with a particular kin term. For example, when asked about an elderly man variously known as †Yoompiri and Tsoompirontsi (Carlos), Antonina Salazar knew only that her mother treated him as *koonkini* ‘maternal uncle,’ that is, the “brother” of her mother Chiompini. However, due to distinctions between parallel and cross cousins, who

counts as a brother includes both full and half-brothers as well as the male first cousins who are the children of one's parents' same-sex siblings. Caquintes can easily distinguish siblings from cousins with the nominal suffixes *-majaka* 'real' and *-tso(r)i*, respectively, the latter specifying classificatory kin relations, but this is only done for special clarity and so farther in the past the relations are more difficult to tease apart.

Nevertheless it is claimed that Taatakini had several children with his wife Aampini. These were at least the following individuals, now all deceased, in alphabetical order: Aro (Sarita), Biicho, Kebetsioki (♀), Korinto (♀, see Figure C.6), Koshanti (Tecori ♂), Ojori (Gregorio), Paakicha (♀), and Tsantsanaki (♀). The birth order of these children is not clear, but it is probable that Biicho was one of the older children. If that is the case, then Taatakini would have become a father around the turn of the century, placing his birth, for the sake of argument, circa 1880, in turn making him around 80 years old at the time of this death, quite elderly indeed by Caquinte standards.

A.1.2 Flight of the Headwaters of the Pogeni

Antonina Salazar begins her telling of Taatakini's life by noting that it was well before Taatakini's time that Caquintes lived at the mouth of the Pogeni River, perhaps in the first half of the 19th century. During this period lived an unnamed but powerful shaman, who regularly faced raids from Ashaninkas. One day a group of Asheninkas¹³² who seem to have been from the region of the Gran Pajonal¹³³—the great grasslands west of the city of Atalaya—came to attack this shaman, but the son of one of them fell in love with one of the shaman's daughters. In short, this young man makes it clear that his allegiance is to his father-in-law, even retrieving particular sedges to aid in his father-in-law's conflicts with these Asheninkas. He trains with his brothers-in-law, and after a year a group Ashaninkas return from upriver along the Tambo. They are armed with shotguns, whereas the Caquintes are only able to respond with arrows. Nevertheless, the Caquintes manage to kill many of them, but one escapes downriver and summons a large number of Asheninkas from many different regions to come kill all the Caquintes who live at the mouth of the Pogeni. He is said to have traveled to relatively nearby villages such as Chempo and Betania, but also much farther afield to the upper Perené, the area near Satipo, the Gran Pajonal, and Atalaya. They return to retaliate sounding the call of battle with their shells. Many Caquintes die, and others are forced to flee to the headwaters. The warriors that remain downriver manage to kill many Ashaninkas, but ultimately they are reduced to two, and one says to the other, "Anianishi, abiatimpa pija pishianaje. Abirotari chookatajatsine, naatimpa irimetojanakenata."¹³⁴ He escapes, and the surviving Caquintes come to reside at the base of the mountain Tsoroja, establishing the connection to this region that lasts until the present day. This is a decisive moment that has

¹³²Note that it is not always clear in these early stories whether conflicts were with who today are known as Ashaninkas, from the Tambo and Ene rivers, or with Asheninkas (note the <e>), related groups who live farther to the north (i.e., on the Perené River, on rivers like Apurucayali and Pichis that feed into the Pachitea downstream, in the Gran Pajonal, or on the Ucayali itself downriver of Atalaya). The term *katonkoniri* can refer to both groups.

¹³³These men are referred to as *keshisati*, that is, men from Keshi, the Asheninka term for the Pajonal (Payne 1980:111).

¹³⁴"Brother-in-law, you get out of here, flee. You must survive, me let them kill me."

entirely reshaped the remainder of Caquinte history: at this moment the Caquintes ceased living along the Tambo, coming instead to occupy the headwaters of the Pogeni.

A.1.3 The Warrior Kamotsontoparini (and Chaantani)

After a long time (“okoramanibaetapojakegeti”), the Caquintes recover their numbers, but the Ashaninkas come to occupy the lower Pogeni River, as they do today. This is now the time of a Caquinte warrior named Kamotsontoparini (*kamotsonto* ‘sandbox tree (*Hura crepitans*)’ and *pari* ‘root’), and others who are named. One is a mestizo man with the surname Perara, who contracts Ashaninkas to capture Caquinte women for sale in nearby commercial centers such as Atalaya, in exchange for metal tools and shotguns. Ashaninkas begin to raid again on the upper Pogeni. On the first such occurrence, Kamotsontoparini receives word of their advance ahead of time, and, lying in wait for them near the river, manages to kill all but one, who escapes. As a result, a larger number of Ashaninkas return, saying they will not hesitate to kill women and children if necessary to achieve their ends. During this raid, an unfortunate Caquinte man bathing near the river is shot, but it is unclear who should be said to have come out the victor.

In response, Kamotsontoparini states that the Caquintes will now pursue the Ashaninkas into their own territory, and a party is put together to descend the Pogeni. They attack straight away, and the Ashaninkas cannot manage to kill Kamotsontoparini with their guns, and he returns back upriver. The Ashaninkas pursue him, but for some reason they turn around and Kamotsontoparini’s party pursues them back downriver and successfully kills those Ashaninkas living just up- and downriver of the mouth of the Pogeni. Apparently they pursued them all the way to Satipo, nearly exterminating the Ashaninkas, at which time Kamotsontoparini returns to the Pogeni headwaters.

Kamotsontoparini then goes to visit the peculiar figure Chaantani (*chaanta* ‘bee sp.’). Chaantani is said to have been found as an infant at the base of a collapsed precipice by a Caquinte woman who had gone to harvest plantains. She brings him home, wraps him up, and places him in a basket, but he refuses her breast. He will only eat tobacco, and reaches adolescence within a year. He marries a woman named Kamijaneri (‘Giant earthworm’) and they have a son Pontsopontso (‘agouti’). But they were an incompetent couple, as portrayed in this telling: Chaantani could not build a house, and Kamijaneri could not weave a cushma of the appropriate length. The ones she wove for her husband always dragged on the ground. Perhaps most notably, Chaantani added the nonsensical clitic =*tia* to most of his words.

One day Chaantani goes to a mestizo settlement to work in exchange for clothes. When he returns to the upper Pogeni he has a cold, which many children subsequently contract and die from. Kamotsontoparini, furious, goes to Chaantani’s house to kill him. But Chaantani has recovered, and moved his household farther away. Kamotsontoparini pursues them, and Chaantani flees from his new house into the forest, leaving his wife and child behind, whom Kamotsontoparini kills. Kamotsontoparini then begins to mimic a cry for help as if he were Chaantani’s wife, luring him back to the house, at which moment Kamotsontoparini reveals himself (having been hidden wrapped in a sitting mat), grabs Chaantani, and ties him up against a house post. Chaantani (presciently) threatens that if Kamotsontoparini kills him, then someone else will kill Kamot-

sontoparini. That does not deter Kamotsontoparini, however, who shoots him full of arrows, “ikejetakaakari chopekinato.”¹³⁵ Then a strange moment ensues, as Chaantani does not die. The moment is dramatic, and Antonina Salazar quotes him as then saying (note the =*tias*):

“Aaa pimetojabekenatia. Arikea inkejetakaajitajempitia abiatimpa, irimetojajitajempitia koajika kerompa pijatakeni. Naatimpatia tatsinkabajempinetia ontanikitia Kirioshikitia.” Yaabentanakari Aapani Irioshi, ikanti, “Kirioshi, Kirioshi, Kirioshi. Aato pikatsimatiritia irikatika metojakenakatia.” Arikea okantabaetanake igamachonkajare tsikiririri oshibarishibaririnkajatanakeri aisa ibaganteki. Arikea ikishojabakeri kisho kisho. Ot-sikiritsikirijajitanakeri itsinoki Kamotsontopari, ikantanaka kamachonkatsantsani. Ikan-tikea Chaanta, “Imaika aato nopigatimpi abiatimpa notsaketari impigamenkena Kirioshi. Arigeti pikatsimakena pininke pimetojakena teetari ari onchookate noshire akaniki notsinoki. Imaika pimparianakemparo pinkentachapakikero nochapakipae.” Ari iparianakaro, obegarapojagetu ichapaki otsipa tsein tsein tsein. Iteronkabakeri ibako, aisa imakero ishibonkitichapaki. Iteronkakerogeti, ari imetojanake. Itejanake shiñakiren metok, ipishiñakijapanajantiri.

“Aaa you’ve killed me in vain. They’ll do the same to you, they’ll kill you later no matter where you go. It’s me in the end who’ll push you over there to God.” He’d taken refuge with God, and said, “God, God, God. Don’t be angry with this one who’s killed me.” Then his blood went *tsikiririri* spraying out of him and running all over him and also his mouth. Then he spat on him *kisho kisho*. It [his blood] sprayed onto Kamotsontopari’s body, the length of his body covered in blood. Then Chaantani said, “Now I won’t respond to you in kind because I know that God will avenge me. Seeing as you’re angry with me and want to kill me, my soul is not actually here in my body. Now begin shooting my fingers.” So he began, and when one had been reached, then another, shooting *tsein tsein tsein*. He finished off his hands, and then did the same to his toes. When he finished them, then he died. He fell over *shinakiren metok*, and he laid him down and went away.¹³⁶

Chaantani invokes a Christian God, imploring him with the vocative *Kirioshi*. This is curious for two reasons: Caquintes are not known to have had contact with Christianity before the 1970s,

¹³⁵That is, “making him resemble the *onato* of a plantain tree,” referring to the arrows protruding from him in such a way that they resemble the leaves of a plantain tree pointing upwards in different directions and at different angles. The inalienable noun *nato* refers to the base of configurations of objects like branches, for example, of trees whose branches begin from a more or less single point relatively high up the trunk.

¹³⁶There is a lot of very vivid imagery in this passage. For example, the ideophone *tsikiririri* (and its corresponding verb *tsikirij*, appearing reduplicated later) can describe the spraying of aerosol cans or the fizzing of shaken carbonated drinks. At the end, the ideophone *shiñakiren* describes the falling over only of short, small objects, like dwarves. The final verb, *ipishiñakijapanajantiri*, is related to this ideophone. It consists of an unidentified inalienable noun *shiñaki* combining with a denominal verbalizer *pi-*, which derives stative verbs denoting the object in question being in a horizontal position (e.g., when prefixed to ‘forehead’ it means to turn one’s head upward). Here the resulting stem is transitive, referring to Kamotsontoparini’s reconfiguration of Chaantani’s body.

and Chaantani's word for God is only attested in his speech, it not being the normal word for God (cf. *Aapani Irioshi*, or just *Irioshi*), yet it is clearly related to Spanish *Dios* (also the source of *Irioshi*). This may simply reflect the incorporation of Christian elements into this story at a later date, or provide evidence that Caquintes had indirect contact with Christianity from an earlier period.¹³⁷ The symbolic significance of death only by every last finger and toe is elusive.

Returning to the story, separately Kamotsontoparini had previously killed a Caquinte man, marrying his widowed wife and adopting her son, Oshatyakini (*oshatyaki* 'tree sp.'). As a young man, Oshatyakini goes to labor in Atalaya, and so is familiar with the Ashaninkas who live on the lower Pogeni, through which he must pass to get there. One day, Oshatyakini, suspicious of something, asks his mother whether Kamotsontoparini is his real father, and she tells him that he is not, and that in fact he killed his father. Oshatyakini then plots to kill his stepfather, in cahoots with his mother. He says that he will return in one week, at which time she needs to trick her husband, telling him that she is menstruating (so she can sit carefully out of harm's way).¹³⁸

When the time comes, Oshatyakini arrives back at the house in the dead of night in the company of a group of Ashaninkas; he infers that Kamotsontoparini is in an ayahuasca-induced trance singing in the rafters of the house at the top of his shaman's ladder (*titonkiboarontsi*) because he sees his shamanic helper spirits (*jeokarijite*) below and reasons that Kamotsontoparini has not descended yet. When he does descend, they shoot him with a shotgun, and Kamotsontoparini makes a vain attempt to run back up his ladder, crashing against the ridge beam of the house and falling back towards the ground. But before he makes contact he vanishes with a gust of wind *jeeoooo*.¹³⁹ Oshatyakini's mother runs up and tells them to hurry and destroy his ladder so that his spirit cannot return, which they promptly do, burning it in the cooking fire. Then Oshatyakini runs outside, but he is pierced by an arrow in his ribs, the work of one of Kamotsontoparini's real sons who has shown up. Oshatyakini chases after his half-brother, but the latter escapes into the undergrowth. As he returns along the path, Oshatyakini, wounded, drinks the liquid of the rainbow that emanates from the ground, but it does him no good. He says, "Arimpa nometojeta metojaketari aapani" ("Better that I die, since my father is dead") and dies.

A.1.4 The Warrior Kiabekirini

Afterwards Oshatyakini's mother flees, and reaches the home of Kiabekirini (cf. *kiabekiriki* 'petalless,')¹⁴⁰ who had also been fighting Ashaninkas, and together they flee to a mountain known as Ajabinteni (a place identifiable to this day). At this point the story shifts, and a similar theme is repeated. Kiabekirini has a nephew who as a child was taken to live in a mestizo community

¹³⁷This is certainly possible, given the fact that already in Chaantani's era some Caquintes, like him, had spent time in the town of Atalaya, where Catholicism would have been widely practiced by the Spanish-speaking population.

¹³⁸Caquinte warriors would not sleep with their wives when they were menstruating.

¹³⁹The word used to describe this moment is *ijeokajenkatapanajanti*, based on the verb root *jeok*, which is itself the root that is nominalized to derive the noun referring to the shamanic helper spirits. This verb denotes pulling up out of a dive—like a bird of prey or an airplane—and is associated with the motion of the shamanic helper spirits when they disappear.

¹⁴⁰Kiabekirini is said to have been given this name because he lost his hair at a young age.

on the Tambo River. One day the nephew returns, much to the surprise of Kiabenkirini, who thought he was dead. The two have a pleasant interaction, but then the nephew leaves again, not returning for two years. The second time he visits his uncle he arrives with a group of Ashaninkas in tow, which displeases Kiabenkirini. The young man tells his uncle to fell peach palm so that he (Kiabenkirini) can make arrows for him, to which he acquiesces. The nephew promises not to return with Ashaninkas, and leaves with the arrows. At this point Kiabenkirini's nephew and the Ashaninkas plot to return to kill Kiabenkirini.

Several days pass, and then a terrible thunderstorm arrives. A young girl goes to the river to bathe and finds traces of mats having been laid down, but when she returns to her house in distress no one believes her, that is, that there are unknown people about. Separately, Kiabenkirini in his home wonders what the arrival of the thunderstorm means, and goes to his father to ask. His father jokes with him, saying that it means that Kiabenkirini's wife has cheated on him. Kiabenkirini returns home and reports this to his wife, who says nothing in response. She is giving their newborn daughter a warm bath, and Kiabenkirini goes to bunch his arrows. His nephew is waiting nearby outside the house, and shoots an arrow inside, which pierces the infant in the thigh. Kiabenkirini's wife screams, accusing him of letting one of his arrows loose, but in reality it is one of the arrows Kiabenkirini made for his nephew, which are identical to his own.

At this moment Kiabenkirini's nephew releases another arrow that hits him in the armpit. Kiabenkirini is able to remove it and stab an oncoming Ashaninka man with it, but then his nephew runs into the house and pins him against a post. Kiabenkirini calls out for his father to come to his aid, but he panics and runs away into the forest, screaming, "Jiririk jiririk jiririk." Before his father arrives, Kiabenkirini's own son, Kishaiba (cf. *kishaibatsa* 'fish sp.'), appears and shoots his cousin, who dies. Kiabenkirini flees with his wife and daughter, but falls down dead on the path. The only ones to get away are the Ashaninkas. Early the next morning Kiabenkirini's father arrives and is dismayed to find his son dead. He then mistakes his grandson Kishaiba for the murderer, and accidentally shoots him in the crown of his head, and he dies. The father, in a rage, berates his daughter-in-law, who is still there, for not keeping a closer eye on her son (even though Kishaiba's death is his fault). She herself then has to flee from her father-in-law. Much like Kamotsontoparini's wife fled to Kiabenkirini, Kiabenkirini's wife now flees to Taatakini.

A.1.5 The Warrior Taatakini

When Kiabenkirini's wife tells Taatakini that Ashaninkas have killed Kiabenkirini, Taatakini is incensed. That night, he dreams, and is told to go to the mountains, where he will encounter a bear sitting on a platform in a tree. He is told to say to the bear, "Notyaine, taa panti?"¹⁴¹ at which point he will clap and sedges will fall to the ground. Taatakini then goes to the mountains and encounters this bear, obtaining the sedges that will improve his skills as a warrior. He summons three of his brothers—Kapatsakigijari,¹⁴² Kobirijarisati, and Oityoni—and trains with them for two years. They begin with the fruit of the (Sp.) *pona* tree, and move on to arrow shafts and small

¹⁴¹"Grandfather, what are you doing?"

¹⁴²This is the name of a mythical river of rocks and mud. It is based on the verb *kapatsa* 'be fat,' said of game; the suffix *-jari* derives hydronymic terms. The verb *kapatsa* itself consists of the nonproductive prefix *ka-* widely known in

rocks. They predict that if, in the end, an arrowhead does not pierce their skin, then neither will a bullet. Following their preparations, they hide all of their women and children in a mountain named Tinkanashi.¹⁴³ Then the Ashaninkas come for them, but at this point they are still unaware that a man like Taatakini exists. He and his brothers defeat the Ashaninkas so thoroughly that they steal their shotguns, break them on the ground, and pile them along with the dead bodies of the Ashaninkas at the mountain Ajabinteni. However, two Ashaninkas escape and notify their compatriots that shotguns cannot kill Taatakini, and a massive party of Ashaninkas returns to the upper Pogeni. Taatakini and his brothers see them coming, and he tells them not to be afraid. They ascend a steep ridge and begin shooting at them from there, piercing them in their necks. Returned gunfire subsequently ceases, but it has done nothing to Taatakini, and the Ashaninkas see him standing high on the ridge unharmed. The Caquintes return with an onslaught of arrow fire and all but a few Ashaninkas are killed; the remainder flee downriver, wondering how they will ever kill Taatakini.

A year goes by and a man named Teresoni goes to see Taatakini, who suspects that he is a spy, but Teresoni denies it and they sit down together. After he leaves, Teresoni goes directly to the Ashaninkas saying that he knows how to get them to Taatakini. Then they ascend the Pogeni, and find Taatakini at home barbing arrows. As they approach, Taatakini hears “Tsiikajaaa,” the call of the bird *tsiibani*, and is immediately alerted to their presence. He calls out, “Jaaashine, kempejisompomogito,¹⁴⁴ pojokabaetapojempa. Abigenti noshekatakaankempa shetyaonkani.”¹⁴⁵ The Ashaninkas plan to shoot Taatakini simultaneously from four angles, but when they fire he manages to dodge and twist his body such that the Ashaninkas only manage to shoot a woman named Keminaki, whose guts spill out. Taatakini then returns fire with his arrows, piercing Teresoni in his scrotum. But once the Ashaninkas have set fire to his house, he tells his brothers to flee, and fends off the remainder of the Ashaninkas himself, who themselves then flee, with the wounded Teresoni, who dies a month later.

Two years later the Ashaninkas return. Taatakini goes to fight them, but unbeknownst to him they have kidnapped his daughter Biicho while she was bathing at the river. He and his brother Kapatsakigijari hurry, passing by a mountain named Shitekitsini; they follow a steep ridge and get ahead of the Ashaninkas and wait for them. The first of the Ashaninkas approaches and hears a disturbance, but thinks it is an (Sp.) *ungurahui* tree that has fallen; shortly thereafter, he is shot in the ribs and collapses. Other of his compatriots follow, and Taatakini does the same to them. Once a large enough group of the fleeing Ashaninkas amasses, though, Taatakini realizes he must go and confront them if he is to get his daughter back. The Ashaninkas see him approach and place her in the middle of all of them so he cannot get to her. Taatakini and Kapatsakigijari fight them at the river’s edge, but the latter begins to tire and says it is better for him to die

the Arawak literature as the attributive. In Nijagantsi languages this prefix clearly attached to inalienable nouns, deriving a stative verbal stem that denotes the possession of the referent. In Matsigenka *vatsa* means ‘flesh, meat,’ but in Caquinte it has come to refer to masses in general, for example, tobacco dip; ‘flesh, meat’ is *teshi*.

¹⁴³This noun denotes a grove of *tinkana* trees, known collectively in Spanish as a sort of *ungurahui*.

¹⁴⁴This interjection as an insulting taunt. It consists of the adverb *kempeji* ‘near’ and the inalienable noun *gito* ‘head’ found in other Nijagantsi languages (cf. Caquinte *shokoito* ‘head’). The remaining elements are mysterious.

¹⁴⁵“What in the hell, come on, big-head, approach. It’s you I’ll have the vultures eat.”

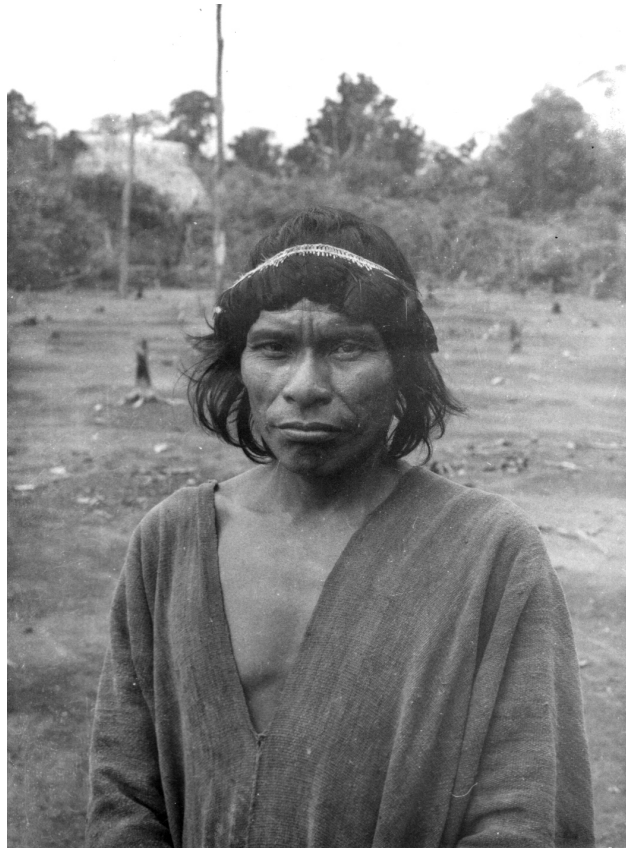


Figure A.2: Yompanka (aka Mashinti), son of Taatakini & Aampini, circa 1978
(photograph courtesy of Kenneth & Joy Swift, used with permission)

on behalf of Biicho than for Taatakini to. With that in mind, he daringly darts across the river and they shoot him in the ribs. He almost falls into the water, but rises up again and reaches the rocky outcropping on the other side, but as he begins to return he collapses on a rock and dies. The Ashaninkas take his body, thinking it is Taatakini's, and smoke it over a massive fire, later reaching the mouth of the Pogeni with Biicho. Before her capture, however, we learn that Taatakini had told Biicho that she must relay his words to any possible captor, informing them that if they are to avoid death, that they must bathe in a scalding ayahuasca concoction mixed with a red-colored plantain. Back in the headwaters, Taatakini laments the death of his brother.

After some time has passed, the Ashaninkas plot to return to the Caquintes to capture more women for sale in Atalaya. They arrive in the headwaters, and see that the Caquintes have planted gardens near the river's edge. Taatakini, in usual fashion, is prepared, and kills all but one of them, who escapes. He then goes hunting and kills two collared peccaries. He returns home and tells

a man Soonteni to go fetch them on his behalf where he left them in the forest. But Soonteni is a fool, and traipses off whistling and shouting and singing a little ditty, “Jijiiiyooo jijiiiyooo jijiiiyooo. Yatsanajikari pabatini,¹⁴⁶ tee namenakotanteriji shorororo shorororo jeee jeee jeee.”¹⁴⁷ Taatakini calls after him, telling him to make sure the Ashaninkas do not hear him, but it is to no avail: when Soonteni reaches the peccaries the Ashaninkas, lying in wait, shoot him, and he screams, “Jiinaaa, jiinaaa.” He manages to make it back to Taatakini, zigzagging through the forest, and Taatakini kills all of the Ashaninkas who subsequently come for him, piling up their bodies in a cave in the mountain Amparentsini.¹⁴⁸

After many years have gone by (“aapojakageti osheki ajagantsini”), we learn that Taatakini’s daughter Biicho is living in the Ashaninka community of Mayapo, the next principal settlement on the right bank of the Tambo River downriver of the mouth of the Pogeni, still located in the same place today. The Ashaninkas find her to be hardworking and so refuse to sell her to Spanish-speakers in Atalaya. One day she plots her escape, making large batches of manioc beer for a drinking fest. A woman says that she should partake, but Biicho takes advantage of the custom by which a woman does not drink her own manioc beer, and so remains the only sober one as the community gets collectively drunk, at which points she absconds in the night with her daughter Metaki. She walks along the Tambo to the mouth of the Pogeni, as the Ashaninkas, finally cognizant of her escape, chase after her. But she hides under a large piece of bark of the *tsentero* palm, and they pass her by. She then ascends on foot all the way up into the headwaters, some 16 miles from the mouth as the crow flies, and much longer following the course of the river itself. The Ashaninkas follow her, but not before she encounters her father lying in wait with her husband Aakeni, who gratefully receive her. Taatakini manages to fight off the Ashaninkas when they do arrive.

Several years go by, during which time the Ashaninkas continue their raids. During this tumultuous period, a young man named Manabirontsi comes of age, and one day on the path the Ashaninkas capture him, but they tie him up only with a soft liana, which he manages to wriggle free of and escape. Many years go by, but the Ashaninkas do not let up their fighting. Then missionaries from SIL International arrive,¹⁴⁹ and encourage the Ashaninkas to make peace with the Caquintes, saying to them, “Aato pimetojajigiri pigonoro aisa itsipapae. Pogameetsantabakaa-jempa.”¹⁵⁰ Taatakini, now an old man, is told that the Ashaninkas want to make peace, but he

¹⁴⁶Soonteni’s speech is interesting. His word *pabatini* ‘father’ is otherwise found only in the speech of the semi-mythical humans the Shamaki, who are said to have occupied the caves in the headwaters before the Caquintes lived on the upper Pogeni. To my knowledge, this form only has a full cognate in Nomatsigenga *pabá(ti)* ‘father,’ which Shaver (1996:168) describes as a more respectful vocative than *apá(ti)*. In some Nijagantsi languages, the former term refers to the sun god, for example, Asheninka *pava* (Payne 1980:102). The Caquinte root *aapani* ‘father’ must originate in a form with an initial bilabial: the present-day possessed forms exhibit an *r* occurring between the possessive prefix and the root (e.g., *piraapanite* ‘your father’), which in some recordings made by Kenneth Swift in the late 1970s is attested as *pibaapanite*, suggesting a root †*paapani*.

¹⁴⁷“Jijiiiyooo jijiiiyooo jijiiiyooo. They killed my father without witnesses, I didn’t see it shorororo shorororo jeee jeee jeee.”

¹⁴⁸The name of this mountain is based on the inalienable noun *ampare*, referring to the haunting ghosts of the dead.

¹⁴⁹That is, “inkirishi tsarobentarika Aapani Irioshi” (“white people who worship God”)—see below.

¹⁵⁰“Don’t kill your people or others. Be good to each other.”

refuses, saying, “Aato namenajiri irosati nometojanaje.”¹⁵¹ He then moves his household over the hills to the headwaters of the Yori River, and there he dies.

A.2 Other Inhabitants of the Pogeni: The Case of the Shamaki

When the Caquintes abandoned the Tambo River, it is said that they encountered a group of people living in the hilly region of the extreme headwaters, who they refer to as *shamaki*. This term does not have a clear etymology, although it is identical to the inalienable noun referring to peccary scent glands.¹⁵² According to stories, the Shamakis, unlike Caquintes, did not wear clothes and did not practice agriculture, instead building elaborate suspension bridges at night in the tree canopy, which allowed them to descend to Caquintes’ gardens to steal food undetected. The Caquinte ancestor known to have engaged with Shamakis was Kotyarini, and over many years there were violent conflicts between Kotyarini’s people and Shamakis as they sought to keep them out of their gardens. The Caquintes also captured Shamaki women and married them. In this vein it is worth noting that I have not met a Caquinte who claims to have a Shamaki ancestor, suggesting that this intermarriage is no longer a salient part of Caquinte genealogies.

Who the Shamakis were is an important question for regional history, especially in light of the linguistic divergences of Caquinte from the rest of Nijagantsi languages. Unfortunately not much can be said. However, Antonina Salazar’s recounting of conflicts with Shamakis (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:132-140) reveals a handful of linguistic expressions that are of relevance. Their greeting is said to have been *jaonk* (i.e., [hãõŋk]), and their laughter is expressed by the ideophone *kooi*, not used for Caquintes’ laughter. More elucidating from the Nijagantsi perspective are the phrase *tata teerani* ‘What is it?’ (equivalent to Caquinte *taa opajita*) and the claim that they used the verb *semij* to denote shooting arrows. These facts suggest that the Shamakis spoke a Nijagantsi language, in particular one closely related to Matsigenka and Nanti. Only in these two languages is *tata* ‘what’ attested, and only in Matsigenka do we find a cognate to *semij*, with the similar meaning of throwing rocks or other small objects at someone (Snell 2011:427). It is difficult to analyze *teerani*, although it is notable that in Caquinte one interrogative pronoun, *ke*, occurs with the suffix *-ni* on the verb (see §B.9.3), suggesting that *teera* as a light verb like those found with ‘What is it?’ in other Nijagantsi languages. However, these verbs typically inflect for the gender of a third person subject, as with Matsigenka masculine *tata iita* and feminine *tata oita* (Snell 2011:480).¹⁵³ The word *teera* does not show any traces of Nijagantsi subject agreement.

¹⁵¹“I will not see them again until I die.”

¹⁵²This is not a plausible etymology, as inalienable nouns must surface either with a possessor, or with *-(n)tsi*.

¹⁵³This light verb is from an older **ji*, with regular loss of /h/ in Matsigenka.

A.3 Inferring the Number of Distinct Caquinte Ancestors

The Caquinte population of several hundred people today is currently known to be descendant only of 17 distinct ancestors.¹⁵⁴ I attribute this to two periods of extreme population reduction, one associated with the conflicts that led to Caquintes' flight to the Pogeni headwaters—again, perhaps in the early 19th century—another associated with later raids by Ashaninkas as part of the Rubber Boom. For example, the names of many male heads of household are known from the period associated with Taatakini's life, but many are said not to have any living descendants. These include, for example, Naarorini, whose children were captured and who was subsequently killed; Chaantani (perhaps the same man as in Antonina Salazar's telling of Taatakini) and Oshibinti, both of whom were killed along with their entire extended family groups; and Soonteni (again, perhaps the same as in this telling), whose wife was captured by Yines (*miitsiri*)—another Arawak people—who raided Caquinte settlements by crossing the hills from the headwaters of the left-bank tributaries of the Urubamba River.

Other names of ancestors, often said to be contemporaries of Taatakini, which require further research in oral histories are: Chomitonkini, Imataitejaniki, Intaini, Ishishishini, Itsitishigitini, Jaronakini, Katsikinikini, Ompakoroni, Poreirokitini, Saakoni, Santani, Shabashini, Sherotani, Shibinanti, Shimanegini, Tamporoni, and Tyomaini. Some Christian Caquintes in conversation with me have analogized these men with the Apostles, and this is a valuable reflection of the fact that even the individuals of Taatakini's generation, the grandparents of some living Caquintes, exist in a domain that is also semi-mythical. (Note, for example, some such events from Taatakini's own life, narrated above.) Some may very well have been and almost certainly were Taatakini's contemporaries, but others are probably much more ancient. Other genres, especially the tales of powerful shamans like Kapashini, who do not seem to be conceptualized as having necessarily been specific, real individuals, further blurring the line between relatively recent genealogies and mythical times. It is also worth emphasizing that it is not uncommon for some Caquintes to be known by more than one name, and so it is well within the realm of possibility that the individuals listed above are not all distinct.

What is clear, however, is that the vast majority of the ancient Caquintes do not have living descendants, as their names do not occur in the extensive genealogies that I have put together. These investigations have primarily been carried out with Antonina Salazar, whose memory for genealogical details is vast. Nevertheless, because Caquintes traditionally did not live in villages—preferring to live spread out in extended family groups—she had little interaction with some of these individuals as a child, and thus only at times only tentative conclusions can be drawn. Additionally, as with any memory of the distant past, she occasionally disagrees with others, which I discuss below. In going over Caquinte genealogies, it is important to recall the preferred pattern of cross-cousin marriage (especially a man's mother's brother's daughter)—widely practiced to this day—resulting in numerous classificatory kin. This allows us to infer hypothetical relations in the absence of other information

¹⁵⁴This number will inevitably change as additional relationships among distant ancestors are inferred, but it is unlikely to be significantly higher.

In Figure A.3 I list a set of couples, at least one of whose parents are unknown, and who are thus at present terminal ancestors. The list is arranged alphabetically by the man's Caquinte name, with women to the right of the equals sign. Individuals whose parents are unknown are boldfaced; non-boldfaced names have descriptions indicating relations to others in the list. Prominent men often practiced polygyny, and co-wives were usually sisters (full, half, or classificatory). Alternative Caquinte names are given in parentheses following "aka"; Spanish names are given in parentheses without it. Taatakini is said to be noteworthy for being a prominent warrior but having only one wife: he married Kaatsini only after the death of Aampini.

- Aakeni (aka Tsibini, son of Shankoro) = Biicho (aka Komaro), Korinto, Paakicha (daughters of Taatakini & Aampini); **Jananero**
- **Chonkona** = [unknown]
- Kankananti (son of Mojina & Chiakao) = **Chogeti**
- Kapashini (son of Aakeni & Biicho) = **Ampeimampo**
- **Kirajatsoonakiri** = **Inkarena**
- Koshanti (Tecori, son of Taatakini & Aampini) = **Yantora**
- **Mojina** = Chiakao (daughter of Taatakini & Kaatsini)
- Ojori (Gregorio, son of Taatakini & Aampi) = **Chiompini**
- **Shankentini** (aka Manabirontsi) = Meseani (Berca), Metaki (Carola) (daughters of Aakeni & Biicho); Koreani, Shankebanto (aka Shaiteni, Violeta) (daughters of Aakeni & Jananero); Carolina (Matsigenka); Takinto (Matsigenka)
- **Shankoro** = [unknown]
- **Shintyoi** = [unknown], Tsantsanaki (daughter of Taatakini & Aampini)
- **Taatakini** = **Aampini, Kaatsini**
- **Tsibeta** (aka Meshinantsi) = [unknown]
- **Tyoopiki** = Aroni (Sarita, daughter of Taatakini & Aampini)
- **Yoompiri** (aka Tsoompirontsi) = Patricia Torres Ríos (daughter of Koshanti & Yoreni, a Matsigenka)

Figure A.3: Distinct Caquinte Ancestors (tentative)

I note some key general patterns by which some families seem to be generally more closely

related than others, emphasizing that some of the relationships mentioned below may have only been classificatory. Aakeni, for example, largely married the daughters of Taatakini, suggesting that Aakeni's mother (unknown) was Taatakini's sister. In turn, Shankentini largely married the daughters of Aakeni, suggesting that Shankentini's mother (unknown) was Aakeni's sister. According to Zoila Sergio, Shankentini's daughter, her mother Metaki's father was not Aakeni but Tsibini. It is probable that Aakeni and Tsibini are alternate names for the same individual, since others who also have a grandfather in Aakeni through the same line are adamant that his name was Aakeni. The same woman has also suggested that Chonkona was Aakeni/Tsibini's brother, but this is unlikely, since Aakeni and Jananero's son Tiinkani married Chonkona's daughter Kitsapi (which would be a case of marriage of parallel cousins). Tiinkani and Kitsapi's marriage would instead suggest that Chonkona was Jananero's brother.

Mojina's wife Chiakao is the daughter of Taatakini and Aampini, suggesting that Mojina's mother, like Aakeni's mother, was another sister of Taatakini. The only other people in Figure A.3 to marry Taatakini's daughters were Paribanti (daughter Tsantsanaki), Shintyoi (daughter Tsantsanaki), and Tyoopiki (daughter Aroni), suggesting that each of their mothers was a sister of Taatakini. If each of these three men, together with Aakeni and Mojina, had distinct mothers, we can hypothesize that Taatakini had five sisters. According to Kenneth Swift, Shintyoi was a brother of Aakeni, which is consonant with this account.

Paribanti's father is known with confidence to have been Tsibeta (aka Meshinantsi), a notorious witch. If Paribanti's mother was a sister of Taatakini, then Tsibeta and Taatakini were brothers-in-law. On this view, Aakeni and Mojina were Tsibeta's nephews (his sisters' sons), a relationship that can be fraught in terms of shamanic rivalries (see the story of Kapashini in Salazar Torres et al. 2019:49-67). Indeed Tsibeta killed Aakeni, and attempted to kill Mojina, the latter per a story recorded by Swift (1988:187) in which Mojina refused to settle in Kitepampani in the 1970s, citing conflicts he had had living near Tsibeta in the past. Tsibeta was cursed and died on the Shampabireni River, where he was ostracized following his failure to cure Chiompini (who died) when she had trouble delivering one of her children, probably in the early 1950s. One day Tsibeta encountered a beautiful woman on the banks of the Shampabireni River, but it was a demon (*ampatsini*) who raped and disemboweled him. When he returned to his house, his immediate relatives found him disheveled and covered in mud, and unable to warm himself by the fire. He soon died, and they later found his body parts scattered throughout the forest. His fate was that of Aakeni: after Tsibeta's first attempt to kill Aakeni, Aakeni had come back to life; to ensure that this would not happen again, Tsibeta dismembered him. (These stories illustrate the ways in which the events of shamanic trances interact with those of the real world.)

It would seem, then, that Aakeni, Mojina, Paribanti, Shintyoi, and Tyoopiki—men who married Taatakini's daughters—were of the same generation, perhaps born in the 1910s and 1920s, with Shankoro (Aakeni's father), Taatakini, and perhaps Tsibeta being of the next higher generation. Shankentini, who married Aakeni's daughters, is likely of the next lower generation. We have also seen that there is a possible sibling relationship between Chonkona and Jananero, and that they seem to be of Aakeni's generation, Jananero being one of his wives. Of the remainder of those in Figure A.3, little can be said with confidence. Kankaananti and Kapashini's wives Chogeti and Ampeimampo, respectively, are interesting cases in this light: both men are

sons of daughters of Taatakini (Chiakao and Biicho, respectively). Strict adherence to the preferential marriage pattern would suggest that Chogeti and Ampeimampo were the daughters of Chiakao and Biicho's brother(s)—that is, a son of Taatakini—but it can be established that they are not the daughters of any of Taatakini's full sons. This suggests that at least one of Taatakini's brothers survived the conflicts with Ashaninkas, and that Chogeti and Ampeimampo could be the daughters of the son(s) of that brother, that is, Chiakao and Biicho's classificatory brother(s).

At present nothing more can be said about Kirajatsoonakiri, his wife Inkarena, or Koshanti's wife Yantora. This leaves Chiompini, Kaatsini, and Yoompiri (aka Tsoompirontsi). Kaatsini is known to be a sister of Shankentini; she was Taatakini's much younger wife who he took after the death of Aampini. Chiompini and Yoompiri can be hypothesized with reasonable confidence to have been siblings, since Chiompini's daughter Abataka addressed Yoompiri as *koonkini* 'maternal uncle.' If Chiompini's husband Ojori adhered to the preferential marriage pattern, then Chiompini would have been the daughter of the brother of Taatakini's wife Aampini (Ojori being one of Taatakini and Aampini's sons), whose ancestry is otherwise unknown. Yoompiri's marriage is uninformative in this inference process.

In closing this section, I want to draw attention to the fact that Taatakini only had one wife for most of his life. This is striking given the polygyny that was widespread preceding the generation of Caquintes born shortly before the advent of Christianity in many families. It suggests that Taatakini had few to no marriageable relatives, that is, few to no female cross-cousins. This would mean that his mother had few to no (classificatory) brothers, which would not be surprising in the context of increased Ashaninka raids in the early years of the Rubber Boom. Finally, I note that there are key interviews remaining to be done with the living children of some of the individuals listed in Figure A.3, which will certainly reveal clearer relationships between some of them.

A.4 Mapping Hispanic Surnames to Extended Family Groups

Caquintes traditionally had first names—in some cases multiple ones—but not surnames. Many families began adopting surnames in the late 1970s, and studying how they map on to descendants of particular individuals is valuable for hypothesizing particular relationships between those same individuals that are difficult to detect otherwise. It is also revealing of how Caquintes interpreted the function of Hispanic surnames in cases where relationships are known with confidence. There are 15 known Caquinte surnames (Table A.1), all of which are borrowed from Spanish except Jívico, Shichanti, and Taataquini.

A number of full, half, or classificatory sibling relationships can be proposed given certain shared patronyms: the distribution of Aguilar suggests that Chonkona and Shintyoi were full or half-siblings, or classificatory siblings through their fathers. The distribution of Figueroa suggests the same of Yoompiri and Chiompini, Jívico the same for Tyoopiki and Paribanti, and Sergio the same for Manabirontsi and Ampeimampo (cf. observations in §A.3). Furthermore, a few surnames associate uniquely with ancestors with no assuredly known siblings. Thus Arévalo associates

Table A.1: Caquinte Surnames & Descendant Groups

SURNAME	DESCENDANT GROUP
Aguilar	patronym of descendants of Chonkona patronym of descendants of Shintyoi & Tsantsanaki
Arévalo	matronym of children of Aakeni & Jananero
Figueroa	patronym of descendants of Yoompiri & Patricia Ríos matronym of children of Ojori & Chiompini
Jívico	patronym of descendants of Tyoopiki & wife patronym of descendants of Paribanti & wife
Pérez	matronym of Carlos Salazar (not well understood) patronym of descendants of Ojori & Matinkori
Ríos	matronym of descendants of Koshanti & Yantora matronym of descendants of Koshanti & Yoreni
Salazar	patronym of descendants of Aakeni & all wives but Jananero
Sanzón	patronym of descendants of Kankaananti & Chogeti
Sergio	patronym of descendants of Shankentini & all wives matronym of descendants of Ampeimampo
Shichanti	matronym of Amador Taataquini
Simeón	patronym of descendants of Ishai & Majonti
Simón	patronym of descendants of Kirajatsoonakiri & Inkarena
Taatakini	patronym of descendants of Amador patronym of descendants of Remijio
Torres	patronym of sons of Taatakini & Aampini (except one branch)
Vega	patronym of daughters of Taatakini & Aampini

with Jananero, Salazar with Aakeni, and Simón with Kirajatsoonakiri.

Most surnames (i.e., Aguilar, Arévalo, Figueroa, Jívico, Salazar, Sanzón, Sergio, Simeón, and Simón) show no variation on the Hispanic tradition of inheritance. That is, all the children of a particular man have inherited that man's patronym as their patronym, or all children of a particular woman have inherited that woman's patronym as their matronym. In one instance, however, patronyms vary based on differences in mother: for Ríos, the patronym of the children of Ojori with two of his wives is Torres, but the patronym of his children with his third wife Matinkori is Ríos.¹⁵⁵ Similarly, in another instance, patronyms vary based on whether they associate with male or female children of the same two parents: thus Taatakini and Aampini's sons carry the surname Torres, but their daughters carry the surname Vega. At present it is not known what

¹⁵⁵The presence of Ríos as a matronym in children of Koshanti is not understood.

surname Taatakini's son with his second wife Kaatsini carried. Separately, one surname differs between purported siblings. Thus Ishai and his descendants carry the surname Simeón, but Ishai's "brother" Kankaananti and his descendants carry the surname Sanzón. This may mean that Ishai and Kankaananti are not actually full or half-brothers, but rather classificatory brothers through their mothers.

Some surnames are relatively unique in Caquinte genealogies. Shichanti, for example, is the matronym of one man, which may be due to the fact that he adopted surnames relatively late compared to other Caquintes. Taataquini was adopted by the same man as his patronym, Taatakini being his paternal grandfather. However, Taataquini was also adopted by a younger man who was not aware of the surnames of his parents at the time, although they are still living. Finally, some individuals are known to have changed their surname. For example, some individuals whose patronym was formerly Jívico are now Díaz, not listed above here (K. Swift, p.c.).

A.5 Latter 20th-century History

By the mid-20th century, some Caquintes had left the upper Pogeni basin, crossing southeast over the hills to the headwaters of the Ageni and Yori rivers in order to avoid living near Ashaninkas. In addition to Taatakini, who settled on the upper Yori, Mojina and Shankentini settled on the upper Ageni in the region near Taini.¹⁵⁶ Shankentini is said to have had a vision in the late 1950s in which he learned that he would not live long, but that his children should go in search of a white person (*inkirishi*, from Sp. *inglés*) who would reveal the Creator to them (Swift 2013:1). Shankentini indeed died shortly thereafter, on the Tipeshijari stream,¹⁵⁷ leaving his six wives and children in a precarious position. Some of his brothers-in-law, who lived in the same extended family unit, asked nearby Matsigenkas if they knew of an *inkirishi*, and they were directed to Wayne and Betty Snell, who were living in the Picha basin in the Matsigenka community of Puerto Huallana. The men returned with their sisters, nieces, and nephews, settling permanently in Puerto Huallana in 1959 or 1960, per Betty Snell's estimate (Swift, p.c., 2013:1).

This was a consequential moment in Caquinte history, for reasons that I elaborate below. The immediate effect was that a large group of siblings—approximately a dozen—grew up throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s in a concentrated Matsigenka community. Not only had Caquintes not lived in concentrated communities of this sort previously, but they had not spent such lengthy periods of time exposed to Matsigenka language. The Matsigenkas are one of the politically dominant groups of the lower Urubamba basin, and this extended Caquinte family remains one of the most politically influential families to this day.

Beginning in the mid-1970s, there was a desire on the part of some of Shankentini's sons, now young men, to found a community of their own, with SIL support. In 1975 they returned to the Ageni and Yori rivers to encourage fellow Caquintes to settle in a single community, traveling as

¹⁵⁶The presence of Caquintes in the upper Ageni and Yori basins predates this period, as there are named sites there that figure prominently in Caquinte mythology. For example, the the name Itsobironakite Tai 'House of the Moon' is given to a geological formation near the community of Taini, which takes its name from it.

¹⁵⁷Swift (2013) gives the location as Shimateni stream, but this is contradicted by a daughter of Shankentini.

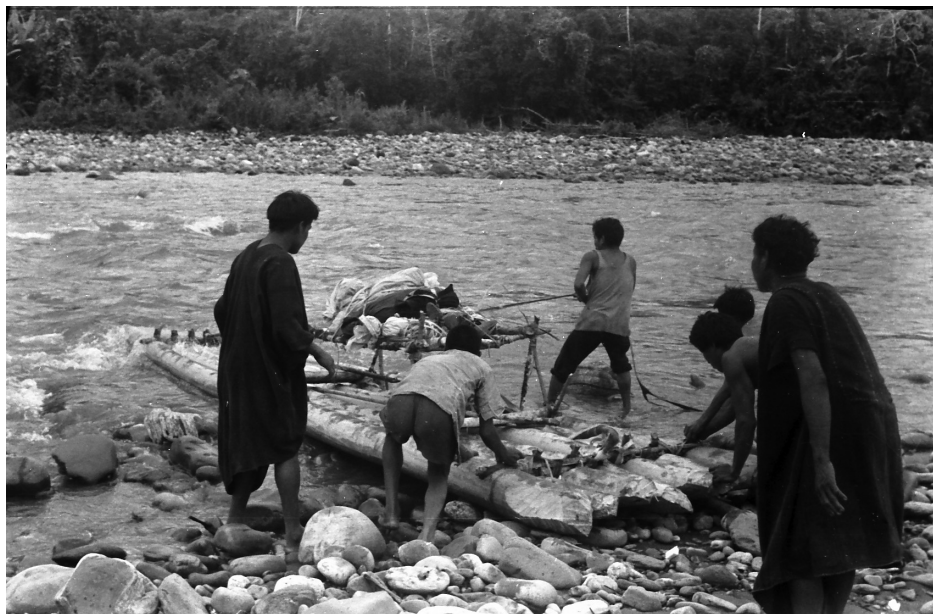


Figure A.4: SIL expedition to upper Pogeni River, 1969
(photograph courtesy of SIL and Kenneth & Joy Swift, used with permission)

well to the Shireni and Tireni rivers, tributaries of the upper Pogeni. They founded Kitepampani in June of the same year, but some Caquintes remained in Puerto Huallana a while longer. For one week over the New Year of 1976, Kenneth Swift visited some of the Caquintes in Puerto Huallana, where Shankentini's brother-in-law Ugarte Salazar was his first language teacher. By August, the new residents of Kitepampani had cleared an airstrip where SIL planes could land, at which time Wayne Snell and Kenneth Swift jointly traveled there by boat to inspect it. Afterwards the Swifts began a period of seven years' permanent residence there.

Caquintes did not traditionally recognize a centralized leader, but such leaders were encouraged in these communities. Luis Salazar Vega (Shaanko, d. 2015) was the first chief of Kitepampani, but he was driven out in 1977 under accusations of abuse, going on to found with his brother Gabriel (Oajio) another community, Taini, several hours upriver along the Ageni. David Sergio Salazar was the first SIL-taught schoolteacher in Kitepampani, a position he held for many years. After Luis, his nephew †José Sergio Salazar (Pochoti), son of Shankentini and Shankebanto (aka Shaiteni, Violeta), became chief;¹⁵⁸ he was succeeded by his half-brother †Lucas (mother Metaki) in 1981 (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:3-7).

