

Different Kinds of Second-position Clitics in Caquinte

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1 Introduction

- In this presentation we explore the distribution of different sorts of second-position clitics at the phrase and clausal level in Caquinte (Arawak, Peru)
- Second-position clitics (2P) are also known as Wackernagel clitics

[...] in current language descriptions, a Wackernagel clitic is a clitic that can be positioned either after the first word or after the first phrase [...] the property of promiscuous attachment or low selectivity (Spencer and Luís 2012:41)¹

$$\| \begin{array}{c} [X] \\ 1 \end{array} =_{\text{CL}} \begin{array}{c} [Y] \\ 2 \end{array} \|_{\text{DOMAIN}} \begin{array}{c} \\ 3 \end{array}$$

- Questions – division of labor between syntax, morphology, and phonology
 - Constituency
 - * What kind of constituent is [X] to which the clitic attaches?
 - phonological: foot ~ prosodic word ~ phonological phrase
 - syntactic: grammatical word ~ X^o ~ phrase XP
 - * What kind of constituent is the resulting [X]=CL?
 - * What kind of constituency holds between [X] and [Y]?

*Data comes from elicitation and a corpus of approximately 8,000 lines developed by Zachary O'Hagan as part of ongoing fieldwork in the Caquinte community of Kitepámpani begun in 2011. We thank speakers Antonina Salazar Torres, Joy Salazar Torres, Emilia Sergio Salazar, and Miguel Sergio Salazar for their patience, generosity, willingness, and enthusiasm in sharing their language with us, as well as audiences at Syntax and Semantics Circle (UC Berkeley) for feedback on an earlier version of this work. Financial support for fieldwork has come from two Oswald Endangered Language grants (2014, 2015) and an Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP) Individual Graduate Scholarship (2016-present). Documentary materials are archived with the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages and are available online: <http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.7297/X24M92P6>.

¹See also: Tobler (1875); Mussafia (1898); Wackernagel (1892); Schachter and Otnes (1972); Schachter (1973); Kaisse (1982); Klavans (1985); Black (1992); Anderson (1993, 2005, 2008, 2011); Halpern (1995); Halpern and Zwicky (1996); Bošković (2001); Noyer (2001); Chung (2003); Fischer (2003); Pancheva (2005); Legate (2008).

- Derivation
 - * Where are [X], [Y], and =CL merged in the syntax?
 - * By which principles are they positioned resulting in surface 2P?
- Domain
 - * What determines the domain of second-positionhood?
 - * For example, Anderson (2008) describes different sorts of clitics, ones that must be non-initial in CP versus in IP (see Appendix)
- Analysis
 - Claim 1 – Caquinte clitics are prosodically deficient
 - Claim 2 – [X]=CL structure is formed post-syntactically
 - Claim 3 – clausal clitics are syntactically merged at different points in the clause

2 Caquinte Language

- Caquinte (ISO 639-3:cot) is a Kampa Arawak language spoken in southeastern Peru by fewer than 500 people (Castillo Ramírez 2017; Swift 1988)
 - polysynthetic: large number of morphemes per word
 - strongly headmarking, frequent pro-drop
 - VSO with subject agreement, reality status, and voice as obligatory categories
- The verbal template includes three prefixal and upwards of twenty suffixal slots, as well as at least seven clausal second-position clitic slots²

- (1) a. **Irira iranianishite** ikenkejanake, ikanti: “Imaikampani nojokeneri kachojari kameetsanijite namenabakeri impeanakempageti.”

iri- ra iri- anianishi -te i- kenkej -an -k -i i-
 3M- D:MED 3M.P- brother-in-law -POSS 3M.S- think -ABL -PFV -R:ACT 3M.S-
kaN -i imaika =Npani no- ojok -e -nV -ri kachojari kameetsa
 say -R:ACT now =CT 1S- give -IRR -TH -3M.O manioc.beer PURP
=niji =te no- amen -ab -k -e -ri i- N- peg -an -k
 =PURP =CE 1S- see -DIR -PFV -IRR -3M.O 3M.S- IRR- transform -ABL -PFV
-e -Npa =geti
 -IRR -MID =when

His brother-in-law thought, and said: “Now I’m going to give him manioc beer so I can watch him when he transforms.”

