

# Caquinte Voice Alternations and Cumulative Exponence

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# Land Acknowledgment

I acknowledge with respect the Ohlone people on whose traditional, ancestral, and unceded land I live and work, and whose historical relationships with that land continue to this day.

I acknowledge that I was born on the unceded land of the Obispeño Chumash people and am descendant of the Salinan people, both of the Central Coast of California, and of Spanish, Mexican, and American settlers.



Figure 1: Kitepampani, facing toward the mountains of Apurímac (August 2018)

# Language Background

- Nijagantsi Arawak language of Junín and Cusco regions of Peruvian Amazonia (formerly Kampa Arawak; see Michael 2020:97)
- Vital with several hundred speakers across some six communities, threatened by related Ashaninka and Matsigenka
- VSO, strongly head-marking, largely agglutinative

(1) ...irishekatakaajiapojempariniji.

*iri-*    *sheka* -*akag* -*jig* -*poj* -*e*    -*mpa* -*ri*    =*niji*  
3M.IRR- eat    -CAUS -PL -ALL -IRR -MID    -3M =PURP

...so that they could make him eat it.      (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:134)

- Current documentation 2014-present, with parsed corpus of ~54,000 words
- See also Swift (1988), Castillo Ramírez (2017) & O'Hagan (2020)

# Reality Status and Voice

- **Reality status:** marking of realized vs. unrealized events (Michael 2014)

(2) Nanijiti.

*no- aniji -i*  
1- walk -AR

I'm walking.

(3) Nanijite.

*no- aniji -e*  
1- walk -IRR

I'll walk.

(4) Tee nanijiteji.

*tee no- aniji -e -ji*  
NEG 1- walk -IRR -NEG

I didn't walk.

- With verbs of certain shapes, irrealis additionally expounded by a nasal suprasegment *n-* in the prefixal domain
- **Voice:** relation of argument structure and thematic roles (e.g., active vs. passive)
- Unlike some other Nijagantsi languages such as Matsigenka, Caquinte lacks a passive construction

# Middle Voice

- **Formal characterization:** Inflectional category alternating with active and possibly passive
- **Semantic characterization:** Agentive subject affected by event
- **Relative elaboration of events** (Kemmer 1993:121): “The relative elaboration of an event is the degree to which the participants and component subevents in a particular verbal event are distinguished. The variation in elaboration of events reflects alternative conceptualizations by the speaker, who has a choice of either making reference to events as undifferentiated wholes, or making reference to their substructures or component parts.”
- Middle voice = lower degree of elaboration of events (e.g., reciprocal)

# Caquinte Reality Status & Voice

- Reality status and voice inflectional categories expressed (in part) cumulatively

Table 1: Caquinte Reality Status & Voice Marking

|          | ACTIVE | MIDDLE |
|----------|--------|--------|
| REALIS   | -i     | -a     |
| IRREALIS | -e     | -e-mpa |

- Irrealis *-e* and middle *-mpa* separated templatically by recipient applicative *-nV* (see Drummond & O'Hagan 2020)
- Subject to morphosyntactic idiosyncracies not found elsewhere in verbal word (see also O'Hagan 2020:230-235)

# Caquinte Voice Alternations I

- Many verbs exhibit alternation middle intransitive vs. active transitive

(5) Asateka.

MIDDLE INTRANSITIVE

*o- asatek*        *-a*  
3F- stick.between -MR

It gets stuck in between.

(6) Nasatekiro.

ACTIVE TRANSITIVE

*no- asatek*        *-i -ro*  
3F- stick.between -AR -3F

I stick it in between (e.g., the forks of a stick).

- Other verbs occur with only middle or only active voice marking



# Caquinte Voice Alternations II

- More elaborate alternations are attested with *kitsaa* ‘dress’

(7) MIDDLE REALIS INTR.  
Okitsaata.

*o- kitsaa -a*  
3F- dress -MR

She dresses herself.

(8) ACTIVE REALIS TR.  
Okitsaatiri.

*o- kitsaa -i -ri*  
3F- dress -AR -3M

She dresses him.