In July 1977, Kenneth Swift traveled with Gabriel Salazar (see above) and his half-brother †Pedro (Koanchaini) up the Ageni River, where Gabriel would later found Taini. From there they

¹⁵⁸Swift (2013:2) claims that Hortencio (Sonkibiro, mother Meseani, aka Verca), José's half-brother, was second.



Figure A.5: Kitepampani with the Ajeni River in the upper right
(photograph courtesy of Kenneth & Joy Swift, used with permission)

crossed over to the headwaters of the Yori, and from there over the hills to the Tireni, where they met Tyoopiki (see §A.3), who was dying. Upriver along the Pogeni from the mouth of the Tireni (toward the mouth of the Shireni) they met with more Caquinte families. It was near the mouth of the Shireni that some five years later Caquintes, some coming from Kitepampani, began to clear new gardens. According to Antonina Salazar, the first group of men who went to the Pogeni for this purpose were Shankentini's sons Lucas (then chief of Kitepampani), †Juan (Kamojiri), Donaldo (Barari), and †Ernesto (Shabeto); her father Pedro, full brother Jacobo (Tyoantyoani), half-brother †Salomón (Keshito), and classificatory brother †Aquilino; and a son of Shankentini's daughter †Esperanza (Oyaki), †Justino (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:7-8). There was concern about the availability of good land for gardens, which, when Kitepampani was officially titled by the government in August 1983 (*ibid.*:14), became a more serious concern. (It was felt that the legal bounds of the community were too restrictive.) In the dry season of 1983 several families moved from Kitepampani and cleared an airstrip, but several remained behind in Kitepampani, concerned that there were no well established gardens at the new site. This was the inception of the community of Tsoroja (Swift 2013:3-4).

Over the course of the 1980s, Tsoroja came to be the home of the majority of Caquintes, with



Figure A.6: Garden clearing at Kitepampani (July 2017)

Kitepampani and Taini waning in importance. The land titling process was begun in 1987, and in 1990 25,964 hectares (100.25 square miles) were approved, over double the size of Kitepampani's 12,667. (Taini was titled in 1999, with 6,003 hectares.) In late 1988, Caquintes were encouraged to form patrols (Sp. *ronda*) that would be prepared to defend themselves against terrorists affiliated with the Shining Path (ibid.:27-28), part of the government's program to arm Ashaninkas along the Tambo and farther upriver in this effort. Some Christian families stated that they were conscientious objectors, and refused to participate, resulting in tensions that led them to return to Kitepampani.

This is illustrative of regular movements of Caquinte families among the three principal communities of Tsoroja, Kitepampani, and Taini that continues today, in an area spanning the hills that separate the regions of Junín and Cusco that is a demonstrably Caquinte space. These forces have led to additional fragmentations in the form of annexes—politically dependent settlements that are not officially titled—to these and other communities, where Caquintes also live. Tsoroja's annex is San Luis de Korinto, founded largely by the extended family of Luis Salazar, the first chief of Kitepampani. Taini's annex is Oni Mankoriari 311. (Kitepampani does not have an annex.) Caquintes have also come to live in Mashía, an annex of Tangoshiari (both on the Tsogeni River), and in Dios Maseca (Sensa River), an annex of Porotobango (Huitiricaya River). The Caquintes

who live in Maseca are largely the descendants of Taatakini and Aampini's son Koshanti (aka Tecori Ríos) and his Matsigenka wife Yoreni.

The spread of Caquintes across communities with varied ethnic identities is seen by some as a threat to the integrity of Caquintes themselves. Tangoshiari is titled as an Ashaninka community and is largely Ashaninka-speaking, and many Caquintes who live in Mashía have married people who self-identify as Ashaninka. Porotobango is titled as a Matsigenka community, and although Maseca is much farther from it than Mashía is from Tangoshiari, many Caquintes who live in Maseca have married people who self-identify as Matsigenka. Similar patterns are also found in Kitepampani. For example, in 1997 the extended family of †Jorge Gregorio (a Matsigenka) and Zoila Sergio (Shankentini's daughter) began returning to live in Kitepampani from the Urubamba River, where they had raised their children since 1974 (before Kitepampani was founded). Their children's first language is Matsigenka, which now as a result is heard more in Kitepampani than it was before. Many of these children married Caquintes whose families never lived on the Urubamba, and whose first language is thus Caquinte.

The effect of Matsigenka in Kitepampani has parallels with Ashaninka in Taini and Tsoroja, where various Caquinte-Ashaninka marriages have taken place.¹⁵⁹ In Tsoroja in particular, growing self-identification as Ashaninka among some has led to increased personal and political affiliation with the downriver Ashaninka community of Pogeni, located at the mouth of the river by the same name. This is the location that Caquintes fled before the life of Kamotsontoparini (see §A.1.1), to escape Ashaninkas, a fact that many Caquinte families cite as a reason for the inappropriateness of these shifting identities. This has resulted in serious conflicts that are necessarily outside the scope of this description. I stress, however, that the intermarriage that yields fluid identities in younger generations has clearly gone on since time immemorial. One finds them throughout genealogies: two of Shankentini's wives, for example, were Matsigenka, which is not surprising, since the upper Ageni and Yori rivers were populated by Matsigenkas in the mid-20th century (at the time when Caquintes were moving from the Pogeni). In fact the father of Jorge Gregorio, who raised his children on the Urubamba (see above), was originally from the Yori. His father, †Tereshicha, had a large family that more or less left the region for Porotobango when the Caquintes came in 1975 from Puerto Huallana (recall, a Matsigenka community), only to be followed by Taatakini's son Koshanti and his Matsigenka wife Yoreni.

¹⁵⁹In fact Tsoroja is legally titled as an Ashaninka community, not a Caquinte one, despite being the home to more people who self-identify as Caquinte than any other community.

Appendix B

Selective Grammar Sketch

There is no documentation or description of Caquinte of any kind whatsoever—not even a word list—predating 1976, when Kenneth and Joy Swift (SIL) began a period of residence and study of the language in Kitepampani. This is striking even in the context of late- and understudied Amazonian languages, and is in part due to the extreme isolation of the majority of the population before this date, and, I imagine, the presumption, when outsiders were in contact with Caquintes, that they were a subgroup of Ashaninkas.¹⁶⁰ As a result, the first published description of the language is Kenneth Swift's (1988) *Morfología del caquinte*, a Spanish translation of his (1985) master's thesis from the University of Texas at Arlington. This is an impressive work both in its scope and its understanding of the language. It built on the by then well established SIL descriptive tradition for Nijagantsi languages begun by Willard Kindberg (1961b, 1975a,b) and Lee Kindberg (Kindberg 1961a, 1980) for Ashaninka and by Wayne and Betty Snell for Matsigenka in the early 1950s (Snell 1975, [1974]1978, 1998, 2011; Chávez Pereira and Snell 2013), and continued by Mary Ruth Wise (1971) and Harold Shaver (1975a,b, 1996) for Nomatsigenga, and by David Payne (1980, 1981, 1984a, 2002); Payne and Ballena Dávila (1983); Payne and Payne (2005) and Judith Payne (1991) for Asheninka in the subsequent decades, among others.¹⁶¹ An even older descriptive tradition for Matsigenka goes back to the linguistically sophisticated work of the Spanish Dominican missionary José Pío Aza (1923, 1924). More recently, and outside of missionary circles, the work of Lev Michael (2001; 2004; 2006; 2008; 2012b; 2013; 2014a; 2014b; 2020; 2005) and Christine Beier (2010) for previously undescribed Nanti, and of Elena Mihas for Asheninka (Mihas 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2017a,b,c), have continued to push our knowledge of these languages forward. Furthermore, over the last decade in particular, Peruvian students of linguistics have contributed to this movement as part of their academic training (Fernández Fabián 2011; Medina Gutiérrez 2011; Bravo Huaynates 2013; Ramos Ríos 2016; Castillo Ramírez 2017;

¹⁶⁰Recall from §A.5 that Kitepampani was founded at the behest of a group of young Caquinte men who had lived beginning in the late 1950s in the Matsigenka community of Puerto Huallana, but, to my knowledge, Wayne and Betty Snell did not document the language at that time.

¹⁶¹See Anderson (1991a,b, 2005) and Heitzman (1991).

Solari Ruiz-Eldredge 2019; Apolinario Vilcarrromero 2020; Solari Ruiz-Eldredge 2020).¹⁶²

Given the sophistication of Swift (1988), and the fact that this is only an appendix, I am selective about the grammatical topics I cover here. In short, I do not seek to reinvent the wheel, focusing on topics that I feel I bring new insights to, on ones that I happen to have explored more than others, and/or on those not covered in previous description. For example, I say nothing about the noun phrase apart from basic properties of nouns as a word class in §B.1.2.2, and refer the reader for this and many other topics to Swift (1988). I begin with a general typological overview (§B.1), emphasizing locus of marking, properties of individual word classes, and alignment. Following this is a section on segmental phonology (§B.2), where I provide phonemic inventories, discuss lexical (especially epenthesis and /g/-deletion) and postlexical processes that affect syllable structure. Then I turn to some core parts of the grammar of the verb phrase, focusing on main clauses: verbal agreement (§B.3), temporal aspect (§B.4), and reality status and voice (§B.5). Agreement, aspect, reality status, and voice are the four obligatory verbal categories. Then there are sections on valence-changing operations (§B.6); reciprocal, antipassive, causatives, and applicatives; four forms of negation (§B.7); some of many second position clitics expressing modal, mirative, and related meanings (§B.8); and phenomena related to extraction (§B.9), in part due to its interaction with the obligatory categories mentioned above. Unfortunately this selection still leaves many worthwhile topics to the side, in particular those concerning the rich verbal morphology that occurs between (or interspersed with) derivational suffixes and aspectual suffixes farther to the right. Some of these are mentioned in §B.1.2.1.

B.1 General Typological Overview

Caquinte is a polysynthetic, strongly head-marking, relatively agglutinating language—typical in these ways of all Nijagantsi languages—with a rich and complex morphology, especially on verbs. It is a nominative-accusative, verb-initial language with frequent topicalization that results in non-verb-initial word orders. A verb can constitute a well formed sentence unto itself. Polysynthetic properties include discontinuous constituents and productive noun incorporation. In addition to the extensive verbal suffixal morphology, there is also a large class of second position clitics. The following word classes can be distinguished (see §B.1.2): verbs, nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, adjectives, quantifiers, adverbs (including two numerals), and a large and very often used class of ideophones.

B.1.1 Locus of Marking

In both the verb phrase and the noun phrase, the locus of marking is the head. For the verb phrase, given the high number of grammatical categories, this can result in quite lengthy words, as with the 16-syllable form in (282), with eight affixes and a clitic. This is a typical reason construction, where the verb bears an applicative that introduces an argument corresponding to the reason

¹⁶²In the United States, Aimee Lawrence's (2013) MA thesis focused on verbal inflectional morphology in Nomatsigenka, and Michael Dohn's (2017) BA thesis focused on directionals and aspect in Matsigenka.

that is then relativized. The result is a headless relative clause that serves as the complement to the third person feminine copula *iro*, which only bears the congruent stance marker =*tari*.

(282) “...iroitari omatsatontiikijanikitantabaetanakaka.”

iro =*tari* *o-* *matsa* -*tontiiki* -*janiki* -*an* -*bae* -*an* -*k* -*a* =*ka*
 3F.COP =CNGR 3F- be.thin -CL:emaciated -DIM -INSTR -DUR -ABL -PFV -MR =REL

“...that’s why she’s gotten so emaciated.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:48)

The verb additionally bears subject agreement, a classifier, a diminutive, durative -*bae* (expressing long durations or distances, or extreme degrees), the ablative directional -*an* (expressing a change of state), perfective -(*a*)*k*, and a fusional voice-reality status category.

In the noun phrase, the noun inflects for a possessor, and is marked for possession (with a separate affix) and number. Other number markers and the locative are second position clitics within the noun phrase, and so may but do not always attach to the head (see Rolle and O’Hagan 2019). Possession and number are shown in (283): the noun *orijani* ‘daughter’ inflects for a third person masculine possessor, followed by a plural suffix and a possessive suffix for alienable nouns.

(283) ...arikea okenkebarojianake irorijanijiate...

ari =*kea* *o-* *kenkebaro* -*jig* -*an* -*k* -*i* *iri-* *orijani* -*jia* -*te*
 FOC =EW 3F- be.of.age -PL -ABL -PFV -AR 3M- daughter -PL -P

...then his daughters came of age...” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:174)

Note that there is no case marking, the noun being crossreferenced in its function as the subject via verbal subject agreement prefixes.

B.1.2 Basic Properties of Word Classes

B.1.2.1 Verbs

The verbal word is the center of morphological complexity in Caquinte. Verbs are bound roots that must co-occur with markers of agreement, aspect, reality status, and voice (*modulo* the suppression of agreement under extraction and a differential object marking system that is still not well understood). Markers for agreement, aspect, reality status, and voice occur at the extreme edges of the verbal word. Subject agreement is realized in the leftmost prefixal position, whereas the other categories occur in a series of positions at the right edge (along with a handful of other unrelated suffixes). The affixes in this rightmost position are also the ones most affected by other morphosyntactic processes in the language. For example, subject extraction results in special marking of irrealis; and extraction of intransitive subjects in particular results in special marking of aspect, and in the neutralization of contrasts for reality status and voice. Reality status and voice are expressed in the realis with a fusional suffix, the only such suffix in the language.

The verbal word can be broken down into three principal zones. The prefixal zone includes subject agreement, expression of irrealis of the nasal autosegment /N/ (§B.2.2.3) when the first onset of the stem is a voiceless stop or affricate, and old derivational morphology: in addition to three causatives (§B.6.3), there is an unproductive reversative marker *pe-* (which co-occurs with the productive suffixal one *-rej*, e.g., *peshinkirej* ‘sober up,’ from *shinki* ‘be drunk’) and *aga-* ‘finish X,’ now found only with *agashekaj* ‘finish eating.’¹⁶³ The suffixal zone is the largest, with over 20 discernible slots filled by an even larger number of grammatical forms. Following this is a zone of second position enclitics, which, given their nature, only attach to the verb when it is in first position. (There are no proclitics in the language.) There are at least seven clitic slots.¹⁶⁴

These three zones are also distinguished by unique phonological properties. In the prefixal zone, vowel hiatus is resolved via deletion of the vowel of the prefix farther to the left. This can be appreciated in (284), where final vowel of the subject prefix *iri-* deletes before the causative *ogi-*, the final vowel of which deletes before the vowel-initial verb *ame* ‘be used to.’

(284) Teekea irogametempaji inkatsiketeji.

tee =kea iri- ogi- ame -e -mpa -ji i- N- katsike -e -ji
 NEG =EW 3M- CAUS- be.used.to -IRR -MID -NEG 3M- IRR- clear.land -IRR -NEG

They hadn’t gotten themselves used to clearing land. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:136)

In the suffixal zone, with two exceptions, vowel hiatus and consonant clusters are repaired via rampant epenthesis: vowel hiatus is resolved via insertion of /t/; consonant clusters are repaired via insertion of /a/ (see §B.2.2.2). The two exceptions are *-(i)tsi*, whose allomorphs *-(i)tsi* and *-tsi* follow consonant-final and vowel-final stems, respectively; and first person inclusive *-aji*, which resolves vowel hiatus with a preceding reality status suffix by simply deleting the reality status suffix. The phonological shapes of the second position enclitics are such that vowel hiatus and consonant clusters never occur.

Within the suffixal zone, incorporated nouns, classifiers, and valence-changing morphemes tend to occur farther to the left (i.e., closer to the root) than non-valence-related derivational morphology and inflectional morphology, but this is not absolute: morphemes occur in particular positions that may be unexpected given their semantics, such as mirative *-(a)tig*, which occurs all the way to the right of the directionals (see below). These morphemes are in large part the eleven applicatives and the causative, antipassive, and reciprocal that occur as suffixes, but others such as durative *-bae* occur amid them. Following this are “adverbial” categories such as *-(a)pini* ‘regularly’ or *-aman* ‘early in the morning,’ but also nonreferential *-ji* (resulting in a construction like English impersonal *they*) and multiple participant plurals. Following this is a rich set of directional and associated motion suffixes; the reader is referred to Swift (1988:54) for their relative order. Following this come the aspectual and other suffixes mentioned above. While

¹⁶³These prefixal derivational markers are unusual in often making the following root /g/- or /h/-final, as is the case with *agashekaj*, from /ʃeka/ ‘eat.’

¹⁶⁴Slots for suffixes and clitics are deduced from relative orderings of pairwise combinations of forms, not all of which can co-occur for independent reasons.

full explication of Caquinte affix ordering is outside the scope of this description, I emphasize that the ordering is rigid. There are no scope-based alternations as for language families such as Athabaskan (Rice 2000). Furthermore, it is clear that some aspects of Caquinte affix ordering differ from closely related languages, such as Matsigenka. For example, in the latter, frustrative *-ve* precedes both *-apini* ‘regularly’ and plural *-ig*, whereas in Caquinte the frustrative follows both of the cognates to these suffixes. In combination with the morphophonology of Caquinte, this results in notably different surface forms for some combinations of verbal suffixes, despite the fact that the overall morphological make-up of verbs in Nijagantsi languages is astoundingly similar (e.g., the Matsigenka frustrative-plural sequence is *veig*; in Caquinte it is *jiabe*). This sketch does little justice to the vast majority of verbal suffixes, concentrating instead on valence-changing suffixes closest to the root and on the assortment of suffixes at the right edge, as well as on several of the second position clitics. For most things in between, the reader is referred to Swift (1988:48-60, 77-91).

Finally, in terms of derivational morphology that alters word class, there is a rich series of nine deverbal nominalizers that strip away all verbal categories, combining directly with the root. All but one of these (i.e., the masculine-feminine pair *-nti/-nto*, a subject nominalizer for statives) derive a morphologically inalienable noun. No markers derive other word classes from verbs.

B.1.2.2 Nouns

The nominal word is simple relative to the verbal word. Nouns are distinguished based on whether they are alienable or inalienable, masculine or feminine, resulting in four classes (e.g., inalienable masculine, etc.). (Caquinte nouns are not specified for animacy as in some other Nijagantsi languages.) For both alienability classes, possessors are crossreferenced on the possessum via a series of prefixes, with the possessor itself occurring after the possessum. For alienable nouns, an additional possessive suffix (*-ne* or *-te*) must occur. If inalienable nouns are to occur without a possessor, the “alienator” suffix *-(n)tsi* must occur.¹⁶⁵ The suffixes *-(n)tsi* and *-te* can co-occur, deriving an alienable noun from an inalienable one that is then possessed. This results in important lexical contrasts, for example, *noteshi* ‘my flesh (of my own body)’ versus *noteshitsite* ‘my flesh (of an animal),’ from the inalienable noun *teshi*.

In addition to alienability and possession, three plural suffixes precede the possessive suffix in the nominal template, which has a similarly rigid ordering: *-jia*, collective plural *-bio*, and perspectival plural *-jite*. Following this—if the noun is in first position within the noun phrase—are second position clitics realizing another plural, *=pae*, and a general locative *=ki*, the only postposition in the language.

POSSESSOR-NOUN-ALIENATOR-PLURAL-POSSESSIVE(=PLURAL=LOCATIVE)

Figure B.1: Nominal Affix Ordering

¹⁶⁵The suffix *-ne* and *-tsi* occur with bimoraic roots; *-te* and *-ntsi* occur with trimoraic ones.

These second position clitics attach to the same host only if forced to by dint of there only being one (e.g., an unmodified noun). In (285), with a prenominal adjective, the plural attaches to the adjective and the locative to the noun. If only one clitic were present, it would attach to the adjective.

(285) Ari ochabankake onirojegipae chomoki.

ari o- chabank -k -i oniro -jegi =pae chomo =ki
 FOC 3F- masticate -PFV -AR big(.inanimate) -CL:objects =PL clay.pot =LOC

Then she masticated [manioc] in big clay pots. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:25)

In terms of nominal derivation, inalienable nouns may be suffixed to alienable ones, the only form of compounding in the language (e.g., *mapochapoa* ‘papaya trunk,’ from *poa* ‘trunk’). There are exceedingly few denominal derivational affixes. Nouns can be zero-derived to verbs, and two other prefixes are notable from a comparative perspective. The prefix *eje-* attaches to inalienable nouns and derives an adjective describing the barrenness of the head noun (e.g., *ejetsino* ‘naked,’ from *tsino* ‘body’). The prefix *pi-* derives a stative verb that denotes the head noun being in a more or less horizontal position (e.g., *pibankaj* ‘look upward,’ from *banka* ‘forehead’). There are reflexes of the pan-Arawak attributive prefix *ka-* (“have X”) in, for example, *katsima* ‘be angry,’ and of the privative *ma-* (“not have X”) in, for example, *matsitoposo* ‘be dull.’

B.1.2.3 Pronouns

There is one series of pronouns in Caquinte, which distinguish three persons, an inclusive, and a gender distinction in the third person (Table B.1); number is not distinguished. These are the same distinctions as with verbal agreement affixes (see §B.3).

Table B.1: Caquinte Pronouns

PERSON	FORM
1	naatimpa
1INCL	aatimpa
2	abiatimpa
3M	iriatimpa
3F	iroatimpa

Pronouns can occur after the verb, or, in the case of topicalization, before it. Regardless of relative order, they co-occur with agreement on the verb, unless they are contrastively focused, in which they occur in initial position and suppress corresponding agreement on the verb. They may also occur as the possessor in a possessive noun phrase.

B.1.2.4 Demonstratives

There are three demonstratives, as summarized in Table B.2. These roots inflect for the gender of the noun they modify with masculine *iri-* and feminine *o-* (e.g., *irika*), preceding the noun.

Table B.2: Caquite Demonstratives

FORM	FUNCTION
ka	close to speaker
ra	close to addressee
nta	distal from speaker and addressee

The demonstrative *ra* also encodes familiarity, and occurs in the overwhelming number of topicalized noun phrases. Apart from a single adjective, *tsipa* ‘other,’ these are the only nominal modifiers that agree in gender with the head noun. Typically demonstratives immediately precede the noun, but they may also be discontinuous, as in (286), where the verb intervenes.

(286) ...“Abiatimpa igentijegi, ora pimankigakarogeti mankigarentsi...”

abiatimpa igentijegi o- ra pi- mankiga -k -a -ro =geti mankigarentsi
 2.PRO brother 3F- MED 2- marry -PFV -MR -3F =when woman

...“You, brother, when you marry this woman...” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:13)

B.1.2.5 Adjectives

A small class of underived adjectives that modify nouns are present in the corpus (Table B.3). A few other modifying adjectives are present, but they are derived from verbs (e.g., *tiaantsi* ‘cooked,’ from *tig* ‘cook’). All adjectives, regardless of whether they are derived, can be defined as a class by their ability to take classifiers and occur with a suffix *-ni* explained below (with the exception of *tsipa* ‘other,’ which never occurs with this suffix).

The modifying function of *oniro* ‘big’ is shown in (287). This adjective, variant *iniro*, and *iriri* ‘big’ (of animates) take the default classifier *-jegi* unless a more specific one is used, as is present in this example. Note that the pronoun *iroa* is a truncated form of *iroatimpa* (see §B.1.2.3).

(287) *Iroa iro ochookatantaka onirojegi shimita.*

iroa iro o- chooka -aN -ak -a =ka oniro -jegi shimita
 3F.PRO 3F.COP 3F- EXST -INSTR -PFV -MR =REL big -CL:default tree.sp.

Her what she lived in was a big *shimita* tree. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:144)

Adjectives often bear the suffix *-ni*, which seems to occur when the adjective is not in its prenominal modifier position. This is the case both when a modifying adjective is postnominal (288), as well as when it is predicative, as the complement of the verb *kan* (289).

Table B.3: Simplex Modifying Adjectives

FORM	MEANING
iniro ~ oniro	big (inanimate)
iriri	big (animate)
irijanijaniki ~ orijanijaniki	small
kameetsa	good, beautiful, handsome
osegonta	silver
tsipa	other

(288) Katsiketi okenapoji chobiga inirojegini...

katsiketi o- ken -poj -i chobiga iniro -jegi -ni
 immediately 3F- follow.route -ALL -AR wind big -CL:default -ADJ

Immediately a big wind came...

(text, ESS, ptk)

(289) Ari otejapoji inkani jiririri, inirojenkani okantanaka...

ari o- tej -poj -i inkani jiririri iniro -jenka -ni o- kan -an -k -a
 FOC 3F- fall -ALL -AR rain IDEO:non.stop.rain big -CL:immaterial -ADJ 3F- COP -ABL -PFV -MR

Then the rain fell non-stop *jiririri*, it got big...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:44)

In the corpus, the vast majority of adjectives do not function as prenominal modifiers, such that most examples of adjectives include the suffix *-ni*. This suffix also allows polycategorical roots to function as adjectives, in which case it has a derivational function, these roots not being able to surface in their bare form. This is shown for *majere* ‘quiet’ in (290), with its verbal use in (291).

(290) “‘Arigeti ashige, majereni ankankempa.’”

ari =geti a- shig -e majere -ni a- N- kan -k -e -mpa
 FOC =if 1INCL- run -IRR quiet -ADJ 1INCL- IRR- COP -PFV -IRR -MID

“‘If we run away, we’ll [need to] be quiet.’”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:47)

(291) “Pimajeretakeshine...”

pi- majere -ak -e =shine
 2- be.quiet -PFV -IRR =IRRITATION

“Be quiet...”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:84)

Adjectives suffixed with *-ni* can also be embedded, as under *amen* ‘see’ in (292).

(292) ...yamenabepojari kajaragiteni, manigiteni.

i- amen -be -poj -a -ri kajara -gite -ni mani -gite -ni
 3M- see -FRST -ALL -MR -3M empty -CL:environment -ADJ abandoned -CL:environment -ADJ

...he saw that that it was empty, abandoned. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:138)

Adjectives may also occur in a resultative construction, in which case they do not bear *-ni*. One resultative construction consists of a clause with a lexical verb, followed by an adjective preceding the verb *og* ‘do.’ The construction with *tseraja* ‘full’ (of liquid) in (293), for example, can be paraphrased as “Boil a full pot of water.”

(293) “Pintige oja, tseraja poakero.”

pi- N- tig -e o- ja tseraja pi- og -k -e -ro
 2- IRR- boil -IRR 3F- liquid full(.liquid) 2- do -PFV -IRR -3F

“Boil water, do it full.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:24)

In another resultative construction, the adjective simply follows the lexical verb, as in (294).

(294) Imaika oshekatakari antaniki janatira.

imaika o- sheka -ak -a -ri antaniki janatira
 now 3F- eat -PFV -MR -3M there raw

Then he ate it there raw. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:142)

Finally, I note that, while stative verbs do a lot of the work in Caquinte that adjectives might do in other languages, the class of adjectives (simplex and derived) is not as small as Table B.3 might suggest. The current corpus attests 80 adjectives, some of which are etymologically relatively opaque but specific in meaning, for example, *shikokarakishi* ‘many-to-a-hole,’ said of fish in the rocks along the edge of the river.

B.1.2.6 Quantifiers, Adverbs & Numerals

Quantifiers do not form a distinct class from adverbs on morphosyntactic grounds. For example, quantificational uses of some roots (e.g., *osheki* ‘much, many’) alternate with adverbial ones, as shown in (295) and (296) with *osheki* glossed uniformly below as ‘much.’

(295) Ari ichookajiake osheki sabinkagiteri.

ari i- chooka -jig -k -i osheki sabinkagiteri
 FOC 3M- EXST -PL -PFV -AR much day

There they stayed for many days. (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:5)

(296) “Osheki opintsatakempi piinanite, osheki iraaokempi.”

osheki o- pintsá -ak -e -mpi pi- iinani -te osheki o- irag -ako -k -i -mpi
 much 3F- miss -PFV -AR -2 2- mother -P much 3F- cry -INDR -PFV -AR -2

“Your mother missed you very much, she cried over you a lot.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:8)

Numerals are both quantifiers and adverbs, for example *aparo* means both ‘one’ and ‘once.’ The position of adverbs is relatively flexible within the clause, and the class of adverbs is predominated by locative and temporal ones. The general diminutive *-janiki* occurs with adverbs (as it does with verbs, nouns, and adjectives), and there is a dedicated adverbial diminutive *-ji* (e.g., *katonko* ‘upriver,’ *katyonkoji* ‘slightly upriver’). This suffix does not combine with all adverbs.

B.1.2.7 Ideophones

Ideophones are a large and expressive class, the corpus containing 338 distinct ideophones. They exhibit four unique phonotactic properties, namely the ability to end in [k], [ŋ], or a long and/or stressed vowel. Length is often exaggerated, for example *shaganaaaa*, describing the hopping ambulation of vultures. Ideophones are often characterized by repetition of final syllables, especially /r/-initial syllables, for example *tinererere*, describing when birds lift their wings for flight but then freeze. The exact number of repetitions is not rigidly specified.¹⁶⁶

Many ideophones are transparently related to verbs. They can be identical, as with *tsibak*, denoting the turning off of lights or motors, or derived in one of several ways. The final /h/ of many verb roots may be replaced by /k/ to derive its ideophonic equivalent (e.g., /metoh/ ‘die,’ ideophone *metok*). The final /nk/ of other roots may be replaced with /ŋ/ (e.g., /teronk/ ‘finish,’ ideophone *teron* [teronŋ]). Or the final vowel of yet other roots may be stressed (e.g., /jintsa/ ‘string on line,’ ideophone *shintsa*). These are striking patterns by which the underlying forms of verb roots, which can never surface without verbal morphology, are transparent to and isolated by speakers in the use of ideophones.

In terms of their position in the clause, ideophones may follow an accompanying lexical verb with a similar meaning, or they may be introduced by the semantically bleached verb *kan*, elsewhere meaning ‘say.’ In these cases, they often fully stand in for lexical verbs, instantiating most of the descriptive content of a clause. In (297) there are three ideophones: *taan*, describing single booms of thunder (as opposed to *serororo*, for rumbling thunder); *tsijerek*, the sound of lightning peels; and *morek*, for flashes of light (also the verb ‘be aflame,’ said of fires). Ideophones present significant issues for translation into Spanish and English, as the latter rarely have equivalent ideophonic expressions. My practice has been to give a translation with some description of what the ideophone describes, followed by the ideophone itself, as in this example, to convey some sense of the stylistic effect.

¹⁶⁶I write final length in ideophones uniformly with three vowels, differentiating it from the canonical phonemic vowel length. I similarly write repeated final /rV/ uniformly three times

(297) Ikemitsitaro aisa apijitanaka areti taan taan okantabaekiti tsijerek morek kempeji tsobironakiki.

i- *kem -itsi -a -ro aisa apiji -an -k -a Ø areti taan*
 3M- hear -SM -MR -3F again repeat -ABL -PFV -MR -3 thunder IDEO:thunder.boom
taan *o-* *kan -bae -ki -i tsijerek*
 IDEO:thunder.boom 3F- say -DUR -GO.DO.RETURN -AR IDEO:lightning.peel
morek kempeji tsobironaki =ki
 IDEO:flash.light near house =LOC

He heard the thunder repeating *taan taan*, and there was a peel of lightning *tsijerek* and a flash of light *morek* near the house. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:158)

B.1.3 Alignment

Caquinte exhibits an aspect-based split between nominative-accusative and neutral alignments, as discernible via the marking of arguments on verbs.¹⁶⁷ S and A are marked in one of two ways, either with a set of prefixes or a set of suffixes; P is marked only with a set of suffixes, as summarized in Table B.4. Considering only prefixes and object suffixes, alignment is nominative-accusative: S and A pattern together to the exclusion of P, for all persons. Considering the two sets of suffixes, however, alignment is neutral for first and second persons (S, A, and P patterning together), while for third persons it is nominative-accusative.¹⁶⁸

Table B.4: Caquinte Agreement Markers

	S, A	P	S, A
1	n(o)-	-na	-na
1INCL	a-	-aji	-aji
2	p(i)-	-mpi	-mpi
3M	i-, y-, ir(i)-	-ri	-Ø
3F	(o)-	-ro	-Ø

Prefixal subject marking is syntactically and semantically unmarked. It occurs with a range of aspectual interpretations, and notably with negation and object suffixes. Suffixal subject marking is more restricted. It expresses an imperfective aspect-like category (see §B.4.3), and cannot occur if the verb is negated or if the verb bears an object suffix. Thus it only occurs in positive polarity clauses when the verb bears no object suffix (either because it is intransitive or because the object is indefinite), as shown in examples (299) and (302) below. The other examples illustrate prefixal

¹⁶⁷Word order is not determined by grammatical relations but by information-structural phenomena such as topicalization and focus. There is also no case marking.

¹⁶⁸In related Matsigenka, neutral alignment is found only with first person subjects, there being a distinction in second person between *-mpi* (P) and *-vi* (S, A).

marking with an intransitive (298), with a transitive with an indefinite object (300), and with a transitive with a definite object (301).

(298) Noshianaka. INTRANSITIVE, SUBJECT PREFIX

no- shig -an -k -a
1- run -ABL -PFV -MR

I ran away.

(299) Shianakena. INTRANSITIVE, SUBJECT SUFFIX

shig -an -k -i -na
run -ABL -PFV -AR -1

I have run away.

(300) Noshekataka aintochapaki. TRANSITIVE, SUBJECT PREFIX

no- sheka -ak -a aintochapaki
1- eat -PFV -MR manioc

I ate manioc.

(301) Noshekatakaro aintochapaki. TRANSITIVE, SUBJECT PREFIX

no- sheka -ak -a -ro aintochapaki
1- eat -PFV -MR -3F manioc

I ate the manioc.

(302) Yamenakena shekatakena aintochapaki. TRANSITIVE, SUBJECT SUFFIX

i- amen -k -i -na sheka -k -i -na aintochapaki
3M- see -PFV -AR -1 eat -PFV -AR -1 manioc

He saw me eating manioc.

The productivity of suffixal subject marking varies greatly across Nijagantsi languages. Furthermore, for Asheninka—where the distinction between prefixal and suffixal subject marking has received several different pragmatic analyses (Payne 1984a,b; Anderson 1991b; Payne and Payne 2005)—it has only ever been described as a fluid-S system. To my knowledge, the Caquinte data are novel in the Nijagantsi context in showing that suffixal subject marking also occurs with transitive verbs.

B.2 Segmental Phonology

B.2.1 Consonant & Vowel Inventories

Caquinte has 16 consonant phonemes spanning six places of articulation (Table B.5), in addition to a nasal autosegment /N/ that is associated with the syllable.¹⁶⁹

Table B.5: Caquinte Consonant Phonemes

	BILABIAL	ALVEOLAR	POST-ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOP	p	t		tʰ <ty>	k	g
NASAL	m	n		ɲ <ñ>		
AFFRICATE		ts	tʃ <ch>			
FRICATIVE	β 	s	ʃ <sh>			h <j>
APPROXIMANT				j <y>		
FLAP		r <r>				

There are only two voiced obstruents, /β/ and /g/, which pattern together for a morphophonemic process that voices root-initial underlying voiceless stops following a possessive prefix, only when a corresponding underlying voiced segment exists. That is, /p/ and /k/ voice, but not /t/ and /tʰ/ (see Swift 1988:113-116 for more details). In contrast to Swift (1988:100), I do not analyze the voiced velar segment as a fricative. Unlike /β/, with notable frication, /g/ is not pronounced with frication. Relatedly, I do not analyze /rʰ/ as a phoneme, opting to analyze what would be /rʰV/ sequences as /riV/. Unlike /tʰ/ and /ɲ/, an /i/ is clearly pronounced in these sequences.

There are eight vowel phonemes spanning four qualities, each with short and long counterparts. There is a single high vowel, and a single low vowel, as summarized in Table B.6.

Table B.6: Caquinte Vowel Phonemes

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i, iː		
MID	e, eː		o, oː
LOW		a, aː	

Vowel length is rarely contrastive, but it is not predictable based on other factors, thus I analyze it as phonemic. It often results diachronically from the loss of intervocalic consonants *g and *r, and there is a similar synchronic process of morpheme-final /g/-deletion in verbs that also

¹⁶⁹The nasal autosegment is typically analyzed in Nijagantsi languages as a placeless nasal segment, that is, a consonant. I examine the reasons for considering it an autosegment in Caquinte in §B.2.2.3.

yields long vowels. Indeed it is only contrastive as a result of this process in verbs (see §B.2.2.5). Compare, for example, (303) and (304), where length is represented with two vowel graphemes.

(303) Aanakeri.

o- ag -an -k -i -ri
3F- take -ABL -PFV -AR -3M

She took him away.

(304) Anaakeri.

o- anag -k -i -ri
3F- defeat -PFV -AR -3M

She defeated him.

There is only one phonological process that effects the surface realization of vowel qualities: /i/ obligatorily centralizes following /ts/, as shown in (305) for the root /tsipa/ ‘other.’

(305) /o-tsipɑ/ → [o'tsipɑ] ‘other’ *[o'tsipɑ]

B.2.2 Syllable Structure & Lexical Processes

Caquinte syllable structure is very simple, with only V, VN, CV, and CVN permitted, where N results from the realization the nasal autosegment, and is only attested word-internally. There are no complex onsets or codas. The shapes of roots, however, are more varied (§B.2.2.1), but the complex morphology of the language yields one of the four above-mentioned syllables on the surface. In the verbal suffixal domain, rampant epenthesis of /a/ and /t/ repair heteromorphemic consonant clusters and vowel hiatus, respectively (§B.2.2.2), which feeds a morphophonological process that deletes morpheme-final /g/ in certain environments. (Deletion of /g/ in turn feeds a postlexical process of /h/-metathesis—see §B.2.3.2.) Epenthesis competes with allomorphs of some verbal suffixes that have the same function of ensuring well-formedness (§B.2.2.4).

B.2.2.1 Root Shapes: Verbs versus Other Word Classes

All lexical roots except verbs and ideophones (§B.1.2.7) end in an open syllable, that is, with a vowel. Verb roots end in vowels or one of nine of the 16 phonemic consonants in Table B.5. The vast majority of verb roots end in vowels; counts of those ending in consonants are summarized in Table B.7. These counts exclude any morphologically complex verbs where a root is isolable. Some verbs appear to be morphologically complex diachronically; these are included. Note that 88% of consonant-final verb roots end in either /k/, /g/, or /h/.

¹⁷⁰Counts for final /k/ and /h/ exclude stems ending in the reversative *-rej* and variant *-renk*, common but relatively unproductive with many verbs. That is, the meanings it derives are often noncompositional.

Table B.7: Distribution of Consonant-final Verb Roots

PHONEME	NUMBER	EXAMPLE
k	150	/ahak/ ‘wash’
g	75	/tinig/ ‘skin with hand’
m	4	/kahem/ ‘call to, shout’
n	5	/aman/ ‘ask for’
s	6	/takis/ ‘curse’
ʃ	1	/oiʃ/ ‘blow on fire’
h	101 ¹⁷⁰	/tinah/ ‘be awake’
r	3	/mir/ ‘drink’

B.2.2.2 Epenthesis of /t/ and /a/

The underlying forms of morphologically complex verbs in Caquinte often yield instances of consonant clusters and vowel hiatus, which are not permitted in surface forms. These include combinations of verb root and suffix, and combinations of suffix and suffix. To repair these impermissible sequences in the suffixal domain, an epenthetic /t/ or /a/ is inserted, respectively.¹⁷¹ Epenthesis is thus iterative, potentially occurring multiple times throughout the verbal word.

This is first illustrated for vowel hiatus with the pairs in (306) and (307). In the former, the consonant-final root /ken/ ‘go along route’ combines directly with realis *-i*. In the latter, the vowel-final root /korake/ ‘come’ does not combine directly; instead a /t/ is epenthesized.

(306) /no-ken-i/ → [nokeni] ‘I go’ CONSONANT EPENTHESIS

(307) /no-korake-i/ → [nokorakeṭi] ‘I come’

The pairs in (308) and (309) utilize the same roots to illustrate consonant clusters. In the former, /ken/ does not combine directly with perfective *-k*; an /a/ is epenthesized.¹⁷² In the latter, /korake/ combines directly.

(308) /no-ken-k-i/ → [nokenake] ‘I went’ VOWEL EPENTHESIS

(309) /no-korake-k-i/ → [nokorakeke] ‘I came’

¹⁷¹There are instances of vowel hiatus (but not consonant clusters) between prefixes, but these are resolved by deleting the vowel of the prefix farther to the left.

¹⁷²Note the morphophonological process that lowers *-i* to [e] following the perfective (see §B.4.2).

B.2.2.3 Nasal Autosegment & Double Epenthesis

The nasal autosegment is a property of particular syllables, surfacing if it precedes one of the voiceless stops or affricates in Table B.5, with which it is homorganic.¹⁷³ It occurs in three principal environments: as an expression of irrealis in the prefixal zone, internal to roots (including nouns and verbs), and in the final syllable of approximately 25 vowel-final verb roots (in addition to some grammatical affixes), where it has an effect on epenthesis (see below). I focus on the first and third environments in this section.

Reality status is expressed by verbal suffixes (§B.5) and the nasal autosegment in the prefixal zone. In this zone it docks to the syllable to the left of the first CV of the stem. Often this is the initial syllable, and the one immediately to the left of the verb root, as in (310) and (311).¹⁷⁴

(310) /no-N-tsit_i-e-mpa/ → [nonts_ititemba] ‘I’ll hide’

(311) /i-N-tsit_i-e-mpa/ → [ints_ititemba] ‘He’ll hide’

However, with verbs with an initial VC, where C is a voiceless stop or affricate, the irrealis marker appears internal to the root, as in (312) and (313).

(312) /no-N-atai-e/ → [nandaite] ‘I’ll climb’

(313) /iri-N-atai-e/ → [irandaite] ‘He’ll climb’

Finally, it must be the case that the irrealis marker docks to the syllable to the left of the first CV of the stem and not of the root, as evidenced by its behavior in relation to the causative prefix *ogi-*. I show this with *pig* ‘return’ in (314) and (315). In this environment, the irrealis marker does not surface immediately preceding the first consonant of the root (even though it is a voiceless stop), but instead does not surface at all, indicating that it must be docking before the first CV of the stem. In this environment that is the /gi/ of *ogi-*, but because voiced consonants cannot provide the autosegment with a place of articulation generally, it does not surface.

(314) /no-N-ogi-pig-ah-e-ro/ → [nogipiahero] ‘I’ll return it’ *[nogimbiahero]

(315) /iri-N-ogi-pig-ah-e-ro/ → [irogipiahero] ‘He’ll return it’ *[irogimb_iahero]

Turning now to the final syllables of verb roots, note that one of the primary reasons for positing a nasal autosegment is that it does not behave like a consonant with regard to epenthesis. Reconsider (306) and (308) from the preceding section. With this verb, /ken/ ‘go along route,’ realis *-i* combined directly with the root without epenthesis, and combination with perfective *-k* required epenthesis of /a/ in order to repair the resulting consonant cluster. In contrast, the nasal

¹⁷³I thank Lev Michael for recommending an analysis to me by which /N/ is not analyzed as a consonant, in particular due to the behavior with epenthesis. In the orthography used in this dissertation, sequences <mp>, <nt>, <nk>, <nts>, and <nch> represent the nasal autosegment before the respective voiceless stops and affricates.

¹⁷⁴Following convention in studies of Nijagantsi languages, in underlying representations I represent the autosegment between subject prefixes and the stem to their right, which may include one of a small number of derivational prefixes. This is somewhat arbitrary, given that it can surface root-internally (see below). Note that elsewhere in the dissertation I do not represent the autosegment in the segmentation line of examples.

autosegment behaves like a vowel for the purposes of epenthesis. For example, with the root /ken/ ‘shoot’ in (316), /t/ is epenthesized preceding realis *-i*. Relatedly, perfective *-k* combines directly with the root without epenthesis. Because /t/ and /k/ are part of the class of consonants that can provide the autosegment with a place of articulation, it surfaces, homorganic with the following stop and inducing postnasal voicing (see §B.2.3.4).

(316) /no-ken-i-ro/ → [nokendi_ɾro] ‘I’m shooting it’

(317) /no-ken-k-i-ro/ → [nokɛŋgero] ‘I shot it’

Unlike in the prefixal zone, where the irrealis marker did not surface before a voiced consonant, in the suffixal zone a different pattern emerges. Consider (318), in which the same root is followed by frustrative *-be*. Instead of deleting, the nasal autosegment drives epenthesis of /t/, which gives it a place of articulation. This results in a consonant cluster, which is then repaired by epenthesis of /a/.

(318) /no-ken-βe-k-a-ro/ → [nokendaβekar_o] ‘I shot it in vain’

Note that positing double epenthesis is a direct consequence of positing a class of verb roots that have a final syllable bearing the autosegment, which is not standard in the descriptions of Nijagantsi languages. I provide more evidence for this claim in the following section.

B.2.2.4 Competing Allomorphs of Verbal Suffixes

In addition to epenthesis, Caquinte exhibits another strategy for avoiding vowel hiatus altogether. For some verbal suffixes, there are two allomorphs, one vowel-initial and one lacking that vowel. For some of these suffixes, like *-(i)tsi*, the vowel-initial allomorph is found following consonants (319), and the consonant-initial one is found following vowels (320). Note also the following epenthetic /t/ in both examples, occurring between two verbal suffixes.

(319) /no-ken-itsi-a/ → [nokenitsi_ta] ‘I went’

(320) /no-korake-tsi-a/ → [nokoraketsi_ta] ‘I came’

For suffixes that do not begin in /a/, it is not possible to use the vowel-initial allomorph with /t/-epenthesis, that is, *[nokoraketitsita]. For suffixes that do begin in /a/, however, there is variation between forms in the same environment, suggesting there is variation in the underlying form of these suffixes, that is, two underlying representations are possible. Consider the pair in (321) and (322), involving the same root /korake/ from above, allative directional *-(a)poh*, and realis *-i*. In the first, the consonant-initial allomorph combines directly with the root, whereas in the latter the vowel-initial allomorph occurs together with an epenthetic /t/. These are in effect two ways to say the same word.

(321) /no-korake-poh-i/ → [nokorakepohi] ‘I came here’

(322) /no-korake-apoh-i/ → [nokoraket_apohi] ‘I came here’

Competing word forms are also attested when /N/ is present. In (323), for example, the allative combines directly with /kan/ ‘say.’ In (324), epenthesis occurs. As above, these are two ways to the say the same word.

(323) /no-kan-poh-i-ro/ → [nokambohiro] ‘After I arrived I said to her’

(324) /no-kan-apoh-i-ro/ → [nokandapohiro] ‘After I arrived I said to her’

The fact that there are two possible underlying representations yields two ways of analyzing the morphological boundary between these suffixes when they follow consonant-final morphemes. In (325) there is epenthesis; in (326) there is none. There is no principled basis on which to decide between these two analyses.

(325) /no-ken-poh-i/ → [nokenapohi] ‘I came’

(326) /no-ken-apoh-i/ → [nokenapohi] ‘I came’

Other /a/-initial verbal suffixes that behave like allative *-(a)poj* include perfective *-(a)k*, associated motion markers *-(a)ki* and *-(a)panajan*, *-(a)pini* ‘regularly,’ and mirative *-(a)tig*. The phonological shape of these suffixes is all such that the consonant-initial allomorph begins with a voiceless stop. Others that do not have this property, such as directionals *-an* and *-ab*, require a preceding epenthetic /t/ if they follow a vowel-final morpheme, as seen in (327) versus (328).

(327) /no-ʃeka-aβ-k-a-ro/ → [noʃekataβakaro] ‘I ate it up’

(328) */no-ʃeka-β-k-a-ro/ → *[noʃekaβakaro]

To conclude this section on a comparative note, it is worth emphasizing that the primary motivation for positing roots with a final /VN/ in Caquinte is due to their ability to combine directly with consonant-initial suffixes such as those allomorphs under discussion in this section. This analytical decision does away with all /nt/-final verbs in the language, since all such combinations can be analyzed as /N/ with epenthesis. In this vein, note that I opt to analyze the allomorphy of pairs like (323) and (324) as allomorphy of the suffix, not allomorphy of the verb root. Consider an alternative segmentation of (324) as in (329), which holds the allative constant as /poh/ and places the allomorphy on the root, with a purported /kant/ ‘say.’¹⁷⁵

(329) /no-kant-poh-i-ro/ → [nokandapohiro] ‘I said to her’

The primary reason to disfavor this analysis is that suffix allomorphy of the sort described in this section is found not only following verb roots ending in /VN/. It is also found following verb roots ending in vowels—as with (321) and (322) above—as well as following verbal suffixes that themselves end in vowels, as shown in (330) and (331), with the frustrative *-be*.

(330) /no-ken-βe-poh-a/ → [nokenaβepoha] ‘I came in vain’

(331) /no-ken-βe-apoh-a/ → [nokenaβetapoha] ‘I came in vain’

It is more parsimonious to analyze a handful of /a/-initial verbal suffixes as exhibiting allomorphy, rather than all vowel-final verb roots and all vowel-final verbal suffixes.

¹⁷⁵This is the underlying form of ‘say’ in most Nijagantsi languages. The notable exception is Nomatsigenga, which exhibits /VN/-final roots like Caquinte (see Shaver 1996).