²Epenthetic segments /t/ and /a/, which repair vowel and consonant hiatus, respectively, are not represented in the segmentation. Abbreviations: A = applicative; ABL = ablative; ACT = active; ALL = allative; ALT = alternative; AM = associated motion; AUG = augmentative; CE = counter-expectational; CF = counterfactual; CL = classifier; CONGR = congruent; COP = copula; D = demonstrative; DIR = directional; DISTR = distributive; DUR = durative; EPST = epistemic; F = feminine; FOC = focus; FRUST = frustrative; IDEO = ideophone; INCL = inclusive; INCNGR = incongruent; INSTR = instrumental; IRR = irrealis; LOC = locative; M = masculine; MAL = malefactive; ME = male ego; MED = medial; MID = middle; NEG = negation; O = object; P = possessor; PFV = perfective; PERSP = perspectival; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; PRO = pro-form; R = realis; REG = regressive; REL = relativizer; S = subject; TOP = topic.

- b. Yoanaji itsobironakiteki.

i- og -an -aj -i i- tsobironaki -te =ki
 3M.S- go -ABL -REG -R:ACT 3M.P- house -POSS =LOC

He went back to his house.

- c. **Irira imoroiroki** tee irogeji, arigenti ichokotitaji amperitaki amashaitake.

iri- ra imoroiroki tee iri- og -e -ji arigenti i-
 3M- D:MED collared.peccary NEG:R 3M.S.IRR- go -IRR -NEG:R FOC:PRED 3M.S-
chokoti -aj -i aNperita =ki amashai -ak -i -Ø
 sit -REG -R:ACT river.rocks =LOC sing -PFV -R:ACT -3S

The collared peccary didn't go, he sat on the river rocks singing.

- The preverbal field includes positions for topics and foci

TOPIC FOCUS NEGATION FOCUS **VERB** SUBJECT OBJECT

Figure 1: Schematic Syntactic Structure

3 Second-position Clitics

3.1 Clausal Second-position Clitics

- Clausal second-position clitics express meanings often associated with CP³
 - information structure, clause linking, modality, evidentiality, adverbials, emotion

Table 1: Second-position Clausal Clitics

Form	Meaning	Form	Meaning
= <i>ga</i>	contrastive topic	= <i>ja</i>	modal strengthener
= <i>Npani</i>	contrastive topic	= <i>riji</i>	deontic
= <i>Npa</i>	incongruence	= <i>ta</i>	'soon'
= geti	'when', 'if', 'where', 'until'	= <i>sano</i>	'truly'
= tari	congruence ("because")	= <i>keti</i>	'ahead'
= <i>nika</i>	congruence under negation	= <i>ketiro</i>	'ahead'
= <i>ka</i>	epistemic	= <i>shia</i>	anticipated apprehensiveness
= <i>kea</i>	nonwitnessed evidential	= <i>shiatsi</i>	current apprehensiveness
= <i>sa</i>	inferential	= <i>ka</i>	relativizer
= <i>me</i>	counterfactual, frustrative	= <i>shine</i>	irritation
= <i>te</i>	counterexpectational	= <i>gitatsi</i>	confirmation
= <i>sakanika</i>	mirative	= <i>satine</i>	request for confirmation

- It is ungrammatical for second-position clitics to appear in initial position

³They resemble non-pronominal clitics in Tagalog (Schachter and Otnes 1972; Schachter 1973; Anderson 2011).

- When the host is a verb or negator, clausal clitics behave similarly, as in (2) & (3)

(2) a. Yaanakenatari... V=CL

i- ag -an -k -i -na [=tari]
 3M.S- take -ABL -PFV -R:ACT -1O =CNGR

It's that he took me...

b. "...teetari nonkejetempihi." Neg=CL

tee [=tari] *no- N- keje -e -Npi -ji*
 NEG:R =CNGR 1S- IRR- be.like -IRR -2O -NEG:R

"...because we're not like you."

