Languages can differ syntactically in ways beyond word order or conditions for omitting pronouns. They can vary in how ideas are distributed over lexical categories, over predicates and arguments, over clauses, and over sentences. [...] We can strive to capture glimpses of how speakers package their thoughts, what they choose to say and how they choose to say it. (Mithun 2014:38)

One of the more interesting facts about human language is that we can use different forms to refer to the same thing, and the same form can be used to refer to many different things. Yet people somehow manage to understand one another [...] The question then is: what do speakers/writers know that enables them to choose an appropriate form to refer to a particular object and what do hearers/readers know that enables them to identify correctly the intended referent of a particular form? (Gundel et al. 1993:274)

To presuppose something is to take it for granted, or at least to act as if one takes it for granted, as background information – as common ground among the participants in a conversation. What is most distinctive about this propositional attitude is that it is a social or public attitude: one presupposes φ only if one presupposes that others presuppose it as well. (Stalnaker 2002:701, emphasis in original)

...the structure of a sentence reflects in systematic and theoretically interesting ways a speaker’s assumptions about the hearer’s state of knowledge and consciousness at the time of an utterance. This relationship between speaker assumptions and the formal structure of the sentence is taken to be governed by rules and conventions of sentence grammar, in a grammatical component that I call information structure, using a term introduced by Halliday (1967). In the information-structure component of language, propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs undergo pragmatic structuring according to the utterance contexts in which these states of affairs are to be communicated. Such pragmatically structured propositions are then expressed as formal objects with morphosyntactic and prosodic structure. (Lambrecht 1994:xiii, emphasis in original)

1 Introduction

• This presentation describes a cluster of related phenomena in Caquinte (Arawak, Peru) necessary to be explicit about the presuppositions that form the common ground between speakers of Caquinte, and the implicatures and entailments that arise from their utterances

• As with any natural language, a variety of conventionalizations at the level of discourse allow speakers to correctly track reference, and thus understand each other more generally

• These empirical issues and the mechanisms that motivate them underly much of the linguistic theory (Why does something move? Why does a feature bundle consist of what it does?)
• They are also at the heart of learning to be a fluent, native-sounding speaker of a language

• Nevertheless, reference grammars of South American languages often lack much of the information necessary for getting even a sense of these empirical issues

  – Tariana (Aikhenvald 2003), Chapter 25/26 “Discourse Organization” (32/705 = 5%)
  – Jarawara (Dixon 2004), [no chapter] (0/636 pages = 0%)
  – Kwaza (Van der Voort 2004), [no chapter] (0/1027 pages = 0%)
  – Urarina (Olawsky 2006), Chapter 19/23 “Focus”, Chapter 22/23 “Discourse Strategies and Expressive Elements” (65/943 pages = 7%)
  – Hup (Epps 2008), Chapter 7/18 “Nominal Discourse-marking Morphology”, Chapter 15/18 “Sentence-level Affect Marking” (93/983 pages = 10%)
  – Cavineña (Guillaume 2008), [no chapter] (0/900 pages = 0%)
  – Bora (Thiesen and Weber 2012), Chapter 19/19 “Some Comments on Discourse” (11/550 pages = 2%)
  – Kotiria (Stenzel 2013), [no chapter] (0/507 pages = 0%)
  – Ashéninka Perené (Mihas 2015), Chapter 17/17 “Topic, Focus, and Emphasis” (37/682 pages = 5%)
  – Kukama-Kukamiria (Vallejos 2016), Chapter 16/17 “Topics in the Syntax-Discourse Interface” (59/755 pages = 8%)

  total 297/7688 = 4%

• Roadmap:

  – §1.1 Sociolinguistic and Project Background and Data
  – §1.2 Relevant Grammatical Details
  – §2 Basic Word Order and Demonstratives
  – §3 Changes in Basic Word Order
  – §4 One Set of Pronouns
  – §5 Demonstrative Suffixes
  – §6 Identificational Focus and Subject Agreement
  – §7 An Aside on Content Interrogatives
  – §8 Other Sorts of Identificational Focus
  – §9 Conclusion

1.1 Sociolinguistic and Project Background and Data

• Caquinte is spoken by some 300-400 individuals in the headwaters of the Mipaya (Cusco) and Pogeni (Junín) rivers in the tropical Andean foothills of southeastern Peru