B.2.2.5 Deletion of Morpheme-final /g/

In the verbal word, any morpheme-final /g/ is deleted unless it immediately precedes a reality status suffix.¹⁷⁶ This is an obligatory process, applying as much to the final /g/ of a verb root as to that of a following suffix. A simple pair with /kog/ ‘look for’ is shown in (332) and (333). In the former, the final /g/ immediately precedes realis *-i*, and is preserved, whereas in the latter it precedes perfective *-(a)k* and deletes. Note that /g/-deletion follows epenthesis, as epenthesis does not repair the resulting vowel hiatus (cf. *[nokotakerō]).¹⁷⁷

(332) /no-kog-i-ro/ → [nokogiro] ‘I’m looking for it’

(333) /no-kog-k-i-ro/ → [nokoakero] ‘I looked for it’

The examples in (334) and (335), with /mir/ ‘drink,’ show this process affecting participant plural *-jig*. In the former it immediately precedes middle realis *-a*, in the latter perfective *-(a)k*.

(334) /no-mir-hig-a-ro/ → [nomirahigaro] ‘We’re drinking it’

(335) /no-mir-hig-k-a-ro/ → [nomirahiakaro] ‘We drank it’

The process feeds an optional postlexical process of /h/-metathesis (§B.2.3.2).

B.2.3 Postlexical Processes

B.2.3.1 Deletion of /h/

In casual speech, unstressed /h/—that is, /h/ in the onset of an unstressed syllable—often deletes, but is recoverable in careful speech. This is shown with two variant pronunciations of /korake/ ‘come’ in (336), followed by regressive directional *-aj* and active realis *-i*.

(336) /no-korake-ah-i/ → [noko'raketahi] ~ [noko'raketai] ‘I came back’

However, /h/ does not delete when the result would be a triphthong, even if unstressed, as shown in (337), with /metoh/ ‘die’ and the regressive, resulting in two unstressed /h/-initial syllables. Note how the only two variable pronunciations include at least one /h/, that is, *[no'metohai].

(337) /no-metoh-ah-i/ → [no'metohahi] ~ [no'metohai] ‘I died’

With sequences of /h/-initial syllables like these, it is always the first /h/ that (optionally) deletes, that is, *[no'metohai].

I do not represent the optional deletion of /h/ in the orthography. Consequently, <j> is always written when /h/ is present underlyingly, even in sequences of /h/-initial syllables, all of which would rarely be pronounced together as such on the surface.

¹⁷⁶Whether Spring’s (1992) analysis of a similar phenomenon in Asheninka in terms of foot well-formedness holds of Caquinte awaits future research.

¹⁷⁷This is in fact a different verb root /ko/ ‘be, do (to),’ with epenthesis and the perfective.

B.2.3.2 Metathesis of /h/

In addition to optionally deleting in some environments, /h/ may metathesize in others. This process is similarly optional, and can be thought of as a way for an unstressed /h/ to get into stressed position. This process is fed by the obligatory deletion of morpheme-final /g/, and I use one such case to illustrate it. Examples (338) through (340) consist of the verb root /sotog/ ‘emerge,’ ablative *-an*, the perfective, and active realis *-i*, and vary in terms of whether plural *-jig* or the fluid classifier *-ja* are also present. The form in (338) shows the expected simple deletion of /g/.

(338) /no-sotog-an-k-i/ → [no.so.to'a.na.ke] ‘I came out’

In (339), in contrast, there are two competing forms, which are driven by the epenthesis of /a/ preceding the plural and the deletion of the /g/ of the verb root. In the first, a careful pronunciation, the /h/ of the plural is unstressed and surrounded by a VV sequence on either side. In the second, a casual pronunciation, the /h/ has metathesized to the left, intervening in this VV sequence, and now constitutes the onset to a stressed syllable with a diphthong in the nucleus. Note also the presence of /j/ that is epenthesized to avoid the resulting triphthong (see below).

(339) /no-sotog-hig-an-k-i/ → [no.so.to.a.hi'a.na.ke] ~ [no.so.to'hai.ja.na.ke] ‘We came out’

In (340) we see the same process with the fluid classifier. In the first pronunciation, /h/ is unstressed and follows a VV sequence. In the second, it has metathesized to the left, similarly intervening in the VV sequence. The result is a stressed syllable with a long vowel. The epenthesis of /j/ is not necessary because no triphthong is possible following metathesis.

(340) /no-sotog-ha-an-k-i/ → [no.so.to.a.ha'ta.na.ke] ~ [no.so.to'ha:ta.na.ke]
‘I came out of the water’

As I have alluded to, the insertion of /j/ to avoid triphthongs resulting from the metathesis of /h/ can be considered a nascent form of epenthesis in the language. Note, however, that it never occurs to repair the vowel hiatus resulting from /g/-deletion (which, recall, follows epenthesis of /t/ and /a/ and so cannot be repaired by those processes). Finally, note that I do not represent /h/-metathesis in the orthography used in this dissertation, due to its optionality. In other orthographies, for example in that used for the New Testament, metathesis is occasionally indicated, but the epenthesis of /j/ never is.

B.2.3.3 Vowel Devoicing & Syncope with /tsi/ and /ji/

In §B.2.1 I noted that /i/ centralizes following /ts/. When this same syllable /tsi/ is unstressed, /i/ is very often devoiced or undergoes syncope. In (341), with the root /tsipa/—an adjective meaning ‘other’ and a verb meaning ‘be with, accompany’—/tsi/ is stressed and not reduced in any way, although it still obligatorily centralizes. In (342), however, where it occurs in an unstressed syllable, it may undergo syncope.

(341) /o-tsipɑ/ → [o'tsipɑ] ‘other’

(342) /o-tsipɑ-ak-a-ri/ → [otsipɑ'takari] ~ [otspɑ'takari] ‘She was with him’

Syncope only occurs when /tsi/ is followed by a voiceless stop, that is, where the resulting consonant clusters would be [tsp], [tst], or [tsk]. If /tsi/ is followed by any other consonant, it does not undergo syncope. This is shown in (343), where /tsi/ originates in the suffix *-(i)tsi*, and is followed by frustrative *-be*.

(343) /no-kan-tsi-βe-a/ → [nokantsiβeta] ‘I said in vain at that moment’

The same factors condition the syncope of /i/ following /j/, as shown with the purpose applicative *-ashi* in (344) and (345).

(344) /i-korake-afi-ak-a/ → [ikorake'tafitaka] ~ [ikorake'taftaka]

‘He came for no good reason’

(345) /i-korake-afi-βe-k-a/ → [ikorake'tafiβeka] ‘He came for no good reason in vain’

B.2.3.4 Postnasal Voicing

Voiceless stops following the nasal autosegment /N/ voice. It is difficult to determine whether this process, given its extremely high frequency, should be considered obligatory and lexical, or optional and postlexical. Voiceless affricates, even though they can also follow /N/, never voice.

B.3 Verbal Agreement

B.3.1 Subject & Object Agreement

Agreement is one of three obligatory verbal categories, together with reality status and voice. Verbs agree with both subjects and objects, including multiple objects in the case of ditransitive verbs and in other constructions that result in multiple objects such as applicatives. Subject marking is present except for cases of subject extraction (i.e., constituent questions, relative clauses, and contrastive focus); object marking is sensitive to a differential object marking system that is still not well understood. Agreement occurs together with full arguments (e.g., nouns, pronouns) regardless of the position of that argument relative to the verb, or with null arguments, in which case it is the only expression of arguments in the clause.

Subjects agreement is realized with prefixes or suffixes (for the latter, see §B.4.3), whereas object agreement is realized only with suffixes. These affixes distinguish three persons and an inclusive, but do not express number (Table B.8). Here parentheses indicate segments that are obligatorily deleted preceding vowel-initial stems.¹⁷⁸ For the third person masculine, *i-* does not delete but is instead glided to *y-*; in addition, there is a special allomorph *iri-* that occurs when the verb is irrealis and the stem begins with any segment except a voiceless stop or affricate.

¹⁷⁸First person inclusive *a-*, unlike third person feminine *o-*, deletes the first vowel of the stem, except for *og* ‘go,’ presumably to avoid homophony with *ag* ‘take.’

Table B.8: Caquinte Agreement Markers

	SUBJ	OBJ	SUBJ
1	n(o)-	-na	-na
1INCL	a-	-aji	-aji
2	p(i)-	-mpi	-mpi ¹⁷⁹
3M	i-, y-, ir(i)-	-ri	-∅
3F	(o)-	-ro	-∅

B.3.2 Agreement with Multiple Objects

Caquinte verbs agree with multiple objects. Object agreement is expressed in two adjacent morphological positions: the inner suffix must be first or second person, and the outer one third person. Barring this, agreement is with one object, the details of which are explained in this section. Argument structures containing two objects may arise because the verb is inherently ditransitive (e.g., *aman* ‘ask for’), because a transitive verb has been causativized or applicativized, or, most frequently, because the theme of a transitive undergoes a transfer to a recipient; I focus on the latter here. Consider the transitive verb *am* ‘bring.’ In (346), the single first person object suffix corresponds to the theme. In (347), it corresponds to the recipient; there is a theme expressed by the following noun, which does not agree with the verb due to differential object marking. In (348), the verb agrees with both the first person recipient and the third person theme.

(346) ...“Yamakena irira Oajio.”

i- am -k -i -na iri- ra Oajio
3M- bring -PFV -AR -1 3M- MED Oajio

...“Oajio brought me.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:5)

(347) ...“Pamakena shibitsatsa...”

pi- am -k -e -na shibitsatsa
2- bring -PFV -IRR -1 cord

...“Bring me a cord.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:32)

(348) ...“Pamakenaro.”

pi- am -k -e -na -ro
2- bring -PFV -IRR -1 -3F

¹⁷⁹Note that in related languages such as Matsigenka, the form of the second person subject suffix is also distinct from the object suffix, namely *-vi* as opposed to *-mpi*.

...“Hand it to me.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:17)

When double object marking occurs with inherently transitive verbs, the direct object is always interpreted as a theme that is transferred to the indirect object, which is interpreted as a recipient.¹⁸⁰ This means that double object marking is common, not one confined only to cases of overt derivation (e.g., with an applicative). This can be appreciated with verbs whose lexical semantics do not involve a notion of transfer, as with *tsinak* ‘pound’ in (349). The interpretation is that the addressee will pound the ayahuasca and then (after brewing it) give it to the speaker.

(349) ...“Inani, pintsinakenaro santomaritsa...”

iinani pi- N- tsinak -e -na -ro santomaritsa
mother 2- IRR- pound -IRR -1 -3F ayahuasca

...“Mother, pound ayahuasca for me...”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:2)

While the order of suffixes in the two morphological positions expressing object agreement is rigid—in the sense that first and second persons must precede third persons—the thematic roles are not rigid. In (349) the inner suffix corresponded to the indirect object and the outer one to the direct object. In (350) the order is reversed, with the inner suffix corresponding to the direct object and the outer one to the indirect object.

(350) ...yojokabakokenari Joanka.

i- ojok -bako -k -i -na -ri Joanka
3M- give -hand -PFV -AR -1 -3M Juan

...he gave me to Juan [by the hand].

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:13)

When both objects are third person, the verb agrees only with the recipient, and a special recipient applicative *-nV* occurs.¹⁸¹ As a result, unlike first and second person suffixes, which could be interpreted either as themes (346) or recipients (347), a lone third person suffix is invariably interpreted as a theme (351). Only when the applicative *-nV* is present is it interpreted as a recipient (352). For important additional details about *-nV*, the reader is referred to §B.6.4.6.

(351) ...“Tsioji, namakeri anianishi.”

tsioji no- am -k -i -ri anianishi
sister 1- bring -PFV -AR -3M brother.in.law

...“Sister, I’ve brought my brother-in-law.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:94)

¹⁸⁰Other interpretations result from specific morphologically overt derivations (e.g., as with applicatives).

¹⁸¹This applicative only occurs when the interpretation is one of transfer of a recipient. It does not surface, for example, when an applicative results in two third person objects. There the verb agrees only with one object, usually the applied object, but agreement with the base object is also attested.

(352) ...“Pamakeneri anianishi kachojari.”

pi- am -k -e -nV -ri anianishi kachojari
 2- bring -PFV -IRR -REC -3M brother.in.law manioc.beer

...“Bring my brother-in-law manioc beer.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:92)

B.4 Temporal Aspect

Like all Nijagantsi languages, Caquinte exhibits a fundamental obligatory distinction between imperfective and perfective aspect on verbs marked with prefixal subject agreement. Imperfective aspect is expressed by a zero morpheme $-\emptyset$ (§B.4.1), whereas perfective aspect is expressed by $-(a)k$ (§B.4.2).¹⁸² Imperfective aspect—which I do not segment with $-\emptyset$ outside of this section—is a general category in Caquinte, with imperfective-marked verbs often yielding a habitual or progressive interpretation. Texts also reveal apparent culminated interpretations of verbs marked with $-\emptyset$, which I consider to be akin to the English historical present, that is, special uses of temporal marking that do not bear on their core semantics. In contrast, verbs marked with suffixal subject agreement come with their own aspectual properties (§B.4.3) by which one-state predicates are interpreted as ongoing and two-state predicates are interpreted as already culminated. The function of $-(a)k$, which occurs widely in this construction, seems to be distinct here, and warrants further investigation in Caquinte and related languages. Finally, both aspectual categories occur in realis and irrealis clauses. However only $-\emptyset$ is permitted under negation, as evidenced by the distribution of its allomorph $-ats$ (see footnote 182).¹⁸³

B.4.1 Imperfective $-\emptyset$

Verbs bearing $-\emptyset$ can be interpreted in three primary ways, as habitual, progressive, or culminated. In (353), the verbs in both the question and the response are interpreted habitually. Giant Armadillo asks Old Axe whether he ever eats certain species of grubs. Old Axe is not eating any grubs in that moment, ruling out a progressive interpretation in this context.

(353) a. ...“Pishekatari emooki aisa shimoto?”

HABITUAL

¹⁸²When an intransitive subject is extracted, these suffixes are realized as $-ats$ and $-ankits$, respectively (see §B.9.1.1).

The fact that imperfective aspect is expressed by an affix with segmental material in this context is one reason for analyzing verbs with no apparent aspect marking as in fact bearing $-\emptyset$, as opposed to being aspectually unmarked.

¹⁸³Note that my analysis of temporal aspect is inconsistent with that of Swift (1988:50-51), who recognizes a third relevant suffix, $-k$ (distinct from $-ak$), which he claims expresses progressive aspect. I have found no basis for a distinction between $-k$ and $-ak$. Rather I analyze $-(a)k$ as a single suffix with variant forms differing in the presence of the initial vowel (see §B.2.2.4 for more details). I emphasize that a distinction between the two would be surprising in the Nijagantsi context, since it would entail that, with consonant-final verb roots, it would not be possible to distinguish the purported progressive aspect from perfective aspect, since with epenthesis of /a/ (§B.2.2.2) the stems would become identical.

pi- sheka -Ø -a -ri emooki aisa shimoto
2- eat -IPFV -MR -3M grub.sp. also grub.sp.

...“Do you eat *emooki* grubs and *shimoto* grubs?”

- b. Irira poshontyo tsorintsoripiori ikanti, “Jeeje, noshekatari emooki, irirampani shimoto tee noshekatempariji.”

iri- ra poshontyo tsorintsoripiori i- kan -Ø -i no- sheka -Ø -a -ri
3M- MED Old Axe 3M- say -IPFV -AR 1- eat -IPFV -MR -3M
emooki iri- ra =mpani shimoto tee no- sheka -Ø -e -mpa-ri -ji
grub.sp. 3M- MED =CT grub.sp. NEG 1- eat -IPFV -IRR -MID -3M -NEG

Old Axe said, “Yes, I eat *emooki* grubs, but *shimoto* grubs I don’t eat.” (text, ESS, ptk)

In (354), in contrast, Deer is in fact washing her children when Jaguar asks her this question, thus the interpretation is a progressive one.

- (354) a. ...“Taa opaji panti?” PROGRESSIVE

taa opaji pi- an -Ø -i
WH LIGHT 2- do -IPFV -AR

...“What’re you doing?”

- b. Opitsokanaka chonchokoronti, okantiri, “Irogenti najakatsinotiri nochaajanikirite.”

o- pitsok -an -k -a chonchokoronti o- kan -i -ri irogenti no- ajak -tsino
3F- turn -ABL -PFV -MR deer 3F- say -AR -3M 3F.COP 1- wash -body
-Ø -i -ri no- chaajanikiri -te
-IPFV -AR -3M 1- child -P

Deer turned around, and said to him, “I’m just washing my children’s bodies.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:23)

Finally, in (355), the verbs preceding the quote are zero-marked, yet the events are culminated.

- (355) Ari ipitsokashitana, ikantana, “Nomankigare, ari oanaje Pogeniki.” CULMINATED

ari i- pitsok -ashi -Ø -a -na i- kan -Ø -a -na no- mankigare ari a- og
FOC 3M- turn -PURP -IPFV -MR -1 3M- say -IPFV -MR -1 1- spouse FOC 1INCL- go
-an -aj -e Pogeni =ki
-ABL -REG -IRR Pogeni =LOC

Then he turned to me, and he said to me, “Wife, we’ll go back to the Pogeni River.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:14)

This pattern is impressionistically salient in texts at the ends of sequences of perfective-marked verbs, as in (356), where the first two verbs are marked with *-(a)k* but the third is not, yet all three are interpreted as culminated.

- (356) Arikea ishiashipojakena, itatsinkapojakena nojokabaeta isabiji porokiren. CULMINATED

ari =kea i- shig -ashi -poj -k -i -na i- tatsink -poj -k -i -na no- ojokabae
 FOC =EW 3M- run -PURP -ALL -PFV -AR -1 3M- push -ALL -PFV -AR -1 1- come.close
 -Ø -a isabiji porokiren
 -IPFV -MR on.ground IDEO:fall.on.rocks

Then he ran up to me and pushed me and I came down on the ground on the rocks.

(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:9)

B.4.2 Perfective *-(a)k*

Dynamic verbs bearing *-(a)k* are interpreted as culminated, as in (357), where Vampire Bat's eating and roasting has already occurred at utterance time.

- (357) ...“Inkajaranki pitsekariki noshekatakari osaiteberi notashitake chopeki.”

inkajaranki pitsek -ri =ki no- sheka -ak -a -ri osaiteberi no- tashi -ak -i chopeki
 previously be.night -NMZ =LOC 1- eat -PFV -MR -3M paca 1- roast -PFV -AR plantain

...“Earlier during the night I ate paca and roasted plantains.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:125)

Stative verbs bearing *-(a)k*, however, are interpreted as unculminated, as in (358), where the speaker's sickness and sadness are ongoing. Stative verbs are typically marked for perfective, as opposed to imperfective.

- (358) Nojokijika, aisa osheki noshimampojankabaeka aisa osheki okatsitanakena notonkipaeki...

no- ojokiji -k -a aisa osheki no- shimampojank -bae -k -a aisa osheki o- katsi
 1- be.sick -PFV -MR also much 1- be.sad -DUR -PFV -MR also much 3F- hurt
 -an -k -i -na no- tonki =pae =ki
 -ABL -PFV -AR -1 1- bone =PL =LOC

I'm sick, and also I'm very sad, and also I've started to hurt in my bones...

(text, AST 20140823)

B.4.3 Temporal Aspect with Suffixal Subject Marking

Intransitive and transitive verbs can agree with their subjects via a series of suffixes (Table B.8) when object agreement is not necessary (e.g., when an object is not a familiar definite). Suffixal subject agreement is thus found with both intransitive and transitive verbs, both of which are embedded under *amen* 'see' in (359).

- (359) ...yamenajiapojakeri omporogijajiaka, mirajiaka kachojari...

i- amen -jig -poj -k -i -ri omporogij -jig -k -a -Ø mir -jig -k -a -Ø kachojari
 3M- see -PL -ALL -PFV -AR -3M mill.about -PL -PFV -MR -3 drink -PL -PFV -MR -3 manioc.beer

...he saw them milling about, drinking manioc beer... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:42)

This agreement pattern is common in but not unique to depictive constructions like the one above, in which the milling about and the drinking of manioc beer are ongoing at the time at which seeing occurs.¹⁸⁴ This is an imperfective relation, given that situation time (i.e., milling about, drinking) wholly contains topic time (see Klein 1994). This is problematic for analysis of *-(a)k* as a perfective, since it occurs with both of the depictive verbs in this example.

In other cases of suffixal subject agreement, however, situation time precedes topic time, as with another embedded example in (360), a proclamation by an officiant at the end of a wedding. Here situation time corresponds to getting married, and topic time to knowing. This is a perfect relation, and is again problematic for the analysis of *-(a)k* for the same reason.

(360) ...“Imaika pintsajakeri irika igentijegi mankigataka.”

imaika pi- N- tsa -jig -k -e -ri iri- ka igentijegi mankiga -ak -a -Ø
 now 2- IRR- know -PL -PFV -IRR -3M 3M- PROX brother marry -PFV -MR -3

...“Know now that my brother has gotten married.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:13)

The same imperfective-perfect dichotomy is attested when suffixal subject agreement marks verbs in main clauses. In these cases, Caquinte speakers often translate the construction with Spanish *ya* ‘already,’ which I adopt in my English translation here. In (361), the man’s drunkenness is ongoing. It is not the case that he was drunk and has already sobered up.

(361) ...“Anianishi, shinkitapojana.”

anianishi shinki -apoj -a -na
 brother.in.law be.drunk -ALL -MR -1

...“Brother-in-law, I’m already drunk.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:92)

Similarly, in (362), the speaker’s opening their eyes has already culminated. Their eyes are already open; they are not in the process of opening their eyes when they speak.

(362) “Imaikampani pityakirejanajana, aato notineokitaji.”

imaika =mpani pityakirej -an -aj -a -na aato no- tineoki -aj -i
 now =CT open.eyes -ABL -REG -MR -1 NEG 1- sleep -REG -AR

“Now I’ve already opened my eyes, I won’t go back to sleep.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:125)

¹⁸⁴If the depictive verbs bore prefixal subject agreement, the interpretation would be that milling about and drinking had already taken place, that is, that they were no longer ongoing.

I have previously proposed that the suffixal subject agreement construction expresses imperfective aspect (O’Hagan 2015b), and that the apparent perfect interpretations can be accounted for by appealing to Klein’s (1994) notion of one- versus two-state predicates.¹⁸⁵ I have also proposed that perfective *-(a)k* can be thought of as expressing a non-aspectual category of event individuation (O’Hagan 2018b), and that verbs apparently bearing imperfective *-Ø* are actually morphologically unmarked and akin to generics in the nominal domain. Part of the goal in these approaches was to rethink the semantics of *-Ø* and *-(a)k* to account for apparent culminated interpretations of the former—as with (356) above—and for the occurrence of the latter in a construction that would seem to express imperfective aspect. Here I take the more traditional view common in the description of related Nijagantsi languages, but I emphasize that greater attention needs to be paid to the behavior of aspectual marking with suffixal subject agreement. It may be that the function of aspectual morphemes is simply different in these constructions, or it may be that a more unified account across constructions is warranted.

B.5 Reality Status and Voice

Reality status is a category that reflects the difference between realized and unrealized events. This category is grammaticized in all Nijagantsi languages, and from a crosslinguistic perspective is canonical: present- and past-oriented events are *realis*, as are habituais. Future-oriented events, as well as negated present and negated past events are *irrealis*, along with imperatives, counterfactuals, and generics. The system was first described in these terms by Michael (2014b), the older descriptive terminology based on a misanalyzed tense distinction. Castillo Ramírez (2020) was the first to recognize the distinction between habituais and generics, for related Nomatsigenga.

In Caquinte, the morphological expression of reality status is intimately linked to that of voice. Together they constitute the primary inflectional category of the language, there being no morphological expression of tense. In the *realis*, there are two fusional suffixes, *-i* and *-a*, which express active and middle, respectively. In the *irrealis* there is a single reality status suffix *-e*, which combines with a separate middle suffix *-mpa* located two suffixal positions to its right. The reality status distinction in active voice can be appreciated in (363) and (364), and for middle voice in (365) and (366). Here I translate the *realis* example with an English progressive, but a variety of other interpretations are possible.

(363) Nameni.

no- amen -i
1- watch -AR

I’m watching.

(364) Namene.

no- amen -e
1- watch -IRR

I’ll watch.

¹⁸⁵On this view, Caquinte lexicalizes the target state of two-state predicates, and the perfect interpretation results from topic time being contained within situation time, where situation time is defined by the target state.

(365) Nobetsata.

no- obetsa -a
1- speak -MR

I'm speaking.

(366) Nobetsatempa.

no- obetsa -e -mpa
1- speak -IRR -MID

I'll speak.

In addition, if the verb root begins with a voiceless stop or affricate, irrealis is additionally expressed by the nasal autosegment /N/ in the prefixal domain (see §B.2.2.3), as in (367) and (368). When the verb root begins with a vowel or any consonant that is not a stop or affricate, third person masculine subject agreement exhibits a special form *iri-*, as in (369) and (370).

(367) Ichakitiro.

i- chaki -i -ro
3M- chop.down -AR -3F

He's chopping it down.

(368) Inchakitero.

i- N- chaki -e -ro
3M- IRR- chop.down -IRR -3F

He'll chop it down.

(369) Isemeti.

i- seme -i
3M- brag -AR

He's bragging.

(370) Irisemete.

iri- seme -e
3M- brag -IRR

He'll brag.

In many of the examples seen here and throughout this dissertation, realis *-i* follows perfective *-(a)k*. This induces a morphophonological process by which the former lowers to [e]. In the first line of examples I represent this as <e>, indicating *-i* in the segmentation. The consequence of this process is that—in the suffixal zone—realis and irrealis active are neutralized following the perfective. For many verbs the distinction is maintained via /N/ (see above). However, if the verb does not begin with a voiceless stop or affricate and is not inflected for third person masculine (cf. *iri-*), then the entire verbal stem ends up being ambiguous between realis and irrealis.

In much of the descriptive literature on Nijagantsi languages, linguists posit an irrealis middle suffix *-empa*. In Caquinte, it can be teased apart that this suffix should be analyzed as two, due to the fact that the recipient applicative *-nV* intervenes between the two, as in (371).

(371) Pojokitsitenempari.

pi- ojok -itsi -e -nV -mpa -ri
2- give -SM -IRR -REC -MID -3M

Give it to him.

It should be noted that Swift (1988:57) recognized this pattern, but it is not recognized for Matsigenka by Snell (2011:838), even though there is evidence of it in the New Testament. Similarly, Michael (2008:250) does not describe it for Nanti, nor does Mihas (2015) for Perené Asheninka. While it is possible that the morphological facts vary among these languages, the environment in which we observe the combination of irrealis, recipient applicative, and middle is exceedingly uncommon, and may simply have not been encountered. As explained in §B.6.4.6, the recipient applicative requires the transfer of a theme, which is for the most would not be semantically possible given the verbs that are inherently middle (e.g., *sheka* ‘eat’). In my corpus, the morphological conditions under which this pattern occurs are only those involving a derivational suffix that (for diachronic reasons) happens to require middle marking. This is the case with *-(i)tsi* above.

B.5.1 Verb Classes Distinguished by Reality Status & Voice

My claim that reality status is fusional with voice is a novel one in the Nijagantsi literature. In analyses originally developed by SIL linguists, the two notional oppositions were non-future/future and non-reflexive/reflexive, with reflexive corresponding to my notion of middle voice. I contend that a broader notion like middle voice (see Kemmer 1993) is necessary, because the relevant suffixes do not yield solely reflexive interpretations. In fact, in most instances they do not. To appreciate this, I begin by noting that, in Caquinte, many verbs are labile with respect to voice. Some verbs are active when they are transitive, and middle when they are intransitive. This is the case with *asatek* ‘stick between’ in (372) and (373).

(372) *Asatekaka.*

o- asatek -k -a
3F- stick.between -PFV -MR

It was stuck between.

(373) *Nasatekakero.*

no- asatek -k -i -ro
1- stick.between -PFV -AR -3F

I stuck it between.

Other verbs are uniformly active, as with *katsima* ‘be upset’ in (374) and (375), while yet others are uniformly middle, as with *sheka* ‘eat’ in (376) and (377). Note that the fact that some verbs are middle when transitive especially militates against a reflexive analysis, since reflexive verbs are by definition intransitive.

(374) *Nokatsimatake.*

no- katsima -ak -i
1- be.upset -PFV -AR

I was upset.

(375) *Nokatsimatakempi.*

no- katsima -ak -i -mpi
1- be.upset -PFV -AR -2

I was upset with you.

(376) Noshekaka.

no- sheka -k -a
1- eat -PFV -MR

I ate.

(377) Noshekakaro.

no- sheka -k -a -ro
1- eat -PFV -MR -3F

I ate it.

For verbs with particular lexical semantics, there is a three-way set of possibilities, with middle intransitive, and either active or middle transitive, depending on whether the event is done to oneself. This is the case with *kitsaa* ‘dress,’ as in (378) through (379).

(378) Nokitsaaka.

no- kitsaa -k -a
1- dress -PFV -MR

I got dressed.

(379) Nokitsaakero.

no- kitsaa -k -i -ro
1- dress -PFV -AR -3F

I dressed her in it.

(380) Nokitsaakaro.

no- kitsaa -k -a -ro
1- dress -PFV -MR -3F

I got dressed in it.

The voice patterns as they interact with transitivity are summarized in Table B.9.

Table B.9: Patterns of Labile Verbs

INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE	EXAMPLE
active	active	<i>katsima</i> ‘be upset’
middle	active	<i>asatek</i> ‘stick between’
middle	active ~ middle	<i>kitsaa</i> ‘dress’
middle	middle	<i>sheka</i> ‘eat’

Lastly, some verbs exhibit a morphological quirk by which they are middle in the realis but active in the irrealis. This is shown for the intransitive verb *katig* ‘stand’ in (381) and (382 (n.b., **nonkatianakempa*)).¹⁸⁶ This quirk crosscuts transitivity: the transitive verb *mir* ‘drink,’ for example, exhibits this same pattern.

(381) Nokatianaka.

no- katig -an -k -a
1- stand -ABL -PFV -MR

I stood up.

(382) Nonkatianake.

no- N- katig -an -k -e
1- IRR- stand -ABL -PFV -IRR

I’ll stand up.

¹⁸⁶The verb *katig* ‘stand’ cannot be made transitive simply substituting middle for active voice. Instead the causative *o-* is used, resulting in the stem *ogatig*, which is active.

It is worth noting what sorts of patterns with respect to reality status and voice are not attested. There are no verbs that are active when intransitive and middle when transitive, for example. Nor are there verbs that are active when realis but middle when irrealis. And there are no verbs that are active when self-directed but middle when other-directed (cf. *kitsaa* ‘dress’).

B.5.2 Unexpected Patterns of Reality Status & Voice Marking

There are four different environments in which the expected reality status and voice patterns are not attested: negated future-oriented clauses, intransitive subject extraction, local-person objects, and a miscellaneous set of verbal suffixes. Negated future-oriented clauses are notionally doubly irrealis, combining the irreality of future temporal reference with the irreality of negation. However, such verbs are morphologically realis (see Michael 2014b:271-273 for discussion of related Nanti). In (383) we see a positive realis clause with a third person subject. When it is negated with past temporal reference, the form of the negator is *tee* and the verb is morphologically irrealis (384). When it is negated with future temporal reference, the form of the negator is *aato* and the verb is morphologically realis (385). (See §B.7 for further discussion of negation.)

(383) Yogi.	(384) Tee iroge.	(385) Aato yogi.
<i>i- og -i</i>	<i>tee iri- og -e</i>	<i>aato i- og -i</i>
3M- go -AR	NEG 3M- go -IRR	NEG 3M- go -AR
He goes.	He didn’t go.	He won’t go.

Second, intransitive subject extraction shows several unique properties. One is that all verbs are uniformly morphologically active. Compare final *-a* in (386) with final *-i* in (387). This leads Baier and O’Hagan (2019) to analyze *-i* as the featurally least specified of these suffixes, occurring in (387) by default. See there for a comprehensive description.

(386) Noshiaka.	(387) Naro shiankitsi.
<i>no- shig -k -a</i>	<i>naro shig -ankits -i</i>
1- run -PFV -MR	1.COP run -PFV -AR
I ran.	It’s me that ran.

Third, verbs with first and second person objects must take active voice marking. This holds even if with third person objects the same verb takes middle marking. Compare the middle marking of (388) with the active marking of (389).

(388) Ishekakaro.

i- sheka -k -a -ro
 -AR eat -PFV -MR -3F

He ate it.

(389) Ishekakena.

i- sheka -k -i -na
 3M- eat -PFV -AR -1

He ate me.

However, active voice marking conditioned by first and second person objects does not occur in one case: if the active realis suffix *-i* would surface as [i] and be followed by first person *-na*. Active realis *-i* surfaces in this way when it does not follow the perfective and undergo lowering to [e]. In this case the verb remains middle (390). This does not apply to second person *-mpi* (391).

(390) Ishekatana.

i- sheka -a -na
 3M- eat -MR -1

He's eating me.

(391) Ishekatimpi.

i- sheka -i -mpi
 3M- eat -AR -2

He's eating you.

Fourth, some verbal suffixes condition middle voice. For one suffix, reciprocal *-abakag* (§B.6.1), this conditioning is semantically transparent given that reciprocals are detransitivizing, but for other suffixes it is not expected based on the meaning in question. For example, the instrumental applicative *-aN* and what I refer to as the specific moment marker *-(i)tsi* both require that the verb take middle voice marking, even if the verb would otherwise be active. This can be appreciated for the former in comparing active (392) with middle (393).

(392) Notiakero.

no- tig -k -i -ro
 1- cook -PFV -AR -3F

I cooked it.

(393) Notiankaro.

no- tig -aN -k -a -ro
 1- cook -INSTR -PFV -MR -3F

I cooked with it [some instrument].

Furthermore, both of these suffixes are distinguished from a pair of segmentally identical ones solely by the fact that they condition voice instead of having no effect on voice. The instrumental applicative contrasts with the antipassive (§B.6.2), and the specific moment marker contrasts with the malefactive applicative (§B.6.4.7).

B.6 Valence-changing Operations

Caquinte exhibits a rich set of morphemes that alter the valence of the verb. Described first here are two valence-decreasing morphemes, the reciprocal *-abakag* (§B.6.1) and the antipassive *-aN* (§B.6.2), followed by a large set of valence-increasing morphemes, namely four causatives and ten applicatives. With the exception of three causative prefixes, all affixes described here are suffixes.

B.6.1 Reciprocal *-abakag*

The reciprocal suffix *-abakag* derives a middle verb that cannot bear an object suffix, as shown in (394), with the verb *katsima*. In its intransitive form (morphologically active) this verb means ‘be angry.’ In its transitive form (*ibid.*), it means ‘get angry at.’ The resulting stem is superficially intransitive, that is, it cannot take an object suffix.

(394) ...“Aato pikatsimatabakaga.”

aato pi- katsima -abakag -a
NEG 2- be.angry -RECIP -MR

...“Don’t get angry at each other.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:84)

However, the clause is not itself intransitive. An object may be present, so long as it does not agree with the verb, as shown in (395). In this context, two co-wives are together after their husband, Vampire Bat, goes to the forest.¹⁸⁷

(395) Ari ochokotijiake obetsatabakaaka ogetyote...

ari o- chokoti -jig -k -i o- obetsa -abakag -k -a o- igetyo -te
FOC 3F- sit -PL -PFV -AR 3F- speak -RECIP -PFV -MR 3F- sister -P

Then they sat down and she spoke with her sister... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:127-128)

The stem here is derived from *obetsa*. When this verb takes an object without the reciprocal, it means ‘speak to,’ implying a one-sided conversation, not ‘speak with.’

B.6.2 Antipassive *-an*

Antipassive *-an* attaches to both transitive and ditransitive verb stems. With the former, it removes the direct object, yielding an intransitive stem; with the latter, it removes the indirect object, yielding a transitive stem. It is segmentally identical to the instrumental applicative, but the latter conditions middle voice, whereas the antipassive has no effect on the voice of the verb.

In (396), *-an* attaches to transitive *asereg* ‘bother.’ Note that I translate the lack of an object with generic *people*.

(396) Intineokigiteni, aato yanti, mana irasereantagetake.

i- N- tineoki -gi -e -ni aato i- an -i mana iri- asereg -an -ge -ak -e
3M- IRR- sleep -PROL -IRR -AUG NEG 3M- work -AR rather 3M- bother -ANTIP -DSTR -PFV -IRR

He’ll always sleep, he won’t work, he’ll bother people. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:116)

¹⁸⁷Co-wives are usually sisters to each other, either full, half, or classificatory.

In (397), it attaches to *aman* ‘ask for,’ and the object suffix crossreferences a direct object, that is, a theme. Without the antipassive, the object suffix would crossreference an indirect object, that is, a source; this example would mean that Turkey Vulture was asking the addressee for something.

(397) “Yamanantakempi shetyaonkani.”

i- aman -aN -ak -i -mpi shetyaonkani
3M- ask.for -ANTIP -PFV -AR -2 turkey.vulture

“Turkey Vulture has asked for you [in marriage].” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:109)

B.6.3 Causatives

B.6.3.1 *o-*

The causative prefix *o-* is relatively unproductive. It attaches only to intransitive roots, inducing active voice; unusually, it voices a following root-initial voiceless stop. These facts can be appreciated in (398), comparing middle intransitive /katig/ ‘stand.’

(398) Yogatiakero ityotyobeane...

i- o- katig -k -i -ro i- tyotyobeane
3M- CAUS- stand -PFV -AR -3F 3M- bow

He stood his bow up... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:107)

It may also attach to inalienable nouns, deriving a transitive verb that denotes the transformation of the direct object into the entity referred to by the noun to which it attaches. For example, from *pio* ‘pile,’ *obio* denotes making piles; from *patsa* ‘mass’ (including tobacco dip), *obatsa* denotes preparing tobacco.

(399) Oraga sheri obatsatabakeneritari iriinanite...

o- ra =ga sheri o- o- patsa -ab -k -i -nV -ri =tari iri- iinani -te
3F- MED =CT tobacco 3F- CAUS- mass -DIR -PFV -AR -REC -3M =CNGR 3M- mother -P

The tobacco, on the other hand, his mother prepared for him... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:4)

B.6.3.2 *obe-*

Like *o-*, *obe-* is relatively unproductive. With one exception in the corpus, it attaches only to nominal roots, deriving a transitive verb that denotes the transformation of the direct object into the entity referred to by the noun to which it attaches. Some of the resulting stems become /h/-final, as in (400), from the inalienable noun *shokoito* ‘head.’

(400) Ari yaake tamarotsa, yampitsatakero ibeshokoitojakero...

ari i- ag -k -i tamaro -tsa i- ampitsa -ak -i -ro i- obe- shokoito(j) -k -i -ro
 FOC 3M- grab -PFV -AR tree.sp. -fiber 3M- spin -PFV -AR -3F 3M- CAUS- head -PFV -AR -3F

Then he grabbed *tamaro* fiber, spun it, and rolled it up...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:176)

B.6.3.3 *ogi-*

One of two productive causatives is *ogi-*, which attaches to intransitive verbs only. The causer does not undergo the event together with the causee (cf. *-akag* in §B.6.3.4), as shown in in (401).

(401) Ari yogichokotitakeri shitaponkarontsiki...

ari i- ogi- chokoti -ak -i -ri shitaponka -ro -ntsi =ki
 FOC 3M- CAUS- sit -PFV -AR -3M build.platform -NMZ -AL =LOC

Then he sat him down on a bench.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:101)

Note that the verb root *chokoti* is active, because of which causative *ogi-* has no discernible effect on voice. However, when the verb root is middle, derivation with *ogi-* conditions active voice. This is shown in (402) for middle *pig* ‘return.’

(402) ...“Aato nogipiajiro.”

aato no- ogi- pig -aj -i -ro
 NEG 1- CAUS- return -REG -AR -3F

...“I won’t return her.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:11)

For other middle intransitive verbs, it is possible to derive a transitive version simply by substituting an active voice suffix. This is the case for *tinaj*, which in its middle intransitive form means ‘be awake.’ In its active transitive form, it means ‘awaken’ (403).

(403) “Imaika kerompa ankotajeroni antinajajerogeti?”

imaika ke -ro =mpa a- N- ko -aj -e -ro -ni a- N- tinaj -aj -e
 NOW WH -F =INCNGR 1INCL- IRR- do -REG -IRR -3F -INT 1INCL- IRR- awaken -REG -IRR
-ro =geti
-3F =when

“Now how will we wake her up?”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:112)

But some of these verbs, like *tinaj*, also have a causativized counterpart in *ogi-*, as in (404). The distinction between stems transitivized solely via voice suffixes and those transitivized via causatives is not yet well understood.

(404) “Pogitinajajeri anianishi.”

pi- ogi- tinaj -aj -e -ri anianishi
2- CAUS- be.awake -REG -IRR -3M brother.in.law

“Wake up my brother-in-law.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:3)

B.6.3.4 *-akag*

The second productive causative is *-akag*, which combines with both intransitive and transitive roots. Unlike *ogi-*, it has no effect on voice marking. In one function, *-akag* is a sociative causative, by which the causer undergoes the event together with the causee. In (405), where *-akag* attaches to *shig* ‘run,’ a woman is running carrying her infant daughter in her arms, that is, the causee is in fact not running at all.

(405) Noshiakaanakaro tsobironakiki notineokitakegeti.

no- shig -akag -an -k -a -ro tsobironaki =ki no- tineoki -ak -i =geti
1- run -CAUS -ABL -PFV -MR -3F house =LOC 1- sleep -PFV -AR =where

I ran her back to the house where I was sleeping. (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:49)

In (406), a group of Ashaninkas wants to flee with a captive whose father comes to rescue her. In this case, both the Ashaninkas and the captives run.

(406) “Jaame ashiakaanakero.”

jaame a- shig -akag -an -k -e -ro
HORT 1INCL- run -CAUS -ABL -PFV -IRR -3F

“Let’s escape with her.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:164)

Contrast this with the meaning of the *ogi-* causative with the same root. Here only the causee runs, the causer having remained behind.

(407) “Chapinki pogishiakeri aparo.”

chapinki pi- ogi- shig -k -i -ri aparo
recently 2- CAUS- run -PFV -AR -3M one

“Recently you let one get away.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:152)

In another function of *-akag*, the sociative interpretation is not present, as in (408), where the causer does not suffer as the causees do.

(408) Osheki yatsipetakaakari igonoro...

osheki i- atsipe -akag -k -a -ri i- gonoro
 much 3M- suffer -CAUS -PFV -MR -3M 3M- countryman

He made his people suffer a lot... (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:15)

In these cases, there is a certain degree of lexical specification regarding which of the two productive causatives occurs with which verbs. Other verbs, as seen with 'run' above, occur with either (with a difference in meaning).

Finally, when *-akag* attaches to a transitive root, the result is a ditransitive stem. If the causee is a first or second person, both objects may be marked on the verb, as in (409). Here the causee does not want to stop drinking ayahuasca.

(409) "Aato paabeji pojokakaganaro."

aato pi- aabej -i pi- ojok -akag -a -na -ro
 NEG 2- be.able -AR 2- leave -CAUS -MR -1 -3F

"You won't be able to make me leave it." (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:32)

B.6.3.5 Indirect Causation with Antipassive *-an*

The antipassive combines with causative *-akag* to express indirect causation. The causative introduces a causee, which is then removed by the antipassive, in the same way that the antipassive removes the indirect object in a ditransitive—see (397) in §B.6.2. The result is an interpretation in which a causee is notionally present, but not an argument of the verb, as in (410), where the narrator and her husband are going to a doctor.

(410) Ari noanake namenakaantero norijanite.

ari no- og -an -k -i no- amen -akag -an -e -ro no- orijani -te
 FOC 1- go -ABL -PFV -AR 1- see -CAUS -ANTIP -IRR -3F 1- daughter -P

Then we went to have our daughter seen. (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:48)

At other times, however, the antipassive in this construction seems to undo a possible sociative interpretation. This observation stems from cases in which the antipassive does not in fact remove the causee, for example, as in (411), in which the causee is expressed via object agreement on the verb. In this context, the causer is arguing with the causee, and as a result the causee steps away from him and by accident backwards onto his daughter.

(411) "Arikea pagatikakaankenaro norijanite."

ari =kea pi- agatik -akag -an -k -i -na -ro no- orijani -te
 FOC =EW 2- step.on -CAUS -ANTIP -PFV -AR -1 -3F 1- daughter -P

"You made me step on my daughter." (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:28)

This is distinct from (410) above, in which the causer arguably has a role in seeing his daughter together with the doctor (i.e., a sociative interpretation).

B.6.4 Applicatives

There are ten applicatives in Caquinte (Table B.10), which introduce objects with particular thematic roles. With the exception of the general locative postposition =*ki* (which to a limited degree also licenses instruments), there are no periphrastic expressions equivalent to these applicative constructions, attesting to the strongly head-marking typological profile of the language. As noted by Michael (2001:168), Payne (1997:190) remarks that “Nomatsiguenga and other Campa [read: Nijagantsi] languages probably have the most highly developed systems of morphologically distinct applicative operations on earth.” Indeed all Nijagantsi languages exhibit systems comparable to Nomatsigenga and Caquinte in terms of both the overall inventory of forms and their semantics. Payne’s remark concerns the path-breaking description of Nomatsigenga by Wise (1971).¹⁸⁸ She does not use the term applicative, and that is not the term that developed in the SIL-based Nijagantsi literature in subsequent decades. Those descriptions use *sufijos modales de participante* ‘modal participant suffixes,’ a broad term encompassing all valence-changing morphology and any other verbal morphology that affects the interpretation of participants (e.g., participant number marked on the verb). This is the case, for example, in Swift’s (1988:69-81) description of these suffixes in Caquinte.¹⁸⁹ Lev Michael (2001) was the first to use the term applicative, for Nanti, which was later adopted by Elena Mihás in her description of Perené Asheninka and which I adopt here. In this section I use the term to refer to a grammatical morpheme that, minimally, can introduce an object to a verbal clause (the applied object), regardless of whether the clause is initially intransitive or transitive. I show that an object is not always introduced, in some cases the thematic role of the base object simply being altered.

Table B.10: Caquinte Applicatives & Their Properties

FORM	THEMATIC ROLE	VALENCE	MID
- <i>ako</i>	[various]	INTR, TR	✓
- <i>an</i>	instrument, location, time, reason, manner	INTR, TR	
- <i>ashi</i>	purpose	INTR, TR	✓
- <i>imo</i>	location (person)	INTR, TR	
- <i>apitsa</i>	source	INTR, TR	
- <i>nV</i>	recipient	TR	
- <i>non</i>	beneficiary	TR	✓
- <i>i</i> , - <i>it</i> , -(<i>i</i>) <i>tsi</i>	maleficiary	INTR, TR	
- <i>ben</i>	benefactive reason	INTR, TR	✓
- <i>imen</i>	malefactive reason	INTR, TR	

¹⁸⁸This is the published version of her (1968) dissertation from the University of Michigan.

¹⁸⁹See also Snell (2011:840-846) for similar terminology for Matsigenka. Participant modals are opposed to manner modals, which can be characterized as event-modifying verbal suffixes. For Nomatsigenga, Shaver (1996:44) refers to affixes that change the *clase verbal* ‘verbal class,’ including causatives and applicatives.

In applicative constructions, object agreement is minimally with the applied object, and with both applied and base object if one but not both of them is a first or second person. This means that when both base and applied object are third person, only the applied object is crossreferenced on the verb.¹⁹⁰ If the applied object is extracted (e.g., relativized), then a third person agreement position becomes available for agreement with the base object. This is with the important exception of the recipient applicative *-nV*, which also exhibits other noncanonical properties. Lastly, some applicatives allow for an interpretation in combination with middle voice whereby the applicative affects the interpretation of the subject, not the object (see Table B.10).

Each of the following sections is devoted to one applicative. I note that most of these applicatives can combine with each other, yielding semantically quite elaborate expressions that get at the heart of Caquinte lexical semantics and “how ideas are distributed over lexical categories, over predicates and arguments, over clauses, and over sentences” (Mithun 2014:38). At various points I make comparative remarks, and note here that the majority of the applicatives described here do not have obvious surviving lexical sources in Nijagantsi languages. Lastly, Caquinte has cognates to all attested Nijagantsi applicatives with the exception of what in Matsigenka is *-te* ‘towards’ (Snell 2011:844),¹⁹¹ and what in Shaver (1996:47) is the reason applicative *-bí* (or *-biri*). Conversely, Caquinte has innovated the malefactive applicative *-(i)tsi*, and seems to share the malefactive reason applicative *-imɛN* only with Tambo Ashaninka (Kindberg 1980:463).

B.6.4.1 Indirect *-ako*

The most ubiquitous applicative in my corpus, with over 630 occurrences, is the indirect applicative *-ako*. This suffix attaches to intransitive and transitive verbs, introducing an object that is indirectly instead of directly affected by the event denoted by the verb. This is a very general definition meant to encompass many different senses, depending on the verb in question. Understanding the meaning of *-ako* is central to effective communication in Caquinte, given its frequency. It is easiest to characterize by way of example.

When *-ako* attaches to *kem* ‘hear,’ it derives a stem denoting hearing about something, for example, hearing news of someone instead of hearing them directly. In (412), a group of people hear that the powerful woman shaman Tyaabankaroni has transcended to another dimension. Note that, if *-ako* were absent in this example, it would mean that they heard her transcend.

(412) Ari ikemakojitakerogeti Tyaabankaroni...

ari i- kem -ako -ji -ak -i -ro =geti Tyaabankaroni
 FOC 3M- hear -INDR -NR -PFV -AR -3F =when Tyaabankaroni

When they heard about Tyaabankaroni...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:64)

¹⁹⁰There seem to be some exceptions to this generalization, namely cases where the base object is crossreferenced when both objects are third person. These cases are not yet well understood.