(3) a. Oposatanakegeti nokemi bero bero. V=CL

o- posa -an -k -i [=geti] *no- kem -i bero bero*
 3F.S- be.cooked -ABL -PFV -R:ACT =when 1S- hear -R:ACT IDEO:voices

When it cooked, I heard voices.

b. Napatsaabantake teegeti nontsateroji. Neg=CL

no- apatsaabaN -ak -i tee [=geti] *no- N- tsa -e -ro -ji*
 1S- read -PFV -R:ACT NEG:R =when 1S- IRR- know -IRR -3F.O -NEG:R

I would read when I didn't know it.

- However, when the possible host is a topic expression, two sorts of clausal clitics emerge
- Those like =tari ("T"-type) may attach either to the demonstrative (4a) or to the constituent following the noun (4b)

(4) a. Iiriratar Taatakini tee inkajemeji...

iri- ra [=tari] *Taataki =ni tee i- N- kajem -e -ji*
 3M.S.IRR- D:MED =CNGR Taataki =DEC NEG:R 3M.S- IRR- shout -IRR -NEG:R

Taatakini didn't shout...

b. Ora noniinanite teetari ontsatakotempaji...

o- ra non- iinani -te tee [=tari] *o- N- tsa -ako -e*
 3F- D:MED 1P- mother -POSS NEG:R =CNGR 3F.S- IRR- know -A:INDR -IRR
 -Npa -ji
 -MID -NEG:R

My mother didn't know...

- Those like =geti ("G"-type) may attach only to the constituent following the entire topic expression (5)

(5) Iira pinchini itsatabakerogeti...

iri- ra piNchiNchi i- tsa -ab -k -i -ro [=geti]
 3M- D:MED vampire.bat 3M.S- kow -DIR -PFV -R:ACT -3F.O =when

When the vampire bat heard her...

- In neither case may the clitic attach to the noun, as summarized in Table 4

Table 2: Distribution of Clausal Second-position Clitics (“T” & “G” Types)

	[V]	[Neg] [V]	[FocP] [V/X]	[_{TopP} D N] [V/X]
= <i>tari</i> “because”	V=CL	Neg=CL V	FocP=CL V	D(=CL) N V(=CL)
= <i>geti</i> ‘when, if, where’	V=CL	Neg=CL V	FocP=CL V	D N V=CL
GENERALIZATIONS	2P	2P	2P	clitic dependent

3.2 Nominal Second-position Clitics

- Clausal clitics can be contrasted with nominal clitics, which sometimes attach to a noun

=*pae* PLURAL

=*ki* LOCATIVE

- Both attach to an unmodified noun (6a,b) and stack in the order in (6) when they co-occur

(6) a. otsempipae

otseNpi [=pae]
mountian =PL

mountains

ibakopaeki

c. *i- bako* [=pae] [=ki]
3M.P- hand =PL =LOC

in his hands

b. otsempiki

otseNpi [=ki]
mountain =LOC

in the mountain

- However, when a prenominal adjective is present, the adjective hosts a single clitic (7a,b)

(7) a. otsipaki otsempi

o- tsipa [=ki] *otseNpi*
3F- other =LOC mountain

in another mountain

b. iririjegipae pamakabiri

iririjegi [=pae] *pamakabiri*
large =PL fish

large fish

- When both clitics are present in the context of a prenominal adjective, they separate (8)

(8) onirojegipae chomoki

onirojegi [=pae] *chomo* [=ki]
large =PL clay.pot =LOC

in large clay pots

- With any non-adjectival modifier, the noun serves as the host of all clitics

(9) **Demonstrative**

- a. *irira irajaanirepae*
iri- ra iri- aajanire [=pae]
 3M- D:MED 3M.P- employee =PL
 his employees
- b. *onta otsempiki*
o- Nta otseNpi [=ki]
 3F- D:DIST mountain =LOC
 in that mountain