  – The language belongs to the Kampan branch of the Arawak language family

• Caquintes first entered into sustained contact with non-indigenous outsiders in 1976, with the arrival of members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics
• Traditionally, Caquintes were in tense relations with neighboring Asháninkas and Yines
  – Through the mid-20th century, warriors from both groups conducted raids in that murdered Caquinte warriors, enslaved Caquinte women and children, and destroyed material goods and garden plots

• Confined to the Pogeni headwaters probably from the mid-19th century, Caquintes migrated into the Mipaya headwaters in the mid-1950s
  – These Caquintes began intermarrying with Matsigenkas (Arawak), and those remaining on the Pogeni began intermarrying with Asháninkas
  – Very few living Caquintes have no Matsigenka or Asháninka ancestor, resulting in intense social pressures on Caquinte speakers and linguistic pressures on Caquinte grammar

• Since 2006 the Spanish oil and natural gas company Repsol has been operative in Caquinte territory, leading to some good but many bad social consequences

• I conduct fieldwork in Kitepámpani, a community of ~100 individuals (~35 adults)
  – 2011: preliminary fieldtrip to Kite via Cusco, where the current Caquinte schoolteacher was then studying
  – 2014-present: 7-10 weeks per year living and researching in Kite

• Data for this presentation comes from a corpus of more than 6,000 lines of segmented, glossed, and translated text organized in FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEx)
  – Texts were authored by Antonina Salazar Torres (Tentereitoki), Joy Salazar Torres, and Emilia Sergio Salazar (Pootyoga) in Kitepámpani

  ![Speaker Genealogy](image)

  Figure 1: Speaker Genealogy

  – Texts are predominantly monologic personal histories or traditional myths
  – Texts are both oral written
    * Oral texts were recorded, transcribed first by me, then in collaboration with a consultant, typed, and then reviewed and translated into Spanish with native speaker and schoolteacher Miguel Sergio Salazar (Kontyapasa)
    * Written texts were handwritten by native speakers, reviewed and typed in consultation with the original author, and then reviewed and translated into Spanish with Miguel Sergio Salazar
  – English translations here are my own, based principally on the original Caquinte
    * Spanish translations are problematic because it is not my native language nor that of translator Miguel Sergio
• A large quantity of dialogic and more broadly conversational data remains to be processed!
• Previous published linguistic study of Caquinte is Swift’s (1988) morphosyntactic sketch and Castillo Ramirez’s (2017) undergraduate thesis on noun phrase syntax
  – Some of the ideas presented here go back to O’Hagan (2015a)

1.2 Relevant Grammatical Details

• Caquinte is a polysynthetic, strongly headmarking, mainly agglutinative language
• Basic word order is VSO (see §2) and a sentence need not exhibit overt DP arguments
• Verbal categories include:
  – Obligatory: person (specifically subject agreement) and reality status (Michael 2014)
  – Non-obligatory: causatives, applicatives, reciprocals, pluractionals, plurals, directionals, markers of associated motion, aspect, and “adverbial” categories (e.g., -aman ‘early in the morning’)
• Person is expressed on the verb via prefixes and suffixes (Table 1)
  – Intransitive verbs exhibit two paradigms of subject agreement (O’Hagan 2015b)
  – Object agreement and suffixal intransitive subject agreement paradigms are similar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A/S</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>n(o)-</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1INCL</td>
<td>a-, Ø-</td>
<td>-ahi</td>
<td>-ahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>p(i)-</td>
<td>-Npi</td>
<td>-Npi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>i-, y-, ir(i)-</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>a-, Ø-</td>
<td>-ro</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part I

“Topic” (or Presuppositions)

[...] a theory whose main premise is that different determiners and pronominal forms conventionally signal different cognitive statuses (information about location in memory and attention state), thereby enabling the addressee to restrict the set of possible referents. [...] It is widely recognized that the form of referring expressions, like such other aspects of language as word order and sentence intonation, depends on the assumed cognitive status of the referent, i.e. on assumptions that a cooperative [sic] speaker can reasonably make regarding the addressee’s knowledge and attention state in the particular context in which the expression is used [...] (Gundel et al. 1993:275)
2 Basic Word Order and Demonstratives

• ‘Basic’ word order is here considered the word order attested when no referent is in the common ground (i.e., these referents are being introduced into the common ground)

  – intransitive = VS (2.a,d)
  – transitive = VAP (i.e., VSO) (1)

(1) Ari otiakero Shomoshiki inkomerikanate...

  ari o- tig -a -k -i -ro Shomoshiki Ø - inkomerikanate -te
  so 3F.S- cook -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT -3F.O Shomoshiki 3F.P- chili.pepper -POSS