¹⁹¹This is clearly old in the family, with a cognate in Nomatsigenga, though it is not described for Nanti (Michael 2008:285-288, 2012a) or Perené Asheninka (Mihás 2015:275).

In combination with *obetsa* ‘speak (to),’ it derives a stem denoting speaking about someone as the topic of conversation. This stem can also have the sense of speaking up for someone (413). With *sheka* ‘eat,’ the resulting sense is a comitative one (414).

(413) ...teekatsi betsatakotenane.

teekatsi obetsa -ako -e -na -ne
no.one speak -INDR -IRR -1 -IRR

...no one spoke up for me.

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:3)

(414) ...iroatimpa mankgirentsi teekeate oshekatakotempariji baabaikonta.

iroatimpa mankgirentsi tee =kea =te o- sheka -ako -e -mpa -ri -ji baabaikonta
3F.PRO woman NEG =EW =CE 3F- eat -INDR -IRR -MID -3M -NEG bear

...the woman didn’t eat with the bear.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:16)

Each of the above examples is transitive, with fairly well differentiated direct versus indirect meanings, for example, one does not eat someone, but eats with someone. With other verbs this relation of directness is less well differentiated. For example, *oisho* ‘tie up’¹⁹² has two subtly distinct senses. In both its basic and derived forms, the grammatical object refers to the entity tied. In the basic form, the event refers to tying something around someone, for example, tying them up by their hands (415).

(415) Ari yoishotsitari ibakoki aisa ichanchakijiki...

ari i- oisho -itsi -a -ri i- bako =ki aisa i- chanchakiji =ki
FOC 3M- tie.up -SM -MR -3M 3M- hand =LOC also 3M- leg =LOC

Then he tied him up by his hands and by his legs...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:32)

With *-ako* the event refers to tying someone up to something else, that is, not attaching the tying object only to the person but also to another object, as around a tree trunk (416).

(416) Arikea yoishotakotakero inchatoki obegarapojakageti ochonkiregishi.

ari =kea i- oisho -ako -ak -i -ro inchatoto =ki o- obegara -poj -k -a =geti
FOC =EW 3M- tie.up -INDR -PFV -AR -3F tree =LOC 3F- end -ALL -PFV -MR =where
o- chonkiregishi
3F- tree.top

Then he tied it up to the tree where the tree top ended.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:83)

¹⁹²That is, by wrapping the relevant tying object repeatedly, as in strapping house beams together.

Similarly, with *noshik* ‘pull,’ the basic form denotes pulling on someone’s body, whereas the form derived with *-ako* denotes pulling on something to which they might be attached (e.g., a rope).

There is a certain degree of lexical specification with *-ako* and other applicatives. For example, when attaching to intransitive *shimampojank* ‘be sad,’ *-ako* introduces an argument referring to the reason for sadness (like English *mourn*), as in (417). However, reasons for happiness, with *shine* ‘be happy,’ are introduced by *-beN* (§B.6.4.8).

(417) Oniinanite osheki oshimampojankakotakaro metojankitsika orijanite.

on- iinani -te osheki o- shimampojank -ako -ak -a -ro metoj -ankits -i =ka o-
 3F- mother -P much 3F- be.sad -INDR -PFV -MR -3F die -PFV -AR =REL 3F-
orijani -te
 daughter -P

Her mother was very sad about her daughter who had died.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:143)

Furthermore, some seemingly more specific thematic roles, for example, a goal, can be subsumed under a more general notion of indirectness. Compare the basic form of the intransitive verb *atai* ‘climb’ in (418), with the form derived with *-ako* in (419). Much like a person eaten with is on the periphery of the more direct event of eating, so too is the object climbed for on the periphery of the more direct event of climbing the tree trunk itself.

(418) Ishianaka, yataitanake inchapoaki yoabaetanake jenoki.

i- shig -an -k -a i- atai -an -k -i inchapoa =ki i- og -bae -an -k -i jenoki
 3M- run -ABL -PFV -MR 3M- climb -ABL -PFV -AR tree.trunk =LOC 3M- go -DUR -ABL -PFV -AR high

He ran away, climbed a tree trunk, and went way up high.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:119)

(419) Jaame antaitakotero ashekatemparo.

jaame a- N- atai -ako -e -ro a- sheka -e -mpa -ro
 HORT 1INCL- IRR- climb -INDR -IRR -3F 1INCL- eat -IRR -MID -3F

Let’s climb up for it and eat it [a fruit].

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:29)

One could enumerate a long list of direct-indirect pairs and their associated meanings, which is beyond the scope of this description. For now I mention two issues related to transitivity. The first is that, if derived with middle voice, a stem with *-ako* can be intransitive (420) and the argument whose thematic role is affected is the subject. This is a property common to many of the applicatives that we will encounter in the subsequent sections.

(420) Arikea ijeokanaji jeok yamenakobaeta ichookajiakegeti igonoropae.

ari =kea i- jeok -an -aj -i jeok i- amen -ako -bae -a i- chooka -jig
 FOC =EW 3M- vanish¹⁹³ -ABL -REG -AR IDEO 3M- see -INDR -DUR -MR 3M- EXST -PL
-k -i =geti i- gonoro =pae
 -PFV -AR =where 3M- countryman =PL

Then he vanished *jeok* and found himself far away where his people lived.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:8)

The second issue is that, *contra* Michael’s (2008:289) description of Nanti and Mihas’s (2015:281) description of Perené Asheninka, in Caquinte a transitive verb derived with *-ako* can be ditransitive, as in (421). Note that the first verb, *amen* ‘watch,’ agrees with two objects, the person watched (the base object), and the person affected by the person watched (the applied object), which I leave out of the English translation. Indeed data of this sort—together with the transitivity of intransitive verbs as in (417) and (419)—is the most convincing sort of evidence for the claim that *-ako* is an applicative, introducing an additional object to the clause.

(421) “...pamenakokenari nometojakerigeti.”

pi- amen -ako -e -na -ri no- metoj -k -e -ri =geti
 2- watch -INDR -IRR -1 -3M 1- kill -PFV -IRR -3M =when

“...you’ll watch me when I kill him.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:157)

Swift (1988:70-71) describes Caquinte *-ako* as a dative, and Snell (2011:841-842) describes the Matsigenka cognate as a referential. The latter author also speculates that it may derive from *ako* ‘hand,’ but this cannot be correct since proto-Nijagantsi ‘hand’ reconstructs as **pako* (in addition to the semantic implausibility). This form is still attested as the incorporated form of ‘hand’ in Matsigenka, and the initial consonant is preserved in Caquinte *bako*.¹⁹⁴ Mihas (2009) similarly rejects this proposal, arguing that the applicative derived from a homophonous vessel classifier, also attested in Caquinte. She also surveys previous descriptions of this suffix.

Because of the very general meaning of the indirect applicative *-ako*, it is difficult to assess when a particular stem has been lexicalized. Some combinations seem especially common across Nijagantsi languages in a way that suggests that they reconstruct to the proto-language, such as **kogako* ‘ask about,’ from *kog* ‘look for’ (cf. Caquinte *koako* ‘ask about’).¹⁹⁵ It is not clear to me that this should be considered a case of lexicalization, as Michael (2008:289) claims, since asking about someone is arguably a way of looking for them indirectly.¹⁹⁶ Stronger cases for lexicalization can

¹⁹³That is, to vanish in the style of the shamanic helper spirits *jeokarijite*. The same verb denotes birds and planes quickly pulling up out of nose dives. In addition to being an ideophone describing this event, *jeok* is also an ideophone describing gusts of wind.

¹⁹⁴The voice consonant is a back-formation from the voicing that occurs between a possessive prefix and a possessed noun. The original alternation would have been *pakotsi* ‘hand,’ with the alienable suffix *-(n)tsi*, and, for example, *nobako* ‘my hand.’ The alienable form in Caquinte is *bakotsi*.

¹⁹⁵In Caquinte this stem also means ‘ask,’ in the sense of to ask someone a question.

¹⁹⁶Mihas (2015:284) makes the same point but gives the meaning ‘request from somebody.’

be made when a root no longer occurs without *-ako*, or when a stem without *-ako* perhaps never existed. An example of the latter is in (422), with the stem *peshirejako*, denoting getting over loves. This stem has a somewhat opaque derivation including the combination of reversative prefix *(a)pe-* and the inalienable noun *shire* ‘soul.’¹⁹⁷ The stem †*peshirej*, however, is not attested.

(422) “*Imaika noanake nonigankitejireki nompeshirejakogetajateta.*”

imaika no- og -an -k -e no- nigankiteji -re =ki no- N- peshirejako -ge -aja
 now 1- go -ABL -PFV -IRR 1- garden -P =LOC 1- IRR- get.over -DSTR -REDEP
-e =ta
 -IRR =PROSP

“Now I’m going to go to my garden to get over her.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:94)

More problematic are three verbs for which *-ako* affects the interpretation of the subject—and not the object—without middle voice marking. These are: *pitsekako* ‘spend night,’ from *pitsek* ‘be night’; *sabinkagitetako* ‘be awake at dawn’ (usually referring to having been awake all night), from *sabinkagite* ‘be morning’; and *metojako* ‘die relative of,’ from *metoj* ‘die.’ To take the first pair, the basic form is like an English weather verb, with a dummy third person feminine subject. Derived with *-ako*, however, the subject crossreferences the agentive argument whose referent spends the night. To take the last pair, the subject of basic *metoj* crossreferences the argument whose referent dies. With *-ako*, the subject is the individual whose children have died.

(423) “*Imaika orijani pimetojakotake, aato pinejiro okenkebaroti.*”

imaika orijani pi- metojako -ak -i aato pi- nej -i -ro o- kenkebaro -i
 now daughter 2- die.children.of -PFV -AR NEG 2- see -AR -3F 3F- be.of.age -AR

“Now, daughter, your child has died, you won’t see her come of age.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:29)

As mentioned above, intransitive stems derived with *-ako* are otherwise only observed with middle voice (420), in which case the interpretation of the applicative relates to the subject. The lack of middle voice with these three pairs suggests that *-ako* may previously have had a function related to valence-changing that was broader than an applicative that only interacted with objects.

B.6.4.2 Instrumental *-an*

The applicative *-an* combines with intransitive and transitive verbs. It introduces an argument that refers to an instrument with which the event denoted by the verb is realized, with various metaphorical extensions on what constitutes an instrument and in the formation of reason and manner questions and some declarative counterparts. It is identical in its phonological shape to the antipassive (§B.6.2), but the applicative conditions middle voice (whereas the antipassive has

¹⁹⁷Several derivational prefixes result in an /h/-final form of the root, as represented here with <j>.

no effect on voice), and of course it has a very distinct effect on argument structure relative to an antipassive. In the canonical case, the instrument is a physical one (424).

(424) “Itabaakena aisa ichatikankenaro nosabataki iyapa.”

i- tabag -k -i -na aisa i- chatik -aN -k -i -na -ro no- sabata =ki iyapa
3M- hit -PFV -AR -1 also 3M- butt -INSTR -PFV -AR -1 -3F 1- shoulder.blade =LOC shotgun

“He hit me and also he butted me with on my shoulder blade with the shotgun.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:10)

It can also be a place (425), a time (426), or a language (427). Note in these first four examples that we see both intransitive and transitive verbs, and, as elsewhere, if the verb can agree with two objects because one is local, it does, as in (424) and (427).

(425) Nohookatantakaro nijatenijaniki opajita Tishiro.

no- chooka -aN -ak -a -ro nijateni -janiki o- paji -a Tishiro
1- EXST -INSTR -PFV -MR -3F stream -DIM 3F- name -MR Tishiro

I lived on a stream named Tishiro.

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:1)

(426) Nokoraketantakaro tai nobiempere 23...

no- korake -aN -ak -a -ro tai nobiempere 23
1- come -INSTR -PFV -MR -3F month November 23

I came in the month of November, the 23rd...

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:29)

(427) ...ibetsatankenaro igenketsatsare...

i- obetsa -aN -k -i -na -ro i- kenketsatsare
3M- speak -INSTR -PFV -AR -1 -3F 3M- language

...he spoke to me in his language...

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:7)

Other times, referents that would not be construed as instruments in English are introduced with the instrumental applicative in Caquinte. For example, to express that one’s eyes roll back in their head (428), one uses *amen* ‘look’ together with the instrumental.

(428) ...mana okantanake tiinkinini amenantanakaro ogitamarokijare.

mana o- kaN -aN -k -i tiinkinini o- amen -aN -aN -k -a -ro o-
instead 3F- do -ABL -PFV -AR IDEO:tremble 3F- look -INSTR -ABL -PFV -MR -3F 3F-
kitamarokijare
white.of.eye

...instead she began to tremble and her eyes rolled back in her head.

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:49)

B.6.4.3 Purpose *-ashi*

The applicative *-ashi* combines with intransitive and transitive verbs. It introduces an argument that refers to an entity associated with the purpose of the eventuality denoted by the verb to which it attaches. That is, the applied argument is additionally an argument of a subsequent clause denoting the purpose of an eventuality. The basic pattern is in (429), where *-ashi* attaches to the intransitive verb *kij* ‘enter.’ The verb can now agree with an object, as it does here, the feminine agreement referring to food that has been fenced off to prevent animals from eating it. The animals’ purpose is to eat the food, in view of which we can observe that the applied argument of *kij* is the object of *sheka* ‘eat.’

(429) ...aatonijite ikijashitiro shekakemparoneka.

aato =niji =te i- kij -ashi -i -ro sheka -k -e -mpa -ro -ne =ka
 NEG =PURP =CE 3M- enter -PURP -AR -3F eat -PFV -IRR -MID -3F -IRR =REL

...so that something that’d eat it wouldn’t come in for it. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:137)

Oftentimes the exact nature of the subsequent event—the event of what we could call the purpose clause if it were explicit—is unclear because it is implicit. In (430), for example, it later becomes clear in the story that the speaker intends for her husband to speak to his mother in advance of her coming out of the forest, but at this juncture, she simply tells him to go ahead. The applicative attaches to this verb, intransitive *jiba*, introducing the object *piinanite* ‘your mother.’

(430) “Nomankigare, pijibatashitanakero piinanite..”

no- mankigare pi- jiba -ashi -an -k -e -ro pi- iinani -te
 1- spouse 2- go.ahead -PURP -ABL -PFV -IRR -3F 2- mother -P

“Husband, go ahead to your mother..” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:21)

When *-ashi* attaches to transitive verbs, as with other applicatives in this section, the result is a ditransitive. This is the case in (431), where the verb *tsatij* ‘pull apart’ agrees with the masculine applied object, here an animal that will be tied up with the liana, and the base object is instantiated by the noun *tsoronketotsa* ‘liana sp.’

(431) ...“Nontsatijashikerita tsoronketotsa.”

no- N- tsatij -ashi -k -e -ri =ta tsoronketotsa
 1- IRR- pull.apart -PURP -PFV -IRR -3M =PROSP liana.sp.

...“I’m going to pull down a liana for it.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:165)

In (432), the base object is not present as an object suffix or noun, but is only understood from context. The verb agrees with the applied object, which is instantiated by the noun *osaiteberi* ‘paca.’ Literal translations of the sort here can be somewhat cumbersome in English, as English tends not to package information in this way.

(432) Ari irira pinchinchi yoishashitabakeri osaiteberi, ishinkotakeri...

ari iri- ra pinchinchi i- oish -ashi -ab -k -i -ri osaiteberi i- shinko
 FOC 3M- MED vampire.bat 3M- blow.ON -PURP -DIR -PFV -AR -3M paca 3M- smoke
-ak -i -ri
 -PFV -AR -3M

Vampire Bat blew on it [the fire] for the pacas, he smoked them...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:125)

Indeed a translation like that in (432) for (433) would be misleading. The man does not bring his bow “for her” in the sense of giving it to her, or for her benefit, but rather to use it to kill her, that is, the demon Shiincharinchari. Note that only the first instance of *am* ‘bring’ in this example bears the purpose applicative; the second happens to lack it.

(433) Ari imaika yamashitakero ityotyobeanne, yamake ishikiripite...

ari imaika i- am -ashi -ak -i -ro i- tyotyobeanne i- am -k -i i- shikiripi-te
 FOC then 3M- bring -PURP -PFV -AR -3F 3M- bow 3M- bring -PFV -AR 3M- arrow -P

Then he brought his bow, he brought his arrows...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:142)

As we saw in §B.3.2, a verb can agree with two objects so long as one is local and one is not. We see this pattern interact with *-ashi* in (434). The base object of *chaki* ‘chop down’ is the object chopped, in this case standing trees. Without *-ashi*, the third person feminine object agreement would crossreference that argument. However, here it crossreferences an understood *nigankiteji* ‘garden’ from the previous sentence. That is, the purpose is to chop down trees for (clearing) a garden. In addition, a recipient argument is expressed by the first person *-na*. The garden is for the speaker to have at his disposal once the clearing is finished.

(434) ...“Pinchakitashitapojenaro.”

pi- N- chaki -ashi -apoj-e -na-ro
 2- IRR- chop.down -PURP -ALL -IRR -1 -3F

...“You’ll chop it down for it for me.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:176)

When middle voice co-occurs with *-ashi*, a variety of interesting related interpretations are possible. In general, the interpretation is that the event is realized for one’s own purposes, that is, of the grammatical subject. This is relatively transparent in (435), where a man has just proposed to the speaker, but she does not want to be married.

(435) “...noninketari nonchookatashitajempa intati.”

no- niN -k -i =tari no- N- chooka -ashi -aj -e -mpa
 1- want -PFV -AR =CNDR 1- IRR- EXST -PURP -REG -IRR -MID

“..because I only want to live for myself.”

In (436), with *montej* ‘cross’ (said of bodies of water), a man has just helped his children cross a stream and does not feel the need to go back to aid his wife in the same way. The interpretation is equivalent to English *on one’s own*, or *for oneself*.

(436) ...“Abiatimpa pagabejakempa pimontejashitanakempa.”

abiatimpa pi- agabej -k -e -mpa pi- montej -ashi -an -k -e -mpa
2.PRO 2- be.able -PFV -IRR -MID 2- CROSS -PURP -ABL -PFV -IRR -MID

...“You’ll be able to cross on your own.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:26)

In (437), a pleasant-smelling woman named Shimashiri (a beautiful yellow-flowering tree in the forest) sleeps apart from her dirty husband Turkey Vulture. Here *-ashi* attaches to *norij* ‘lie’ in order to express this meaning.

(437) Onorijashitaka roatimpatari irogenti kasankatsinobaeke...

o- norij -ashi -ak -a roatimpa =tari irogenti kasanka -tsino -bae -k -i -Ø
3F- lie -PURP -PFV -MR 3F.PRO =CNGR 3F.COP smell.good -body -DUR -PFV -AR -3

She lay apart because she smelled very good... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:109)

In (438), the rhetorical point is that the warrior in question, Taatakini, did not die at the hands of his enemies, but of natural causes in old age. Here *-ashi* occurs with *metoj* ‘die.’

(438) Irira Taatakini imetojashitaja, aanajiri igenkebaka.

iri- ra Taatakini i- metoj -ashi -aj -a o- ag -an -aj -i -ri i- kenkebaka
3M- MED Taatakini 3M- die -PURP -REG -MR 3F- take -ABL -REG -AR -3M 3M- old.age¹⁹⁸

In the end Taatakini died of his own accord, old age took him.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:167)

Lastly, a common interpretation of middle-marked verbs derived with *-ashi* is that the event occurred for no obvious reason (cf. Spanish *por gusto*).¹⁹⁹ This is the case in (439b), where the speaker is previously asked about his reasons for showing up for a friendly visit armed with a bow and arrows. The applicative occurs again with *am* ‘bring.’

(439) a. “Kero okotaka pamankaka shikiripi?”

¹⁹⁸This stem is historically derived from *kenkeba* and the deverbial nominalizer *-ka*. Synchronically it is a stative verb ‘be middle-aged,’ not elderly, whereas its nominalized form refers to old age, which I treat as a case of lexicalization.

¹⁹⁹Unlike Matsigenka, with the adverb *kogapage* ‘sin motivo, causa, razón o propósito’ (Snell 2011:222), Caquinte does not have an alternative lexical way to express this meaning.

ke -ro o- ko -ak -a pi- am -aN -k -a =ka shikiripi
 WH -F 3F- be -PFV -MR 2- bring -INSTR -PFV -MR =REL ARROW

“Why did you bring arrows?”

- b. Ikantirikea iriatimpa, “Tee, mana intati namashitakaro.”

i- kaN -i -ri =kea iriatimpa tee mana intati no- am -ashi -ak -a -ro
 3M- say -AR -3M =EW 3M.PRO nothing instead only 1- bring -PURP -PFV -MR -3F

Then he said to him, “No reason, I just brought them.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:148)

Compare active *yamashitakero* in (433) with middle *namashitakaro* here. In the former, agreement is with the applied object, but here middle voice results in the applicative affecting the interpretation of the subject, such that object agreement is now with the base object. That is, middle marking that results in the applicative affecting the interpretation of the subject makes object agreement with the base object possible.

B.6.4.4 Personal Locative *-imo*

The personal locative *-imo* combines with intransitive and transitive verbs, and introduces an argument that refers to an individual in terms of their location. A typical use is in (440). It attaches to the existential *chooka* (used to describe locations), introducing a referent whose location is where the subject will stay.

- (440) “Nonchookatimobaekitempi oshekini ajagantsini.”

no- N- chooka -imo -bae -ki -e -mpi
 1- IRR- EXST -PERS.LOC -DUR -GO.DO.RETURN -IRR -2

“I’m going to go live with you for many years.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:4)

The same use is found in (441), attached to *tineoki* ‘sleep’ and deriving a stem indicating the referent whose house the subject will sleep at.

- (441) “Ari antineokitimotanakeri, arikea ashekatapojempa.”

ari a- N- tineoki -imo -an -k -e -ri ari =kea a- sheka -apoj -e
 FOC 1INCL- IRR- sleep -PERS.LOC -ABL -PFV -IRR -3M FOC =EW 1INCL- eat -ALL -IRR
-mpa
 -MID

“We’ll sleep at his [house], that’s where we’ll eat.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:13)

Again this is the case in (442), from a story in which a man announces to his wife the arrival of his nephew, so she can bring him manioc beer. This example illustrates that expressions with *-imo* can be quite difficult to translate into English with similar expressions, and here I leave out reference to the first person object altogether.

(442) “Iroakera yarejetimotakena.”

iroakera i- areje -imo -k -i -na
just 3M- arrive -PERS.LOC -PFV -AR -1

“He just arrived.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:101)

This has led some scholars to characterize cognates to this applicative as a presential, introducing an object in whose presence the event occurs (Michael 2008:285-286; Mihas 2015:298-300), much like English *in front of*. This is salient in (443), where a man comments to his wife about what might happen if they do not give their classificatory grandson food and he passes out as a result. The applicative attaches to *tej* ‘fall over,’ and the applied object is crossreferenced with the first person inclusive *-aji*.

(443) “Anejajitatigeri intejimotanakaji toren.”

a- nej -jitatig -e -ri i- N- tej -imo -an -k -aji toren
1INCL- see -MIR -IRR -3M 3M- IRR- fall -PERS.LOC -ABL -PFV -1INCL IDEO:fall.over

“We’ll see him fall right over *toren*.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:14)

At other times the applied object is someone worked for, as with (444), where the subject clears land for the applied object, as it were.

(444) “Nogonoro, pininke pinkatsiketimoteri itsipa nogonoro...?”

no- gonoro pi- nin -k -i pi- N- katsike -imo -e -ri i- tsipa no- gonoro
1- countryman 2- want -PFV -AR 2- IRR- clear -PERS.LOC -IRR -3M 3M- other 1- countryman

“Countryman, do you want to clear [land] for another one of my countrymen...?”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:5)

Michael (ibid.) remarks that Nanti *-imo* can have a comitative sense. The same is true of Caquinte, as in (445), where the suffix attaches to *shinki* ‘be drunk.’ As an aside, this applicativized stem has a subtly different meaning than one derived with the sociative causative *-akag*, which would mean that the subject had given the object alcohol and they got drunk together.

(445) “Osheki noshinkitimotakitari itsobironakiteki..”

osheki no- shinki -imo -aki -a -ri i- tsobironaki -te =ki
much 1- be.drunk -PERS.LOC -GO.DO.RETURN -MR -3M 3M- house -P =LOC

“I went and got really drunk with him at his house..”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:102)

Lastly, Caquinte *-imo* can be metaphorically extended as in the following two examples. In (446) it attaches to *kantashitatig* ‘be different,’ deriving a stem somewhat like English *strike someone as different*; in (447) it attaches to *keje* ‘be like.’ In the latter case it is helpful to consider what the non-applicativized stem would mean, namely ‘It’s like me,’ whereas in (447) the description is of how the object experienced something. In this context the speaker is drawing a comparison between themselves—how they did not know how to cook snails when they first started living in Kitepampani in the late 1970s—and their addressee, who does not know how to cook popcorn when she first comes to the SIL center in Yarinacocha some years later.

(446) “Tee nontsatabajempiji, pikantashitatiimokena.”

tee no- N- tsa -ab -aj -e -mpi -ji pi- kantashitatig -imo -k -i -na
NEG 1- IRR- know -DIR -REG -IRR -2 -NEG 2- be.different -PERS.LOC -PFV -AR -1

“I don’t recognize you anymore, you’re different to me.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:6)

(447) “Ari okejetimotakena naatimpa...”

ari o- keje -imo -ak -i -na naatimpa
FOC 3F- be.like -PERS.LOC -PFV -AR -1 1.PRO

“It’s like it was for me...” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:19)

Mihas (2015:300) describes instances of Perené Asheninka *-imo* that are similar in character as noncompositional or lexicalized.

B.6.4.5 Separative *-apitsa*

The separative applicative *-apitsa* combines with intransitive and transitive verbs, and introduces an argument that denotes a referent from which something separates or is separated. With intransitive verbs, it is the subject that separates from the applied object, as in (448). Here the applied object is expressed only by the agreement suffix *-ri*.

(448) Oanaji oshiapitsatanajari.

o- og -an -aj -i o- shig -apitsa -an -aj -a -ri
3F- go -ABL -REG -AR 3F- run -SEP -ABL -REG -MR -3M

She left and ran away from him. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:160)

With transitive verbs, it is the base object that is separated from the applied object.²⁰⁰ In (449), we can observe that the verb does not agree with the base object *shikiripi* ‘arrow,’ which is feminine, and instead the applied object. In such instances the subject causes the separation of the base object from the applied object.

²⁰⁰In this difference based on transitivity, Caquinte *-apitsa* exhibits the same pattern as Nanti (Michael 2008:286-287).

(449) ...yaapitsajiapojiri shikiripi.

i- ag -apitsa -jig -poj -i -ri shikiripi
 3M- take -SEP -PL -ALL -AR -3M arrow

...they took the arrows away from him. (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:4)

The notion of separation extends beyond simple movement away or taking away from something. In (450), for example, the verb root is *sorok*, which as an intransitive can, for example, describe someone slipping (i.e., losing one's footing), or of a ring slipping off someone's finger; and as a transitive it describes dropping.²⁰¹ When it combines with *-apitsa*, the resulting stem describes something coming apart from something, as is the case here, where a man climbing a tree trunk by anchoring his feet in either end of a cord that is wrapped around the trunk loosens his grip on the trunk, at which point the cord falls away and he falls to the ground.

(450) Osorokapitsatanakeri shibitsatsa sorok sooo.

o- sorok -apitsa -an -k -i -ri shibitsatsa sorok sooo
 3F- dislodge -SEP -ABL -PFV -AR -3M cord IDEO:dislodge IDEO:fall.far

The cord came out from under him and he lost his footing *sorok* and fell *sooo*.
 (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:28)

Similarly, the verb *ken* 'go' is intransitive and denotes going along a route.²⁰² When it combines with *-apitsa*, the stem denotes going around an object encountered on that route. In (451) the object in question is a trap set to keep people away from someone's house.

(451) Ari ikenapitsatanakero nijantyakoñaji.

ari i- ken -apitsa -an -k -i -ro nijantyakoñaji
 FOC 3M- go -SEP -ABL -PFV -AR -3F short.distance.DIM

Then he went a short distance around it. (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:36)

The term separative originated in descriptions of Nijagantsi languages by SIL linguists. Swift (1988:71-72) uses it in his description of Caquinte, as do Snell (2011:842) in her description of Matsigenka, Michael (2008:286-287) for Nanti, and Mihás (2015:300-302) for Perené Asheninka. Mihás describes an allomorph *-pitsa* that follows /i/. As we have seen elsewhere, Caquinte typically exhibits pairs of verbal suffixes with and without initial vowels. In my corpus all instances of *-apitsa* currently follow consonant-final stems, which leaves available an analysis of the underlying form as *-pitsa*, that is, preceded by an epenthetic /a/. However, examples of *-apitsa* following

²⁰¹This verb is morphologically active in both its intransitive and transitive forms.

²⁰²That is, as opposed to *og* 'go,' which does not carry the same sense of a route.

vowel-final stem are present in the New Testament (452), and provide evidence for the underlying form given here—note the preceding epenthetic /t/.²⁰³

(452) ...pitsititapitsajakeritari tsajiatsika...

pi- tsiti -apitsa -jig -k -i -ri =tari tsa -jig -ats -i =ka
 2- hide -SEP -PL -PFV -AR -3M =CNGR know -PL -IPFV -AR =REL

...because you hid them from those who know...

(Luke 10:21)

B.6.4.6 Recipient *-nV* versus Benefactive *-noN*

In this section I compare two semantically related applicatives, the recipient applicative *-nV* and the benefactive applicative *-noN*. The first is incredibly frequent in the corpus while the latter is quite rare but shown to be productive in elicitation. They combine in interesting ways, and speakers have important insights into their different contexts of use that are most easily elucidated side-by-side. I begin by noting that the morphological position of these two suffixes are quite distinct. Recipient *-nV* occurs toward the right edge of the verbal suffix zone, between the fusional reality status/voice suffixes and the middle voice suffix *-mpa*—see (371) in §B.5. Benefactive *-noN* occurs toward the left edge, in the expected positions of derivational morphemes.

The recipient applicative combines (only) with a transitive verb whose theme can notionally be transferred. (Recall that the only basic ditransitive verb in Caquinte is *aman* ‘ask for.’) It introduces an argument that refers to the recipient of this transfer. Like other applicatives, agreement is with the applied object. Contrast, for example, the following two examples with *am* ‘bring.’ In (453), the argument structure of the verb exhibits no recipient, whereas in (454) the recipient is *iriinanite* ‘his mother,’ and the verb is marked with *-nV*. Note that *pontso* ‘agouti’ is masculine, yet the verb nevertheless agrees with the feminine recipient.

(453) Yamajiro nomankigare kenajarontsi...

i- am -aj -i -ro no- mankigare kejanaro -ntsi
 3M- bring -REG -AR -3F 1- spouse canoe -AL

My husband brought back the canoe...

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:47)

(454) Yatsikapanajanti pontsopontso, yamapanajantiniro iriinanite...

i- atsik -panajan -i pontsopontso i- am -panajan -i -nV -ro iri- iinani -te
 3M- bite -AM -AR agouti 3M- bring -AM -AR -REC -3F 3M- mother -P

He bit an agouti, brought it to his mother...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:100)

²⁰³Strikingly, the Nomatsigenga cognate is *-pí* (Shaver 1996:47), lacking the second syllable altogether. This is an important way in which all Nijagantsi languages except Nomatsigenga are similar to each other, suggesting an innovation in a common ancestor of those languages.

Recall from §B.3.2 that any transitive verb may agree with two objects so long as one but not both of them is first or second person. Consequently *-nV* surfaces only when both objects are third person (except when the applied object is extracted—see below). Because agreement is with the applied object, this means that a third person theme in a recipient construction is never marked on the verb. Compare (455), with a first person recipient and third person theme, with (456), with two third person objects. In the former the theme is crossreferenced on the verb with *-ro*; in (456) it is not crossreferenced on the verb at all.

(455) Yojokakenaro.

i- ojok -i -na -ro
3M- give -AR -1 -3F

He gave it to me.

(456) Yojokakeneri.

i- ojok -i -nV -ri
3M- give -AR -REC -3M

He gave it to him.

Nevertheless, the theme may still be expressed as a noun, that is, it is still part of the argument structure of the verb (457), as shown by the presence of *iteshipae* ‘meats’ in (457).

(457) Imaika aatotaja pojokagetajiniro iteshipae.

imaika aato =ta =ja pi- ojok -ge -aj -i -nV -ro i- teshi =pae
NOW NEG =PROSP =PROSP 2- give -DSTR -REG -AR -REC -3F 3M- meat =PL

Now don’t give her meats for a while.

When both base and applied objects are expressed with nouns, the order is obligatorily applied object followed by the base object (458).

(458) ...aisa nojokakotajeneri aapani kishokiro aisa kachojari.

aisa no- ojok -ako -aj -e -nV -ri aapani kishokiro aisa kachojari
also 1- give -CL:vessel -REG -IRR -REC -3M father cooked.manioc also manioc.beer

“...and I’ll also give my father cooked manioc and manioc beer.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:71)

Unlike what Michael (2008:359) has shown for Nanti, in Caquinte the verb in a recipient construction must agree with the recipient unless it has been extracted—see (460) below. He also analyzes *-nV* as a marker corresponding to the theme, that is, the base object (ibid.)—as does Mihas (2015:451) for Perené Asheninka—as opposed to the applicative analysis that I put forth. In

Caquinte, *-nV* cannot be a marker of the theme, which can be appreciated by its behavior when a theme is extracted. As we have seen, all other agreement markers are suppressed when their corresponding argument is extracted, but this is not the case with *-nV*, as shown in (459). If *-nV* were a marker of agreement with the theme in a ditransitive, it would be the only agreement marker in the language that did not exhibit these anti-agreement properties.

(459) “Irokampa ajokakeneri sheri obatsa.”

iro =ka =mpa a- ojok -k -e -nV -ri sheri o- patsa
3F.COP =MOD =INCNGR 1INCL- give -PFV -IRR -REC -3M tobacco 3F- mass

“It could be tobacco dip we give him.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:154)

In contrast, if *-nV* is analyzed like other applicatives in Caquinte, then it has a more or less expected syntactic behavior: agreement is with the applied object, and the order of corresponding nominal arguments is the usual applied object followed by base object.

The one exception to the syntactic behavior of *-nV* relative to other applicatives is when the applied object is extracted. With other applicatives this frees up a morphological position for agreement with the base object, but with *-nV* no such agreement is possible. This can be seen in (460), with a focused recipient and a masculine theme *osaiteberi* ‘paca.’ Despite the fact that the theme is definite and would otherwise agree with a monotransitive verb, in the recipient construction it cannot.

(460) “Irio pojokakene osaiteberi ishekashekabetanakaka pabatini.”

irio pi- ojok -k -e -nV osaiteberi i- sheka -sheka -be -an -k -a =ka pabatini
3M.COP 2- give -PFV -IRR -REC paca 3M- eat -REDUP -FRST -ABL -PFV -MR =REL father²⁰⁴

“It’s to him that you’ll give the paca that my father was eating.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:135)

Extracted recipients additionally elucidate an important syntactic fact that has not been shown for other Nijagantsi languages, namely that *-nV* occurs even when a first or second person recipient is extracted (461).²⁰⁵ Compare this with the unextracted equivalent (462), which does not exhibit *-nV*.

(461) Abiro nojokakene.

abiro no- ojok -k -i -nV
2.COP 1- give -PFV -AR -REC

It’s to you I gave it.

(462) Nojokakempiro.

no- ojok -k -i -mpi -ro
1- give -PFV -AR -2 -3F

I gave it to you.

²⁰⁴That is, only in the speech of the ancestor named Soonteni. The standard word for father is *aapani*.

²⁰⁵This pattern is attested in the Matsigenka New Testament but not commented on in Snell (2011).

This pattern informs an old idea in the study of Nijagantsi languages, that the recipient applicative *-nV* occupies the same morphological position as first and second person suffixes that is made available to it only when the first or second person is extracted and there is no corresponding agreement. The reader is referred to Drummond and O’Hagan (2020), who illustrate these patterns in more detail, providing a formal account in the context of competing theoretical proposals for crosslinguistic differences in the Person Case Constraint (PCC).

Lastly, *-nV* is the only suffix in Caquinte with an underspecified vowel, which harmonizes with that of the preceding syllable, which is always a reality status/voice suffix. As such, it can be either [i], [e], or [a],²⁰⁶ as shown in the following three examples.

(463) Nojokiniri isheka.

no- ojok -i -nV -ri i- sheka
1- give -AR -REC -3M 3M- food

I gave him his food.

(464) Nojokakeneri isheka.

no- ojok -k -i -nV -ri i- sheka
1- give -PFV -AR -REC -3M 3M- food

I gave him his food.

(465) Nojokabekanari isheka.

no- ojok -be -k -a -nV -ri i- sheka
1- give -FRST -PFV -MR -REC -3M 3M- food

I gave him his food in vain.

It is worth noting that the presence of an allomorph of *-nV* that is *-na* can lead to ambiguity with the first person object suffix *-na*. Consider the identical strings in (466) and (467), segmentable in two ways depending on whether *-na* is interpreted as first person or the applicative.

(466) Yojokitsitanaro.

i- ojok -itsi -a -na -ro
3M- give -SM -MR -1 -3F

He gave it to me.

(467) Yojokitsitanaro.

i- ojok -itsi -a -nV -ro
3M- give -SM -MR -REC -3F

He gave it to her.

This ambiguity does not arise when perfective *-(a)k* is present, since it allows, as it were, a first person object to co-occur with active voice—as is otherwise required—without violating the ban on it following the *-i* allomorph of active realis (see §B.5).

²⁰⁶In Nomatsigenga, this applicative has an invariant form *-ne* (Shaver 1996:58; Castillo Ramírez, p.c. 20191021). Michael (2008:356-362) describes forms *-ni* and *-ne* but not *-na*, as is the case for Matsigenka (Snell 2011:857). Tambo Ashaninka, however, exhibits all three allomorphs in the expected environments (Kindberg 1980:465).

(468) Yojokabekenaro.

i- ojok -be -k -i -na -ro
 3M- give -FRST -PFV -AR -1 -3F

He gave it to me in vain.

(469) Yojokabekanaro.

i- ojok -be -k -a -nV -ro
 3M- give -FRST -PFV -MR -REC -3F

He gave it to her in vain.

Before turning to the discussion of the benefactive applicative, I stress that agreement with two objects, and the recipient applicative *-nV*, are incredibly widespread, occurring effectively with any transitive verb whose lexical semantics permits the notional transfer of a theme. That is, they are not phenomena limited to what we might think of as canonical ditransitive constructions. The notion of transfer can either be anticipated, or occur as part of the event denoted by the verb to which it attaches. For example, in (470), *-nV* attaches to all three verbs, but only the last one involves an actual transfer of the theme.

(470) Arikea otsinakakeneri, obejatakenerigeti, ari ojokakokeneri...

ari =kea o- tsinak -k -i -nV -ri =geti o- obe- ja -k -i -nV -ri =geti
 FOC =EW 3F- pound -PFV -AR -REC -3M =when 3F- CAUS- fluid -PFV -AR -REC -3M =when
ari o- ojok -ako -k -i -nV -ri
 FOC 3F- give -CL:vessel -PFV -AR -REC -3M

Then she pounded it for him, and when she'd liquified it for him, then she gave it to him in a vessel... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:7)

This is the origin of my designation recipient, as opposed to, for example, Michael's use of the terms recipient and benefactive, also adopted by Mihás (2015:451-453) for Perené Asheninka.²⁰⁷ In Caquinte it is not sufficient for the use of *-nV* for an event to be carried out solely for someone's benefit but without the transfer of a theme (see §B.6.4.8).

The benefactive applicative *-non* introduces an object on whose behalf the event is carried out. It is the least well attested applicative in my corpus, with only three instances,²⁰⁸ but elicitation shows it to be quite productive. Like *-nV*, it only occurs with transitive verbs, but unlike *-nV* it does not seem to entail the transfer of a theme in the same way, although this is not apparent at first blush. First consider the following two minimally different examples, the first with *-nV*, the second with *-non* (AST 20170718).

(471) Naanakeneri.

no- ag -an -k -i -nV -ri
 1- take -ABL -PFV -AR -REC -3M

I took it to him.

(472) Naanontanakeri.

no- ag -non -an -k -i -ri
 1- take -BEN -ABL -PFV -AR -3M

I took it to him.

²⁰⁷Snell (2011:857-858) uses only the term *benefactivo* 'benefactive.'

²⁰⁸Snell (2011:842) remarks that there are only five instances in her corpus.

Example (471) is the unmarked case, used in a wide variety of contexts where someone takes something to someone else. Example (472) is considerably more marked, used in a context, for example, where someone does not have their own food, and so someone else takes them some of their own. There is often a sense of generosity with *-noN*. Furthermore, the two can combine, as in (473), used in a context in which someone first gives someone something, and then that person gives them something of their own in return.

(473) Naanontanakeneri.

no- ag -noN -an -k -i -nV -ri
1- take -BEN -ABL -PFV -AR -REC -3M

I took it to him.

I contend that the possibility of combining with *-nV* suggests that *-noN* itself does not entail the transfer of a theme. In some contexts, as with *ag* 'take,' the transfer is strongly implicated. This claim warrants further investigation, for example, by attempting to defease the implicature.

A similar contrast is drawn between (474) and (475), again with *-nV* versus *-noN*. The first can be used, for example, in a context where someone is watching someone else's children while they are away. The speaker's intuition is that the base object belongs to the applied object and will be given back to them. In contrast, the second can be used in a context where someone is saving something for someone else, for example, food if they are away at meal time. As with (473), the two applicatives can also combine with this verb root.

(474) Nokempogijakeneri.

no- kempogij -k -i -nV -ri
1- look.after -PFV -AR -REC -3M

I looked after them for him.

(475) Nokempogijanontakeri.

no- kempogij -noN -ak -i -ri
1- look.after -BEN -PFV -AR -3M

I looked after them for him.

Like other applicatives such as *-ashi*, when the verb is middle, the applicative becomes subject-oriented. This can be seen by contrasting (476) and (477). Both can be used in a context where a linguist is storing goods in someone's house while they are away for part of the year. The former is active, the beneficiary being the object and the subject referring to the owner of the house. The latter is middle, the beneficiary being the subject and referring to the owner of the goods.

(476) Yoanontanakeri.

i- og -noN -an -k -i -ri
3M- store -BEN -ABL -PFV -AR -3M

He's storing it for him.

(477) Yoanontanaka.

i- og -noN -an -k -a
3M- store -BEN -ABL -PFV -MR

He's storing it for himself.

This subject-oriented use is apparent in texts (478).

(478) “Pamenanontanajempaja kenabokirontsiki aatonijite taaka oabakempi..”

pi- amen -non -an -aj -e -mpa =ja kenabokiro -ntsi =ki aato =niji =te
 2- watch -BEN -ABL -REG -IRR -MID =PROSP path -AL =LOC NEG =PURP =CE
taaka o- og -ab -k -i -mpi
 something 3F- happen.to -DIR -PFV -AR -2

“Watch out for yourself going back along the path so nothing happens to you..”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:55)

Michael (p.c.) indicates that there is no cognate to *-non* in Nanti, but one is present in Matsigenka (Snell 2011:842), described as introducing a “complement that is the beneficiary of the remedy indicated by the action” (translation mine). Mihas (2015:275) states for Perené Asheninka that it occurs with both intransitive and transitive verbs, but only illustrates it with transitive verbs (ibid.:292). Both authors describe its low productivity, Mihas making the additional claim that it introduces maleficiaries in as well as beneficiaries. The latter point does not hold for Caquinte, nor does the one regarding transitivity. Notably, Shaver (1996:47-48) does not describe a cognate for Nomatsigenga as part of his discussion of valence-changing morphology.

Lastly, Swift (1988:71) similarly describes Caquinte *-non* as a benefactive, illustrating it with only transitive verbs. Importantly, he provides a clear example of this suffix following a vowel-final stem, where it surfaces as *-non* and not as †*-anon* with a preceding epenthetic /t/. This environment is absent in my corpus, and I base my representation of *-non* as consonant-initial on his example.

B.6.4.7 Malefactive *-i*, *-it*, *-(i)tsi*

The applicatives *-i*, *-it*, and *-(i)tsi* all combine with intransitive and transitive verbs, and introduce an argument that refers to an entity detrimentally affected by the event of the verb to which it attaches, a maleficiary (as opposed to a beneficiary). These three forms are in a sort of variation that is not yet understood. The first is illustrated in (479), where it is followed directly by perfective *-(a)k*. This example is uttered by a woman to her father, who has just killed her husband, who is really a snake. The speaker is the maleficiary; the verb agrees with both the base object (*-ri*) and the applied object (*-na*).

(479) ...“Pimetojikenari pitinerijaniki.”

pi- metoj -i -k -i -na -ri pi- tinerijaniki
 2- kill -MAL -PFV -AR -1 -3M 2- son.in.law

...“You’ve killed your son-in-law.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:48)

This example can be contrasted with its minimally distinct non-malefactive equivalent. In (480) the verb combines directly with perfective *-(a)k*, the underlined <a> being the epenthetic vowel. This example, unlike the preceding one, can be used in a context where someone has killed a game animal and brought it to you to eat. This is the unmarked ditransitive recipient construction discussed in §B.3.2.

(480) Pimetojakenari.

pi- metoj -k -i -na -ri
2- kill -PFV -AR -1 -3M

You killed it for me.

In my corpus there is only one instance that necessitates positing a variant *-it*, as in (481). This is because the following distributive *-ge* is preceded by the epenthetic vowel, entailing that the preceding morpheme must be consonant-final.

(481) ...“Kaari, mana notaitagetajiri panianishite itsinekantaka.”

kaari mana no- tag -it -ge -aj -i -ri pi- anianishi -te i- tsinek
NEG instead 1- burn -MAL -DSTR -REG -AR -3M 2- brother.in.law -P 3M- stick.to.seal
-aN -a =ka
-INSTR -MR =REL

...“It’s nothing, I just burned your brother-in-law’s tar.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:98)

The existence of both *-i* and *-it* leaves a large number of textual examples indeterminate as to which variant is attested. An example of this is in (482), where the parenthesized <t> could be interpreted either as part the malefactive (*-it*), or as the epenthetic consonant following *-i*. As with (479), in this example the verb agrees with both objects.

(482) “Kaakateja, nontsinakitempiro pigemaaki.”

kaaka =te =ja no- N- tsinak -i(t) -e -mpi -ro pi- gemaaki
come.here =CE =PROSP 1- IRR- crush -MAL -IRR -2 -3F 2- testicle

“Come here, I’ll crush your testicle for you.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:39)

The segmentally longest variant *-(i)tsi* is shown in (483). In its middle form, *santij* ‘fart’ is intransitive; in its active form it is transitive (‘fart on’). As such, here the verb agrees with the base object (*-ro*) and the applied object (*-na*).

(483) “Pisantijitsitakenaro.”

pi- santij -itsi -ak -i -na -ro
2- fart(.on) -MAL -PFV -AR -1 -3F

“You farted on it.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:117)

Like other vowel-initial verbal suffixes (but unlike other vowel-initial applicatives), *-(i)tsi* exhibits a consonant-initial variant that occurs after vowel-final stems. This can be appreciated in (484), with *sheka* ‘eat.’ Again the verb agrees with both objects.

(484) ...“Korakejiake Kotyarini, ishekatsijiakajiro aintochapakite.”

korake -jig -k -i Ø Kotyarini i- sheka -itsi -jig -k -aji -ro a- aintochapaki -te
 come -PL -PFV -AR -3 Kotyarini 3M- eat -MAL -PL -PFV -1INCL -3F 1INCL- manioc -P

...“Kotyarini and his people have come, they ate our manioc.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:138)

Furthermore, unlike the verbal suffixes that show variant pairs with and without initial vowels, *-(i)tsi* invariantly occurs as *-tsi* following stems ending in /N/.²⁰⁹ That is, /Ntitsi/ is not possible. This is shown in (485). Here the verb agrees only with the applied object, since both objects are third person. That it is not agreement with the base object is shown by the fact that the base object is the feminine *irorijanite* ‘his daughter.’

(485) Arikea aparo irijanite keshisati inintsitapojakeri irorijanite...

ari =kea aparo iri- irijani -te keshi -sati i- nin -itsi -apoj -k -i -ri iri- orijani -te
 FOC =EW one 3M- son -P Keshi -DMNYM 3M- want -MAL -ALL -PFV -AR -3M 3M- daughter -P

Then one of the sons of the people from Keshi fell in love with his daughter...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:150)

It seems that Caquinte is the only Nijagantsi language with a dedicated malefactive applicative. Michael (2008) does not describe one for Nanti, and (Mihás 2015:288) only describes an apparently rare malefactive sense of cognates to Caquinte *-ben*. Snell (2011:840-846) does not describe a malefactive applicative for Matsigenka, nor does Shaver (1996:47-48) for Nomatsigenga, and there are no obvious cognates in Kindberg’s (1980:461-466) list of grammatical morphemes in Tambo Ashaninka.²¹⁰

Swift (1988:86-87) notes a suffix *-(i)tsi* for Caquinte, but collapses the malefactive applicative function described in this section and a temporal function (not described in this sketch) into a single function that he describes as expressing tension. Consider his example (133d), reproduced here in (486) in the current orthography and glossing conventions. A transitive verb like *sheka* ‘eat’ could in principle agree with two objects without an applicative like *-(i)tsi*, but only if one of the two objects were a recipient (see §B.3.2).²¹¹ But that is not what this sentence means. It follows naturally, however, from a malefactive analysis, since that allows us to account for the otherwise unexpected effect on argument structure that this suffix has in this example. It also follows semantically: the speaker is negatively affected by the loss of their pineapple.