(10) **Quantifier**

- a. *maasano nojaaitepae*
maasano no- jaai -te [=pae]
 all 1P- brother -POSS =PL
 all my brothers
- b. *osheki kotsironakiki*
osheki kotsironaki [=ki]
 many pot =LOC
 in many pots
- c. *maasano tsobironakipaeki*
maasano tsobironaki [=pae] [=ki]
 all house =PL =LOC
 in all the houses

- The distribution of nominal clitics is summarized in Table 3

Table 3: Distribution of Nominal Second-position Clitics

Form	[N]	[Adj] [N]	[Dem/Quant/Num] [N]
= <i>pae</i>	N=CL	Adj=CL N	Dem/Quant/Num N=CL
= <i>ki</i>	N=CL	Adj=CL N	Dem/Quant/Num N=CL
GENERALIZATIONS	2P	2P	never 2nd position

- The sequence of a demonstrative, quantifier, or numeral and a noun is impenetrable with respect to the nominal clitics, unlike what is observed for clausal clitics (11)

(11) [Orakea mankigarentsipae]_{DP} yaajiakero...

o- ra [=kea] *maNkigareNtsi* [=pae] *i- ag -jig -k -i -ro*
 3F- D:MED =EVID woman =PL 3M.S- take -PL -PFV -R:ACT -3F.O

The women they took [as wives]...

- **A conspiracy?** Nouns are attested in naturalistic data only with a single modifier
 - Thus adjectives are not attested with demonstratives, quantifiers, or numerals
- The ban on demonstratives hosting nominal clitics leaves that position open for clausal clitics

4 Analysis

4.1 Claim 1 – Caquinte Clitics are Prosodically Deficient

- Like affixes, clitics are phonologically bound and require a host

- (12) a. [ibétsata] ‘he speaks’
 b. [ibetsáta=geti] ‘when he speaks’
- (13) a. [imétojake] ‘he died’
 b. [imetojáke=tari] ‘because he died’
- (14) a. [abíro] ‘(it’s) you’
 b. [ábiro=sa] ‘(it’s) you’ (inferential)

- **Subcategorization** A morpheme can be prespecified for prosodic requirements (Inkelas 1990; Raffelsiefen 1999; Itô and Mester 2013; Bennett et al. to appear), requiring a particular host

– In this case a preceding phonological word, as evidenced by stress shifts

- (15) **Underlying representation for =geti**

Σ : [+CONGRUENT]

Φ : [ω [...] /geti/]

where [ω ...] = phonological word

- The presence of stress shift suggests that the clitic and its host form a single phonological word to which stress is assigned

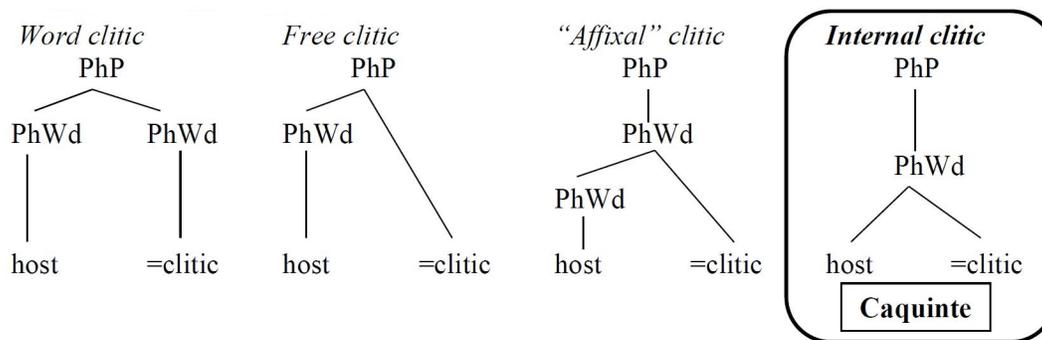


Figure 2: Prosodic Structure Types

- We refer to these as internal clitics, following Selkirk (1996); Peperkamp (1997); Vogel (2009); Cardinaletti and Repetti (2009)