(9) MIDDLE IRREALIS INTR.  
Onkitsaatempa.

*o- N- kitsaa -e -mpa*  
3F- IRR- dress -IRR -MID

She will dress herself.

(10) ACTIVE IRREALIS TR.  
Onkitsaateri.

*o- N- kitsaa -e -ri*  
3F- IRR- dress -IRR -3M

She will dress him.

# Caquinte Voice Alternations III

- In SIL descriptive tradition, a “reflexive” (e.g., Snell 2011:836)
- Not reflexive because verb is not made intransitive by middle marking

(11) Okitsaatiri iitsaare.

ACTIVE TRANSITIVE

*o- kitsaa -i -ri i- kitsaa -re*  
3F- dress -AR -3M 3M- dress -NMZ

She puts his clothes on him.

(12) Okitsaataro oitsaare.

MIDDLE TRANSITIVE

*o- kitsaa -a -ro o- kitsaa -re*  
3F- dress -MR -3F 3F- dress -NMZ

She puts her clothes on [herself].

# Categorization of Verbs by Voice Properties

| 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’            |

# Special Conditions on Voice

1. Lexically specified verbal suffixes
2. Speech act participant objects
3. Irrealis with some verbs
4. Extraction of S (focus, relativization, content questions)

# Special Conditions on Voice: Verbal Suffixes

- Middle voice marking co-occurs with detransitivizing suffixes

(13) ...ankatsimatabakaakempageti.

RECIPROCAL

*a-*     *N-*   *katsima*   **-abakag**   *-k*   *-e*   **-mpa**   =*geti*  
1INCL- IRR- be.upset -RECIP     -PFV -IRR -MID   =when

...when we are upset with each other.     (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:32)

- It also co-occurs with suffixes that do not change valence

(14) ...osotoapoji shobao yojokijitsitaro isabiji.

SPECIFIC MOMENT

*o-*   *sotog*   **-poj**   *-i*   *shobao*   *i-*   *ojokiji*     **-itsi**   **-a**   *-ro*   *isabiji*  
3F- emerge -ALL AR gourd   3M- place(.low) -SM   -MR -3F on.ground

...a drinking gourd emerged and he placed it on the ground.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:9)

# Special Conditions on Voice: SAP Objects

- Speech act participant objects must co-occur with active voice

(15) Ishekataro.

*i- sheka -a -ro*  
3M- eat -MR -3F

He eats it.

(16) Ishekatimpi.

*i- sheka -i -mpi*  
3M- eat -AR -2

He's eating you.

# Special Conditions on Voice: Irrealis

- Some verbs are middle in the realis but active in the irrealis

(17) Noshianaka.

*no- shig -an -k -a*  
1- run -ABL -PFV -MR

I ran away.

(18) Noshianake.

*no- shig -an -k -e*  
1- run -ABL -PFV -IRR

I'll run away.

\**Noshianakempa.*

- No verb is ever active in the realis but middle in the irrealis

# Special Conditions on Voice: Extraction of S

- Focus, relativization, and questioning of S results in loss of voice contrasts
- Obligatorily “active realis” *-i* (see Baier & O’Hagan 2019)

(19) Ishekaka.

*i- sheka -k -a*  
3M- eat -PFV -MR

He ate.

(20) Irio shekatankitsi.

*irio sheka -ankits -i*  
3M.FOC eat -PFV -AR

It was him who ate.

- Irrealis expressed by separate suffix *-ne*, and aspect by special forms



# Summary & Conclusions

- Caquinte voice is an inflectional category intertwined with reality status
- Expressed cumulatively in realis, but with distinct morphemes in irrealis
- Notion of event elaboration explains some but not all middle voice marking
- Productive alternations alongside lexical specification and morphosyntactic idiosyncracies (e.g., S-extraction)
- Related languages such as Matsigenka preserve voice distinctions collapsed in some contexts in Caquinte (cf. *-ankich-a*)
- Related languages with passives exhibit similar distribution (i.e., two realis forms, one irrealis form)
- Category of voice not recognized previously due to lack of focus on middle transitives and/or low productivity in some languages (e.g., Nanti; Michael, p.c.)

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