²⁰⁹Perfective *-(a)k*, for example, with its variant *-ak*, can result in either of the sequences /nk/ or /ntak/ (see §B.2.2.4).

²¹⁰A cognate may exist in Ucayali Asheninka (T. Pedrós, p.c., 20200330).

²¹¹The sentence would have to mean that the subject ate the pineapple, regurgitated it, and gave it to the speaker.

(486) *Ishekatsikenaro notibanate.*

i- sheka -tsi -k -i -na -ro no- tibana -te
 3M- eat -MAL -PFV -AR -1 -3F 1- pineapple -P

He ate my pineapple.

(Swift 1988:87)

Furthermore, there is another reason to favor the malefactive analysis here. That is that the temporal suffix has different morphosyntactic properties. Whereas the applicative is transparent to voice and permits perfective *-(a)k*—that is, it places no morphosyntactic restrictions on the stem—the temporal suffix requires middle voice and is incompatible with the perfective, which is present in (486).²¹² Temporal *-(i)tsi* also exhibits the variants *-i* and *-it*, strongly suggesting that there is a diachronic relationship between the two functions.

B.6.4.8 Reason *-ben* versus *-imen*

There are two applicatives, *-ben* and *-imen*, which are etymologically related and exhibit an interesting semantic difference. Both occur with intransitive and transitive verbs, and introduce an argument that refers to the reason or cause for the event denoted by the verb. With *-ben*, some other participant is positively affected as a result, whereas with *-imen* some other participant is negatively affected. The former can be appreciated in (487), with the intransitive verb *metoj* ‘die.’ In this context, a man is fighting against Ashaninkas to rescue his captured daughter. The applied object, the daughter, serves both as the reason for the man’s death, and also the one benefiting from it. This function can often be translated with English *on behalf of*.

(487) “Kameetsatake nometojabenkero.”

kameetsa -ak -i -Ø no- metoj -ben -k -e -ro
 be.good -PFV -AR -3 1- die -REAS -PFV -IRR -3F

“It’s good that I die for her.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:164)

The same is seen with intransitive *atsiperej* ‘suffer’ in (488), from a story where a young man dutifully brings meat to the girl that is betrothed to him. She is the reason for his suffering but also the one who benefits from it.

(488) ...yamenaketari yatsiperejabentakaro...

i- amen -k -i =tari i- atsiperej -ben -ak -a -ro
 3M- see -PFV -AR =CNGR 3M- suffer -REAS -PFV -MR -3F

...he saw that he suffered for her... [bringing her food] (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:142)

²¹²One could say with that suffix *Ishekatsitaro notibanate* ‘He ate the pineapple,’ without a second object.

With the root *shine* ‘be happy,’ the resulting stem has two possible meanings. One is equivalent to English *be happy for* or *celebrate* (489), as with joyous occasions. The other is *like*.

- (489) “Arikea imaika ashinebentajiakempari, ashekajiakempa amirajiake kachojari atsaketari iroakera imankigakaro mankigarensi.”

ari =kea imaika a- shine -beN -jig -k -e -mpa -ri a- sheka -jig -k
 FOC =EW now 1INCL- be.happy -REAS -PL -PFV -IRR -MID -3M 1INCL- eat -PL -PFV
-e -mpa a- mir -jig -k -e kachojari a- tsa -k -i =tari iroakera
 -IRR -MID 1INCL- drink -PL -PFV -IRR manioc.beer 1INCL- know -PFV -AR =CNGR just
i- mankiga -k -a -ro mankigarensi
 3M- marry -PFV -MR -3F woman

“Now we’ll celebrate them, we’ll eat and drink manioc beer because we know that he just married a woman.”
 (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:32)

The negative effect of *-imen* can be appreciated in the following examples. In (490), the applied object is *chopeki* ‘plantain,’ which expresses the reason that a cannibal could have killed a particular animal (he stole her plantains from her)—note transitive *metoj* ‘kill.’

- (490) “Ometojakempime, ometojimentakempirome ochopekite.”

o- metoj -k -e -mpi =me o- metoj -imen -ak -e -mpi -ro =me o- chopeki -te
 3F- kill -PFV -IRR -2 =CF 3F- kill -REAS -PFV -IRR -2 -3F =CF 3F- plantain -P

“She would’ve killed you, she would’ve killed you over her plantains.”
 (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:88)

Transitive verbs allow us to observe a distinction regarding the negatively affected participant. In these cases, it is the base object that is negatively affected. This is unlike with intransitive verbs, where the sole (applied) object referred to both the reason and the negatively affected participant. The same can be seen in (491), where the applied object refers back to the preceding *if*-clause.

- (491) Pasereakerigeti, irantsikimentakempiro.

pi- asereg -k -e -ri =geti iri- N- atsik -imen -ak -e -mpi -ro
 2- bother -PFV -IRR -3M =if 3M- IRR- bite -REAS -PFV -IRR -2 -3F

If you bother him, he’ll bite you for it.
 (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:97)

The intransitive pattern for *-imen* can be seen in (492)—compare (487). The verb is *shiron* ‘laugh,’ where the applicative derives a meaning ‘laugh at.’ As expected, the applied object is both the reason and the negatively affected participant.

- (492) Imaika chaajanikiripae, aato pishirontimentari pigoonkinite...

imaika chaajanikiri =pae aato pi- shiron -imeN -a -ri pi- koonkini -te
 now child =PL NEG 2- laugh -REAS -MR -3M 2- father.in.law -P

Now children, don't laugh at your father-in-law... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:102)

Lastly, evidence for an underlying form with /N/ comes from possible direct combination with perfective *-(a)k*, as with the second verb in (493).²¹³

(493) “Jooi, isemijajitakena, isemijimenkenaro igire.”

jooi i- semij -ji -ak -i -na i- semij -imeN -k -i -na -ro i- kiri
 IDEO 3M- shoot -NEG -PFV -AR -1 3M- shoot -REAS -PFV -AR -1 -3F 3M- peach.palm

“Jooi, they've shot me, they've shot me over his peach palm.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:134)

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that, unlike many other vowel-initial verbal suffixes, and unlike the malefactive applicative, *-imeN* does not exhibit a consonant-initial allomorph †-*meN* that would occur with vowel-final stems. This is shown in (494), with /t/-epenthesis following *tashi* ‘roast.’

(494) *Otashitimentakero ochopekite yaitsitapojirogeti.*

o- tashi -imeN -ak -i -ro o- chopeki -te i- aitsi -apoj -i -ro =geti
 3F- roast -REAS -PFV -AR -3F 3F- plantain -P 3M- steal -ALL -AR -3F =when

She roasted him over her plantains when he stole them from her.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:90)

Cognates to *-imeN* are not described for Nomatsigenga, Matsigenka, Nanti, or Perené Asheninka,²¹⁴ suggesting it is an innovation in Caquinte. Partial evidence for this hypothesis involves the malefactive applicative *-i* (§B.6.4.7), and would explain the difference between the positive effect of *-beN* and the negative effect of *-imeN*. That is, Caquinte *-imeN* seems to be a grammaticalization of the combination of the malefactive and reason applicatives. Combinations of applicatives are common, which could have established the conditions under which this grammaticalization occurred. The primary reason for not analyzing *-imeN* as a productive combination of these two applicatives is the form of the first consonant, namely that it is /m/ and not /b/. This is not a regular sound change in Caquinte, but there are similar instances elsewhere in the lexicon.²¹⁵

In this vein I conclude by noting the widespread Nijagantsi verb that in Caquinte is *pigamen*, often translated as ‘defend.’ This verb is historically derived from what in Caquinte is *piga* ‘respond in kind to,’ denoting responding reciprocally to negatively viewed actions (495). The sense of ‘defend’ is seen in (496).

²¹³The verb in this sentence, *semij* ‘shoot with arrow,’ is said to exist only in the speech of Shamakis (see §A.2).

²¹⁴It is noted for Caquinte by Swift (1988:74, translation mine), for him a ‘referential’ that “adds another participant and indicates that the realized action is about or with respect to him.”

²¹⁵Compare Caquinte *kamamenijari*, a land where the souls of the dead live, with Asheninka *kamabeni*.

(495) “Inkatsimakenageti, nompigatanakempari.”

i- N- katsima -i -na =geti no- N- piga -an -k -e -mpa -ri
 3M- IRR- be.upset -AR -1 =if 1- IRR- respond.in.kind -ABL -PFV -IRR -MID -3M

“If he gets upset with me, I’ll respond to him in kind.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:132)

(496) a. ...ikemiri yatabijakeri iranianishite.

i- kem -i -ri i- atabij -k -i -ri iri- anianishi -te
 3M- hear -AR -3M 3M- attack -PFV -AR -3M 3M- brother.in.law -P

...he heard that he’d attacked his brother-in-law.

b. Ari ikorakepoji ipigamempojiri...

ari i- korake -poj -i i- pigameN -poj -i -ri
 FOC 3M- come -ALL -AR 3M- defend -ALL -AR -3M

So he came and defended him...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:32)

This verb seems to be derived with either *-beN* or *-imeN*, but it is not clear which. Semantically one would expect the latter, since the base object is negatively affected (i.e. the person one responds in kind to) and the applied object is the reason (the “defendee”). In terms of form, neither is a good candidate: there is no trace of the initial /i/ of *-imeN* (or the expected epenthetic /t/), but the initial consonant of what would be *-beN* is nasal. Furthermore, both *-beN* and *-imeN* in their productive use are transparent to voice, but *piga* is middle and *pigameN* is active. In Caquinte, then, *pigameN* is clearly lexicalized, but whatever process gave rise to it must have occurred (presumably once) in an ancestor of more than one Nijagantsi language, since it is attested as Matsigenka *pugament* (Snell 2011:404), which has productive *-vent*, a cognate to *-beN*.

B.7 Negation

Caquinte exhibits four negators, *tee*, *aato*, *teekatsi*, and *kaari*, each discussed in turn in this section. The first two are standard negators for verbal clauses, differing in whether they negate realis or irrealis clauses, respectively. They combine with all verbs in both main and subordinate clauses; negated clauses disallow aspectual marking with perfective *-(a)k*. In the corpus, only *tee* negates nonverbal clauses (see §2.2.2 for examples of this).²¹⁶ The negator *kaari* predominantly negates these nonverbal clauses, as well as relativized verbal clauses, where it competes with both *tee* and *aato*. The negator *teekatsi* combines with the verbal augmentative *-ni* to express a form of irrealis negation with a meaning resembling English *never*. Finally, *aato* also negates imperatives, which are string-equivalent to declaratives with second-person subjects.

²¹⁶It remains for future research to determine whether *aato* can negate such clauses.

B.7.1 Realis Negator *tee*

The realis negator *tee* precedes the verb, suppresses perfective *-(a)k*, and very frequently²¹⁷ co-occurs with the verbal suffix *-ji* (497), the presence versus absence of which is not yet well understood. Negation with this marker is thus asymmetrical in Miestamo's (2005) terms, positive clauses exhibiting more aspectual distinctions than negative ones. The resulting stem is morphologically irrealis, as seen with *-e* in this example.

(497) “Tee nameji tsenkitantamentonsi.”

tee no- am -e -ji tsenki -an -mento -ntsi
NEG 1- bring -IRR -NEG light -INSTR -NMZ -AL

“I didn't bring something to light with.” (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:6)

This negator also occurs in subordinate clauses, as in (498), where it hosts the second position clitic =*geti* ‘if, when.’ For an example of *tee* in a relative clause, see (510) in §B.7.4.

(498) ...napatsaabantake teegeti nontsateroji.

no- apatsaabAN -ak -i tee =geti no- N- tsa -e -ro -ji
1- read -PFV -AR NEG =when 1- IRR- know -IRR -3F -NEG

...I would read when I didn't know. (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:12)

Complements of negated matrix clauses are similarly asymmetrical, and also attest *-ji*, as shown in (499), where the matrix verb is *agabej* ‘be able.’ Finally, *tee* is the interjection ‘no,’ where it denies realis eventualities.

(499) Ari okajemapanajanti, tee agabejeji aajenkamajatajeji.

ari o- kajem -panajan -i tee o- agabej -e -ji o- aajenka -maja -aj -e -ji
FOC 3F- scream -AM -AR NEG 3F- be.able -IRR -NEG 3F- breathe -well -REG -IRR -NEG

At that moment she screamed, she couldn't breathe well any longer.

(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:49)

B.7.2 Irrealis Negator *aato*

The irrealis negator *aato* precedes the verb and suppresses perfective *-(a)k*. Negation with this marker is thus similarly asymmetrical, as shown in (500), where the resulting stem is morphologically realis, as seen with *-i*. (This example incidentally illustrates that topicalized arguments occur to the left of negation.)

²¹⁷Compared with 820 occurrences of *tee* in the corpus, there are 729 occurrences of *-ji*. The 91 examples without *-ji* are in part due to the presence of *tee* in nonverbal clauses, in which *-ji* does not occur.

(500) ...“Naatimpa aato notineokiti.”

naatimpa aato no- tineoki -i
1.PRO NEG 1- sleep -AR

...‘I’m not going to sleep.’

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:31)

Like the realis negator, *aato* can also co-occur with a verbal suffix, in this case *-tsi*. But unlike *-ji*, *-tsi* has a notable semantic effect related to its function as an apprehensive marker resembling English *lest* (not discussed here). That is that the realization of the eventuality is feared to have a negative consequence. In (501), for example, the speaker does not want to return to Tsoroja because that is where her infant daughter was injured.

(501) “Aato oajitsi ontaniki Tsorojaki.”

aato a- og -aj -i -tsi ontaniki Tsoroja =ki
NEG 1INCL- go -REG -AR -NEG over.there Tsoroja =LOC

“We won’t go back there to Tsoroja.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:50)

This negator also occurs in subordinate clauses, as in (502), where it hosts =*geti* ‘if, when.’ For an example of *tee* in a relative clause, see (511) in §B.7.4.

(502) ...“Aatogeti natsikiri, aato yogipakijana.”

aato =geti no- atsik -i -ri aato i- ogipakij -a -na
NEG =if 1- bite -AR -3M NEG 3M- let.go.of -MR -1

...‘If I don’t bite him, he won’t let go of me.’

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:71)

Complements of negated matrix clauses are similarly asymmetrical, as shown in (499), where the matrix verb is *agabej* ‘be able.’

(503) ...“Ooo chaamantsajaniki, aato agabejana agana.”

ooo chaa -mantsa -janiki aato o- agabej -a -na o- ag -a -na
IDEO:positive.affect small -net -DIM NEG 3F- be.able -MR -1 3F- get -MR -1

...‘Ooo it’s small [a trap], it won’t be able to get me.’

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:78)

This is also true of disjunctive clauses, which exhibit no dedicated marking of disjunction (504).

(504) “Aato ichookataji ikonijataji.”

aato i- chooka -aj -i i- konija -aj -i
NEG 3M- EXST -REG -AR 3M- appear -REG -AR

He won't exist any longer or reappear. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:49)

Finally, *aato* is the interjection 'no,' where it denies irrealis eventualities. In this function, it can host =*geti* 'if, when,' with an elliptical meaning, as shown in (505). In this context, the speaker has previously told his interlocutor to wait momentarily while they drink manioc beer.

(505) "Aatogeti, aabakaji atase."

aato =*geti* o- ag -ab -k -aji a- tase
no =if 3F- get -DIR -PFV -1INCL 1INCL- hunger

"If not, our hunger will get us." (text, ESS, ptk)

B.7.3 Irrealis Negation *teekatsi...-ni* 'never'

A second kind of irrealis negation is attested sparingly in the corpus, with a meaning resembling English *never*. This construction is morphosyntactically quite distinct from that consisting of *aato* (§B.7.2). It is formed on the similarly preverbal particle *teekatsi*, followed by a morphologically irrealis verb bearing the augmentative suffix *-ni*. In (506), Caquinte warrior Taatakini's daughter Biicho has been captured by Ashaninkas, and he remarks how he is no longer able to save her.

(506) ..."Teekatsi ankenashitajeroni."

teekatsi a- N- ken -ashi -aj -e -ro -ni
NEG 1INCL- IRR- go.by.route -PURP -REG -IRR -3F -AUG

... "We'll never get to her." (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:164)

In (507), Turkey Vulture's father-in-law scolds him for not better protecting the former's wife, Shimashiri, who has no sisters that Turkey Vulture can marry.

(507) "Imaikampani teekatsi paajeroni mankigarentsi."

imaika =*mpani* *teekatsi* pi- ag -aj -e -ro -ni *mankigarentsi*
now =CT NEG 2- take -REG -IRR -3F -AUG woman

"Now you'll never take another woman." (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:112)

The presence of irrealis marking on the negated verb is striking from a Caquinte-internal perspective, given that the primary irrealis negation construction results in morphologically realis verbs, due to the double irrealis mentioned above. Elsewhere, *teekatsi* is a negative existential verb and an interjection meaning 'nothing, no one,' the etymology of which is not clear. An equivalent form **aatokatsi*, with the irrealis negator, is not well formed.

B.7.4 Negation of Nonverbal & Relative Clauses *kaari*

A special negator *kaari*²¹⁸ is equivalent to sequences of realis negator *tee* and <ro> copulas, that is, it is an inherently negative third person copula ‘it’s not that,’ or ‘that’s not it’ (see §2.2.2.1 for more examples). It also occurs in relative clauses (509), in which case it hosts the second position clitic relativizer =*ka*; it does not occur in other verbal clauses. Unlike the standard negators *tee* and *aato*, *kaari* neutralizes the realis-irrealis distinction. For example, in (508) the negation scopes over a realis clause, whereas in (509) it scopes over an irrealis clause.

(508) Ikempetakaakena kaarika kakintetatsi.

i- kempe -akag -k -i -na kaari =ka kakinte -Ø -ats -i
3M- be.like -CAUS -PFV -AR -1 NEG =REL person -VBLZR -IPFV -AR

He treated us as if we weren’t people. (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:3)

(509) ...interonkajianakeri kaarika shianankitsi.

i- N- teronk -jig -an -k -e -ri kaari =ka shig -an -ankits -i
3M- IRR- finish -PL -ABL -PFV -IRR -3M NEG =REL run -ABL -PFV -AR

...he’ll finish off those who don’t run away. (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:42)

The negator *kaari* competes with *tee* and *aato*, which also occur in relative clauses. However, relativized verbs negated with *kaari* exhibit a different morphosyntactic pattern than those negated with the standard negators. With *kaari*, verbal agreement with the relativized argument is suppressed, as in positive relative clauses (see §B.9.2). With the standard negators in relative clauses, agreement is preserved, as shown by the subject agreement present in (510) and (511).

(510) ...teeka irametemparoji ojaaki.

tee =ka iri- ame -e -mpa -ro -ji ojaaki
NEG =REL 3M- be.used.to -IRR -MID -3F -NEG river

...those who aren’t used to the river. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:83)

(511) Irira yantoro tee inchookateji eeshotankitsineka, aatoka yanti.

iri- ra yantoro tee i- N- chooka -e -ji eesho -ankits -i -ne =ka aato
3M- MED leaf.cutter.ant NEG 3M- IRR- EXST -IRR -NEG be.lazy -PFV -AR -IRR =REL NEG
=ka i- an -i
=REL 3M- work -AR

Among the leaf-cutter ants there weren’t lazy ones, or those who wouldn’t work.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:179)

²¹⁸The long vowel in Caquinte *kaari* suggests an older form with an intervocalic /g/, and indeed it has cognates in the Nomatsigenga negative copula *kagári/kagáro* (adapted from Shaver 1996:81), which inflects for the gender of the nominal subject in a nonverbal clause. The Caquinte cognate is gender-invariant.

B.8 Modality, Mirativity & Related Meanings

B.8.1 Weak Modal =ka

The clitic =ka expresses a weak modal category. In the typical case, =ka has an epistemic modal base, in Kratzer's (1981) sense of a conversational background that "contributes the premises from which conclusions are drawn." It expresses that the proposition is possible given the speaker's evidence, as in (512).²¹⁹ In this context, the speaker knows that an infant child has inadvertently been stepped on, which serves as the evidence for her hypothesis.

(512) "Intsake kero okotakani intsompogi, arika karajake otonki..."

i- N- tsa -k -e ke -ro o- ko -ak -a -ni intsompogi ari =ka karaj -k
 3M- IRR- know -PFV -IRR WH -F 3F- be -PFV -MR -INT inside FOC =MOD break -PFV
-i -Ø o- tonki
 -AR -3 3F- bone

"They'll know how it is inside [with an X-ray], her bone might be broken..."

(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:29)

In other cases, the modal base is circumstantial, that is, the proposition is possible given the way the world works. In (513), the narrator is explaining things Caquintes might do when drinking and wanting to reveal that they have taken a partner.²²⁰

(513) Arika inkoonkake aisa arika intempajakite tomirishiki...

ari =ka i- N- koonk -k -e aisa ari =ka i- N- tempaj
 FOC =MOD 3M- IRR- finger.whistle -PFV -IRR also FOC =MOD 3M- IRR- enter.forest
-ki -e tomirishi =ki
 -GO.DO.RETURN -IRR forest =LOC

They could finger-whistle, or they could go to the forest and come back...

(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:175)

In constituent questions, =ka expresses that the speaker's degree of ignorance regarding a possible answer is relatively high. In the context of (514), the speaker has previously conjectured that his lost wife drowned, but then after searching for her along the river, concludes that that cannot be true. He is unable to reasonably conjecture further.

(514) "Keroka okenanakeni?"

²¹⁹Note that the modal proposition would be false if the referent's bone were not broken, providing evidence that the modal base is epistemic.

²²⁰Note that the modal proposition is not false even if no one has actually finger-whistled or gone to the forest (see fn. 219), providing evidence that the modal base is circumstantial.

ke -ro =ka o- ken -an -k -i -ni
 WH -3F =MOD 3F- follow.route -ABL -PFV -AR -INT

“Where could she have gone?”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:112)

B.8.2 Requesting Confirmation =*satine*

The clitic =*satine* expresses that the truth of the proposition denoted by the clause in which it occurs warrants special attention. In imperatives, it expresses that the speaker wants the addressee to ensure that the proposition is true (cf. English *Make sure that X*); in polar questions, it expresses that speaker wants the addressee to confirm that the proposition is true (cf. *Are you sure that X?*). It is ungrammatical in constituent questions. In (515), a Shamaki asks one of his people whether he was sure to get all the fish that they had stunned with barbasco root, so the Caquintes that are pursuing them do not pick up their trail.

(515) ...“Paamajatantabakarosatine?”

pi- ag -maja -an -ab -k -a -ro =satine
 2- get -really -INSTR -DIR -PFV -MR -3F =REQ.CONF

...“Are you sure you really got them with it?”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:139)

The use of =*satine* seems to be somewhat old-fashioned, in that at least some younger speakers do not recognize it.

B.8.3 =*gitatsi* OBVIOUS

The clitic =*gitatsi* expresses that the proposition is true and the addressee should know so. Somewhat like English *of course*, it is used in the answers to questions with obvious answers. This is shown in (516b), from a context in which a man hears his brother-in-law singing and calls out to him with this question.

(516) a. ...“Anianishi, pamashaiti?”

anianishi pi- amashai -i
 brother.in.law 2- sing -AR

...“Brother-in-law, are you singing?”

b. Iriatimpa ikanti, “Jeejegitatsi, namashaiti.”

iriatimpa i- kan -i jeeje =gitatsi no- amashai -i
 3M.PRO 3M- say -AR yes =OBV 1- sing -AR

He said, “Yes of course I’m singing.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:26)

It is also used when a speaker is trying to convince an addressee of something, as in (517b), where the speaker's husband does not realize that an animal he is pursuing is his powerful shaman uncle transformed. He should realize this, however, as he himself is trying to rob his uncle of his shamanic powers.

- (517) a. ...“Jeri kachatyakiri, jaameshiatsi ametojeri.”
 ...“There’s a spider monkey, let’s kill it.”
- b. Arimpa okantsibetari irimankigare, “Aato pogi, iriogitatsi.”
ari =mpa o- kan -(i)tsi -be -a -ri iri- mankigare aato pi- og -i irio =gitatsi
 FOC =INCNGR 3F- say -SM -FRST -MR -3M 3M- spouse NEG 2- go -AR 3M.COP =OBV
- But his wife said to him, “Don’t go, it’s him.”
- c. “Ipeakaashitanakempi piraapanitsorite.”
 “Your uncle transformed for you [to trick you].”

B.8.4 =*niji* SUSPICION

The clitic =*niji* is used when speakers express a suspicion that the proposition is true. Naturally occurring examples are all cases where the proposition is undesirable, for example, because it is forbidden given rules. For example, if you see someone emerging from the community center who had not been given access, one could say (518). I translate these with the tag *didn’t you*.

- (518) Poakitiniji.
pi- og -ki -i =niji
 2- go -GO.DO.RETURN -AR =SUSPICION

You went in there, didn’t you. (MSS 20180729)

Note that statements with =*niji* are accusatory, not relatively unmarked epistemic modal statements. This clitic only has this function in the realis; in the irrealis it marks purpose clauses.

B.8.5 Counterfactual-deontic-frustrative =*me*

The clitic =*me* expresses counterfactual modality and a past-oriented deontic modality where the obligation was not met. In addition, it also has a frustrative function, expressing that an event nearly transpired but did no. Across all three functions the clauses in which it occurs are irrealis, and as such occur with the irrealis negator *aato* when negated.

In the counterfactual construction, =*me* occurs in both the protasis and the apodosis, often repeatedly on multiple words. While it never attaches to nouns, it can attach to demonstratives, adverbs, verbs, and negators, resulting in some sentences in which every word is marked with the clitic, as in (519), which lacks full nominal arguments.

- (519) “Oramekea kameetsame iroakempime, aatome naanajempime.”

o- ra =me =kea kameetsa =me iri- og -k -e -mpi =me aato =me no- ag -an
 3F- MED =CF =EW well =CF 3M- treat -PFV -IRR -2 =CF NEG =CF 1- take -ABL
 -aj -e -mpi =me
 -REG -IRR -2 =CF

“Had he treated you well, I wouldn’t have taken you back.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:10)

Repetition of =me is also possible in the deontic construction (520). Unlike counterfactuals, these are not inherently biclausal.

(520) ...“Aatome nokamantime.”

aato =me no- kamaN -i =me
 NEG =DEON 1- tell -AR =DEON

...“I shouldn’t have told.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:82)

In the frustrative construction, however, it is typically found only on the verb that denotes the event that nearly happened, as in (521).

(521) ...ontabaabakerime ikampoji jaran tomirishiki.

o- N- tabag -k -e -ri =e i- kaN -poj -i jaran
 3F- IRR- hit -PFV -IRR -3M =FRUST 3M- say -ALL -AR IDEO:jump.in.undergrowth
 tomirishi =ki
 forest =LOC

...she almost hit him but he went *jaran* into the forest.

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:85)

Verbs marked with frustrative =me occur following the adverb *pajini* ‘almost,’ (in which case =me may also attach to the adverb), as complements of the frustrative verb *ji* ‘attempt,’ and as complements of *niN* ‘want’ when this verb is marked by the other frustrative in the language, *-be*, as shown in (522). See O’Hagan (2018a) for more details.²²¹

(522) Onintabetaja onkoraketajeme, tee agabejajempaji.

o- niN -be -aj -a o- N- korake -aj -e =me tee o- agabej -aj -e -mpa -ji
 3F- want -FRST -REG -MR 3F- IRR- come -REG -IRR =FRUST NEG 3F- be.able -REG -IRR -MID -NEG

She wanted to come back, but she no longer could.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:172)

²²¹In that presentation I suggest an aspectual as opposed to modal analysis of frustratives *-be* and =me. The former expresses that the period following culmination for telic predicates and following initiation for atelic predicates is interrupted; the latter expresses that the period preceding culmination for telic predicates and preceding initiation for atelic predicates is interrupted. See also adverbs *chaashia* and *pajini* in Appendix C.

B.8.6 Deontic =riji

In addition to =me (§B.8.5), another way to express past-oriented deontic modality when the obligation is unrealized is with =riji, as in (523). Verbs marked with =riji are irrealis, as with =me.

(523) “Pinkempogijitsitakemparoriji anijabegitageti.”

pi- N- kempogij -itsi -ak -e -mpa -ro =riji o- anij -be -gi -a =geti
 2- IRR- look.after -MAL -PFV -IRR -MID -3F =DEON 3F- be.alive -FRST -PROL -MR =when

“You should’ve look after her when she was alive.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:112)

B.8.7 Inferential Evidential =sa

The clitic =sa expresses that the speaker has inferred the content of the proposition. The example in (524), for instance, comes from a story in which a man wakes up in the morning after a night of dancing with friendly strangers he met in the forest. In their place he finds mushrooms on a log. The inferential evidential attaches to *peg* ‘transform.’

(524) ...“Arisakanika, ipegasa kakinte kajebi.”

ari =sakanika i- peg -a =sa kakinte kajebi
 FOC =MIR 3M- transform -MR =INFER person mushroom.sp.

...“I see, the people transform into *kajebi* mushrooms.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:45)

The inference need not have been recent for =sa to be felicitous, as shown in (525), in which the speaker reports an inference of hers from a moment that transpired years earlier. Here the inferential occurs in second position in a clause embedded under *tsa* ‘know.’

(525) “Ari notsakeri tyontiiki arisa ikota iriatimpa.”

ari no- tsa -ak -i -ri tyontiiki ari =sa i- ko -a iriatimpa
 FOC 1- know -PFV -AR -3M snail.sp. FOC =INFER 3M- be -MR 3M.PRO

“Then I knew that that’s how *tyontiiki* snails are.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:25)

The inference may also associate with the subject of a clause as opposed to the speaker (526).

(526) ...intsake iriosa sariakari.

i- N- tsa -k -e irio =sa sarig -k -a -ri
 3M- IRR- know -PFV -IRR 3M.COP =INFER plot.to.kill -PFV -MR -3M

...he’ll know that it was him who was plotting to kill him. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:42)

B.8.8 Mirative =*sakanika* versus *-(a)tig*

Caquinte has two mirative markers, one a second position clitic, the other a verbal suffix occurring toward the right edge of the suffixal zone. The clitic =*sakanika* expresses that the proposition is not readily reconciled with the speaker's beliefs about the world. It is common in expressions of receipt of news, as in (527), where it occurs twice, first on a verb, then on the negator of the second clause. It only occurs in declarative clauses.

(527) ...“Nojikerisakanika irio aapanimajaka, teesakanika irio aapani.”

no-ji -k -e -ri =sakanika irio aapani -majaka tee =sakanika irio aapani
 1- believe.falsely -PFV -IRR -3M =MIR 3M.COP father -REAL NEG =MIR 3M.COP father

...“I thought he was my real father, he's not my father.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:156)

The suffix *-(a)tig*, only sparsely attested, has a similar mirative meaning that holds of the grammatical subject, not the speaker.

(528) ...ikemakobaetatiga tan, ikajemanake, “Aaa.”

i- kem -ako -bae -atig -a tan i- kajem -an -k -i aaa
 3M- hear -INDR -DUR -MIR -MR IDEO:hit.w/blunt.object 3M- shout -ABL -PFV -AR aaa

...he suddenly felt a blow *tan*, he shouted, “Aaa.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:138)

B.8.9 Counterexpectational =*te*

The clitic =*te* expresses that there is something in the context that goes against the expectations of the speaker. It occurs in declarative, interrogative, and imperative clauses. For example, in the context of (529), the shaman Amamani's mother has encouraged him to go visit the *jeokarijite* spirits, but for a long time he does not return and she assumes that he has gotten lost. Then one day he suddenly returns. The clitic attaches to the clause-initial verb.

(529) ...“Irijani, koraketajimpite.”

irijani korake -aj -i -mpi =te
 son come -REG -AR -2 =CE

...“Son, you've come back.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:2)

In the context of (530), a woman has decided to accompany her husband to a new village site even though there are no gardens there for food, and her father asks her this question. Here we observe the clitic attaching to the clause-initial focus marker *ari*.

(530) ...“Orijani, arite poanake abiatimpa?”

orijani ari =te pi-og -an -k -e abiatimpa
 daughter FOC =CE 2- go -ABL -PFV -IRR 2.PRO

...“Daughter, are you going to go?” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:20)

In the context of (531), a wife scolds her husband for not doing the polite (expected) thing of offering a seat on a rock to people passing by their garden on their return from a trip. Here *=te* attaches to the imperative form of the verb ‘say.’ Speakers remark that imperatives with *=te* make it seem as if the speaker is angry.

(531) ...“Pinkanterite, ‘Pinchokotite kenashibiroriki.’”

pi- N- kan -e -ri =te pi- N- chokoti -e kenashibirori =ki
 2- IRR- say -IRR -3M =CE 2- IRR- sit -IRR rock =LOC

...“Say to him, ‘Sit on the rock.’” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:42)

The counterexpectational is extremely frequent in combination with other clitics, in which case it seems to have a different meaning (see O’Hagan 2017b for a proposal).

B.8.10 =*shia(tsi)* ANXIETY

Two second position clitic =*shia* (with apparent variant =*shiatsi*) expresses that the speaker is in an anxious state. It is attested in declarative (532), interrogative (533), and imperative (534) clauses. Note the evidence for the second position nature of this form in (533), where it attaches to the interrogative pronoun instead of to the initial verbs in the other examples.

In (532), a Caquinte man has been lying in wait for the arrival of a group of (traditionally) enemy Ashaninkas. When they finally arrive, he returns hurriedly to relay the news to his people. The prospective eventuality is their eventual arrival, which will entail a fight.

(532) ...“Koraketapojishia katonkoniri.”

korake -apoj -i -Ø =shia katonkoniri
 come -ALL -AR -3 =ANXIETY Ashaninka

...“The Ashaninkas are coming.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:153)

In (533), a young Caquinte woman is sitting bathing in the river when she feels something poke her from underneath. Seeing no one around, she is concerned. Afterwards she spots Moon and Star upriver. Moon has cut off one of his testicles and floated it downriver to impregnate the woman, who later gives birth to two sons, the second of which becomes our own.

(533) ...“Taashia opaji chagatakena?”

taa =shia opaji chaga -ak -i -na
 WH =ANXIETY LIGHT poke -PFV -AR -1

...“What poked me?”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:72)

In (534), the wife of Old Axe has been captured by Wind. This example also shows a process of affective lengthening of the final vowel of =*shia*.

(534) Ari atsomajanakero chobiga okajemanakeri omankigare, okantiri, “Paabajenashiaaa...”

ari o- atsomaj -an -k -i -ro chobiga o- kajem -an -k -i -ri o-
 FOC 3F- carry.on.shoulder -ABL -PFV -AR -3F wind 3F- call.to -ABL -PFV -AR -3M 3F-
 mankigare o- kan -i -ri pi- ag -ab -aj -e -na =shia
 spouse 3F- say -AR -3M 2- get -DIR -REG -IRR -1 =ANXIETY

Wind carried her away on his back and she called to her husband, she said, “Save me...”
 (text, ESS, ptk)

This clitic often combines with the ideophone *ooo*, which expresses dismay, as in (535). In this story, the speaker finds that the shaman Okitsipokani has overused his newfound ability to transform into a jaguar.

(535) ...“Oooshiatsi piteronkakeri pigonoro.”

ooo =shiatsi pi- teronk -k -i -ri pi- gonoro
 IDEO:dismay =ANXIETY 2- finish -PFV -AR -3M 2- countryman

...“Ooo, you’ve finished off your people.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:99)

B.8.11 =*shine* IRRITATION

The second position clitic =*shine* expresses that the speaker is in an irritated state. It is attested in declarative (536), interrogative (537), and imperative (538) clauses. One common source of irritation in texts stems from speakers having to repeat themselves. For example, in (536) the speaker has already posed his question to the addressee, which the latter simply ignored. This example also illustrates the second position nature of this marker, appearing on the initial *teekatsi* ‘nothing’ here, but on the initial verbs below.²²²

(536) a. Yapitsitajari aisa, ikanti, “Anianishi, taashia yamenajitake?”

i- apiji -aj -a -ri aisa i- kan -i anianishi taa =shia i- amen
 3M- repeat -REG -MR -3M again 3M- say -AR brother.in.law WH =ANXIETY 3M- see
 -ji -ak -i
 -NR -PFV -AR

²²²Note the third person subject agreement on the verb in the two direct speech quotes, despite the translation in second and first person, respectively. This is an indirect way of posing face-threatening questions, together with the nonreferential suffix *-ji*. It would be asking a question of an addressee, *What did they see?*

He repeated himself to him again, he said, “Brother-in-law, what did you see?”

b. Irirakea iranianishite ikanti, “Teekatsishine iramenajiteka.”

iri- ra =kea iri- anianishi -te i- kaN-i teekatsi =shine iri- amen -ji
 3M- MED =EW 3M- brother.in.law -P 3M- say -AR nothing =IRRITATION 3M- see -NR
 -e =ka
 -IRR =REL

His brother-in-law said, “I haven’t seen anything.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:81)

Similarly, in (537), the speaker has already requested some ayahuasca in his previous conversational turn, but he was told he would not like it.

(537) Arimpa yasereanakeri, ikantiri, “Pojokenashine nomiremparota.”

ari =mpa i- asereg -an -k -i -ri i- kaN-i -ri pi- ojok -e -na
 FOC =INCNGR 3M- bother -ABL -PFV -AR -3M 3M- say -AR -3M 2- give -IRR -1
 =shine no- mir -e -mpa -ro =ta
 =IRRITATION 1- drink -IRR -MID -3F =PROSP

Then he began to bother him, he said, “Give me some to drink.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:27)

In (538), the infant daughter of the Caquinte warrior Kiabenkirini²²³ has been shot in the leg with an arrow. His wife believes it may be a stray arrow from Kiabenkirini’s bundle of arrows. In reality the girl has been shot by an Ashaninka warrior hiding at the edge of the house clearing.

(538) ...“Pishitikamajakeroshine pishikiripite?”

pi- shitik -maja -k -i -ro =shine pi- shikiripi -te
 2- tie -well -PFV -AR -3F =IRRITATION 2- arrow -P

...“Did you tie up your arrows well?”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:159)

Finally, =*shine* is frozen in the fixed, rude expression *jaashine* ‘shut up.’

B.9 Extraction-related Phenomena

B.9.1 Subject Extraction: Focus, Relativization, Questions

When a subject is extracted, the verb exhibits three special properties, the first two of which are limited to intransitive subjects only: imperfective $-\emptyset$ and perfective $-(a)k$ are replaced by *-ats* and *-ankits*, respectively; reality status and voice contrasts are neutralized to *-i*, regardless

²²³This personal name derives from the adjective *kiabenkiriki*, used to describe flowers that have lost their petals. (It seems to contain the inalienable noun *benki* ‘sedge.’) Kiabenkirini is said to have lost his hair at a young age.

of the notional status of the eventuality denoted by the clause; and clauses denoting notionally irrealis eventualities are marked specially with *-ne*. The reality status and voice-related facts are important to emphasize: the result is that otherwise middle verbs take *-i*, and middle *-mpa* does not occur. Irrealis is expressed elsewhere (with *-ne*), but the expression of voice is lost altogether. Subject extraction subsumes contrastively focused subjects, relativized subjects, and subject-oriented constituent questions. In the following three subsections, I first illustrate the properties found only with extracted intransitive subjects (§§B.9.1.1 & B.9.1.2), then turn to the irrealis marker *-ne* that is common to extraction of intransitive and transitive subjects (§B.9.1.3).

B.9.1.1 Special Marking of Aspect *-ats* and *-ankits*

Extracted intransitive subjects condition special marking of aspect on the verb. Recall that verbs unmarked for aspect in the segmentation line exhibit imperfective \emptyset .

(539) ...“Pitampishibaeti.”

pi- tampishi -bae -i
2- be.strong -DUR -AR

...“You’re very strong.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:37)

When an intransitive subject is extracted, this zero marking is replaced by *-ats* (540).

(540) ...“Taa tampishitatsi?”

taa tampishi -ats -i
WH be.strong -IPFV -AR

...“Who is strong(er)?”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:76)

Verbs marked for perfective aspect with *-(a)k* (541) exhibit *-ankits* when an intransitive subject is extracted (542).

(541) “...notampishibaeke osheki.”

no- tampishi -bae -k -i osheki
1- be.strong -DUR -PFV -AR much

“...I’m very strong.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:42)

(542) “...narogenti tampishimajatankitsika.”

narogenti tampishi -maja -ankits -i =ka
1.COP be.strong -really -PFV -AR =REL

“...I’m the one who’s truly strong.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:41)

B.9.1.2 Neutralization in Reality Status & Voice Contrasts

Extracted intransitive subjects also condition special marking of reality status and voice on the verb, namely in the neutralization of contrasts. Instead of active realis *-i*, middle realis *-a*, irrealis *-e*, and middle *-mpa*, only *-i* survives in this suffixal region. It occurs in both realis and irrealis contexts, with separate marking of irrealis with *-ne*; voice contrasts are not expressed in any form. These facts can be appreciated with the following two examples involving middle *sheka* ‘eat’ and extracted (contrastively focused) subjects. Instead of the expected *-a*, in (543) we observe *-i*; and instead of the expected *-e* and *-mpa*, in (544) we observe the same *-i*, with irrealis expressed by *-ne*.

(543) “Abigenti shekatankitsi pichookakegeti ontaniki pitsobironakiteki...”

abigenti sheka -ankits -i pi- chooka -k -i =geti ontaniki pi- tsobironaki -te =ki
 2.COP eat -PFV -AR 2- EXST -PFV -AR =where over.there 2- house -P =LOC

“It was you who ate where you live there in your house...” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:56)

(544) ...irigenti shekatankitsine igonoropae.

irigenti sheka -ankits -i -ne i- gonoro =pae
 3M.COP eat -PFV -AR -IRR 3M- countryman =PL

...it was their people who’d eat.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:58)

It cannot be that *-i* expresses active voice in these two examples, since the verb is otherwise middle; and it cannot be that it expresses realis in examples like (544), since dedicated irrealis marking follows it. Baier and O’Hagan (2019) analyze *-i* as a default marker inserted due to featural impoverishment, but I gloss it consistently as AR for ‘active realis’ throughout this description.

Other Nijagantsi languages exhibit similar but often subtly distinct versions of this system. In Matsigenka, for example, reality status is expressed separately with *-ne*, as in Caquinte, but voice contrasts are not neutralized, there being dedicated sequences of *-ats-i/-ankits-i* and *-ach-a/-ankich-a* for active and middle verbs, respectively.²²⁴ However, in no description has the connection of these forms to subject extraction been noticed. In the SIL-based descriptive tradition, for example, the combination of special aspect suffixes together with the reduced forms of the reality status-voice suffixes have been confusingly known as “stative” suffixes, although they occur with more than simply stative verbs (see O’Hagan 2017a for more details).

²²⁴Nomatsigenga is the only other Nijagantsi language in which aspect and voice are not neutralized in any way, Ashaninka, Asheninka, and Nanti all showing different losses of contrasts. This suggests that the Matsigenka-Nomatsigenga system is a retention of the proto-Nijagantsi system, these two languages not forming a phylogenetic grouping that excludes the other languages (Michael 2011).

B.9.1.3 Special Marking of Irrealis *-ne*

Extracted subjects of verbs of all transitivity condition special marking of irrealis with the suffix *-ne*. With the exceptions of augmentative *-ni* and apprehensive *-tsi*, this is the only suffix that occurs to the right of object agreement suffixes in the language. It was shown for an intransitive instance of ‘eat’ in (544) above, and it is shown for *ojok* ‘give’ in (545).

(545) ...“Teekatsi jokenane nosheka.”

teekatsi ojok -e -na -ne no- sheka
nobody give -IRR -1 -IRR 1- food

...“Nobody gave me my food.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:10)

In related languages like Perené Asheninka, cognates to *-ne* are irrealis subject relativizers (see Mihás 2015:544 for especially relevant examples). This is not the case for Caquinte, as *-ne* co-occurs with the relativizer *=ka*, as shown with the headless relative clause in (546).

(546) “...pintsipajianajempari chookatimojiajempineka.”

pi- N- tsipa -jig -an -aj -e -mpa -ri chooka -imo -jig -aj -e -mpi -ne =ka
2- IRR- accompany -PL -ABL -REG -IRR -MID -3M EXST -PERS.LOC -PL -REG -IRR -2 -IRR =REL

“...you’ll accompany those who will be staying with you.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:49)

B.9.2 Relativization *=ka*

Relative clauses are externally headed, and marked by the clitic *=ka*, which occurs in second position within the relative clause. All core arguments, including applied objects, can be relativized, but no other syntactic positions can be (e.g., locative obliques licensed by *=ki*).²²⁵ Agreement with the relativized argument is obligatorily suppressed, and apart from the morphosyntactic properties unique to subject extraction, there is no reduction of verbal categories in relative clauses. In the vast majority of over 1,080 instances of relative clauses in the corpus, the relative clause follows the head. This is shown for pronominal head in (547), a subject relativization, and for a nominal head in (548), an object relativization. In the former *=ka* attaches to the clause-initial adverb *iriakera*, whereas in (548) it attaches to the verb, since it is initial. I underline the head and bracket the relative clause.

(547) Abiatimpajia [iriakeraka kenkebarijianankitsi]_{REL}...

abiatimpa -jia iriakera =ka kenkebari -jig -an -ankits -i
2.PRO -PL recently =REL be.of.age -PL -ABL -PFV -AR

You all who have recently come of age...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:14)

²²⁵See the final example below for a possible exception regarding the relativization of possessors.

(548) ...“Nage tsipana [noshitatakempaka notsobironakiteki]_{REL}.”

no- ag -e tsipana no- shita -ak -e -mpa =ka no- tsobironaki -te =ki
 1- get -IRR plant.sp. 1- place(.mat) -PFV -IRR -MID =REL 1- house -P =LOC

...‘I’m going to get *bijao* to place in my house.’

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:47)

In addition, the head may follow the relative clause, as shown for relativized subjects and objects in (549) and (550), respectively.

(549) ...kerokageti ikamibiojitrini [metojagetatsika]_{REL} chaajanikipaetirajaka.

ke -ro =ka =geti 3M- kamibio -ji -i -ri -ni metoj-ge -ats -i
 WH -F =EMB.Q =where 3M- cover.w/plant.matter -NR -AR -3M -INT die -DSTR -IPFV -AR
 =ka *chaajanikipaetirajaka*
 =REL young.children

...where they bury the young children who have died.

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:50)

(550) ...“Kero [nojokakempika]_{REL} machaki?”

ke -ro no- ojok -i -mpi =ka machaki
 WH -3F 1- give -AR -2 =REL bean.sp.

...‘Where are the *machaki* beans I gave you?’

The head may also be split on either side of the relative clause, as with the discontinuous demonstrative and noun in (551). This is part of a broader pattern of discontinuous constituency with regard to nouns and their modifiers.

(551) Imaika ora [tsarakijankitsika]_{REL} nogonoro...

imaika o- ra tsaraki -jig -ankits -i =ka no- gonoro
 now 3F- MED be.pregnant -PL -PFV -AR =REL 1- countryman

Now those of my people who are pregnant...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:89)

The relative clause may also be headless, as in (552), where it is the complement of the presentative particle *je*. Note the somewhat nonliteral translation in *someone*.

(552) ...“Jeri [koraketankitsika]_{REL}.”

je -ri korake -ankits -i =ka
 PRES -M come -PFV -AR =REL

...“Someone is coming.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:4)

Thus far I have shown the relativization of only subject and direct object. All manner of applied objects are also readily relativized, including with the head following the relative clause, as shown in (553), with the indirect applicative *-ako* introducing the referent sung about.

(553) “[pamashaitakokeka]_{REL} pamakabiri etsikiri.”

pi- amashai -ako -k -i =ka pamakabiri etsikiri
2- sing -INDR -PFV -IRR =REL fish armored.catfish.sp.

“...the small armored catfish fish that you sang about.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:25)

All arguments of the relative clause are rigidly postverbal, as shown with the postverbal subject in (554), where the verb is the ditransitive *kaman* ‘tell,’ with the direct object relativized. This is tantamount to saying that topicalization is not possible within a relative clause, topicalization being the only source of preverbal arguments in the language.

(554) Ari ikamantapojakeri [okamantakerika natojite]_{REL}.

ari i- kaman -apoj -k -i -ri o- kaman -ak -i -ri =ka natojite
FOC 3M- tell -ALL -PFV -AR -3M 3F- tell -PFV -AR -3M =REL cannibal

Then he_i told him what the cannibal had told him_i. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:90)

Consequently, the only nonverbal expressions that host *=ka* (i.e., that can occur before a relativized verb) are adverbs, as shown above, and the negators (see §B.7 for examples in relative clauses).

Finally, there is one atypical pattern in relative clauses worthy of mention. The existential verb *chooka* (also denoting being in a place, remaining, living, etc.) is intransitive, and thus its single argument is expected to be the head of the relative clause, as shown in (555).

(555) Maasano [chookagetatsika tomirishiki]_{REL}...

maasano chooka -ge -ats -i =ka tomirishi =ki
all EXST -DSTR -IPFV -AR =REL forest =LOC

Everything that lives in the forest... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:40)

However, in some cases the head of a relativized *chooka* is the possessor of a noun that follows it (556). In this case, it is as if *chooka* is transitive, but this cannot be the case, given *-ats*, aspectual marking only attested with the extraction of intransitive subjects.