4.2 Claim 2 – [X]=CL Structure is Formed Post-syntactically

- There are two logical possibilities for deriving the [X]=CL (host plus clitic) constituent

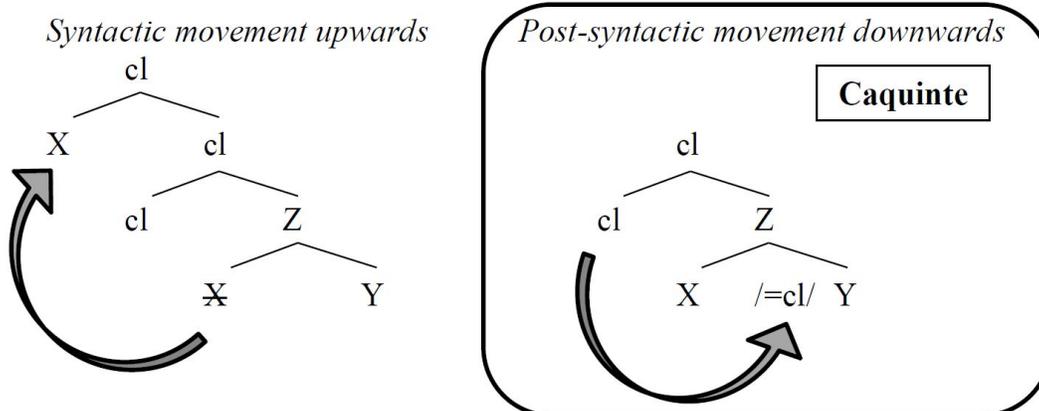


Figure 3: Deriving [X]=CL

- When *=tari* appears with a topicalized phrase, it appears between the D element and the N
 - [D=CL N]_{TopP} [X]
 - [D N]_{TopP} [X]=CL cf. *[D N=CL]_{TopP} [X]
- **Argument 1** Syntax is phonology-blind
 - It is the clitics, not the host (e.g., noun, verb, etc.) that are prosodically deficient
 - We assume that syntactic movement is strictly sensitive to syntactic features, not phonological features (*contra* Richards (2010, 2016))
 - * We rule out a syntactic EPP condition on CLP with a phonological motivation
- **Argument 2** Evidence from topicalized clauses
 - As shown above, topic expressions precede the verb and canonically consist of a demonstrative followed by a noun ([D N] V) in the same field as the clausal clitics
 - When a clausal clitic co-occurs with a topic expression, the clitic can only attach to the demonstrative or some element lower than the noun (e.g., verb), but never the noun
 - This would be unexpected under the alternative syntactic movement upwards
 - * Under the syntactic movement account, the order D=CL N would entail that D has moved around the clitic, forming a discontinuous constituent with the noun
 - * And it would be unexpected that the entire DP could *not* move around the clitic (cf. *[D N=CL] V)
- **Schematic post-syntactic analysis**
 - syntactic structure: [CL]_{TopP} [DP D N] [Top Top [VP V [...
 - spell-out/vocabulary insertion: /CL/ /D/ /N/ /V/
 - post-syntactic clitic movement: /D/ /CL/ /N/ /V/ (cf. ^x/D/ /N/ /CL/ /V/)

4.3 Claim 3 – Clausal Clitics are Syntactically Merged at Different Points in the Clausal Spine

- Recall the structure of the clausal spine: TopicP > {FocusP;NegP} > [...VP...]