  Shomoshiki cooked her ají peppers... (naa22)

• Postverbal arguments are also attested when the referent is: 1) in the common ground; and 2) is also construed as the continuation of a recently foregrounded referent (2g)

(2) a. ... “Ipeaka nirihanite.”

  i- peg -a -k -a no- irihani -te
  3M.S- go.out.of.view -EP -PFV -REAL:MID 3M.P- son -POSS

  “My son has gotten lost.”

b. “Arikanpa tinpinake ontaniki otsenpigepohakageti.”

  ari =ka =Npa tINpina -k -i -Ø o- Nta =niki o-
  so =EPIST =INCNGR lose.path -PFV -REAL:ACT -3S 3F- DEM:DIST =ADVZ 3F.S-
  tseinpia -Ø -ge -poh -a -k -a =geti

  “He is probably astray over there in the mountains.”

c. Arikea osheki oshimanpohankaka, iraaka...

  ari =kea osheki o- shimaNpohanK -a -k -a Ø- irag -a -k
  -a -REAL:MID

  And so she was very sad, she cried...

d. Okantirokea orihanite: “Iinani, aato piraga.”

  o- kaN -t -i -ro =kea Ø- orihani -te iinani aato pi-
  3F.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT -3F.O =SC 3F.P- daughter -POSS mother NEG:IRR 2S-
  irag -a
  cry -REAL:MID

  Then her daughter said to her: “Mother, don’t cry.”

e. “Intsihate amenavetavakenpari.”

  iNtsiha =te -a - amen -a -ve -t -av -a -k -e -Npa -ri

  “Come on, we’re going to look for him.”

f. “Aatogeti ikoraketahi, arikea antsake tinpinake.”
aato =geti i- korake -t -ah -i ari =kea a- N- tsa
NEG:IRR =SUB 3M.S- come -EP -REG -REAL:ACT so =SC 1INCL- IRR- know
-k -e tinpina -k -i -Ø
-PVF -IRR lose.path -PFV -REAL:MID -3S

“If he doesn’t come back, then we’ll know that he has lost his way.”

g. Ari ogishinehahiro oniinanite, ari ochookahiah roatinpa.
ari Ø- ogishineh -ah -i -ro on- iinani -te ari o-
so 3F.S- make.happy -REG -REAL:ACT -3F.O 3F.P- mother -POSS so 3F.S-
chooka -hig -ah -i roatinpa
exst -PL -REG -REAL:ACT 3F.PRO
And so she made her mother happy, and they lived [there]. (ama40-46)

• Once a referent denoted by a noun is in the common ground, that noun is modified by the
spatially medial demonstrative, which inflects for the gender of the referent

PROXIMAL ka
MEDIAL ra
DISTAL Nta

Table 2: Caquinte Demonstratives

• As with (2g), these postverbal arguments are interpreted as ‘continuation topics’ (3)

(3) CONTEXT: A tortoise speaks to a tapir, who is the subject of the preceding sentence.

a. “Metohake, ometohanakeri inchatopoa.”
metoh -a -k -i-o- metoh -an -a -k -i -ri
inChato -poa
tree -trunk
“He’s dead, a tree trunk killed him.”

b. Ari itankorehanahi irira tanpishinari.
ari i- tanKoreh -an -ah -i iri- ra tanpishinari
so 3M.S- come.to -ABL -REG -REAL:ACT 3M- DEM:MED tapir
And so the tapir came to. (kev93-94)

• The main characters of traditional narratives are often introduced in this way

(4) Imaika nontsavetanteri irira kamaarini.
imaika no- N- tsavetan -t -e -ri iri- ra kamaarini
now 1S- IRR- tell.story.about -EP -IRR -3M.O 3M- DEM:_MED snake

Now I am going to tell a story about the snake. (kam1)

• Most generally, we can say that a noun modified by a demonstrative denotes a referent in the
common ground
3 Changes in Basic Word Order

- There are two preverbal argument positions for information-structurally ‘highlighted’ referents (ARGUMENT) (ADVERB) (NEGATION) (ADVERB)/(ARGUMENT) VERB (SUBJECT) (OBJECT)

Figure 2: Caquinte Clause Structure

- In the simplest case, a single subject or object precedes the verb

  - Preverbal arguments modified by the medial demonstrative *ra* and coindexed on the verb are construed as ‘switch topics’
    * The foregrounding of a referent that was not immediately previously foregrounded
  - Both subjects (5) and objects (6) may occur in this position