(556) ...maasano chookagetatsika ishibankipae.

maasano chooka -ge -ats -i =ka i- shibanki =pae
all EXST -DSTR -IPFV -AR =REL 3M- wing =PL

...everything that has wings. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:3)

B.9.3 Constituent Questions

Constituent questions are formed with one of two interrogative pronouns—*taa* ‘who, what’ or *ke*—that occur clause-initially. For questions targeting arguments, corresponding agreement on the verb is obligatorily suppressed. The pronoun *taa* is found in questions that target arguments (§§B.9.3.1 & B.9.3.2), as well as in reason and purpose clauses, which are formed on instrumental and purpose applicatives that introduce arguments corresponding the reason and purpose of the eventuality, respectively (§§B.9.3.4 & B.9.3.5). All questions formed on *taa* have clefted variants involving the semantically bleached verb *paji*, which occurs between *taa* and the verb, which often though not obligatorily bears the relativizer in such cases.

The pronoun *ke*, in contrast, has several functions, none of which target arguments or result in the anti-agreement found with *taa*. When it co-occurs only with a lexical verb, it means ‘where’ (§B.9.3.3), except for with the verb *kara* ‘number’ denoting quantities and extents, in which case it means ‘how many’ (when the complement of *kara* is a noun), and with the verb *ko* ‘be, do (to),’ in which case it means ‘how’ (when the complement of *ko* is similarly a noun). It also co-occurs with one of two semantically bleached verbs—*kan* ‘say, name, do’ and *ko* ‘be, do (to)’—and verbs bearing an applicative and the relativizer, in which case it forms reason and manner questions (§§B.9.3.4 & B.9.3.6). When it combines with *kara* and a following lexical verb, the interpretation is temporal ‘when’ (§B.9.3.7). Finally, *ke* in all interrogative constructions (including embedded interrogatives) co-occurs optionally though very frequently with the verbal suffix *-ni*, which has no other interrogative-related function.

Consequently there is a certain degree of ambiguity among Caquinte questions that do not target arguments, *ke* exhibiting a variety of meanings depending on the construction it occurs in, and context needing to disambiguate in some cases. These constructions can be fairly baroque, with the mentioned semantically bleached verbs, relativized applied arguments of lexical verbs, and special suffixal marking in *-ni*. I describe Caquinte constituent questions in terms of these constructions in the following subsections.

B.9.3.1 Subject

Subject-oriented constituent questions are formed on *taa* in clause-initial position, with the suppression of corresponding prefixal agreement on the verb (557).

(557) Taakeate jokakempiri pamakabiri...?

taa =kea =te ojok -k -i -mpi -ri pamakabiri
 WH =EW =CE give -PFV -AR -2 -3M fish

Who gave you the fish...?

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:21)

A clefted version is formed with the intervening light verb *paji* (see §2.3.3).

B.9.3.2 Object

Object-oriented constituent questions are similarly formed on *taa* in clause-initial position, with suppression of corresponding suffixal agreement on the verb (558).

(558) “Taate pikajemi?”

taa =te pi- kajem -i
WH =CE 2- call.to -AR

“Who are you calling to?” (text, AST, hoo)

A clefted version is formed with the intervening light verb *paji* (see §2.3.3).

B.9.3.3 Location

Apart from constituent questions that target arguments, those that target the location of an eventuality are the only other ones in which an interrogative pronoun co-occurs only with a lexical verb (and not also a light verb). This construction is based on the interrogative pronoun *ke*, which, unlike *taa*, inflects for gender. In nonverbal clauses, the pronoun agrees in gender with the subject, as shown with the masculine versus feminine agreement in (559) and (560), respectively.

(559) ...“Kerikate imaika Aberino?”

ke -ri =ka =te imaika Aberino
WH -M =MOD =CE now Aberino

...“Where is Aberino now?” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:45)

(560) ...“Kerokampate orijani?”

ke -ro =mpa =te orijani
WH -F =INCNGR =CE daughter

...“But where is my daughter?” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:124)

In verbal clauses, however, *ke* is invariantly inflected for feminine gender, as seen with both the masculine subject in (561) and the feminine subject in (562).

(561) ...“Kerokashiatsi yoanakeni nomankigare?”

ke -ro =ka =shiatsi i- og -an -k -i -ni no- mankigare
WH -F =MOD =ANXIETY 3M- go -ABL -PFV -AR -INT 1- spouse

...“Where could my husband have gone?” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:106)

(562) ...“Kerokea oanakeni nomankigare?”

ke -ro =kea o- og -an -k -i -ni no- mankigare
 WH -F =EW 3F- go -ABL -PFV -AR -INT 1- spouse

...“Where did my wife go?”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:44)

B.9.3.4 Reason

There are three ways to form constituent questions targeting the reason for an eventuality, all of which involve the relativization of an applied argument introduced by the instrumental applicative *-an*. With the first way, the interrogative pronoun *taa* ‘who, what’ is followed by a fixed form of the semantically bleached verb *paji*, followed by the relative clause, as shown in (563). These questions can be paraphrased as “What is it by which you X-ed?”

(563) a. ...“Aapani, taa opajita okantakotantakitaka taan taan areti?”

aapani taa opajita o- kaN -ako -an -aki -a =ka taan taan
 father WH LIGHT 3F- say -INDR -INSTR -GO.DO.RETURN -MR =REL IDEO:thunder
areti
 thunder

...“Father, why is it that the thunder is going *taan taan*?”

b. Ikantikea, “Teeshine, aimentajimpi ñañioki.”

i- kaN -i =kea tee =shine o- aimen -aj -i -mpi ñañioki
 3M- say -AR =EW nothing =IRRITATION 3F- cuckold -REG -AR -2 daughter.in.law1P

Then he said, “No reason, my daughter-in-law has cuckolded you.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:159)

With the second way, the interrogative pronoun *ke* inflects for feminine gender and is followed by the verb *ko* ‘be, do (to)’ followed by the relative clause (564). This question is indistinguishable from one targeting manner (§B.9.3.6); only context disambiguates. Note that a manner interpretation is not possible in the context in (564).

(564) a. ...“Kero okotakani pishirontimentankenaka?”

ke -ro o- ko -ak -a -ni pi- shiron -imen -an -k -i -na =ka
 WH -F 3F- be -PFV -MR -INT 2- laugh -REAS -INSTR -PFV -AR -1 =REL

...“Why are you laughing at me?”

b. Ikantiri, “Tee, pamashaikegeti okajenitanakenatari..”

i- kaN -i -ri tee pi- amashai -k -i =geti o- kajeni -an -k -i -na =tari
 3M- say -AR -3M nothing 2- sing -PFV -AR =when 3F- itch -ABL -PFV -AR -1 =CNGR

He said to him, “No reason, when you were singing I thought it was funny..”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:130)

With the third way, the same interrogative pronoun *ke* is followed by an irrealis middle form of the semantically bleached verb *kan* ‘say, name, do’ (here glossed ‘do’), followed by the relative clause (565). One speaker has suggested that this construction targets the reason for a particular manner in which the eventuality is realized, as with English *Why did you X like that?* The irrealis form of the verb in this construction is unexpected, given the realis interpretation.

(565) a. ...“Kerote pinkantempani pamajachanokijatantakaka?”

ke -ro =te pi- N- kan -e -mpa -ni pi- amaja -chanokija -aN
 WH -F =CE 2- IRR- do -IRR -MID -INT 2- do.in.water -CL:head.above.water -INSTR
-ak -a =ka
 -PFV -MR =REL

...“Why were you with your head above the water like that?”

b. Ikanti, “Osheki notsaroapoji...”

i- kan -i osheki no- tsarog -poj -i
 3M- say -AR much 1- be.afraid -ALL -AR

He said, “I was really afraid...”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:38)

B.9.3.5 Purpose

Constituent questions targeting the purpose of an eventuality are formed with *taa* ‘who, what,’ followed by a verb derived with the purpose applicative *-ashi* (566). The questioned argument is the applied object, and these questions can be paraphrased as “What did you X for?”

(566) ...“Taate pikoraketashitake?”

taa =te pi- korake -ashi -ak -i
 WH =CE 2- come -PURP -PFV -AR

...“Why have you come?”

(text, ESS, ptk)

B.9.3.6 Manner

Manner questions are formed with the interrogative pronoun *ke* and the verb *ko* ‘be, do (to)’. In the simplest case, the complement is a noun (567).

(567) a. ...“Orijani, kero okotaja noshao?”

orijani ke -ro o- ko -aj -a no- shao
 daughter WH -F 3F- be -REG -MR 1- granddaughter

...“Daughter, how is my granddaughter?”

b. Naatimpa nokantiro, “Arimpa ojatiri.”

naatimpa no- kaN -i -ro ari =mpa o- jatiri
 1.PRO 1- say -AR -3F FOC =INCNGR 3F- be.doing.worse²²⁶

I said to her, “She’s doing worse.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:29)

Verbal complements in this construction, on the other hand, must bear the instrumental applicative *-aN*, which introduces an object that is then relativized (568). In this way they are indistinguishable from manner questions.

(568) ...“Kerokea okotakani otsarakitantagetanakaka...”

ke -ro =kea o- ko -ak -a -ni o- tsaraki -aN -ge -an -k -a =ka
 WH -F =EW 3F- be -PFV -MR -INT 3F- be.pregnant -INSTR -DSTR -ABL -PFV -MR =REL

...“How do they become pregnant...” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:89)

B.9.3.7 Temporal

Temporal questions are formed with the interrogative pronoun *ke* and the verb *kara* ‘number,’ which denotes quantities or extents. The lexical verb is contained in the complement of this verb, and bears no special marker as with the relativizer *=ka* in the preceding questions.

(569) a. ...“Nogonoro, kero onkarateni poanaje?”

no- gonoro ke -ro o- N- kara -e -ni pi- og -an -aj -e
 1- countryman WH -F 3F- IRR- number -IRR -INT 2- go -ABL -REG -IRR

...“Countryman, when are you going back?”

b. Ikanti iriatimpa, “Mabite sabinkagiteri, ari noanaje nochookatigeti ontaniki Pichaki.”

i- kaN -i iriatimpa mabite sabinkagiteri ari no- og -an -aj -e no- chooka
 3M- say -AR 3M.PRO two day FOC 1- go -ABL -REG -IRR 1- EXST
-k -i =geti ontaniki Picha =ki
 -PFV -AR =where over.there Picha =LOC

He said, “Two days, that’s when I’ll go back where I live there on the Picha River.”
 (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:4)

²²⁶This is a fixed expression, referring to doing worse with an illness. Subject marking alternates productively.

Appendix C

Lexicon

There is no available lexical documentation of Caquinte apart from the forms that appear in Swift (1988), Castillo Ramírez (2017), and in previous work of mine that has circulated as handouts (O’Hagan 2015a,b, 2017a,b,c,d, 2018a,b, 2019, 2020) or co-authored contributions to conference proceedings (Baier and O’Hagan 2019; Rolle and O’Hagan 2019; Drummond and O’Hagan 2020). Kenneth Swift is in the later stages of editing a Caquinte dictionary that will be published by SIL International, which promises to be large and detailed with numerous examples. In the interest of providing a representative sample of my documentation of Caquinte, and especially of disseminating as much Caquinte lexical material as possible, in this appendix I include a lexicon of Caquinte lexical roots and some morphologically complex stems. The latter are included either because they are semantically noncompositional or because they involve archaic morphology that is no longer productive (e.g., what seems to be a reversative prefix *pe-*). In short, the lexicon represents most of the headwords in my FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEX) corpus, with the exception of grammatical morphemes, ideophones, and proper names of individuals, which are not included.

All verb roots are morphologically bound and given no special indication to this effect. Nominal roots are lexically specified for masculine or feminine gender, as well as alienable or inalienable status. Bound nominal roots (inalienable roots) are indicated with an asterisk. They are in general confined to body parts, plant parts, configurational and landscape terms, and some kin terms, together with most deverbal nominalizations.

The section on nouns is divided into subsections for: people, kin, and other relations; supernatural beings; manufactured objects and substances; configurational and state terms; terms for landscape and other natural phenomena (including toponyms, hydronyms, and oronyms); body parts of humans and animals; flora, with plant parts, trees, and plants; fauna, with mammals, birds, fish, reptiles, amphibians, insects, arachnids, crustaceans, gastropods (snails), and myriapods (e.g., millipedes); and a miscellaneous category. Subsequent sections for verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and interjections are heterogeneous.

Configurational and state terms are nouns that refer to the spatial configuration or other salient properties (states) of particular objects. For example, *pitsa* refers to thick liquidy substances like mud or clay; whereas *poentsa* refers to any narrow, tubular object in a serpentine

shape (e.g., hoses, winding lianas). Others are more straightforward, such as *pio* ‘mound, pile.’ They are all morphologically inalienable, and surface with a dummy possessive prefix *o-*, elsewhere the third person feminine possessive prefix (see Farmer and O’Hagan 2014).

Note that the identification of flora and fauna species terms is ongoing. Where identifications can be given with confidence, they are, and tentative identifications are given with *possibly*. For many roots I provide a gloss in Matsigenka given by bilingual consultants, when known; this can be especially helpful for later identification of species terms, and assuring comparability across lexical resources for related languages. Crossreferences are given for many semantically related forms, or for ones that have other interesting connections in various ways.

C.1 Nouns

C.1.1 People, Kin & Other Relations

aapani Father, paternal uncle

achogeti* Romantic rival with whom one competes for the same individual. This is said to be used when the relationship with the individual is only flirtatious, and not yet sexual (cf. *chari, paetsi, shimaakiri*).

airontsi Paternal aunt, mother-in-law

anianishi Male cross-cousin of man, brother-in-law of man; term is also used by men to address strangers of a similar age.

añioki* Cross-niece of man, daughter-in-law of man

atoto Female cross-cousin of woman, sister-in-law of woman

bira* Domesticated animal

chaajanikipaetirajaka Toddlers

chaajanikiri Child, male or female

chari Romantic rival with whom one competes for the same individual (n.b., said to be when the relationship with the individual has been consummated by sexual relations); colleague, in a professional setting (cf. *achogeti, paetsi, shimaakiri*).

gonoro* Countryman, compatriot (Sp. *paisano*)

ibatyageo* Daughter-in-law of woman, cross niece of woman

igentijegi Brother of man, male parallel cousin of man

igetyo Sister of woman, female parallel cousin of woman

iinani Mother, maternal aunt

inkirishi White person (from Sp. *inglés*)

irijani Son, parallel nephew

irijanishitsakijaniki Newborn

jaaji Brother of woman, male parallel cousin of woman

jokakori Orphan

kajarankonari Human, perspectival term in the speech of at least jaguars and woodpeckers, an allusion to their lack of fur or feathers (cf. *kajara* ‘empty’).

- kakinte** Person, Caquinte person
katonkoniri Ashaninka person (feminine form is *katonkoniro*)
kempeane* Wife (archaic; cf. *mankigare*)
kentashireri Human, perspectival term found in deer speech.
kimajareri Spanish-speaker (feminine form is *kimajarero*)
kityonkari Terrorist, originally referring to the Shining Path (cf. *kityonka*).
koareta Soldier
koonkini Maternal uncle, father-in-law
majero Female virgin
majiro Chief, leader
mankigare* Spouse (cf. *mankiga* ‘marry’)
mankigarentsi Woman
mankigarit Human, perspectival term used in the speech of leaf-cutter ants.
mankigarojite Woman, perspectival term used in the speech of the *jeokarijite* spirits.
matinari Meek person, someone who is not (Sp.) *bravo* and can be taken advantage of without recourse; conceptualized as the antonym of *katsimari* (cf. *katsima*).
metojakori Widower (feminine form is *metojakoro*; cf. *metoj*)
miitsiri Yine person (feminine form is *miitsiro*)
niochoji Maternal aunt
orijani Daughter, parallel niece
pabantagari Shaman (feminine form is *pabantagaro*)
pabati Father, attested only in the speech of ancestor Soonteni.
pacheri Matsigenka person (feminine form is *pachero*)
paesatini Ancestor
paetsi Partner’s ex-partner
pagiro Paternal aunt, mother-in-law (cf. *airontsi*)
saameti* Counterpart (e.g., one of two suns in the primordial sky; feminine form is *saameto*)
shai Grandson, parallel great-nephew
shao Granddaughter, parallel great-niece
shamaki Group of humans who lived in the headwaters of the Pogeni River when the Caquintes first came to settle there.
shibatore* Wise elder, perspectival term used in reference to members of other ethnic groups and at least some non-human entities like (Sp.) *isula* ants (cf. *majiro*); spouse, said of either gender when a couple has reached an elderly age.
shimaakiri* Cuckolder
shirabari Man
shirampari Man
tinerijaniki* Cross nephew, son-in-law
tsioji Sister of man, female parallel cousin of man
tsorinkana Old person (cf. *tsorink*)
tyai Grandfather, parallel great-uncle
tyao Grandmother, parallel great-aunt

C.1.2 Supernatural Beings

- ampare*** Spirit haunting particular locations (e.g., houses), associated with frightening noises (cf. *Amparentsini*).
- ampatsini** Demon type, the Christian Devil.
- asheshereki** Demon type resembling a cow and inhabiting the forest floor
- ashibanti** Angel
- irechairikiti** Demon type, described as resembling a spider monkey and living in the tree canopy; chases after hunters who shoot at it mistaking it for a real spider monkey.
- jeokarijite** Shamanic helper spirit (cf. *jeok*)
- kanajjite** Spirit type
- kebetsi** River monster
- kemoti** Spirits living in cliffs, said to be the source of what humans perceive as echoes.
- majimerojite** Female cannibal, inhabitant of land on other side of cave through which all the world's rivers drain; certain animals visited this place after being washed through the cave when the world's floodwaters receded too quickly (syn. *natojite*).
- mañarijite** Mythical cat sp. (cf. *chaonarijite*)
- natojite** Female cannibal, inhabitant of land on other side of cave through which all the world's rivers drain; certain animals visited this place after being washed through the cave when the world's floodwaters receded too quickly (syn. *majimerojite*).
- serajite** Human, perspectival term in the speech of *natojite* cannibals.
- shiincharinchari** Demon type resembling a woman and residing in a *shimita* tree who lures a human woman from her menarche seclusion hut.
- shire*** Soul of person

C.1.3 Manufactured Objects & Substances

- amashire*** Type of arrow
- ashitakoro*** Door, referring to the object that seals the enclosure.
- bankagito*** Ridge beam
- bararotsa** Slingshot
- barigiro*** Rafters
- bati*** Smooth wood (e.g., clean cuts of chainsaws, polished desks)
- begabiuro*** Toy
- chaanarosetaki** Worn clay pot (cf. *pajosetaki*)
- chanchakijire*** Long spear thrown for fishing (cf. *chanchakiji*)
- chanchanajire*** Tooth collection (e.g., of false teeth at a dentist's office)
- chenkona*** Pants
- chinkobintyonaki** Kettle (syn. *chonkonaki*)
- chobintyoriki** Small cup
- chomo** Clay pot (var. *choomo*)
- chompimashi** Belt, Western type that did not exist traditionally.

- chonkonaki** Kettle (syn. *chinkobintyonaki*)
- gabigitiro*** Open-toed shoes (e.g., sandals)
- gabigotare*** Closed-toed shoes (e.g., boots)
- gajankamento*** Shamanic pipe, with small holes along the body through which tobacco is blown in curing (e.g., on the crown of women's heads during pregnancy).
- gotajare*** Glasses
- gotiajaro*** Walking stick, boat pole
- itapiantajitaka** Toilet plunger
- itenkatsajitika** Guitar
- iyapa** Shotgun
- jebaro*** Fire fan, fluke (i.e., of dolphins), tail feather (e.g., of *koyokoyo*)
- jentapoari** Raft
- jepitsi** Axe, small and sharp.
- jerenkitsi** Arrow type
- kaborejatsari** Chain
- kachojari** Manioc beer
- kajarashiteki** Garbage, trash
- kajonaki** Trough of wood in which manioc is processed for beer.
- katete** A mythical axe that functioned only in the morning with little sun; in the afternoon it would bend under the heat.
- katisetare*** Temporary lean-to shelter, consisting of a single "roof," one end of which begins at the ground and ascends at a forty-five-degree angle upwards; often seen on riverbanks, when individuals or families go to spend short periods to fish.
- kenajaro*** Canoe, boat
- kenabiaro*** Ladder, traditionally a shaman's ladder used to reach the rafters of the house.
- kentsirokiji** Spear type, used for fishing armored catfish.
- kiinkio** Knife
- kirikiji** Arrow shaft (n.b., also said of agoutis owing to the baldness of their legs)
- kiritsonkimeni** Spear type, used in fishing.
- kisaatonkiri** Needle, Western type made of metal (cf. *yairotonki*).
- kishokiro** Cooked manioc, cooked plantains
- kitsaare*** Cushma, the traditional long woven cotton garment worn by men and women, reaching from the shoulders to the ankles.
- kitsarijare*** Fishing net, traditionally small and made of (Caq.) *tamarotsa*; predates arrival of Western-style fishing nets (cf. *mantasa*).
- koshonaki** Basin type
- kotsiro** Machete
- kotsironaki** Metal pot
- maamento*** Mosquito net
- maantare*** Mosquito net
- makarapaneri** Manioc flour
- mampetegatsa** Spun cotton (cf. *mampe*)

- menki*** Embers, glowing, used to light other fires (cf. *samenkito*).
- menkori** Second story of house
- merente** Basket, large, often suspended (= Matsi. *kantiri*).
- miokitatsika** Bread
- mire*** Drink (cf. *shatekaja*)
- moitoja*** Manioc beer concentrate, stronger portion (Sp. *ojo de masato*) set aside, mixed with water, and served separately (cf. *moito*).
- mokabiro*** Fire drill
- monkiro*** Palm leave eave of house
- nikatsika** *Peque-peque* boat motor
- nionkabire*** Hammock for adult (cf. *nionk*)
- nionkamento*** Hammock for small child (cf. *nionk*)
- oaporo** Airplane
- oashichapakire*** Ring (cf. *chapaki*)
- oashichogempikire*** Earring (cf. *chogempiki*)
- orijanitsoba** Tobacco pipe, regularly carried in shaman's side bag, a euphemism instead of *gakamento* based on *orijani* 'daughter'; a shaman treats his objects as his children possessing their own spirits that can exact revenge upon someone who kills their father.
- paperi** Book, letter, document (from Sp. *papel*)
- pasanta** Basin of wood for grinding objects with *tononkamentontsi* (e.g., corn, sweet potato).
- patari*** Shuttle
- patsakaro*** Clothes (collective term), blanket, sheet (cf. *kitsaare*)
- pijonkamenkori** ~ **pijonkapoarimenko** Raft, referring to the final manufactured state in which logs are parallel with each other (e.g., *menko*, *oroboamenkori*, *pijonka*, *pijonkapoari*).
- pishimero*** Broom (cf. *pishi*; n.b., unexpected form of instrumental nominalizer *-mento*)
- poaro*** Prepared tobacco (cf. *poa*)
- poreanaki** Cotton cover, used traditionally to cover dishes containing food leftovers.
- poshontyo** Axe, full-sized, sharp and functional.
- potirinaki** Glass vessel (e.g., beer bottle)
- sabogitore** Brimmed hat (cf. *sabo*)
- saboshibonkitire*** Sock (cf. *sabo*, *shibonkiti*)
- serepito** Pipe in Western style, with tobacco inserted into a hole, made of wood (Caq.), with *koyokoyo* bone inserted into the end.
- shabatakire*** Band decoration, traditionally worn by women as a belt or following the configuration of a baby sling and made exclusively of hanging animal bones.
- shabatero*** Arrow type most closely resembling *shatyameni* with a very broad head, over a foot in width; made of peach palm and used to hunt large game animals such as tapir, agouti, and collared peccary.
- shapata** Old machete
- shatekaja** Drink, when large in quantity (e.g., in a big vessel).
- shatyameni*** Arrow type resembling *kiritsonkimeni* spear with a very broad head, over a foot in width; made of peach palm and bamboo.

- sheka*** Food
- shikiripi** Arrow, hypernymic term.
- shimato** Net bag (= Matsi. *tseoki*)
- shinkotikiji** Smoking sticks, placed in a forked configuration below ground to smoke large game.
- shiobire*** Flute type, single-bored (cf. *sonkabiro*).
- shobao** Drinking gourd (cf. *pajo*)
- sonkari** Pan flute (cf. *sonka*)
- sonkabiro*** Flute type, single-bored (cf. *shiobire*).
- sotoajatatsika** Faucet
- sotomoro*** Doorway, referring to the enclosure (cf. *ashitakoro*).
- tajaro*** Arrow type with dull head used in fishing and hunting of small birds; the head resembles (Caq.) *oitsoki* 'fruit.'
- tantanamereki*** Roof, referring to the main body (traditionally of thatch) that covers the rafters.
- tapo*** Taught string (e.g., holding a drum head in place, or a feather crown to the head)
- tasakaripanko** Cooking hut
- tikamantsare*** Trap type consisting of a net, known only from the story of Lineated Woodpecker.
- tinkamero*** Churning paddle used in the production of manioc beer (cf. *tinka*; n.b., unexpected form of instrumental nominalizer *-mento*).
- titonkiboaro*** Shaman's ladder
- tobaakire*** Arrow type finely barbed on both sides, used in hunting game birds such as (Caq.) *koonkarini* and *shaapio*.
- tobatore*** Club
- toboso** Axe, full-sized but dull.
- tokoyo** Fabric
- tsarato** Side bag
- tsatane*** Arm band, traditional decoration worn by Caquinte women at the upper arm and shoulder, consisting of several strands of the small hard seeds of (Caq.) *sharioki*, *chochobaroki*, and *panataroki*, among others, strung like beads at lengths of about a foot.
- tsebajitsi** Fork
- tsimenkori** Smoking rack
- tsiperitaki** Mat
- tsironeja*** Cooked plantain liquid
- tsobironaki** House
- tsoompiro*** Baby sling
- tyotyobeane*** Bow
- yairotonki** Needle, traditionally made of bone (cf. *kisaatonkiri*).

C.1.4 Configurational & State Terms

- apasetiraja** Chewed mass (e.g., for the consumption of children, in the production of manioc beer)

- chegija*** Forked shape in water (e.g., supports of fish traps)
- chegina*** Forked shape (e.g., forked sticks, cloven hooves, six-fingered hands)
- chobiina*** Large burden
- gina*** Smooth curved surface (e.g., tonsured heads, dull arrowheads, balls of spun cotton)
- ikotse*** Slick substance (e.g., octopus skin), a euphemism for semen.
- intsapi*** Edge (e.g., of a garden)
- itsoki*** Small round hard (e.g., seeds, kernels, eggs, small rocks and fruits, shotgun shells)
- kabi*** Burden, said of objects carried on one's back (e.g., a sack, box of bottled water, plantains; n.b., not said of gasoline cylinders because too large to carry on back).
- meni*** Symmetrical curve (e.g., propellers of boats and planes, bows, shuttles)
- menko*** Two-dimensional extent, regardless of shape (e.g., top of a round table, rectangular expanse of a room).
- montiina*** Globular shape (e.g., wasp nest, balloon, throat full from manioc beer or stomach from food)
- pataki*** Wood subsection, referring to the result of chopping in half lengthwise wood previously chopped cross section-wise (e.g., for firewood), and also to smaller wood chips produced during chopping; stern of boat (cf. *sampi*).
- patsa*** Liquidy substance originally a solid (e.g., tobacco dip, Angel's trumpet, mashed manioc, animal parts made into a stew, Sp. *mazamorra*; = Matsi. *se*; cf. *pitsa*).
- pi*** Shaft (e.g., arrow), barrel (e.g., shotgun), rigid stalk (e.g., bamboo; cf. *goroja*)
- pio*** Mound, pile
- pitsa*** Thick liquidy substance (e.g., mud, clay; cf. *patsa*)
- parentsa*** Serpentine shape, narrow, tubular, curved (e.g., hose, winding liana).
- poroki*** Small, round-ish, closely scattered objects (e.g., manioc or plantain cut into small pieces, rocks on a beach, wart-like formations on the skin); flower bud.
- sama*** Bulging elongated shape (e.g., manioc tubers, tree trunks, humans in cushmas)
- sampi*** Hard dry wood, referring to that left over after small animals like grubs have eaten through the remainder (i.e., the soft sections).
- shiteki*** Reduced mass of an object (e.g., strained mash of manioc or plantains, pounded barbasco root, wadded rag, gunpowder).
- shityareki*** Flat disc-like object (e.g., moon, underside of mug, top of fist or mushroom)
- tankiina*** Low mound
- terempi*** Asymmetrical curve (e.g., tails or fingers curved back on themselves, *Inga* spp.)
- tsampi*** Sharp edge
- tsantsa*** Linear extent of not especially long objects (e.g., firewood, trees, cushmas).
- tsantsana*** Linear extent of long objects (e.g., large houses, canoes, rivers).
- tsapa*** Line
- tsaraki*** Distended shape (e.g., pregnant belly, stomach overfull with liquid; n.b., as verb denotes being pregnant)

C.1.5 Terms for Landscape & Other Natural Phenomena

aatsonkiri Slight incline (cf. *tonkoagari*)

ageniro Mysterious wind or breeze that seems to speak.

amara High water, referring to the rise of the rivers in the wet season.

amarito Driftwood, the branches and logs that accumulate in the river after heavy rains.

amperita* Rocky outcroppings, low-lying formations that run along and occasionally jut out from the banks of faster-flowing rivers.

areti Thunder, lightning

baantori* Shadow, photograph

bogore* Island

bore* Wave

champi* Narrow ridgeline (e.g., mountain ranges, walls, strips of plant matter left along the edges of a garden clearing)

chanchabagebage Rainbow

chobiga Wind

chonkiina* High mound

gitoja* Source of river, in extreme headwaters.

impaneki Sand with small rocks in it (cf. *shipetapaneri*).

imparage Rocky beach (cf. *tarabija*)

imperitatantana Rocky cliff

impokirojite Stars, referring to the small, faint, nearly imperceptible ones.

inkachoane Salt

inkachopanepane Salt, perspectival term used in the speech Deer.

inkani Rain

inkite Sky

ja* Fluid, water, river (n.b., not drinking water)

jato* Fluid, sap

jenka* Essence (e.g., voice, sound, odor, color, gas, gunpowder)

kachopokiri Ash on ground (cf. *poki*, *samampoki*, *samampopane*)

kajagari Bathing spot

kami Rotten leaves placed on rock weir as part of damming a river.

kanabaja Drinking water

katsirinkaiteri Sun

kenashibirori Stone, rock

kenashibiroriponkaki ~ **kenashibiroriporoki** Rocky beach

kenabokiro* Path

kentibaro Sun (var. *katsirinkaiteri*)

kentijani Big river, ocean

kepatsi Ground, dirt, territory, Earth

mararo Cloud

mirepiri Whetstone, used for sharpening objects.

- moro*** Hole, cave
- motija*** Still water, calm place in river; belly of unswollen size (cf. *tsomoironaki*).
- nigankiteji** Garden
- nija** Water
- nijateni** Stream, referring to lesser bodies of water that drain into principal rivers.
- oja*** Sap (n.b., apparent reflex of older **koja*, as in Matsi. *ogoa*, with loss of /g/ and resulting long vowel in possessed form; cf. *ja*)
- osari*** Dry season
- paamari** Fire, firewood
- paamariboga** Smoke that forms low to the ground among cooking logs
- paamarikaraki** Fire log, firewood placed in configuration for a cooking fire.
- pampa*** Flat expanse
- pane*** Dust, flour
- poki*** Ash, area near cooking fire where one sits
- samampoki** Ash, referring to the localized accumulation of it (cf. *poki*, *kachopokiri*, *samampopane*).
- samampopane** Ash, referring to the white ash that forms along the upper rim formed by radiating fire logs (cf. *pane*, *poki*, *kachopokiri*, *samampoki*).
- samenkito** Extinguished embers (cf. *menki*)
- samoshi*** Rat nest, said at least of (Caq.) *shoimonki* rats, constructed in cushmas, baskets, rolled up mats, etc.
- sampobatsa** Watery mud (cf. *chomis*)
- samponaja*** Still water apart from the river (e.g., puddle, pond, inlets from river).
- santeni*** Pool of water on beaches that forms as river drops.
- sebarotaki*** Shell
- shigompiri** Star, referring to relatively discernible stars in the sky (cf. *impokirojite*).
- shipetapaneri** Fine sand (cf. *impaneki*)
- tai** Moon, month
- tampishijari** Current
- tantana*** Cliff, as viewed from the base upwards (cf. *tenkana*).
- tapi*** Descent, an incline viewed from the top downwards.
- tarabija*** Sandy beach
- tarankari** Current surge (i.e., a swollen river, as opposed to *tampishijari*)
- tase*** Hunger (cf. *tijiki*)
- tejajaro*** Wet season
- tenkana*** Cliff, as viewed from top downwards (cf. *tantana*).
- tijiki*** Hunger for meat (cf. *tase*).
- tomirishi** Forest
- tonkoagari*** Steep incline (cf. *aatsonkiri*)
- tsapija*** Shore
- tsempi*** Mountain
- tsimi** Watering hole

tsobiajari Lake

tsonkamarogiteri Fog

tsonkina* Barren mountaintop

tsontantomperita Stone that pulverizes when crushed (n.b., also said of charcoal in painting).

yapi* Headwaters

C.1.5.1 Toponyms

Agamaironi Mythical place where the souls of the dead go, many with painted faces.

Arina Yarinacocha, a city outside of Pucallpa where the base of SIL International was.

Kachatyakiribeari Massive boulder near the community of Taini that diverts a branch of the Ageni River; used by Spider Monkey to dam the river for fishing his favorite fish *pochatyakiri* (cf. *kachatyakiri*).

Kamamenijari Mythical place where the souls of the dead go.

Kamorekari Mythical Hell-like place

Kitepampani Caquinte community at the confluence of the Ageni and Yori rivers.

Ompikirini Gorge-like formation at the entrance of Otsitiriko that transforms those who attempt to leave into birds.

Otsitiriko Mythical place where the souls of the dead reside, located at the downrivermost point of the river; there kin relations are scrambled, people referring to kin with different terms than used when they were alive.

Taini Caquinte community on the upper Ageni.

Tonkitsiporoki Place slightly downriver of Kitepampani where many years ago a surging current washed away many bones from a cemetery.

Tsonkamonki Mythical quicksand-like lake near the home of Vampire Bat, who uses it as an excuse for the deaths of his wives, whose blood he is secretly consuming.

Tsonkatagaroni Mythical Hell-like place, a perspectival term used by demonic entities (cf. *Kamorekari*).

Tsoroja Caquinte community in the upper Pogeni basin; name due to a nearby mountain with the same name.

C.1.5.2 Hydronyms

Ageagejari Mythical river from which demon *shiincharinchari* fetches water.

Ageni One of two rivers running alongside Kitepampani, joining there with the Yori and continuing on with the name Ageni; name said to be due to *ageniro*.

Agenijari Stream entering the Yori.

Anajato Stream (cf. *ana*)

Apitonkajari Stream entering the Tireni.

Atsiri Stream entering the Ageni.

Atsoro Stream entering the Ageni.

Bakajato Stream entering the Yori; name due to former cattle husbandry in the vicinity.

Bitirikaya Huitiricaya River, left-bank tributary of the Urubamba.

- Jagityajato** Stream (cf. *jagitya*)
- Kabosarentsijato** Stream entering the Pogeni (cf. *kabosa*).
- Kapatsakigijari** Mythical river of rocks and mud.
- Kityaparonkateni** Stream entering the Pogeni.
- Kobenijari** Stream
- Kobirichaigirini** Mythical river in Kamamenijari where the souls of the dead reside.
- Mainko** Stream entering the Ageni.
- Maonajari** Stream
- Mapikijari** Stream entering Yori.
- Meshigarintija** Mythical river that transforms those who fly near it.
- Pogeni** Principal river basin in northwest of Caquinte territory, right-bank tributary of the Tambo.
- Sankatijari** Stream
- Sariteto** Stream entering the Ageni.
- Shampabireni** River, right-bank tributary of the Yori.
- Shiishigochajari** Stream entering the Yori; named for dog barks heard here long ago.
- Shimateni** Stream
- Shinotijari** Stream
- Shintsa** Sensa River, left-bank tributary of the Urubamba.
- Shirantajari** Stream entering the Yori; name due to large cliff, and many flat, soft stones under the water (cf. *shira*, *tanta*).
- Shireni** River, right-bank tributary of the Pogeni.
- Shonkirijato** Stream entering the Pogeni (cf. *shonkiri*).
- Sokotajari** Stream entering the Shireni.
- Tipeshijari** Stream
- Tireni** River, tributary of the Shampabireni; ascending this river one crosses the hills separating Caquinte villages in the Region of Cusco and those in Junín.
- Tishiro** Stream in the upper Pogeni basin.
- Tsebirojato** Stream entering the Ageni.
- Tsimijari** Stream entering the Yori (cf. *tsimi*).
- Tsiregirojato** Stream entering the Yori (cf. *tsiregiro*).
- Tsogeni** River that joins with the Ageni downriver of Kitepampani to form the Mipaya.
- Yanari** Stream entering the Ageni.
- Yabirichano** Stream entering the Yori.
- Yari** Stream entering the Ageni.
- Yori** One of two rivers running alongside Kitepampani, joining there with the Ageni and continuing on with the name Ageni.

C.1.5.3 Oronyms

- Ajabinteni** Mountain in upper Pogeni basin, where Taatakini piled the shotguns of Ashaninkas after defeating them in a conflict.

Amparentsini Mountain in upper Pogeni basin, where Taatakini piled the bones of Ashaninkas after defeating them in a conflict (cf. *ampare*).

Kichagarentsini Mountain in upper Pogeni basin.

Kosankeretoni Mountain in upper Pogeni basin.

Mararonkaneni Mountain in upper Pogeni basin (cf. *mararo*).

Shitekitsini Cliff named for the matted hair of the mythical people that previously lived; the Pogeni ran through a cave under a mountain that was later blown away (cf. *shiteki*).

Tinkanashi Mountain in upper Pogeni basin.

C.1.6 Body Parts of Humans & Animals

anatare* Placenta

(a)negi* Point of maximal impulse (i.e., point to the left of the bottom of the chest where heart can be felt to palpitate especially strongly; cf. *tsinkane*)

bagante* Mouth

baja* Horn

bako* Hand

banka* Forehead

benchakiji* Leg, said only of certain birds like guans and currasows.

boto* Snot

chagito* Decapitated head (e.g., of fish heads, general to any animal)

chanchakiji* Leg, said only of the incredibly thin legs of some birds (e.g., *mocharanti*), or of humans in jest.

chanchanaji* Tooth, tusk

chanchabaato* Fibula

chanta* Lip of humans (cf. *shintyaki* & *tsintona*)

chapaki* Finger

chobirikishi* Tailbone

chogempiki* Ear

choketa* Armpit

chomeki* Lower back of bird (e.g., the region of currasows that protrudes and from which the most extreme feathers extend; fire fans are made from these feathers).

chonagiti* Heel

chonchoina* Tonsure, hairless top of head (cf. *ankibotyai*)

choripatsa* Calf

gabire* Wrist

gamaaro* Penis, a term to avoid *kajoitatsiro*.

gata* Small of back

gatsareki* Testicle

gemaaki* Testicle

ginapatsa* Brain

gira* Chin

giti* Footprint
gonaki* Elbow
gonkoina* Adam's apple
gonkorinaki* Neck
gorintenaki* Expanded hyoid bone of howler monkey, the bulge that forms when it calls (cf. *pompoina, seno*).
gotsa* Rear of knee
jaki* Tear
jempeki* Arm, branch
jite* Body of small insects (e.g., ants, termites; n.b., not cockroaches)
kajoitatsiro* Penis
kamachonkajare* Blood
kamachonkajarepana* Liver
kisaakijare* Iris
kitamarokijare* White of eye
koja* Tail (e.g., of monkeys; n.b., not said of dogs' tails)
kompina* Tail (e.g., of monkeys, dogs, jaguars)
konta* Underside of foot, referring to the entirety of the region from the ball to the heel.
kontyaniki* Small foot, said of the abnormally small feet of babies (cf. *konta*).
mae* Hair, further, feather
maepiti* Fur
mampo* Plumage, referring to that of birds from the chest down to the bottom of the body.
manki* Roe, released external egg mass of fish.
mantaki* Body of louse (cf. *jite*)
mantsa* Spiderweb, Western-style fishing net (cf. *kitsarijare*)
mentetsano* Neck
mentyariina* Beak, slightly elongated and curved (e.g., of currasows or nunbirds).
mereki* Rib
meshina* Skin, said of humans and animals with similarly soft skin.
metareki* Kneecap
meteoki* Eyelid
mititsa* Spine
mogimeshina* Abdomen, soft region between lower half of rib cage (cf. *meshina*).
mogocha* Fat rolls (i.e., of overweight individuals at the gut)
moito* Navel, bellybutton
moitotsa* Umbilical cord
naki* Snail shell
nara* Upper arm
naroki* Midsection, entirety of region from belly around sides through to the back.
noma* Jaw
oamagore* Uterus

- paje*** Partially gray hair, the beginnings of gray or white hair as it appears scattered through earlier hair coloring (n.b., not said of head of fully gray or white hair).
- paki*** Body of fish
- panki*** Feather (n.b., not wing feathers or main plumage along chest; *shibanki*, *mampo*)
- patse*** Skin discoloration, described as white-ish “stains” on the skin and believed to be the result of eating caiman with spider monkey.
- pishajoato** Semen organ, referencing a traditional belief that semen is stored in the lower back, said to be the cause (when overly full) of lower back pain in men.
- pompoina*** Knee joint (e.g., tinamou), fatty knee (e.g., human); bulge, goiter, welt.
- ponki*** Trace (e.g., footprint, imprint where one has sat)
- ponkiti*** Foot, said of the inflexible feet of certain birds, tapirs, jaguars, etc. (n.b., chickens are like humans in having a flexible foot); stump.
- pontso*** Snout, blunt (e.g., bears).
- pontsoki*** Snout, elongated (e.g., dogs, agoutis, pacas).
- pori*** Thigh
- reji*** Fat, lard
- sabata*** Shoulder blade
- sabona*** Body of bird
- samentetonki*** Collar bone
- satana*** Long ear (e.g., rabbit)
- sebanka*** Vulva
- seito*** Intestine
- sempa*** Side cut of meat, said of some birds and game, removing the shoulder (with wing if relevant), down along the rib cage it is fleshy.
- shabata*** Gland of fish
- shamaki*** Peccary scent gland
- shampite*** Nose
- shankatare*** Lung
- shatarogina*** Skull
- shatyaki*** Fingernail, claw
- sheshereki*** Throat, gill of fish
- shibanki*** Wing
- shibankipanki*** Wing feather
- shibonkiti*** Foot
- shibonkitichapaki*** Toe
- shigiti*** Nape of human neck
- shikenkena*** Dorsal fin
- shimatanegi*** Chest of human
- shimore*** Saliva
- shimotyonkareki*** Blister
- shimperemaoki*** Eyelash
- shimpororopio*** Fluff of feathers, referring to groupings of them.

shinkanare* Gall bladder
shinkiregishi* Crown of head
shintyaki* Lip of game animals (e.g., tapir, collared peccary)
shipaki* Underside of foot, not specific to the ball or heel.
shipari* Foot of bird
shipatona* Antenna (e.g., of cockroaches)
shipentaki* Scale of fish
shironte* Shoulder
shiropeta* Breast
shitsa* Vein
shokoito* Head
shokoitometyai* Head, with diminutive affect, a term that occurs in some children's stories.
shonkirigito* Knee
shorita* Buttocks
sobena* Face, large fruit
soi* Pus
soiroki* Eye of fish, referring to its inside.
sonteki* Eye
sotai* Cheek
sotomorochanchanaji* Front tooth
taki* Back
tantamaoki* Eyebrow
tantanapako* Palm of hand
tapari* Nape of animal neck, referring to the hard, fleshy napes of those such as tapirs and collared peccaries.
tenkishi* Tail fin (i.e., the "vertical" one of fish; cf. *jebaro*)
teshi* Flesh (i.e., of one's own body), meat (i.e., of game animals)
tiamoro* Anus
tiatsato* Anus of snail
tonki* Bone, spine of fish, match
toshoki* Ankle
tsaki* Waistline
tseji* Point, bone of fish, thorn, stinger
tsenekitonki* Iliac crest (i.e., each of the two bones that protrude at the base of the back on either side of the spine)
tsera* Gum
tsibinaki* Beak, medium-length, thin, slightly curved (e.g., of hummingbirds).
tsiko* Beak, short, tightly curved, claw-like (e.g., of parrots).
tsikoto* Stomach
tsini* Urine
tsinimatore* Bladder
tsinkane* Heart

tsino* Body
tsintona* Lip of fish
tsirimpigiti* Fleshless calf (i.e., in individuals with “chicken legs”)
tsitikoja* Base of tails referred to as *koja*, where it connects to body.
tsitinarajempeki* Rotator cuff
tsitipankaji* Molar (i.e., flat teeth at rear of mouth)
tsobaroki* Face of spider monkey
tsobi* Beak (e.g., of oropendola or hummingbird)
tsogempiina* Side of head, from the forehead around to the back.
tsogena* Beak, long (e.g., of Lineated woodpecker); chainsaw blade, scythe.
tsomi* Nipple
tsomija* Breast milk
tsomoironaki* Gut of swollen size
tsonene* Tongue
tyabaato* Tibia
tyaraiki* Scrotum
tyaribe* Semen (cf. *ikotse*)

C.1.7 Flora

C.1.7.1 Plant Parts

bená* Frond, recently sprouted.
bentaki* Seed, said only certain plants such as cucumbers, calabashes, watermelons
chaajempeki* Small cutting (e.g., of manioc)
chobitseji* Thorn on tree
chonkiregishi* Treetop
chotentega* Flower
gati* Cutting (e.g., of manioc)
goroja* Stalk, flexible (e.g., of sugarcane; cf. *pi*)
inchatomashi Canopy
inchatonki Small stick
kana* Plantain bunches (Sp. *racimo*), multiple bunches stacked together on the stalk.
kiji* Stick
menta* Buttress root
poa* Trunk
ponkiti* Stump
keshi* Shoot
kiji* Stick
mato* Oropendola nest, euphemism for scrotum (n.b., spherical oropendola nests hang via a long extension from tree branches)
menta* Buttress root, chest of bird

- miinka*** Barren trunk, tree devoid of branches and leaves.
monki* Bunch of palm fruit strands (cf. *tsaga*)
nato* Base of branches, referring to the point along non-palm trees from which branches fan out.
pana* Frond
pari* Root
piro* Unripe ear of corn, before kernels have formed (cf. *patak*).
poa* Trunk
sagoma* Bark, said of trees and also the skin of manioc; also refers to the hard shells of animals (e.g., snails, armadillos; cf. *naki*).
seno* Immature palm bud (e.g., of *kamona*, *tiroti*, *tsorena* palms) from which heart is extracted; also refers to hyoid bone of howler monkeys (cf. *senonti*).
shi* Leaf
shimpo* Leaves, referring to the sum of the leaves on a tree; beard.
tagana* Base of fronds, referring to point along palms where all the fronds come together.
tanta* Bunch of plantains, referring to the smaller unit of a hand with fingers (cf. *kana*).
tsa* Cord, liana
tsaga* Strand of palm fruit
tsagina* Body of snail, referring to the portion that is permanently inside the body.
tsapaki* Recently sprouted growth (e.g., plantains, coconuts), not fully developed in shape (Sp. *flaquito*; cf. *antiyareki*, *gan*).
tsego* Branch
tsoba* Stump, prow (of canoe)
tsogina* Palm heart, sugar cane core
yaki* Bamboo fruit

C.1.7.2 Trees

- aenishi** Tree sp.
ana Genipapo var.
chochobaroki Tree sp. (Sp. *huairuro*, = Matsi. *chobaroki*)
chogenti Tree sp.
chogiba ~ **chogiro** Tree sp., traditionally used to roof houses.
chorina Palm sp.
chorintiki Tree sp.
inchato Tree, hypernymic term
inchatomaeki Tree, said of short ones (e.g., 10-15 feet).
inchobiki Tree sp.
intsipa *Inga* sp. (Sp. *guava*)
jooto Tree sp. (*Poulsenia armata*, Sp. *llanchama*), used to make clothing before Caquinte women learned to weave from Ashaninkas.
kamona Palm sp.
kamotsonto Palm sp.



Figure C.1: Caquite *aenishi*

kampana Tree sp. resembling (Caq.) *kamotsonto*.

kanaji Tree sp.

katisamare* Standing dead tree (syn. *saminkaro*; cf. *sama*, *samakara*)

kenajiki Tree sp.

kepage Hard dead tree

kepija Tree sp.

kepito Palm sp. traditionally used for thatching roofs.

ketsiro Tree sp.

kiri Peach palm (*Bactris gasipaes*)

kishori Tree sp. (cf. *kisho*)

kitemotikiri Tree sp.

kokashi Tree sp. with slick bark resembling highland coca that grows on cliffsides; sexually active adults are required to diet before attempting to climb it.

komagi Tree sp.

komaro Tree sp. (= Matsi. *komaro*)

kompiki Tree sp.