Table 4: Distribution of Clausal Second-position Clitics (“T” & “G” Types)

	[V]	[Neg] [V]	[FocP] [V/X]	[_{TopP} D N] [V/X]
= <i>tari</i> ‘because’	V=CL	Neg=CL V	FocP=CL V	D(=CL) N V(=CL)
= <i>geti</i> ‘when, if, where’	V=CL	Neg=CL V	FocP=CL V	D N V=CL
GENERALIZATIONS	2P	2P	2P	clitic dependent

- Because both =*tari* and =*geti* always appear in second position with [V], [Neg] [V], and [FocP] [V], we capture this by always merging the clitics above these positions

(16) **Verb, Negation, Focus**

SYNTAX	SURFACE	SYNTAX	SURFACE
<i>tari</i> > V	V= <i>tari</i>	<i>geti</i> > V	V= <i>geti</i>
<i>tari</i> > Neg > V	Neg= <i>tari</i> V	<i>geti</i> > Neg > V	Neg= <i>geti</i> V
<i>tari</i> > Foc > V	Foc= <i>tari</i> V	<i>geti</i> > Foc > V	Foc= <i>geti</i> V

- With [TopP] [V], however, =*tari* and =*geti* behave differently, which we capture by imposing different restrictions on where each of these two clitic types can merge

(17) **Topic**

SYNTAX	SURFACE	SYNTAX	SURFACE
<i>tari</i> > Top > V	Top= <i>tari</i> V	* <i>geti</i> > Top > V	*Top= <i>geti</i> V
Top > <i>tari</i> > V	Top V= <i>tari</i>	Top > <i>geti</i> > V	Top V= <i>geti</i>

- We end by showing that merge order is sensitive only to the immediately lower node
- First, adverbs may precede the verb and serve as a host to =*geti*

(18) *geti* > **Adv** > **V**

Adv=CL V

...iroakeraget*i* iko*rake*ke no*go*estate.

iroakera =*geti* i- korake -k -i no- goesta -te
 first.time =when 3m.s- come -PFV -R:ACT 1P- linguist -POSS

...when our linguist came for the first time.

- Specific evidence for merge order comes from the distribution of clitics with topic expressions occurring with adverbs

(19) **Ordering possibilities of topics and adverbs**

Top > Adv > V
 Adv > Top > V

- Recall that **geti* > Top > V is unattested
- However, =*geti* can be merged above Top if there is an intervening Adv (20)

(20) *geti* > **Adv** > **Top** > **V** Adv=CL Top V
 Arigeti naatimpa irimetojajitena...

ari =**geti** *naatiNpa iri-* *metoj -ji* *-e -na*
 thus =if 1:TOP 3M.S.IRR- kill -NREF -IRR -IO

If they kill me...

- An explanation of this pattern might require enriching the selectional properties of the =*geti*-class of clausal clitics to only combining with certain sorts of hosts, independent of syntax

5 Final Observations

- A clitic and its host form a single word phonologically, formed post-syntactically
- Clausal clitics fall into two classes
- The sequence [D N] cannot be broken up by nominal clitics or G-type clausal clitics
- Restrictions on G-type clitics and topic expressions disappear when an adverb intervenes

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A Is the Domain of Second Positionhood Self-imposed?

- $\| [X]=CL [Y] \|_{\text{Domain}}$
- What determines the domain?
- Logical possibilities:
 - self-imposition – element inside of domain: $=CL / [X] / [Y]$
 - external imposition – element outside of domain: head directly above $=CL$
- Domain self-imposition – at the point of linearization, a morpheme X which is realized with a vocabulary item $\boxed{\|/X/}$ imposes a lefthand domain boundary
- $D > N > \text{Top} > CL > V$
 $/D/ /N/ \boxed{\|/=CL/} /V/ \rightarrow (D) (N) \| (V=CL)$
- $CL > D > N > \text{Top} > V$
 $\boxed{\|/=CL/} /D/ /N/ /V/ \rightarrow \| (D=CL) (N) (V)$
- Alternative with external imposition: Top is a phase head that spells out its sister

(21) Aisa ikantajititari itsigajatakogetajiri... EXAMPLE WITH ADVERB

aisa i- kaN -ji -i $\boxed{=tari}$ *i- tsigaja -ako -ge -aj*
 also 3M.S- say -NREF -R:ACT =CNGR 3M.S- place.in.fish.trap -A:INDR -DISTR -REG
-i -ri
 -R:ACT -3M.O

They also used to say that he placed them [the dead] in a fish trap...

- Under external imposition, we would be forced to say in these examples that the adverb (or its head) spells out its sister