Figure C.2: Caquinte *ana* 'genipapo'

kompiro Palm sp.

korinto Tree sp. with yellow flowers similar to (Caq.) *shimashiri* but with a different shape.

koshampati Tree sp.

manitiki Tree sp.

mankinto Tree sp.

mantsimitoki Tree sp. used as hair dye and medicine against flesh wounds.

matsibairiki Tree sp. (syn. *sheñontiki*)

meretopae Tree sp. (cf. *mereto*)

meronki Tree sp. producing larger of two (Sp.) *chimicua*-like fruits (cf. *pamaki*).

meshiapoa Tree sp.

metaki Palm sp.

metsoiki Tree sp. with edible fruit

onkona Tree sp.

oshatyaki Tree sp. (cf. *oshatya*)



Figure C.3: Caquinte *inchobiki*

pamaki Tree sp. producing smaller of two (Sp.) *chimicua* fruits (= Matsi. *pochariki*, not *pamaki*; cf. *meronki*).

panataroki Palm sp. (= Matsi. *manataroki* ‘shicashica’)

patsetsipini Tree sp. (cf. *patse*).

pijonkapoari Tree sp. used in the construction of rafts (Sp. *topa*); can refer to manufactured raft (cf. *pijonka*, *pijonkamenkori*, *pijonkapoarimenko*).

pijoro Tree sp.

poaroki Tree sp. (syn. *shinteniriki*)

potogo Tree sp.

samakara Rotten tree, described as “soft,” perhaps canonically on the ground (cf. *makara*).

saminkaro Standing dead tree (n.b., not rotten; syn. *katisamare*; cf. *samakara*)

sampiki Tree sp.

saniriki Tree sp.

santari Tree sp.



Figure C.4: Caquinte *kiri* 'peach palm'

saori Tree sp.

sebantoki Tree sp.

seiriki Tree sp.

shega Palm sp. (Sp. *ungurahui*)

sheñontiki Tree sp. (syn. *matsibairiki*)

shianke Palm sp.

shibajempepa Tree sp.

shibabaro *Inga* sp. (Sp. *guava*)

shibitsamashi Tree, a general term referring to any usable for cords.

shigopiro Tree sp.

shimashiri Tree sp. with yellow flowers similar to (Caq.) *korinto* but with a different shape; when it blooms in April and May, one knows that game will be meaty.

shimita Tree sp., home of the demon *shiincharinchari*.

shina Tree sp. (Sp. *huimba*)

shinkaigioki Coffee

shinkonaki Tree sp.

shinteniriki Tree sp. (syn. *poaroki*)

soatiki Tree sp.



Figure C.5: Caquinte *komaro*

tagaro Palm sp.

tajiri Tree sp.

tamaro Tree sp. used in fabrication of bow strings, when pounded, dried, and spun on the leg.

tapetsa Tree sp. (*Heteropsis flexuosa*, Sp. *tamshi*)

tinkana Palm sp. similar to (Sp.) *ungurahui*.

tiroti Palm sp.

toniroki Tree sp.

tonompiropa *Inga* sp. (Sp. *guava*)

tsarantsama Tree sp.

tsarintsaripa *Inga* sp. (Sp. *guava*)

tsebantoki Tree sp.

tseinto Tree sp.

tsentero Palm sp.

tsimiriki Tree sp.



Figure C.6: Yellow-flowering Caquinte *korinto*

tsina Palm sp.

tsinkaro Tree sp.

tsintaki Tree sp.

tsirapata Tree sp.

tsirashi Tree sp.

tsirekiro *Chrysophyllum* sp. (Sp. *caimito*)

tsirentsi Palm sp.

tsiririntiki Tree sp.

tsityonkiki Genipapo var., found in forest, producing darker black stain than (Caq.) *ana*.

tsomisanto *Ficus* sp. (Sp. *tipo de ojé*)

tsomorokintishi Tree sp. (cf. *tsomorokinti*)

yogenti Tree sp.

C.1.7.3 Plants

aintochapaki manioc

ananta Plant sp.

anatarentsipini (cf. *anatare*)



Figure C.7: Caquinte *matsibairiki* (aka *sheñontiki*)

bararipetaishi (cf. *barari*)

binishi Plant sp.

biriorioishi Plant sp.

chakoronashi Plant growing in headwaters, mixed by shamans as part of ayahuasca brew.

chanchanajikipini (cf. *chanchanaji*)

chanontoriki Fruit sp. (cf. *chanontori*)

cherepitoki Fruit sp. (cf. *cherepito*)

chobankiriki Plant sp.

chochoki Plant sp.

chomoiki Plant sp. with sweet seeds that are sucked on.

chonkiribantiki Plant sp.

chopeki Plantain

chotarontsi Gourd sp.

echaki Fruit sp.

etsiki Fruit sp.

etsiria(pini) Fruit sp.

igatsirinkakanarite Pepper sp., elongated and curved.

imere Plant sp.



Figure C.8: Caquinte *meretopae*

inkomerikana Pepper

ishitiroshi Plant sp.

janiatsari Plant sp.

jayapa Angel's trumpet (*Brugmansia suaveolens*, Sp. *toé*)

jenkashiro Plant sp.

jigearitsa Ayahuasca, perpssectival term used by demon *asheshereki* (Sp. *chullachaqui*), results in demonic visions (e.g., of snakes).

jigentiri Plant sp. resembling (Sp.) *bijao*.

jirina Plant sp.

jorobashi Plant sp. mixed by shamans with ayahuasca; grows in headwaters.

kaborishi Plant sp. (cf. *kabori*)

kachopitoki Plant sp.

kachoronto Plant sp.

kajebi Mushroom sp.



Figure C.9: Caquinte *seiriki*

kajenipanaro Plant sp.

kajenirotsa Liana sp.

kajentoshi Plant sp.

kamaarinishi Plant sp. (cf. *kamaarini*)

kamarataganaro Coconut sp.

kamashirerishi Plant sp.

karenishiro Plant sp.

kasankapanari Plant sp.

kashiompikiri Pepper sp., small, considered a food of Spanish speakers.

kataroshi Weeds

keeta Nut sp.

kemarijite Plant sp.

kemi Squash sp. (*Cucurbita* sp.)

kemponta Mushroom sp.



Figure C.10: Caquinte *shigopiro*

kemporeki Fruit sp. resembling (Sp.) *guayaba* (Eng. *guava*), found in forest.

kenajarontsishi Plant sp. (cf. *kenajaro*)

kenapa Plant sp.

kepushikiriki Peanut

kepushikirikiro Plant sp.

kirajashiri Plant sp.

kisaashiri Plant sp.

kobanti Plant sp.

komaba Plantain sp., red-colored.

komashi Guava sp. (i.e., Sp. *guayaba*)

komashiniroki Plant sp.

koompia Plantain sp., red-colored.

koretonaro Plant sp.

koritimarotsa Plant sp. with pink flower.

kotsibatishiki Plant sp.

maai Avocado

machaki Bean sp.

machomirikishi Plant sp.



Figure C.11: Caquinte *shinkaigioki* 'coffee'

maetspini Plant sp. (cf. *mae*)

magoshi Plant sp.

majati Plant sp.

makato Taro sp., green-colored.

mampe Cotton

mampopari Guava sp. (i.e., *Sp. guayaba*) with thorns.

manairokiti Plant sp. resembling (*Sp.*) *cocona*, with yellow fruit.

manirosontoki Plant sp.

maona Wild potato

mapocha Papaya

mariki Plant sp.

matsatonkiroshi Plant sp.

mooka Liana sp. used to induce vomiting in women emerging from their menarche seclusion.

ompikiribanashi Plant sp. growing in headwaters, mixed by shamans with ayahuasca brew.

onero Gourd sp., shaped like bottle and used for drinking (*Lagenaria* sp.).

opempeshi Plant sp. (cf. *opempe*)

pajo Gourd sp., spherical, used for drinking or storing small items (*Crescentia* sp.); a rotting gourd no longer useful as a vessel is *pajosetaki* (cf. *chaanarosetaki*).



Figure C.12: Caquinte *shinteniriki* (aka *poaroki*)

pamakabirishi Plant sp. (cf. *pamakabiri*)

petairikishi Plant sp.

pimpomirikishi Plant sp.

pitiri Plant sp.

pocharoki Plant sp. with white-colored, edible fruit resembling carrot in shape.

pogontoshityareki Mushroom sp.

poiro Plant sp.

poniriori Sweet potato sp., smaller than *poniroori*.

poniroori Sweet potato sp., larger than *poniriori*.

poñashi Plant sp. (cf. *poña*)

poronketo Nettles

poshiro Wild plantain (Sp. *guineo*)

poshontyoshi Plant sp. (cf. *poshontyo*)

potsoti Annatto sp.



Figure C.13: Caquinte *soatiki*

- potsotimero** Annatto sp., yellow, found in forest.
- saboro** Wild cane
- sagonto** Plant sp.
- samerento** Plant sp.
- sampantoshi** Rotten leaves
- samponkagogine** ~ **samponkagogini** Barbasco root
- sanishi** Plant sp.
- sankabishi** Plant sp.
- sankenakojaribenki** Wild sedge
- sanko** Sugarcane
- santeri** Watermelon
- santomaritsa** Ayahuasca
- sarigemitoki** Cacao
- shapempero** Plant sp.



Figure C.14: Caquinte *tsebantoki*

- sharioki** Plant sp. (possibly Matsi. *sarioki*)
- sheri** Tobacco
- shiampaiki** Maize
- shimanteki** *Passiflora* sp.
- shimpena** Plant sp.
- shiñankairoki** Plant sp.
- shintishi** Plant sp.
- shipetashiri** Plant sp.
- shirimogitoshi** Plant sp.
- shoiriki** Taro sp. (Sp. *daledale*) resembling (Caq.) *tsipana*.
- shompoityobotsote** Annatto sp., red, cultivated.
- shotyogi** Plant sp. resembling (Caq.) *kenapa* with edible fruit.
- sogaroki** Rice
- sonkarishi** Plant sp. (cf. *sonkari*)
- sorompijebi** Mushroom sp.
- tajami** Moss sp., grows on cliffs.
- tentereitoki** Plant sp.
- tibana** Pineapple



Figure C.15: Caquite *tsirekiro*

- tjiroki** Plant sp.
- toompore** Plant sp.
- tsanaro** Plant sp.
- tsantashiro** Plant sp.
- tsegiro** Plant sp.
- tsibokiroshi** Plant sp. (cf. *tsibokiro*)
- tsipana** Plant sp. (Sp. *bijao*)
- tsiregiro** Plant sp.
- tsirompishi** Plant sp. (cf. *tsirompi*)
- tsitakishi** Plant sp.
- tsitoiki** Bean sp.
- tsogepiro** Bamboo
- tsorena** Fruit sp. resembling coconuts, found in mountainous regions.
- tsoronketo** Liana sp.
- tyabira** Plant sp.
- tyontiikipari** Plant sp. (cf. *tyontiiki*)
- tyorintiki** Plant sp.



Figure C.16: Caquinte *tsiririntiki*

C.1.8 Fauna

C.1.8.1 Mammals

ajitsi Jaguar (*Panthera onca*)

amesha Common woolly monkey (*Lagothrix lagothricha*)

baabaikonta Andean spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus*)

barari Neotropical otter (*Lontra longicaudis*)

binkinki Giant otter (*Pteronura brasiliensis*)

chaonarijite Cat sp., semi-mythical, white-haired, lives in headwaters (cf. *mañarijite*, *periperiti*).

chatasaro Rat sp., arboreal.

chimpimpioi Common squirrel monkey var. (*Saimiri sciureus*; cf. *kityajemperi*)

chonchokoronti Deer, hypnerymic term.

ibirintsaki Small cat sp. (probably ocelot)



Figure C.17: Caquinte *ananta*

igorobicha Deer sp. with color of puma.

imoroiroki Collared peccary (*Pecari tajacu*)

joajoati White-fronted capuchin (*Cebus albifrons*)

kaatashamaito Rat sp., riverine.

kababaantoni Yellow-crowned brush-tailed rat (*Isothrix bistrata*, = *Matsi. tarato*, Sp. *conocono*)

kababaantoshitsaki The form of *kababaantoni* when he has been permanently transformed into this animal state (from his human one).

kachatyakiri White-bellied spider monkey (*Ateles belzebuth*); name said to be a pun on *pochatyakiri*, a mythical species of “sweet” fish that was his favorite when he was human.

kagabari Brazilian tapir var. (*Tapirus terrestris*) with large hooves (apparent synonym of *shibarankari*).

kajarashitsakiri Opossum sp.

kapironkari Cow

kasekari Feline spp., a hypernym for small and large cats.

katori Lowland paca var. (*Agouti paca*), larger, lives in headwaters (cf. *osaiteberi*).

kentiberi Armadillo sp., large.

kiantyaonkani Giant armadillo (*Priodontes maximus*)



Figure C.18: Caquinte *chobankiriki*

- kichaeni** Monkey sp., nocturnal, with call *chen chen chen*.
kiiki Pig
kiima Rabbit
kiritsapaki Opossum sp. (possibly White-eared opossum)
kishipeñaki Southern naked-tailed armadillo (*Cabassous unicinctus*)
kitabaireri Horse
kitsaani Dusky titi (*Callicebus moloch*)
kityajemperi Common squirrel monkey var. (*Saimiri sciureus*; cf. *chimpimpioi*)
kobenitsiri Raccoon sp.
kobiroti Brown capuchin (*Cebus apella*)
mampeito Bat sp., white-bellied.
mampetsa Agouti sp. (*Dasyprocta* sp.) in its infant stage
marampito Black-headed night monkey (*Aotus nigriceps*)
mintsiro Red howler monkey (*Alouatta seniculus*)
moocho South American coati (*Nasua nasua*)
oisoni Squirrel sp. (= Matsi. *megiri*)
ontyorintyori Giant anteater (*Myrmecophaga tridactyla*)
ooji Sloth



Figure C.19: Caquinte *samponkagogine* 'barbasco'

osaiteberi Lowland paca var. (*Agouti paca*), smaller, found at lower elevations.

osonono Squirrel sp. (possibly Red-tailed squirrel; n.b., not white-bellied; cf. *pisonono*)

peesori Dolphin

periperiti Cat sp., body fully white, lives in mountains; name based on vocalization and ideophone denoting his bite *perik*; also refers to a butterfly or moth species (cf. *pochantaro*).

pinajaniki Armadillo sp., small.

pinatsoiroki Nine-banded long-nosed armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*)

pinchinchi Vampire bat

piopio Agouti sp. (*Dasyprocta* sp.), smaller than (Caq.) *pontsopontso*.

pisonono Squirrel sp. (possibly Junin red squirrel; cf. *osonono*)

pochantaro Puma (n.b., color described with *kiraja* and *potsona*; another variant is black); also refers to a butterfly species (cf. *periperiti*).

pontsopontso Agouti sp. (*Dasyprocta* sp.); name based on snout (cf. *pontsoki*).

poorontonari Capybara (*Hydrochaeris hydrochaeris*)

potsonari Puma (*Puma concolor*; cf. *potsona*, *pochantaro*)
potsonatatsika Deer sp. (lit. ‘that which is orange’)
santabiri White-lipped peccary (*Tayassu pecari*)
senonti Red howler monkey (*Alouatta seniculus*), epithet referencing the hyoid bone (cf. *seno*).
shaatyona Green agouchi (*Myoprocta pratti*)
shapankari Tayra (*Eira barbara*)
shibarankari Brazilian tapir var. (*Tapirus terrestris*) with large hooves (apparent syn. *kagabari*).
shiishi Dog
shintsiri Brazilian tapir var. (*Tapirus terrestris*)
shirishiritatsika Armadillo, an epithet referencing its zigzag-like locomotion.
shoimonki Rat sp., terrestrial (= Matsi. *sagari*).
tampishinari Brazilian tapir var. (*Tapirus terrestris*)
tokari Goeldi’s monkey (*Callimico goeldii*)
tsieri Common squirrel monkey var. (*Saimiri sciureus*)
tsimpiro Emperor tamarin (*Saguinus imperator*)
tyoantyoani Southern tamandua (*Tamandua tetradactyla*)
yajina Mammal sp.

C.1.8.2 Birds

aabintoni Horned screamer (*Anhima cornuta*, Sp. *camungo*)
abesontoroshi Bird sp. (possibly Lesser rhea)
akaparanti Rufescent tiger-heron (*Tigrisoma lineatum*)
amempori Bird sp. (possibly Andean condor)
aonti Bird sp. (possibly Purple-throated fruitcrows)
arampati Duck sp.
aroni Great Potoo (*Nyctibius grandis*)
ashatya Macaw sp. (possible syn. of *oshatya*, possibly Blue and yellow macaw)
bitsanti Wren sp. (= Matsi. *kovitsari*)
biiririti Bird sp. living headwaters, said to be a bad omen belonging to the demon *asheshereki*
biribiriti Bird sp. (possibly Scissor-tailed night jar)
chaapa Chicken
chaenti Toucanet sp. (possibly Emerald toucanet)
chainchaini Toucan sp., onomatopoeic on call (= Matsi. *pishiti*).
chanchari Bird sp. (possibly Black-tailed antbird)
chanchati Bird sp. (possibly Undulated antshrike)
cherepito Kingfisher sp.
cherincheri Parrot sp., eats corn.
chibiñari Black-crowned night-heron (*Nycticorax nycticorax*, = Matsi. *tsivini*)
chobigaigirikiti Bird sp. (possibly Rusty-backed antwren, = Matsi. *mapiti*)
choromatata Bird sp. (possibly Black-crested tit tyrant)
chotepi Bird sp., onomatopoeic on call (possibly Andean tit-spinetail).

- eetsoni** Bird sp. (= Matsi. *etsoni*)
- emoreni** Pigeon sp. (possibly Spot-winged pigeon)
- gantsa** Duck sp. (possibly Comb duck)
- jagari** Trogon sp. (fam. *Trogonidae*, = Matsi. *kompero*)
- jagitya** Spix's guan (*Penelope jacquacu*, = Matsi. *sankati*, Sp. *pucacunga*)
- jeento** Ground dove sp.
- jemparoba** Dove sp. (possibly Matsi. *emori*)
- jiriti** Motmot sp., green with brown, with a long beak (fam. *Momotidae*).
- joatsere** Agami heron (*Agamia agami*)
- kamamporonkachokiri** Parrot sp.
- kamiyoari** King vulture (*Sarcoramphus papa*)
- kanakana** Bird sp. (Sp. *andarríos*, = Matsi. *chovivinti*)
- kaninapankari** Flycatcher sp. (possibly Boat-billed flycatcher)
- katari** Duck sp.
- kepigari** Duck sp.
- kisaatsarari** Black vulture (*Coragyps atratus*)
- kityonkamampori** Bird sp., red-colored (possibly Matsi. *chokari*).
- koakiti** Falcon sp.
- ko(i)nchanchapi** Bird sp., song *koanchai*.
- komajirori** Bird sp., found in forest, song *tsin tsin tsin*.
- kontsari** Dove sp. (possibly Ecuadorian ground dove)
- koonkarini** Tinamou sp.
- koontsenene** Lineated woodpecker (*Dryocopus lineatus*)
- koshanti** Bird sp., songless, resembling (Caq.) *tsipato*.
- koyokoyo** Blue-throated piping guan (syn. *oichaichai*; *Pipile cumanensis*, = Matsi. *kanari*)
- machamporoni** Bird sp.
- majonti** Bird sp. with song *májojo májojo*.
- manabirontsi** Bird sp., nocturnal (= Matsi. *araro*).
- mapichonchokiti** Bird sp. (possibly Antthrushes)
- mapiti** Bird sp.
- marabinti** Bird sp. found walking and flying along rocks at river.
- masasaro** Bird sp.
- metyobiriki** Bird sp. (possibly Banded antbird)
- mocharanti** *Aramides* sp. (possibly Matsi. *koeri*)
- mogichonchoro** Russet-backed oropendola (*Psarocolius angustifrons*)
- moioni** Bird sp. (possibly Wire-crested thornbill)
- ñoronke** Hummingbird sp.
- nobajee** Woodpecker sp. (possibly Rufous-headed woodpecker)
- oeanti** Macaw sp., red-colored with very large head.
- oeboronti** Tinamou sp. (Sp. *porotohuango*)
- oichaichai** Blue-throated piping guan (syn. *koyokoyo*; *Pipile cumanensis*, = Matsi. *kanari*)
- ojori** Bird sp. living in the mountains with song *ojó ojó ojó*.

- omorinte otsempi** Pale-winged trumpeter, with a song that is said to be confusable with jaguar growls, except for a distinctive final *chen* (*Psophia leucoptera*, = Matsi. *chakami*).
- onone** Dove sp. (possibly Ruddy ground dove)
- opempe** Toucan sp. (possibly White-throated toucan, = Matsi. *yotoni*)
- oshatya** Macaw sp. (possible syn. of *oshatya*, possibly Blue and yellow macaw)
- pamakabiribakitsate** Osprey (*Pandion haliaetus*; cf. *pamakabiri*)
- panaba** Tinamou sp. (= Matsi. *puvanti*)
- pichocho** Crested oropendola (syn. *pooña*; *Psarocolius decumanus*)
- piitsari** Speckled chachalaca (*Ortalis guttata*, = Matsi. *marati*)
- pijenti** Bird sp. (possibly Juvenile gray-headed kite)
- pirintsakirere** Bird sp. (possibly Giant cowbird)
- pishi** Bird sp. (possibly Pale-throated barbthroat)
- pishintyorintyori** Bird sp. with song identical to name.
- pishiti** Toucan sp. (possibly Black-mandibled toucan)
- poiri** Bird sp. (possibly Olivaceous piha or Black-throated brilliant)
- pooña** Crested oropendola (syn. *pichocho*; *Psarocolius decumanus*, = Matsi. *katsari*)
- saakiririnti** Bird sp.
- saako** Bird sp.
- saana** Cooi heron (*Ardea cocoi*)
- saikitsi** Tanager sp. (possibly Palma or Blue-gray tanager)
- samampori** Yellow-crowned parrot (*Amazona ochrocephala*, = Matsi. *eroti*)
- samitori** Owl sp.
- santani** Bird sp.
- shaanti** Tinamou sp.
- shaapio** Curassow sp.
- shabeto** Parakeet sp. (*Pyrrhura* sp.)
- shamegirikiti** Bird sp. (possibly White-collared swift)
- shankenti** Bird sp., walks then flies short distances (= Matsi. *sonkivinti*).
- shantero** Parrot sp. (possibly Blue-headed parrot)
- shetyaonkani** Turkey vulture (*Cathartes aura*)
- shimpoinanti** Andean cock-of-the-rock (*Rupicola peruvianus*, = Matsi. *oe*)
- shirikiankiari** Bird sp. (possibly Blue-black grass quit)
- shiompito** Bird sp. (possibly Gray-headed kite); also refers to skilled hunters.
- shitekitsiroro** Bird sp. (possibly Wood wrens)
- shobajioni** Bird sp. (possibly Lesser nighthawk, = Matsi. *togioti*)
- shobaito** Duck sp. (possibly Black-bellied whistling duck)
- shokoshoko** Vulture sp.
- shomonkiro** Juvenile black vulture (*Coragyps atratus*)
- shonkiri** Tinamou sp., medium-sized
- shorinke** Sunbittern (*Eurypyga helias*, = Matsi. *sorinti*)
- soeonti** Owl sp. with horns.
- sonkibiro** Bird sp. with song *tonkibirororo* (possibly Red-ruffed fruitcrow).

- togionti** Bird sp.
tsantsabeari Egret sp. (Great egret or Snowy egret, = Matsi. *chompari*)
tseenti Hoatzin (*Opisthocomu hoazin*, = Matsi. *sentini*, Sp. *shansho*)
tsianto Violaceous jay (*Cyanocorax violaceus*)
tsiicho Bird sp.
tsikonti Woodpecker sp.
tsimeri Bird, hypernymic term encompassing non-game birds.
tsimpenari Bird sp. (= Matsi. *tsimpe*)
tsinkabinti Bird sp., either bright green, blue, or black, emerges in late afternoons with striking descending song.
tsintsikiti Woodcreeper sp. (possibly Plain-brown woodcreeper)
tsionti Toucan sp.
tsipempe Bird sp. (possibly Great antshrike)
tsiriti Bird sp. (possibly Striped cuckoo)
tsirokabakaba Yellow-rumped cacique (*Cacicus cela*)
tsityompe Flycatcher sp.
tsonkirijaniki Hummingbird sp.
tsonkiroro Hummingbird sp.
tyabikororoti Nunbird sp. (possibly Black-fronted nunbird; = Matsi. *chairo*)
tyobiririkiti Bird sp.
tyoopiki Bird sp. with song *tyopiki* (possibly Tyrannulets).
tyotyaini Bird sp.
yonkero Duck sp.
yonkonkojani Bird sp.

C.1.8.3 Fish

- agonaki** Fish sp. (= Matsi. *kempiti*)
akitsitampoari Fish sp., yellow-colored, larger than similar *barikijatsi*.
barikijatsi Fish sp. (= Matsi. *tsenkori*, Sp. *dentón*)
chomenta Fish sp.
etsikiri Armored catfish sp., small (= Matsi. *etari*, Sp. *carachama*).
igotse Catfish sp.
ishaipaki Fish sp.
jabakiri Minnow sp. (Sp. *mojarrita*)
kachapa Piranha sp.
katijari Fish sp.
katsantsaishitsakiri Fish sp. (= Matsi. *charava*, Sp. *doncella*)
kintero Armored catfish species (Sp. *carachama*) larger than Caq. *etsikiri*, with a sharp point (Sp. *espina*) behind the “ear.”
kipaori Fish sp.
kirompi Fish sp. with long body resembling eel (= Matsi. *kirompi*).

- kisapaganteri** Fish sp.
kishaibatsa Fish sp.
kobana Fish sp.
materi Catfish sp., described as the “color of lead”
mereto Fish sp.
metsopoari Fish sp.
miiro Fish sp., very small (Sp.) *mojarra*, smaller than similar *shintyoi*.
pajenti Fish sp.
pamakabiri Fish, hypernymic term.
panapana Fish sp. (= Matsi. *tseviro*, Asha. *chebiro*)
pochatyakiri Fish sp. in the speech of Spider Monkey, said to have a sweet head (cf. *pocha* ‘be sweet’), his preferred food for which he dammed the Ageni River near the community of Taini, where there is a large boulder named Kachatyakiribeari (cf. *kachatyakiri* ‘spider monkey’); the source of Spider Monkey’s name.
potsiri Fish sp.
sabentaaki Fish sp. (= Matsi. *mamori*, Sp. *sábaló*)
seori Catfish sp. (= Matsi. *omani*)
shaamotyori Fish sp.
shabemereto Fish sp. (= Matsi. *komagiri*, Sp. *paco*)
shimabirokiti Fish sp. (Sp. *sardina*)
shinoti Fish sp.
shintyoi Fish sp., very small (Sp.) *mojarra*, larger than similar *shintyoi*.
shompotsi Fish sp., very small (Sp.) *mojarra*.
takirori Fish sp. resembling (Caq.) *agonaki*.
takonororoti Fish sp.
tasakijinti ~ **tasakijitsi** Fish sp.
toroshokoki Fish sp.
tsantsapakiri Fish sp. (= Matsi. *koviri*)
tsibogo Stingray
tsinketsa Eel
tyomperi Piranha sp., carnivorous of human flesh (cf. *kachapa*).

C.1.8.4 Reptiles

- aitagochari** South American rattlesnake (Sp. *cascabel*, *Crotalus durissus*)
ashatyankeni Green jararaca sp. (Sp. *loro machaco*, *Bothrops bilineatus*; cf. *tsigaronari*, *ashatya*)
kamaarini Snake, hypernymic term.
kempanaro Lizard sp., large with smooth tail (e.g., unlike jagged tails of *shiiki*).
kentirati Caiman sp., large (cf. *kitepoaro*).
kitepoaro Caiman sp., medium-sized (cf. *kentirati*).
konkabioni Annellated coral snake (Sp. *nacanaca*, *Micrurus annellatus*)
mapitsiri Boa sp.

matinkori Lizard sp., green-colored.
sanatari South American bushmaster (Sp. *shushupe*, *Lachesis muta*; = Matsi. *kempironi*)
shankoro Lizard sp., mid-sized, green-colored.
shibitsatsa (Sp.) *afananga* snake (*Clelia clelia*; = Matsi. *shankoti*); cord, liana.
shiiki Lizard sp. with jagged tail.
tabatori Fer-de-lance (Sp. *jergón*, *Bothrop atrox*)
tsigananti ~ **tsinkananti** Anaconda sp.
tsigaronari Green jararaca sp. (Sp. *loro machaco*, *Bothrops bilineatus*; cf. *ashatyankeni*)
tsirimpi Lizard sp. living on banks of streams.
tsirini Aquatic boa sp., eaten, does not bite.

C.1.8.5 Amphibians

ajapata River turtle (= Matsi. *sempiri*)
aratanta Toad sp.
chonchojite Wasp sp.
iento Toad sp. (possibly Matsi. *ainto*)
jooti Toad sp. with call *joó*.
kabori Tortoise
kitetsenkori Frog sp., arboreal, yellow-colored.
masero Toad sp.
mootsoro Tadpole
niapomporikiti Toad sp. (possibly Matsi. *ampato*)
oanto Frog sp. (= Matsi. *tonoanto*)
poatsi Toad sp.
poronkatsika Toad sp. (possibly Matsi. *apapani* or *pororonti*)
soisointi Toad sp., nocturnal, with onomatopoeic name.
teento Toad sp.

C.1.8.6 Insects

aeni Ant sp. with strong bite that invades buildings, eating wasp nests, cockroaches, termites, etc.; people vacate buildings when this happens, and women spit around the perimeter.
aeri Bee sp., non-stinging, resembles termite (= Matsi. *yairi*).
amoncho Bee sp., given this name because of the elongated, curved “door” of its hive.
chaanchokana Ant sp., largest black-colored one, lives in the ground under groupings of trees.
chaanta Bee sp.
chachari Grasshopper sp.
chagarento Grub sp., edible, known for eating the insides of trees *kamotsonto* and *potogo*.
chanchakana Ant sp., large black-colored one, lives in the ground under groupings of trees.
chankananti Ant sp. resembling *ichichimenki* in its gait.
chanontori Butterfly sp.

- chobintiki** Grub sp. resembling *emooki* but smaller.
- chooti** Cicada sp., gray-colored.
- earoto** Bee sp. that produces honey and does not sting.
- emooki** Grub sp., edible (the prototypical grub).
- geni** Earthworm sp.
- ichichimenki** Ant sp. (Sp. *isula*)
- kajeniri** Caterpillar sp. (cf. *kajeni*)
- kamato** Insect sp. with shield-like body found on at least (Caq.) *tsarintsaripa* tree; said to be “spicy” when eaten, like *aji*.
- kamijaneri** Giant earthworm
- kamojiri** Termite
- katsaraimonki** Cricket sp.
- katsikiriki kitejiteri** Ant sp.
- katsikirikiti** Ant sp.
- katsiri** Caterpillar sp., blackish in color, abundant in early August.
- kemperento** Grub sp., edible.
- kentori** Cicada sp.
- kepigairikiti** Louse
- kepinari** Caterpillar sp.
- kepiri** New World hookworm (*Necator americanus*)
- kiribanti** Insect sp., winged, nocturnal, resembling large ant, swarms on the ground before rainstorms; referred to euphemistically as *tsabetiroka inkani* ‘that which portends rain.’
- kirishitobari** Caterpillar sp.
- kisaakiri** Fly sp., attracted to manioc beer (= Matsi. *shikiri*)
- kisaapankari** Wasp sp., fully black.
- koantaneri** Ant sp., small, arboreal, has teeth but does not bite (= Matsi. *petyagiri*).
- kojoshiteki** Grub sp., edible, found in peach palms and latrines.
- koori** Caterpillar sp.
- kotyashi** Caterpillar sp. (= Matsi. *kota*)
- maatsaranti** Butterfly sp.
- mampetegamampo** Caterpillar sp. (possibly Matsi. *soromai*)
- mampirikiti** Chigger
- mapojekiti** Mosquito
- metairiki** Insect sp. living in trees.
- mitichari** Caterpillar sp. resembling (Caq.) *poroshito*, but which scrunches its body back and forth to locomote.
- ojeoki** Sand fly sp., black-colored (= Matsi. *eokiti*, Sp. *manta negra*).
- osoroki** Sand fly sp., white-colored (= Matsi. *yosaro*, Sp. *manta blanca*).
- pabantiki** Flea of an animal
- pankojanti** Fly sp., black-colored, similar to (Caq.) *kisaakiri*.
- pempéro** Butterfly sp.
- perikiti** Insect sp. that eats wood (cf. *periki*; n.b., not termite).

- piroti** Firefly
poikiti Wasp sp., yellow-colored.
pootyoga Bee sp.
poroshito Caterpillar sp., red-colored, edible and with a painful bite.
saani Wasp sp., large and striped with white bands (among others).
shabantaro Cockroach sp.
shagotaro Cockroach sp.
shaneronto Bee sp., stings and has honey.
shibito Beetle sp.
shikiri Bee sp.
shimitsiri Ant sp. closely resembling *ichichimenki* but smaller in size.
shimoto Grub sp., white with purplish-black head and small “feet”; eats rotten wood and not eaten by humans.
shimpokiti Horsefly (Sp. *tábano*)
tomposo Beetle sp., horned, eats wild cane (Sp. *caña brava*).
tsenterenkari Caterpillar sp., gray-colored (possibly Matsi. *erama*).
tsibokiro Ant sp., large and black, can “camouflage” to resemble wasp.
tsiito Gnat
tsiotsio Worm sp.
tsipato Beetle sp.
tsironi Grub sp., edible, resembling (Caq.) *emooki* but long; eats the insides of trees.
tsobia Bee sp.
tsomoironti Grub sp. found in excrement; not consumed by people.
tsomorokinti Ant sp., gray-colored, lives in trees and builds nests resembling those of wasps.
tyapisari Ant sp., small and red-colored, bites with “scissors” in the front (possibly Matsi. *choneki*).
yamposhito Bee sp.
yantoro Leaf-cutter ant

C.1.8.7 Arachnids

- jeeto** Spider, hypernymic term
kempitirintiri Spider sp., described as biting “hairless tarantula” (probably wolf spider).
oirontitikona Scorpion (cf. *oironti*)
shereirikiti Spider sp., ubiquitous on rocky beaches.
tsoronto Spider sp. resembling (Caq.) *jeeto* but which weaves a larger web.

C.1.8.8 Crustaceans

- kito** Shrimp
kitoshajantenaki Big-headed shrimp
oironti Crab

C.1.8.9 Gastropods

kamariaboirikiti Snail sp.

pomporo Snail sp.

tyontiiki Snail sp.

C.1.8.10 Myriapods

impita Aquatic centipede

mashinti Millipede

tsirompi Centipede

C.1.9 Other

Aapani Irioshi God

ajagantsi(ni) Year

imagorejantajitaka Sunday, week

ishikoiña(ki) School

kenapapana Money (cf. *kenapa*)

kenketsatsare* Language, word

Kirioshi God, in the speech of the eccentric Caquinte ancestor Chaanta.

rookajenkani Cold, congestion

sabinkagiteri Day

tsabetsatsare* Story

C.2 Verbs

aajani Keep captive, said of people and animals; employ.

aajaran Have many possessions; be wealthy.

aajempe Carry with hands, said of humans and monkeys (n.b., not said of other animals, since they do not have hands in the same sense).

aajenka Breathe

aakag Be or do to the only instance of, for example, said of the only man in a family who can provide for certain things (e.g., food, shelter).

aako Adopt, said of children.

aashitan Provoke to anger.

abarag Relay or pass on information or skills (e.g., something told or taught).

abegij Turn to dust (e.g., termites devouring wood)

abejank Be scarred from beating

aben Take shelter, beseech for aid

abi Collect from ground

abij Place in mouth

- abina** Hold under arm, close to chest.
- abiñariki** Hug
- abironk** Wrap around in (e.g., head in a cloth, body in a *cushma*, shirt around a table leg)
- abis** Pass
- abitsanotsintajiki** Hug intertwined
- abo** Clear path, trailblaze
- achomig** Suck, said of the curing sucking of shamans.
- ag₁** Take, grab, fetch, gather, catch
- ag₂** Arrive, said of days; reach, said of places.
- ag₃** Afflict, said of illnesses; kill, said of privations.
- aga** Finish doing or making; come ashore; perch.
- agakijink** Cross river, when the current is strong (e.g., one has to brace with a pole); may denote wading to points where the water comes up past the knees.
- agamaj** Prepare
- agate** Reach terminus (e.g., mouths or headwaters of rivers)
- agatik** Step
- agatsonki** Reach crest (cf. *ogatatsonki*, *pankagirej*)
- agaba** Be stuck, commonly said of objects along the river edge; with allative *-poj*, said of felled trees that fall partially and land against unfelled ones, or of children who are not born easily.
- agabej** Be able; overwhelm, defeat
- agabichok** Leave footprint
- agia** Hang from branch (e.g., monkeys)
- agiji** Climb down
- aj** Drop, said of water levels (e.g., in the dry season).
- ajabik** Be jammed (e.g., objects in tubes, keys in locks)
- ajabin** Treat with medicine
- ajak** Wash
- ajank** Imitate jaguar
- ajirik** Hold
- aimen** Make cuckold of
- aitsi** Steal, rob
- a(n)k** Reply
- akatsa** Take by hand
- akatsaejempe** Hang from arms (e.g., like a spider monkey)
- akereg** ~ **akerej** Imitate spider monkey
- akicha** Hang (= Matsi. *kasagi*)
- akipa** Wrap in leaves (e.g., *patarashca*)
- akipoj** Cure with steam, a non-shamanic method with hot stones placed in a pot positioned beneath the area requiring curing (e.g., a wound); the rising vapors cure.
- akisabi** Insert in bamboo, a method used for preserving food.
- akisamimink** Produce the noise white-lipped peccaries make when they snap their teeth in defense, or the crackling and popping of dry burns (e.g., in clearing gardens).

- akitamonk** Turn inside out, said at least of *cushmas*.
- akitsinonkaj** Lie next to fire
- ako** Place high
- am** Bring
- amaja** Do in water (e.g., swim, float downriver)
- amaka** Be narrow
- amampiben** Betray
- aman** Ask for, pray
- amar** Rise, said of water levels (e.g., in the wet season)
- amashai** Sing
- amashi** Swing between branches (e.g., like a spider monkey)
- amatabij** Deceive; intoxicate to dizziness (an idiomatic expression)
- amatag** Pretend
- amatsae** Don feather crown, traditionally worn around the forehead.
- amatsink** Stalk stealthily, spy on, crucially with movement, as when hunting game.
- amatyae** Wrap around and step into, denoting the use of cord to scale bare tree trunks; the cord is wrapped around the trunk, and the feet are placed in the extreme ends.
- ame** Be used to
- amek** Sharpen
- amen** See, watch, look, look at, look for, visit, find
- ami** Help
- amirig** Moan unconsciously (e.g., in sleep, in the last moments before death)
- amirogi** Throw with forearm, from the elbow down (e.g., darts, small arrows, n.b., not said of spears).
- amirok** Roll with hand (e.g., clay when it is rolled into long semi-cylindrical strips that are coiled to form the circumference of a clay pot, balling up food in the hands like agoutis, spinning lianas on the leg to form bow strings)
- amiromirogite** Grab head with both arms and rock back and forth.
- amonko** Fill mouth
- amorok** Chew
- ampajig** Moan with short breaths
- ampigirik** Spin around
- ampita** Braid (e.g., hair, fish traps)
- ampitsa** Spin with two hands, said of cotton, referring to twirling a vertical stick around which cotton from a ball comes to form rough thread accumulated around the stick.
- an** Do, touch; acquire.
- anaashi** Be in the way, said of plant matter.
- anag** Surpass, win, defeat.
- anaimana** Taunt
- ananink** Walk at night
- anank** Flood, said of high water levels (n.b., not said of the rise of the river after rain).
- anempog** Make big

- anero** Lick
- ankibotyai** Tonsure, a traditional hairstyle.
- anij** Be alive
- aniji** Walk
- ankiritako** Catch with net (e.g., fish)
- anonkorej** Pass over top of (e.g., stepping over the outstretched legs of someone sitting on the ground, a rude act); in menarche seclusion huts young women are told not to sit in this position so that the spirit of the deer does not jump over them, a curse.
- antabiji** Play alone (e.g., children with toys)
- antaina** Live far apart from one another (n.b., the traditional residence pattern, with extended-family houses separated by a few kilometers in the forest)
- antamishinkea** Leave to be consumed by forest
- antanabiji** Play around with (n.b., with middle voice denoting innocent play between children, with active voice more flirtatiously)
- antsi** Tie through bundling, said of a style of tying by winding a liana through multiple killed game animals in order to carry them as a single unit.
- antyareki** Be grown but not yet edible (e.g., palm fruits, cane stocks ready for use as weapons; n.b., not said of plantains; cf. *gan*, *tsapaki*)
- apabiraja** Be blind
- apakij** Let go of, lose hold of; stop doing (cf. *ogipakij*).
- apanatoj** Possess demonically
- apasorok** Not catch
- apatonk** Slap
- apatos** Clap
- apatsaabān** Read
- aperikashia** Eat, said of ants eating leaves.
- apesampij** Hollow out, said of wood.
- apichio** Scrunch (e.g., twirling hair and putting a scrunchy around the base), crumple (e.g., sheet of paper), wring (e.g., wet rag, or in twisting an empty plastic bottle and reducing it in size)
- apiji** Repeat
- apin** Arrive alone
- apisatink** Turn upside down
- apitakig** Place behind back (e.g., hands tied behind a chair or up high behind the head), ride up inside out (e.g., a pant leg)
- apiterorej** Do same to both
- apitibi** Fold back on (e.g., retracting one's hand from a handshake, a monkey tail bent back itself, lying in the fetal position)
- apitsi** Twist
- ar** Fly
- arabog** Bloat, associated with indigestion, diarrhea, and/or vomiting, also said of cadavers; rise, said of dough.
- arabonkaja** Float

- arachanchakiji** Move rapidly with gangly stick-legs, as with the (Sp.) *manacaraco* bird.
- arapojenkanaki** Poof out (e.g., deer tail when frightened)
- arasok** Be full, said of food and denoting normal amounts of filling (cf. *arabog*).
- aratsantsa** Be long, said at least of flames.
- areje** Arrive
- ario** End, be enough, said at ends of stories, or when one is fed up.
- asabank** Open mouth
- asak** Moan, in long low tones “aaa, aaa” (cf. *amirig*, *ampajig*).
- asakaraj** Pass, said of rain.
- asank** Smell, sniff
- asatek** Place between two closely positioned objects (e.g., objects caught in a forked stick (Sp. *horquilla*), ring on a finger, sliding in of palm strands in the braiding of fire fans)
- aseg** Exhale
- aseik** Scrape with teeth
- asereg** Bother, annoy
- asetag** Cut out piece (e.g., pieces of wood from a long log; reduplicated form = *asetasetag*)
- ashatirij** Shackle
- ashi** Enclose
- ashimirin** Fight in battle
- ashin** Own
- ashinonkaj** Be sick chronically, over long periods of time without recovery.
- ashintajaran** Have many possessions, be wealthy (cf. *aajaran*)
- ashitsaj** Imitate sound of
- asorok** Suck up (e.g., through a straw)
- atabij** Fight
- atag** Push down, beat down on (e.g., the sun)
- atai** Go up, climb
- atanabij** Rape
- atarag** Belch, also denoting shamanic spitting up of objects.
- atatejenka** Stutter
- ateba** Bump into
- atisank** Sneeze
- atoje** Cough
- atsana** Kill without witnesses
- atsik₁** Bite, also said metaphorically of pain.
- atsik₂** Flare, said of flames (e.g., when a fire burns very strongly).
- atsiko** Reach for with forked stick
- atsimatai** Carry on back, climb hugging (e.g., tree)
- atsipe** Suffer
- atsirek** Adhere to (e.g., cover of a notebook where surfaces are flush; cf. *tsine*, *tsinek*, *tsire*)
- atsitate** Upset the stomach
- atso** Taste, often with connotations that the food is tasty; suckle.

- atsomaj** Carry on shoulder
atsomi Breastfeed, suckle (n.b., said of either the infant or the mother)
atsoompi Carry in sling
atsopirej Wean
batik Stick in vertically, said of jabbing objects downward with two hands (e.g., as in sticking palm fronds into the ground building a menarche seclusion hut).
beg Cure
bemenkog Make raft
beratyai Have receding hairline
betsanorej Clear throat
betsinan Calm via discussion, as in the resolution of verbal arguments.
birā Domesticate animal
bochan Bring back to life
bog Be born, give birth to
borej Come out, said of the sun.
chabank Masticate, said of initial stage of manioc beer preparation before sweet potato is mixed in or is liquified (cf. *noja*).
chaga Poke
chagirej Dry into small pools (i.e., the remnants of rivers and streams when water levels drop)
chaka Fit to
chaki Chop down, said of objects still standing.
chakirej Chop, once in lying position.
chakirij Urinate
chako Wound
chanchanjirenk Break teeth
chanchapogaa Blow puff of smoke
chararaja Have diarrhea
chararankaja Fall, of water moving over drops as in a waterfall (n.b., not said of rain).
charink Scrape off with nail (e.g., grime from the surface of a table)
chatik Stab, peck at (n.b., reduplicated form = *chatichati*)
cheba Support with forked stick (cf. *chegija*, *chegina*)
chijerenk Fry
chionk Throw liquid into eye (e.g., tar, cannot be said of water)
chobankajank Be at downward angle (e.g., rooftop, mountaintop)
chobata Put on hat
chobiki Have genealogical descendants
chochorog Drip (e.g., water from ceiling)
chokoti Sit
chomis Be muddy
chompegi Limp
chooka EXISTENTIAL, be alive, live, remain, reside, be alive
chopempeja Shoot with arrow; pierce, said of arrows.

- chopi** Make into soup (Sp. *mazamorra*)
- eere** Swell
- eesho** Be lazy
- gamachonkajare** Bleed, menstruate
- gan** Be grown, said of plantains, referring to the stage between when they have first emerged (cf. *antiyareki, tsapaki*) and when they are ripe (cf. *irak*).
- geroj** Kneel
- ginteni** Reside natively, where one is from.
- gitorej** Pass between headwaters
- imo** Call smacking lips with thumb
- impoi** Be last
- irag** Cry
- irak** Be ripe (e.g., plantains, manioc; n.b., not manioc)
- iro(shi)** Be nigh
- ja** Go
- jagite** Be past apex in sky (e.g., said of sun in greeting (*jagitetanaji*) at about 1PM)
- jana** Be green
- jararej** Break in two without separating broken parts (e.g., soft pens, broken legs; cf. *karaj*)
- jarenkaja** Melt (e.g., candle wax)
- jaronako** Place in an open vessel such that it is more or less filled (e.g., an animal in a cage, a body in a coffin, manior beer in a trough)
- jeba** Fan fire
- jeemomok** Drizzle, be very misty
- jegironk** Be dangerous
- jek** Shake out (e.g., fishing net), stomp to make fall (e.g., at the base of a tree so fruit falls)
- jenashi** Cure with a fan, a non-shamanic method involving a manufactured fan resembling a (Caq.) *sonkari* flute waved over the patient while blowing.
- jenkajajenka** Be smelly
- jeok** Pull up out of nose dive (e.g., airplane, bird), said also of the vanishing of *jeokarijite* spirits.
- jerenk** Remove scale of, said of fish.
- ji** Believe falsely, attempt
- jirej** Remove tooth or arrowhead
- jironk** Growl, said of jaguars.
- jiba** Go ahead
- kaashe** Be wet
- kabichok** Hand strain (e.g., squeezing out manioc liquid with the hand)
- kabintsaj** Be good to, hospitable towards
- kaborej** Be shiny, said at least of metal and teeth.
- kabosa** Defecate (cf. *shi*)
- kachatyakiria** Hunt spider monkey
- kacho** Be sour, fermented
- kaj** Fetch water

- kaja** Bathe
- kajem** Shout, call to, scream (n.b., pluractional *kajemarorii*, e.g., roosters crowing in the morning)
- kajen** Scratch
- kajeni** Be funny, be itchy (e.g., a new shirt, an old wound)
- kajenka** Smell good
- kajoki** Squirt drop in eye
- kakaraketasakiji** Ride up above knees (e.g., cushmas in dancing)
- kamachonk** Be blood-red
- kamaja** Search for in water (e.g., when hand-fishing; cf. *shimaja*)
- kaman** Tell
- kamara** Be gray
- kamarank** Vomit
- kamari** Crawl (e.g., babies, very hunchbacked elderly people)
- kamashireja** Be out of breath
- kameetsa** Be good, beautiful, handsome, healthy
- kami** Be fertile, said of land
- kamibio** Cover with plant matter
- kamo** Apply sealant to weir (e.g., plant matter)
- kamorog** Arch (e.g., bending cane to make bows, bending over to touch one's toes, trees that grow downwards toward the ground)
- kamporej** Gut, said of at least game and fish in food preparation.
- kan** Say, do, name, mean (cf. *paji*)
- kanag** Be bent over at waist (e.g., elderly people who walk in a very hunched-over way, someone in mid axe swing); walk on all fours (e.g., animals).
- kanaroj** Squeeze, of hard objects (n.b., not said of manioc preparation).
- kanij** Push from body (e.g., in pregnancy, constipation)
- kanina** Be striped, said of a particular horizontal design that resembles arrowheads laid in adjacent rows.
- kantaite** Be dirty, infected, disorderly
- kantakaan** Summon spiritually, denoting the utterances made by shamans in trances to the spirit masters of different animals.
- kant(ashit)atig** Be different
- kantatsa** Come on to, flirtatiously
- kantaberotsabae** Gab, described as talking a lot, light-heartedly, with exchange, at a fast rate.
- kantimo** Mock, make fun of, described as “stronger” than *tampitsa*.
- kantomaj₁** Chastise
- kantomaj₂** Overeat
- kapatsa** Be fat, meaty, said of animals.
- kapatsapio** Be in tall mound
- kapiok** Gather, meet, pile up
- kapoj** Punch (reduplicated form = *kapokapo*)
- kara₁** Number, extend, lengthen (i.e., rays of light)

- kara₂** Cut whacking (e.g., with a machete)
kara₃ Stop doing
karaj Snap in two, where the result is two detached pieces (cf. *jararej*).
karentsa Be slippery, slick
kasanka Smell good (cf. *kajenka*)
kashaba Grasp with claws
kashig Take girl as betrothed before her first menstruation
katishamajaniki Be short and plump in stature (cf. *kakaa*)
katig Stand, come to stop (e.g., from walking, a plane landing; pluractional form = *katintii*)
katik Squeeze, of soft objects (e.g., the neck in strangling, the belly in pumping out inhaled fluids).
katima Hurry
katonkoja Go upriver
katsaerori Gossip
katsaeroben Betray existence of
katsantsa Be tall
katsekank Walk on all fours (cf. *kanag*)
katsi Be painful
katsike Clear land
katsima Be angry, get angry at (cf. *petsimarej*)
katsinka Be cold (n.b., of weather, individuals, objects)
katsipage Be sore all over body (e.g., after intensive labor, long travel; cf. *petsipagerej*)
katsirinka Be hot (n.b., of weather, individuals, objects)
katsitok Pinch
keek Dig out
keje Be like, do to in a particular way
kejekashi Be clear of debris, said of house clearings
keji Be fatty, said of game animals (cf. *reji*)
kem Hear, listen (to), sense, understand, heed
kemink Dodge
kemisan Listen to, heed
kempogij Look after (e.g., children, a possessive adult that accompanies their spouse everywhere, a pet until maturity, money in the bank)
ken Move along route (i.e., ‘come’ or ‘go’ depending on directional), continue
ken Shoot with arrow (n.b., direct object can be patient or instrument); prick, peck.
kenabae Hunt
kenkeba Be middle-aged, said of those who cannot walk far (n.b., next stage is *tsorink*).
kenkebari Be of age, said of adult men.
kenkebaro Be of age, said of adult women.
kenkeben Avenge
kenkej Think (about)
kenkejako Avenge
kenketsa Speak at length (e.g., said of explanations, giving examples, preaching)

- kepiga** Be harmful for consumption
- kepishi** Be bitter
- ki** Serve with utensil, from one vessel into another.
- kiashi** Build hunting blind
- kibarij** Remove portions of (e.g., from a plant, meat from animal, felling some trees in a stand)
- kibateja** Mix liquid with fingers
- kichagante** Glow
- kichobitokij** Be hole-ridden (e.g., fields, bottoms of egg cartons)
- kij₁** Enter, turn (age)
- kij₂** Carry on back
- kijageshi** Enter forest
- kimo** Grow, said of both people and plants.
- kiraja** Be red
- kiribantashi** Remove leaves from plant (i.e., and not other plant matter)
- kirik** Spin with one hand (cf. *ampitsa*)
- kirinkirishikena** Have zigzag pattern, with parallel horizontal zigzagging lines that form mirror images of triangles or mountains, with additional ad hoc lines in between them.
- kirisankiaja** Be deep, said of bodies of water in which it is not possible to touch the bottom (cf. *saanaja*).
- kisaa** Be black
- kiseg** Scratch, said of soil (e.g., as a chicken or jaguar do with their feet).
- kisho₁** Be hard
- kisho₂** Stop
- kishoj** Spit
- kita** Place in ground, specifically denoting the event following hole-digging.
- kitabi** Duck under
- kitaja** Fetch water
- kitamampororoi** Exist snow on mountaintop
- kitamaro** Be white
- kitaporerejak** Refract light, said of mountaintops
- kitarej** Wake up early, part of idiom with augmentative *-ni* and adverb *inkajaranki* ‘previously.’
- kitase** Illuminate dimly, said of moonlight (n.b., not said of flashlights, the sun in daytime, or fireflies; cf. *tsibo*).
- kite** Be yellow
- kitenk** Cut pulling, with knife or claws inserted into object and dragging downward (e.g., along the midsection of game; pluractional form is *kitentea*).
- kiteri** Be pale due to illness (cf. *kite*)
- kiteshibaja** Be pale due to fright (cf. *kite*)
- kiti** Leave footprint
- kitsaa** Dress (n.b., with middle voice said of wearing or putting on clothes, with active voice said of dressing others)

- kitsitinkatsinoj** Course through body of, said of intoxicating substances like alcohol or ayahuasca (cf. *tsino* 'body').
- kityonka** Be dark-red (e.g., color of blood)
- ko** Be, do (to), have sex with
- koako** Ask (about)
- koanontaja** Look for river crossing
- kobaegishe** Have sex with
- kobaj** Retrieve objects from some distance away (e.g., from garden, from canoe if house is set back from river)
- kobintsa** Be good hunter
- kobitig** Clear guts, denoting the removal of undigested foods from the guts of animals before consumption.
- kog** Look for
- kogij** Choose
- koira** Keep an eye on, due to suspicion.
- kojotonkipiotakag** Leave as pile of bones (e.g., killing an enemy and leaving their body to decompose)
- koki** Be agile
- komarank** Be ridden with long, winding ground cover, said of the ground (cf. *mata*).
- komaririi** Scurry about, said of small insects (e.g., ants), denoting large numbers moving in many directions across a surface; flutter about, said of small birds hopping or jumping quickly between branches.
- komi** Mistake, make mistake
- kona** Poison with barbasco root, said of bodies of water.
- koñajenka** Be later
- konija** Appear
- konijajenka** Speak in full voice
- konog** Mix (with); be subset, expressing indefinite quantities like (Eng.) *some*.
- kononk** Be slightly past vertical
- konti** Grate
- koonk** Finger-whistle
- korake** Come
- kore** Cut from high up (e.g., fruit in trees)
- koronk** Be striped horizontally
- kosenaji** Clean surface with blunt object (e.g., using a dull machete or book to scrape off grime from a table)
- kota** Wrap
- ma** Do likewise to different object, do to with negative consequences
- maa** Put on, said of bands akin to Western bracelets put on the wrist and farther up to the elbow and upper arm.
- mago** Be tired

- majaa** Close both eyes, said of one still awake or sleeping (n.b., *-gi* and augmentative *-ni* may denote permanent blindness).
- majere** Be quiet
- majerenk₁** Be quiet
- majerenk₂** Brush against (e.g., surfaces that induce a reaction on the skin)
- mairenk** Fall out, said of plant matter that grows in tree canopies.
- maisān** Forget
- makara** Disintegrate, break apart, said of rotten or insect-eaten objects such as wood (cf. *samakara*).
- mankiga** Marry
- marere** Be dark-purple (e.g., the color of currasow chest plumage)
- marik** Catch off guard, resulting in shrug-like shoulder raising (e.g., when someone calls out one's name unexpectedly).
- maromaro** Flap, said of wings
- maronk** Lay out horizontally (e.g., bed sheets, felled trees)
- masabi** Sweat
- mashitsa** Not give
- mata** Be covered with short ground cover (cf. *komarank*)
- matibik** Act demurely, that is, close mouth, lower head, and be silent.
- matsa** Be thin
- matsaga** Miss, said of targets; reach for and miss; look for to shoot (cf. *apasorok*).
- matsek** Jump over
- matsiok** Blink (at), close eyes (i.e., for shorter or longer periods of time)
- matsiro** Be not meaty, said of fish.
- matsitoposo** Be dull
- menkog** Place parallel (e.g., logs in a raft, wood supports separating panes of glass)
- merēg** Skin with knife
- metoj** Die, kill, lose consciousness
- metso** Be soft, tender (of meat)
- mir** Drink
- mire** Be thirsty
- mirig** Insert without protrusion (e.g., flush nail, shovel head all the way in the ground)
- mitaj** Leap, denoting the moment of launching.
- mogek** Quake, said of the Earth.
- mojig** ~ **moija** Boil
- mokoroj** Stab, give injection
- monkara** Give equal amount to; fit, said of clothing.
- montej** Cross water, when current is weak (cf. *agakijink*; reduplicated form = *montemonte*).
- morek** Be aflame, said of fires (cf. *atsik*).
- morinte** Lean forward in a particular standing position, bending slightly at the knees, sticking the butt out, and bending the arms in as if flexing one's biceps; said to be the stance of some birds.
- motyonaki** Make small hole in

- na** Carry over shoulder (e.g., when transporting a log for firewood)
- nagito** Hold head in lap of, referencing someone lying on the ground with their head in the lap of someone sitting upright (e.g., when delousing; cf. *na*).
- nashi** Be marriageable, not in violation of an incest taboo
- neben** See or watch from afar
- nej** See, find, visit, meet, know (n.b., largely a dialectal variant of *amen*)
- nejakameetsa** Find attractive
- nejan** Try out (cf. *amenan*)
- nejatampishi** Wrestle with, where grammatical object exerts a countervailing force (e.g., because they are also human, but also said of massive boulders; cf. *neshintsika*).
- nejema** Desire, want to a more extreme degree
- nesaank** Curse, said of food, referencing the traditional belief that food left out of the house overnight could be cursed by (Caq.) *ampatsini*.
- neshintsika** Wrestle with, where grammatical object exerts a countervailing force (e.g., because they are also human, but also said of massive boulders; *nejatampishi*).
- neteshija** See spirit
- netsana** Fix, repair (e.g., boat motor); prepare, arrange (e.g., objects in orderly fashion); behave, comply with (e.g., rules, orders); fulfill (e.g., promises, obligations); bring order to (e.g., after conflict).
- niankigite** Be midnight (cf. *niankiite*)
- nig** Swallow
- nigi** Swallow, said of small round hard objects.
- nij** Whir (e.g., airplane propellers)
- nin** Want, look for
- nink** Shake
- nintasobena** Brush cheek of (cf. *sobena*)
- nionk** Swing (e.g., baby in hammock, human from liana)
- noja** Chew; masticate, said of second stage of manioc beer preparation at the time that sweet potato is added (cf. *chabank*).
- nonti** Break away from being pinned down (e.g., when stepping on portion of plant tearing up remainder of it; also used intransitively)
- norij** Be lying down
- noshik** Pull, drag
- oakaan** Impregnate
- oasano** Kill in one shot
- oashi** Knock up (n.b., impregnate, with a pejorative sense similar to English)
- oabe** Wait for in vain
- obanke** Rest on top of, where there is considerable overlap between the surfaces of the supporting object and the supported one (e.g., hanging clothes over a branch to dry, with the vessel classifier *-ako* denoting running aground, with incorporated *pori* denoting crossing legs with one knee supporting the other, with *bako* denoting resting hands in lap; cf. *ti*₂).
- obashian** Neglect

- obashiantako** Save spiritually, said of Christian beliefs.
- obatej** Cut swiping (e.g., as with machete when clearing brush; reduplicated form is *obatebatej*)
- obegara** Reach terminus, either of regions or periods of time.
- obetaromaj** Stand in line perpendicular to deictic center
- obetsa** Speak (to); sing, said of birds.
- obetsajenk** Line up
- obig** Poison
- obik** Insert into soft substance (e.g., mud)
- obinaj** Hold firmly in place (e.g., pressing down with hands, wrapping arms around a person)
- obiñakaja** Put or place in water (e.g., barbasco root, a person for baptism)
- obi(n)chaj** Set perimeter, often denoting the general activity of damming a river for fishing; also said of setting rings in formation of clay pots, and of sealing canoes.
- obintyak** Plant
- obonk** Rise, said of water at low levels (e.g., puddle as it rains, water behind a weir; n.b., not said of intense flooding on land or the rise of the river in rain; cf. *anank & amar*).
- og₁** Go
- og₂** Put, place, leave behind, land on (cf. *ojok₂*)
- og₃** Do (to), happen to, treat
- og₄** Bite, said of insects; sting, said of bees.
- og₅** Ingest, a hypernym subsuming eating and drinking.
- ogabi** Continue on (with)
- ogabisag** Spend time, celebrate (latter with recipient applicative *-nV*)
- ogabitag** Mix food in violation of taboos (e.g., mixing caiman with spider monkey yields white blotches on the skin)
- ogag** Relocate
- ogaja** Bring ashore, said of watercraft.
- ogajak** Dry up, said of body of water.
- ogajenok** Lift, raise up, regardless of from where along vertical axis (n.b., does not denote placing event; cf. *ogatag*).
- ogameetsatan** Make peace with (cf. *kameetsa*)
- ogaraj** Cut incrementally (e.g., cutting fabric with scissors, cutting apart game; cf. *karaj*)
- ogashitog** Leave to grow, said of gardens.
- ogatag** Place up high (i.e., result of *ogajenok*); remove from water (e.g., when pulling canoes slightly onto land to tie up).
- ogatatsonki** Reach crest (cf. *aatsonkiri, agatsonki, pankagirej*)
- ogeroben** Kneel before
- ogi** Force to drink (i.e., inherently causativized verb; theme is marked with “locative” =*ki*)
- ogibarig** ~ **ogiparig** Throw down (cf. *parig*)
- ogibo** Have head down, said of the chin into the chest while maintaining and overall upright position (e.g., when nodding off sitting, or writing at a table; cf. *takibo*).
- ogij** Wait for
- ogija** Follow

- ogijaa** Put in water
- ogijag** Put in vessel (e.g., bag, basket); make enter (e.g., school for matriculation)
- ogimag** Dream
- ogimaja** Put in or move through water near surface (e.g., bait, other objects that move with current); also said of pushing canoes off from river edge (cf. *amaja*).
- ogipakij** Let go of, lose hold of; stop doing (cf. *apakij*; reduplicated form = *ogirigiri*).
- ogipatak** Place on surface
- ogirink** Go down incline (cf. *kirinka*)
- ogisamani** Wait for for a long time (cf. *osamani*)
- ogisan** Watch while active, said of watching (over) someone or something while engaged in another task (e.g., waiting for them to finish, monitoring them so they do not make a mistake, act improperly, run away).
- ogitankirej** Brush off edge (e.g., when sweeping along ledge, wiping off table)
- ogoba** Roast wrapped in leaves
- ogobaraj** Straighten legs, irrespective of the position of the body (e.g., sitting upright, lying on side, lying on back with legs in air); traditionally girls were only supposed to straighten their legs in the air during their menarche seclusions, the belief being that if they straightened them on the ground a deer would pass over them, a bad portent.
- ogomaro** Measure, try out
- ogora** Be lying, perhaps only in radial configuration, said of logs of cooking fire (n.b., not said of humans in lying position).
- oish** Blow on (e.g., cooking fire)
- oisho** Tie by wrapping around repeatedly (e.g., house beams one to another, a child into a play car; reduplicated form is *oishoisho*)
- ojiko** Point (to)
- ojok₁** Give
- ojok₂** Put, place, leave behind, land on, reach (cf. *og₂*)
- ojok₃** Throw (out), cut (hair), squirm; with fluid classifier *-ja*, denotes throwing or dropping in water (with middle denotes drowning); with *tsa* 'liana' and fluid classifier, denotes fishing with line; with with ablative, middle, and augmentative, denotes being passed-out drunk.
- ojokase** Clear of unburned debris, said of gardens (n.b., inalienable noun *se* present in Matsi. not productive; cf. *patsa*).
- ojokashi** Shoot with
- ojokiji** Place on ground, be sick
- ojonk** Churn up, said of soil (e.g., gardens where done by the snouts of pigs or peccaries).
- ojora** Regurgitate
- okempe** Be like, do to in a particular way
- oman** Exist problem
- omana** Kill, only said of animals
- omontsaj** Encounter (e.g., on a path)
- ompaj** Nail (n.b., nails were traditionally made of hardwoods such as peach palm)
- ompera** Order about

- ompoj** Split apart and spill out upon falling (e.g., gourds with liquid inside, cylinders with gasoline, Sp. *pona* fruits)
- omporogij** Amass with the potential to get out of control (e.g., a group of workers on strike, soldiers about to fight); amass with individuals carrying out distinct tasks (e.g., humans at a fair, some selling, some talking); the crowd is unorganized.
- ompos** Fall, land (said of airplanes), drop, throw down, knock down
- onigag** Go to meet (i.e., at a distance); scare off unintentionally upon encounter, said of animals; show (cf. *onijag*).
- onijag** Show (cf. *onigag*)
- onk** Move, said of one's body (e.g., when wiggling; in the negative when holding still).
- onkishikirej** Fall on tailbone
- ontaj** Crash into, said of situations where the one who crashes is small in relation to the object crashed into (e.g., a wine cork in the face, a human into a ceiling).
- ontiba** Trip and fall
- ontij** Weave
- ontijase** Fit long on (e.g., overly long cushmas, traditional Western-style wedding dresses that drag on the ground)
- orenkai** Wash with water rubbing (e.g., with a washcloth or soap lathered in the hands)
- orog** Dry
- osoank** Drag body on ground (e.g., caimans), slither (e.g., snakes); slide down (e.g., on rear down incline), with fluid classifier *-ja* denoting boats coming downriver; droop, said of lianas.
- osororankaja** Pull through water, come downriver (cf. *osoank*)
- otsikokonaja** Bend sharply, said of the river; bends usually involve descending in elevation over a rocky area, then facing a cliff from which one must turn away.
- oyotonk** ~ **otonk** Shoot with gun (n.b., object is patient); pierce, said of bullets (n.b., object is patient); discharge, said of lightning.
- pabi** Build bridge or ladder
- pajenka** Infect, said of the communication of disease and also censured behavior (e.g., incest).
- paji** Name, light verb occurring in expressions such as *What is it?* and clefted questions (cf. *kan*).
- pami** Feel out the contours of (e.g., when one cannot see)
- pampia** Do in same direction as some indicator (e.g., enemy fire, smoke rising)
- pan** Face off, take on obstacle, proceeding despite danger (e.g., at the outset of battle).
- pankagirej** Reach crest (cf. *agatsonki*, *ogatatsonki*)
- pankena** Struggle with large or heavy object (e.g., using a long forked stick to get fruit out of a tree, moving a large boulder in the river)
- pankona** Put in hut or other small house-like enclosure; typically said of menarche seclusion, but also of animals in a hunting trap where fruit is dangled to lure animal inside; seclusion is traditionally for one to three months in a hut of fronds, with the girl unable eat meat or salt (only manioc and *pona* palm hearts), or see men (cf. *obogaraj*).
- pantsapantsaa** Pull taught (e.g., wires, lianas; n.b., seems to be lexicalized in reduplicated form)
- parig** Begin
- parintsaa** Hang, said of lianas

- pasak** Look for in dark
- pashik** Place as cover (n.b., direct object is instrument; reduplicated form with fluid classifier *pashipashija*; cf. *sabo*)
- pashinink** Commit incest with (n.b., deer and tapirs are considered incestuous animals)
- pashiben** Embarrass
- patak** Emerge, said of the first formation of maize, before its (Sp.) *choclo* is formed.
- patankarej** Be spotted (e.g., jaguar)
- patarejaja** Enter eye, said of wood chips (cf. *pataki*).
- patima** Pursue
- patsaj** Rot, said of wood (e.g., arrows); decompose, said of human bodies (n.b., lacking putrid smell; cf. *shiti*).
- peakag** Make, build
- peako** Forget, said to be a term introduced from Matsigenka (cf. *maisán*).
- peg** Change state (middle voice), said of transformations, or taking on roles; go out of view (middle voice), said of vanishing into thin air (with immaterial classifier *-jenka*), but also of going around a corner or out of sight in the distance, of being away on a trip; treat as (active voice), said of kin and also perspectival reconfigurations (e.g., for River Monster to treat river rocks as is house).
- pena** Blow, said of smoke, the direct object being either the patient (e.g., in shamanic curing) or the instrument that produces the smoke (e.g., a pipe; cf. *senka*).
- pera** Tire of, be lazy
- perej** Tear (e.g., open bags of cement, a corner off a sheet of paper)
- periki** Be eaten up by insects (e.g., tree)
- peshirejako** Get over, said of romantic interests.
- petsi** Be numb
- petsimarej** Pass anger
- petsipagerej** Pass soreness from body
- pig** Return
- piga** Respond in kind
- pigamen** Respond in kind on behalf of (e.g., coming to someone's aid in battle)
- pigatsa** Disobey
- pija** Insert into small hole (e.g., bamboo, gourd, ear)
- pije** Remove hair of (e.g., monkey; n.b., cf. *jerenk*, *pitij*)
- pijonka** Be light, buoyant (i.e., in water)
- pinaironk** Turn inside out
- pincha** Cast love hex, denoting actions that result in someone else's desiring the caster of the hex (Sp. *pusanguear*).
- pink** Fear
- pintsa₁** Love (of parent or romantic partner), miss
- pintsa₂** Want to go
- pionk** Tremble
- pirija** Be dry (cf. *orog*)

- piseg** Stir
- pishi** Sweep
- pishonk** Throw (out)
- pitij** Remove feather of, said of birds (cf. *jerenk*, *pije*).
- pitsek** Be night
- pitsekako** Spend night
- pitso** Turn (around), roll; translate; pass through region (e.g., traveling between headwaters, arriving at several communities; reduplicated form is *pitsopitso*).
- pityakirej** Open eyes
- poa** Smoke (e.g., tobacco)
- pocha**₁ Be sweet
- pocha**₂ Go out of view (cf. *peg*); regain consciousness, come back to life (cf. *bochan*).
- pochoki** Be sleepy
- pogerej** Exterminate
- poji** Stink (cf. *ponkaj*)
- pojima** Sound
- pokagi** Toast (e.g., kernels; n.b., root *pok* does not exist)
- pomatsa** Lose, waste
- pona** Wrap (cf. *kota*)
- ponaj** Get on top of
- poneg** Flee upon encounter (e.g., animals in forest before pursuit of hunt)
- ponk**₁ Grow, said of infants in the first stages of development, before they can walk.
- ponk**₂ Beat with nettles (Sp. *ishanguear*; possibly from an older **poronk*, cf. *poronketo*)
- ponkaj** Emit odor (n.b., not necessarily bad-smelling, e.g., tar; cf. *poji*)
- porok** Disperse (e.g., people who used to live together, or after a meeting)
- pororok** Twine, said of cotton, denoting stretching out rough thread formed via (Caq.) *ampitsa* and turning it in opposite directions at the extrema with the fingertips.
- posa** Be cooked, said when food is ready for consumption.
- poshini** Be tasty
- potso** Paint with annatto (cf. *potsoti* ‘annatto sp.’)
- potsona** Be orange (e.g., bright neon colors but also the fur of some deer)
- sa** Pierce (e.g., stepping on a nail)
- saabaja** Heat, be warm, said of liquids; said both when one is heating up water over a fire, or when one is waiting for boiling water to cool.
- saaban** Brood, said of chickens
- saaki** Hock up, said of sputum; Caquintes often plug their noses when performing this action.
- saanaja** Be deep, associated with being able to cross to the other side or bathe comfortably (cf. *kirisankiaja*).
- saankorenk** Be translucent (e.g., some rocks in the river that shine and appear to let light through)
- saapoki** Appear, said of narrow paths (n.b., *kenabokiro* is a well trodden path).

- sabink** Descend, as in the gradual descent of birds or airplanes; walk bending legs to duck (n.b., not said of going down inclines; reduplicated form *sabisabi* denotes many people sitting).
- sabinkagite** Rise, said of the sun at daybreak.
- sabinkagitetako** Be awake at daybreak having stayed up all night
- sabo** Cover (e.g., lid on pot, plastic over objects in canoe while traveling)
- sabogaja** Heat, said of liquid (n.b., direct object is theme; cf. *saabaja*).
- sagarank** Pass through and out the other side (e.g., an arrow through the body)
- sagishija** Be inundated, said of the forest when rivers at their high water mark cover beaches and cutbanks and reach the main vegetation line.
- sagoj** Remove shell, said at least of boiled eggs (cf. *sagoma*).
- sagomarej** Remove skin of (n.b., even though *sagoma* cannot refer to human skin)
- sagorej** Remove bark or similar coverings of (e.g., of manioc; cf. *sagoma*)
- saja** Scald
- sajaenka** Stop, said of intense or chaotic situations (e.g., storm, battle; n.b., metathesis suggests older **saajenka*).
- sak** Burn, said of injuries.
- sakenke** Sew
- sakirig** Zip, open or shut (e.g., with a zipper on clothing).
- sakiritsae** Go in file, said of large numbers (e.g., ants, white-lipped peccaries, armies).
- sakorog** Fall, said of large quantities (e.g., fruits out of a tree).
- same** Pass light gas uncontrollably, the result of over-eating and yielding silent, smelly flatulence (n.b., not said of louder flatulence; cf. *santij*).
- samerenk** Be clear of brush, said of areas.
- sametsanojenka** Quaver, said of a traditional style of singing.
- samoterej** Destroy, said of bee hives (cf. *samoshi*, *samoteshi*).
- samoteshi** Live in hive, nest, or burrow, said of bees, wasps, rats, and certain birds (n.b., no corresponding noun; cf. *samoshi*, *samoterej*).
- sampa(ri)** Be ripe, said of grains (e.g., wheat, corn, rice).
- samponka** Be red and painful
- sanag** Pick up and throw in scattering fashion (e.g., rocks, small fruits); also said of the trajectory of gunpowder out of a shotgun.
- sanarej** Bore through, the result of drilling (cf. *shogirik*).
- sankena** Draw
- santij** Fart
- santonka** Tattoo
- sapipigite** Be cold, said of weather.
- sapok₁** Take off, said of clothes.
- sapok₂** Jump onto
- sapok₃** Croak, said of frogs and toads.
- saraj** Peel in strips (e.g., bananas, tree bark lengthwise along trunk)
- sarig** Plot to kill
- sataj** Prick (e.g., thorns), pierce (e.g., arrows; cf. *sa*)

- seme** Brag, gloat (e.g., to think that one is the best at something when not, to rub how much you have in the face of someone who has less)
- semij** Shoot with arrow, only in the speech of Shamakis (cf. *chopempeja*).
- senak** Move out of way
- senankagija** Dam near shore, constructing a rock weir that extends a short distance from one side of the river (n.b., not damming an entire branch of the river; *obi(n)chaj*).
- senka** Blow, said of smoke (e.g., in shamanic curing); apparent perspectival term attested only when Snake does this to Leaf-cutter Ants (cf. *pena*).
- senkag** Delay (n.b., there seems to be no positive form, e.g., *tee osenkaanakeji omojianake*, literally 'it didn't delay in boiling')
- seraj** Collapse in landslide, said of objects embedded in the land (n.b., not said of cliff faces).
- seronk** Smooth, said of wood (e.g., arrow shafts, axe handles).
- seba** Dig hole
- shagi** Dump liquid on (e.g., water, tar)
- shaja** Pour into vessel
- shakig** Insert at angle (e.g., replanted shoot)
- shakoja** Pour out of vessel
- shamponkaja** Be filmy, said of the eyes when a fully white iris is visible in people who are near to losing or have lost their eyesight completely.
- shatek** Fill vessel (e.g., basket, canoe, water tank, flash drive)
- she** Wipe
- shegirej** Disembowel, not said of food preparation (cf. *kamporej*).
- sheka** Eat
- shepi** Cover hole (e.g., entrances to caves, twisting cap onto bottle; n.b., not said of inserting into hole, as with plugging)
- shepik** Plug hole with, where object is sealant (e.g., in using plant matter to seal dams in rivers).
- sheronk** Scrape with knife (e.g., remove bark, sharpen pencil)
- shi** Defecate (cf. *kabosa*)
- shia** Scatter (e.g., fruit fallen to ground, broadcasting rice seeds)
- shiako** Weed
- shibiraj** Pull apart or remove one of two angled elements (e.g., one half of a forked stick, a thumb off of a hand, pulling open a bird beak to remove undigested food)
- shig** Run
- shigirik** Dry out (e.g., leaves; Sp. *marchitarse*).
- shik** Constipate
- shimaja** Look for fish, standing over water and observing what is there (cf. *kamaja*).
- shimampojan** Be sad
- shimatarej** Peck hole through, rip off (e.g., bandage)
- shiminkaja** Cross water on bridge
- shimoja** Be strongly fermented (cf. *kacho*).
- shimototiiki** Pleat
- shimpoki** Spill over into fire

- shimpokirerej** Shine with rays of light (e.g., through clouds or water)
- shine** Be happy
- shink** Scare off, said of animals.
- shinki** Intoxicate, said both of individuals who are drunk and substances that make them so.
- shinko** Smoke, said of food.
- shintsa** String on line (e.g., fish)
- shipeta** Knead
- shipi** Put on, said of skirts that were traditionally the only dress of Caquinte women (cf. *kitsaa*).
- shipokaja** Make produce steam, the result of knocking an object over directly into cooking fire (e.g., water, meat).
- shira** Be flat
- shirank** Lose footing, as in catching oneself when slipping.
- shirej** Remove from base (e.g., fruits or leaves where they join); rescue from physical struggle.
- shirink** Move along surface (e.g., pushing object on table); with fluid classifier *-ja* said of liquid running down sides of vessels.
- shiron** Laugh
- shita** Place, said of mats.
- shitaponka** Place or build, said of platforms (e.g., nominalized form can refer to benches).
- shite** Follow edge of, commonly with fluid classifier *-ja* denoting following river edges.
- shiteki** Be matted, said of hair, like that of the people who lived in the mountain Shitekitsini.
- shiti** Rot, said of food and animals (cf. *patsaj*).
- shitik** Make loop (e.g., in the processing of tying shoelaces together); also denotes tying something around an object (e.g., neck, bunch of arrows, roof beam)
- shiba** Whistle
- shibajempeki** Have arm hair (cf. *jempeki*)
- shirinkaja** Run over or across (e.g., blood over a body)
- shogirik** Crank (e.g., as with a hand drill)
- shoik** Be too much for (e.g., intense labor, alcohol), used similarly to English *I give up*.
- shoink** Call to by whistle-spitting, inserting fingers in mouth in such a way that the whistle is not very loud; make whistle-spit, denoting someone doing this during a hallucinogenic trance, revealing that they have had a bad vision and thus have done a bad deed.
- shonkaja** Round bend in river
- shonkashonka** Squirm (e.g., an infant experiencing discomfort)
- shoshogite** Be anxious
- sobeg** Demolish, pop (e.g., balloon)
- sog** Choke
- sok** Dump out, said of both liquids and solids.
- soma** Mix with, said of foods (n.b., without reference to taboos).
- sonka** Play, said of pan flutes.
- soo** Expand in globular fashion (e.g., balloons, the stomachs of pregnant women)
- sooki** See, find, visit, look (at)
- sorere** Stare

- sorero** Be bland, said of meat (e.g., fish, game).
- sorok** Dislodge (e.g., arrow from bunch), come loose (e.g., ring off finger), slip, drop
- sosoja** Menstruate heavily
- sotintoja** Be turned, said of beverages so fermented they are hardly drinkable.
- sotog** Emerge (n.b., with ablative *-an* denotes leaving from the perspective of the inside, with allative *-poj* denotes coming out from the perspective of the outside)
- ta** Warm by fire
- tabag** Hit
- tabanashi** Be overgrown, denoting regions of the forest with much undergrowth.
- tabionk** Add to pile
- tabirej** Turn over (e.g., rock; n.b., not said of sheets of paper)
- tabog** Emerge from container, said of both liquids and solids (e.g., plantains or maize first emerging in growth process, contents from storage in bamboo, liquids oozing from the skin as with snake bites).
- tag** Burn, without direct contact with flames (e.g., food, sunburns; cf. *tsig*).
- tagererei** Be scarred from burn (e.g., from wounds that never fully heal); also said of the skin of lizards, which are said to be burn wounds from the primordial sun.
- tajenkashi** Check up on, somewhat furtively, without reaching the location of the patient.
- takibo** Be face-down (e.g., lying on stomach, head on desk from sitting position)
- takig** Slide under, often for the purpose of using as a lever (Sp. *palanquear*), but also said of sliding door locks (Sp. *trabar*).
- takija** Paddle
- takiri** Cut lengthwise (e.g., down an animal's abdomen)
- takirorej** Flip over (e.g., canoe, desk)
- takis** Curse
- takitsa** Place trap, a particular trap used for larger game birds in a style with a liana in a downward-facing parabolic shape that serves as a catch, pulling prey upward when stepped on (cf. *tikatsa*, *tinka*, *tsigaja*).
- takorej** Take bit of skin off of
- tame** Place as dam, said of rocks placed to form weir in river.
- tamenkog** Pile up in parallel (e.g., driftwood at river's edge)
- tamorek** Turn on, said of light bulbs.
- tan** Build wall (cf. *tanto*)
- tanik** Comb, clear brush
- tankirej** Wind up (e.g., fishing line)
- tankorej** Come to, in the sense of consciousness (e.g., out of sleep, out of unconscious state).
- tampishi** Be strong
- tampitsa** Tease
- tanto** Build wall (cf. *tan*)
- tapig** Inflate (e.g., balloon), swell (e.g., dead body, n.b., not from eating, or swollen wounds)
- tapo** Curve (e.g., animal tail, drum string), brace with back (e.g., wall, to prevent it from falling)
- taraja** Fish with net (from Sp. *tarrafa* 'fishing net')

- tarank** Collapse, said of cliff faces.
- tarig** Pile separately
- tariji** Be separated idly (e.g., passengers waiting for a boat on the river's edge)
- tarog** Clean
- taronk** Close (e.g., door)
- taseg** Be hungry
- tashi** Roast
- tasonk** Blow on, to cool or calm (e.g., wound, hot body); traditionally with shamanic connotations.
- tataina** Put on, said of the headscarves traditionally worn by Caquinte women upon their emergence from the menarche seclusion hut; made of *jooto* bark, wrapped around the head and tied off at the chin.
- tatsink** Push
- te** Place in vessel (e.g., canoe, basket, airplane)
- tebiko** Add to load, of what one is already carrying.
- teg** Burn, said of spicy foods like peppers.
- tej** Fall over (e.g., person, tree), also denoting the falling of rain; with vessel classifier *-ako* denotes going downriver.
- tempaj** Enter forest without path; follow after spirits, denoting the transcendence to the other dimension where they live.
- tena** Be heavy
- tenek** Bite, said only of snakes
- teoki** Intoxicate slightly (cf. *shinki*)
- teronk** Finish, in the sense make go out of existence.
- ti₁** Diet, in the sense of abiding by food taboos associated events (e.g., pregnancy).
- ti₂** Support, where there is not significant overlap between supporting and supported objects (e.g., small rocks under large stone, table legs, rafters in relation to the ridge beam, an ankle on the knee; cf. *obanke*).
- tibo** Blow, said of shells
- tig** Cook; feed, said of domesticated animals.
- tigaja** Pole, said of canoes.
- tiga(ra)nk** Send, push out (e.g., substances out of the body)
- tigari** Roll
- tigitigija** Be boiling
- tij** Fill in, said of a hole (i.e., the direct object is the space filled in; cf. *tijabio*).
- tijabio** Bury, denoting the covering of an object placed in a hole (i.e., the direct object is the buried referent; cf. *tij*).
- tijagi** Gang up on, with many against one in a confrontation.
- tijaja** Enter eye of
- tiin** Lean at a relatively steep angle (e.g., greater than 45 degrees; pluractional form is *tiintiia*)
- tik** Block
- tikag** Be in way (e.g., objects near ground causing tripping, ropes or barricades that shape a line)

- tikatsa** Place trap, a particular trap used for birds in a style with a liana in a circular shape that tightens around the bird's neck as it enters; two kinds, one in trees to catch birds in flight (e.g., *opempe*, *koyokoyo*), another on the ground for smaller birds (e.g., *shirinti*, *shaanti*; cf. *takitsa*, *tinka*, *tsigaja*).
- tiko** Bend limb (e.g., arm inward so hand faces chest, tilting neck to side)
- tim** Exert force (e.g., pulling against something), confront (e.g., not having fear in the face of danger)
- timashi** Lie in wait for
- timen** Twist upper body at waist
- timetoj** Injure, said of underdeveloped entities (e.g., infant child or animal); patient is conceptualized as "soft," easily injured by accident (cf. *metoj*).
- timpina** Go wrong way
- tinaj** Be awake, get up (physically)
- tineoki** Sleep
- tinig** Skin with hand
- tink** Do with end of stick-like object (e.g., churning manioc beer, poking at an object, tamping down gunpowder)
- tinka** Place trap, a particular trap used for large game mammals (e.g., tapirs, pacas) in a style with suspended bait and logs that collapse on the prey's neck (cf. *takitsa*, *tikatsa*, *tsigaja*).
- tinkamirej** Jump into middle of (e.g., crowd, approaching army)
- tinkig** Hit with blunt object (e.g., stock of a shotgun; reduplicated form = *tinkitinki*)
- tinkobi** Do in same direction (e.g., different warriors pointing their shotguns)
- tinkotserej** Expel semen, referencing the traditional belief that semen is stored in the lower back, this event conceptualized as this organ splitting open (e.g., *ikotse*).
- tintsig** Pull, said of bow strings
- tion** Make dizzy, go in circle (e.g., circling before landing a plane; cf. *tironk*)
- tionk** Write, draw
- tiontashago** Ambulate with the walk-hop of a vulture
- tipitipi** Zigzag
- tipitsikonte** Bend in half
- tiri** Rub on, paint (e.g., building)
- tironk** Go in circle (e.g., circling in the air, deranged or drunk individual stumbling back and forth around a central point)
- tiroro** Lunge forward, flail (e.g., in crazed behavior)
- tishik** Nudge to wake up
- tishink** Disturb with resulting movement overhead (e.g., brushing against a liana that rips upward, brushing against corn stalk that sways overhead)
- titonki** Be at forty five degree angle
- to** Cut incrementally (e.g., with small incisions in the body of an animal, also said of grass, hair; cf. *ogaraj*)
- tog** Fell
- toja** Grow, said of weeds.

- tomog** Gag
- tonare** Be fallen, said of cultigens such as plantains, but not entire trees.
- tonk** Pop (e.g., balloon, kernel over fire), burst (e.g., overly swollen corpse)
- tonkabite** Explode (n.b., not said of hatching eggs)
- tonkiboatsae** Encounter, said of white-lipped peccaries because they travel in sounders (cf. verbal classifier *-tsae*, for line-like configurations).
- tonkog** Go up, in reference to inclines (reduplicated form = *tonkotonko*).
- tononk** Grind
- tontoronk** Play, said of drums.
- topekirij** Grind through (e.g., with chainsaw)
- tororo** Flutter lips (i.e., as with a bilabial trill)
- toshinchaaboaki** Barb one side of arrow with several tightly curved barbs resembling cat claws.
- totea** Kick
- tobirorej** Break neck of by twisting (e.g., chicken)
- tsa₁** Know, believe, learn, recognize.
- tsa₂** Hang
- tsabe** Portend
- tsabeg** Blab (i.e., reveal secrets through talk)
- tsabetan** Tell story about
- tsabite** Have malevolent vision of
- tsaj** Untie
- tsak** Make hole and insert (e.g., seeds of maize or beans)
- tsakororoja** Gargle
- tsamaro** Dance
- tsaneg** Guard possessively (e.g., of men who do not let their wives move about freely, or let their daughters marry)
- tsaparonkagite** Set, said of the sun.
- tsarereja** Drool
- tsarog** Startle
- tsaroakag** Be afraid of (cf. *-akag* CAUS)
- tsaron** Chant
- tsaroben** Worship, said of the Christian God.
- tsataj** Want to die
- tsatij** Pull apart (e.g., a liana from a tree)
- tsato** Tie to, denoting tying objects to other objects so they do not get away (e.g., canoe, animal).
- tsejirej** Fall on thorns of (cf. *tseji*)
- tsejiriri** Itch, said of the bites of insects.
- tsejishina** Be prickly (e.g., peach palm; cf. *tseji*)
- tsek** Chop into (e.g., motion with axe into gourd that splits it open, “storing” axe in tree by chopping into it)
- tsenki** Light, ignite
- tsente** Squat

- tseraja** Fill with liquid
- tseraiki** Fill with objects
- tsibak** Go out, said of light that extinguishes quickly (cf. *tsimank*); turn off (e.g., engine).
- tsibita** Do in a dense fashion, a general meaning encompassing tight weaving (e.g., the fronds forming a menarche seclusion hut) but also canoes coming en masse along the river.
- tsibo** Shine light on, put fire to (n.b., does not denote moment of ignition, e.g., a match before the flame catches on the object)
- tsibokiriri** Be striped vertically, denoting a particular design resembling small mountains.
- tsig** Burn, with direct contact with flames (e.g., object in cooking fire, garden).
- tsigaja** Place fish trap, mesh-like and supported at an angle with a forked stick in the water (cf. *takitsa, tikatsa, tinka*).
- tsigempita** Hit ear of
- tsika** Strain
- tsikirij** Sprinkle, said of liquids; fizz (e.g., opened soda bottle); spray (e.g., can of mace).
- tsimank** Fade, said of slowly fading light (cf. *tsibak*).
- tsimenk** Stoke
- tsimenki** Be shiny jet-black
- tsimija** Be damp in small region, leak
- tsinak** Pound (e.g., ayahuasca, barbasco), crush (e.g., nut; reduplicated form = *tsinatsina*)
- tsinampirej** Move away from
- tsine₁** Apply sticky substance to, for the purpose of attaching (e.g., to bow to attach string; cf. *atsirek, tsinek, tsire*).
- tsine₂** Remove palm heart (e.g., *shega, kamona*)
- tsinek** Stick to seal (e.g., sealing canoes, duct tape over top of bucket to hold lid shut; cf. *atsirek, tsine, tsire*)
- tsink** Apply small amounts of liquid to so patient regains consciousness (e.g., naturally from the rain, with a wet cloth); calm wound of, where patient is individual whose wound is calmed.
- tsipa** Be with, accompany
- tsiraj** Split open, chop in half (e.g., segments of tree trunks, resulting in Western-style fire logs, or watermelons), hatch, crack (i.e., egg)
- tsire** Be sticky, said of substances.
- tsiritsiripona** Have ovular design pattern, by which two slightly curved horizontal lines form a rough oval, with wavy horizontal lines cutting across in between the two; said of tinamous, whereas currasows lack this pattern.
- tsitak** Do to edge of, a general meaning encompassing adding firewood to fire, moving cross to or searching at the edges of open expanses, etc.
- tsiti** Hide
- tsitija** Approach shore
- tsitink** Stub toe
- tso** Suck on (e.g., seeds of fruits)
- tsobank** Sprout, said of plants when their shoots first emerge from the ground (n.b., also said of the appearance of rainbows).

- tsobia** Be clear of brush (e.g., house clearing, soccer field); be uni-colored
- tsobirotsobiro** Be jagged, said of rocks
- tsojenki** Provoke
- tsokij** Remove, said of slender objects (e.g., nail, thorn; cf. *tsopaj*).
- tsopaj** Remove, said at least of manioc from the ground (cf. *tsokij*).
- tsopirej** Fall, said of wild foodstuffs (e.g., plantains).
- tsorink** Be old, said of people.
- tsorintsoripio** Be old, said of people.
- tsorog** Sprout, said of plants already emerged from the ground when they first open (cf. *tsobank*).
- tyaameeronk** Graze skin of
- tyakis** Pop (n.b., transitive; cf. *tonk*)
- tyankaja** Close one eye, denoting either relatively fast-paced winking or looking out of one eye with the other closed.
- tyorirink** Communicate with remotely (e.g., by radio or satellite phone)

C.3 Adjectives

- akitsogiro** Having the color of fired pots
- amajamajaji** Infested with flies or worms or related insects (e.g., manioc beer, still water)
- (a)metso** Soft
- apapakorobakotsi** Five
- aparo** One, once, in one go
- aparopae** Some
- apotsotiro** Annatto-colored
- chaa** Small, usually in combination with diminutive *-janiki*; classifiers intervene between the root and the diminutive.
- chemi** Slender
- ejempako** Empty-handed
- gijatapojiroka** Three, four
- iniro** Large, said of inanimate objects (always followed by a classifying element).
- irakaga** Ripe
- irijanijaniki** Small
- irijanitontiikijaniki** Frail
- irinkimorintejaniki** Small said of game, at least collared peccaries and tapirs.
- iriri** Large, said of animate beings (always followed by a classifying element).
- janatira** Raw
- kabeshipaje** Disheveled, said of hair.
- kabeshishiitoki** Singed, said of hair.
- kajara** Empty (usually followed by a classifying element)
- kakaa(ji)** Short in stature
- kakarashigiti** Short, said of hair.

- kanankamirijakini** Abundant, said of gardens.
kiabenkiriki Lacking petals
kiajakitsoonajaki Discolored, said of the blackish but also lighter-colored discolorations resulting from blows to the skin, insect bites, etc.
kisaajenkagite Having the color of dark-gray sky
kishotonkiri Rigid (e.g., of rebar)
kobe(j)enka Fear-inducing
maasano All, everyone
mabite Two, twice
mani Abandoned, said of places.
mararogitejenka Cloud-filled
mararojenkagite Cloud-filled
metaro Shallow, said of vessels.
okijajaniki Beautiful-eyed
oniro Large, said of inanimate objects (always followed by a classifying element).
orijanijaniki Small
oroboamenkori Used for raft construction (cf. *pijonkamenkori*)
osegonta Silver (e.g., the color of Mylar plastic); *osegonta inkite* ‘silver sky’ refers to a place visited by shamans during ayahuasca trances.
osheki Much, many
patakijaniki Small, said of wood subsections (cf. *pataki*).
poaatsaeki Smoke rising
santarinke Large, said of fish.
santiko Silent (cf. *majere*)
sarabirenai ~ **saraperanai** Having receding hairline (cf. *beratyai*)
serontojenka Hot metal-smelling
shikokarakishi Filling many to a hole, said of fish in river rocks.
shimirikaratseji Razor-sharp
shimposhimponkaki Disorganized (e.g., groups of people)
tiaantsi Cooked
tiatsijenka Shit-smelling
tikontikoiro Having a single zigzagging line as a design
tsijenkamenko Having the color of smoked meat
tsijenkatsino Having the color of dark skin
tsipa Other

C.4 Adverbs

- aisa(ti)** Again, also
aka(niki) Here
akakeroka Here on this side

- anta(niki)** There
- antakeronta** There on the other side
- apakijiro** Without stopping
- apanibani** One left
- apaniro** Alone
- aparosati** For the last time
- apashiro** Without stopping or resting along the way, said of journeys.
- apatiroti** Only (one)
- arimaja** Truly
- chaashia** Almost, co-occurring with following realis verb marked with frustrative *-be*; eventual-ity farther from being realized than with *pajini* ‘almost.’
- chapinki** Yesterday, recently
- ijatini** Dodging
- imaika** Now, today, then
- inchikio** Slowly, with caution (diminutive form is *inchikioji*)
- inkajaranki** Previously
- intati** Only
- intatikero** Other side, usually said of river
- intsompogi** Inside
- iriakera** For the first time, very recently (M)
- iroakera** For the first time, very recently (F)
- ironi** Carefully
- isabija** Underwater
- isabiji** Low (down), underground, on the ground, underneath
- jenoki** High (up), above, upstairs
- jotyaraipotyarai** Free-balling, well hung, said of the manner of walking of well endowed individuals not wearing underwear.
- kapicha(ji)** Small amount, a little bit
- katonko** Upriver (diminutive form is *katyonkoji*)
- katsiketi** Immediately
- keariro** Truly (e.g., like to English *verum* with focal accent)
- kempeji** Near
- kiinkaji** Downriver near (n.b., adverbial diminutive *-ji*)
- kirinka** Downriver
- kisho** Kept close, said of children or spouses; tightly, said of grips (modifies *og* ‘do (to)').
- kitamenkia** Cock-eyed
- koajika** Later
- koramani** A long time ago
- kotankitsi** However, but
- miromirokicho** Ball up with hands, said of the way agoutis ball up their food with their paws before consumption (cf. *amirok*).
- niankiite** At midnight (cf. *niankigite*)

niganki Midway

nigankiperita Mid-cliff

nijantyaji Short distance from deictic center where there has been no motion away from that center (e.g., when walking around objects on a path; n.b., adverbial diminutive *-ji* and palatalization of /t/; cf. *tijaji*); diminutive form *nijantyakoñaji*.

noririjempeki Right

noshinampijempeki Left

oashia At the same time as

ogantaga Always (= Matsi. *omirinka*)

okasota Same side of river

osaitekero ~ **osaitekera** Tomorrow, next day

osamani Far away

paesatoniki In mythical times

pajini ~ **pajeni** Almost, co-occurring with following irrealis verbed marked with frustrative = *me*; eventuality closer to being realized than with *chaashia* ‘almost.’

sotsiki Outside

taampina Fast, quickly

tampatika Straight up, said also of the correct way of doing something.

tijaji Short distance from deictic center where there has been motion away from that center (e.g., walking away from someone, telling someone to back off physically, moving an object to the edge of a room; n.b., adverbial diminutive *-ji*; cf. *nijantyaji*); diminutive form *tijakoñaji*.

C.5 Interjections

aashia Watch out (followed by verb with *-tsi* ‘lest’)

aato No (future-oriented)

aatoshiatsi Watch out (followed by verb with *-tsi* ‘lest’)

ariotesa Thank you

arisanoja Be careful

iintsija Commitment to action, either by speaker or of addressee (latter like Eng. *go ahead*).

iintsiketi Go ahead, you first

jaame Let’s go (hortative particle)

jeeje Yes

jeejempatsi Yes, thanks to X, where X is the subject of a following verbal clause.

kaaka(te) Come here

kempejisompomogito Big-head, said as a taunt or insult.

koajikata Hold on, shhh

miintsa Let’s go (hortative particle, archaic; cf. *jaame*)

okantajani That can stay behind (e.g., said of object brought to someone while packing).

tee No (non-future-oriented)

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