(5) CONTEXT: A human receives a surprise visit from a collared peccary transformed into a human. The peccary wants to establish a kin relation.
  a. Yohokavakeneri isheka aisa kachohari.

```
i-  ohok -av -a -k -i -nV -ri  i-  sheka aisa
3M.S. give -DIR -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT -APPL:REC -3M.O 3M.P- food and kachohari
```

*He gave him [i.e., the collared peccary] his food and manioc beer.*

b. *Irira imoroikoki* ikantiri kakinte: “Nonpeakenpi anianishi.”

```
iri- ra  imoroikoki  i-  kaN -t -i -ri  kakiniTe no-
3M- DEM:MED collared.peccary 3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT -3M.O person 1S-
N- peg -a -k -e -Npi anianishi
IRR- treat.as -EP -PFV -IRR -2O brother-in-law ME
```

The collared peccary said to the person: “I’m going to treat you as my brother-in-law.” (imo10-11)

(6) CONTEXT: A Caquinte man has taken on a tyrannical role in a community.
  a. Nonoshikatsintahikanaka niraanaka aaaa choiiii choiiii joaan jooaan.

```
nO- noshik -a -tsiNahiki -t -an -a -k -a no- irag -an -a
-k -a aaaa choiiii choiiii joaan jooaan
-PFV -REAL:MID ONOM
```

We were pulled around intertwined, and we cried aaaa choiiii choiiii joaan joaan.

b. *Ora igetyo* ... oshitikanakero otsa ishitikantahitaka ogonkorinakiki.

```
o- ra  igetyo ... o- shitik -an -a -k -i -ro
3F-P- DEM:MED sister.FE ... 3F.S- tie.w/one.loop -ABL -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT -3F.O
o- tsa i- shitik -aN -t -a -hi -t -ak
-a o- goNkorinaki =ki
-REAL:MID 3F.P- neck =LOC
```

7
They tied my sister X on her neck with manufactured rope. (naa44-45)

- The presence of adverbs in such clauses demonstrates that this argument position is fairly peripheral to the clause (7)

(7) Irira hagitya osheki ishimanpohankanaka...

irira- ra hagitya osheki i- shimaNpohaNk -an -a -k -a

The Spix’s guan was very sad... (hag173)

- Negation also occurs between these peripheral arguments and the verb (8)

(8) Irira ohaaite tee inkamantanakerohi itsiohite.

irira- ra o- haai -te tee i- N- kamaN -t -an -a
-k -i -ro -hi i- tsiohi -te
-PFV -IRR -3F.O -NEG:REAL 3M.P- sister.ME -POSS

Her brother didn’t tell his sister. (pik267)

4 One Series of Pronouns

- Caquinte distinguishes four series of pronouns (Table 3)

Table 3: Caquinte Independent Pronouns

| 1 | naatiNpa | naageNti | naro | narotake |
| 1NCL | aatiNpa | aageNti | aro | arotake |
| 2 | aviatNpa | auageNti | aviro | avirotake |
| 3M | iriatNpa | iuirgeNti | irio | iriotake |
| 3F | (i/o)roatiNpa | irogeNti | iro | irotake |

- The -tiNpa pronouns have the same distribution as nouns modified by the demonstrative ra
  - They can appear postverbally, denoting referents that are continuation topics (9)

(9) CONTEXT: A young Caquinte woman appears in Kitep’ampani asking for permission from the community president to live there permanently.

a. ... ikanti: “Taa opahita pikorakeshita take akaniki?”

i- kan -t -i taa o- pahi -t -a pi- korake -t
-ashi -t -ak -i aka =niki
... and he said: “Why have you come here?”
b. Nokantiri naatinpa: “Noshiaka.”

no- kan -t -i -ri naati\text{\small Npa} no- shig -a -k -a

I said: “I’ve run away.”

c. “Noninke nonchookatahe akaniki Kitepanpaniki.”

no- ni -n want -k -pfv -i -real:act no- n irr -chooka exst -t -ep -ah -reg -e aka =niki
1s- want -PFV -REAL:ACT 1s- IRR- EXST -EP -REG -IRR here =ADVZ
Kitepa\text{\small N}pani =ki
Kitep\text{\small A}mpani =ki

“I want to live here in Kitep\text{\small A}mpani.”

d. Ikanti iriatinpa: “Kameetsa.”

i- kan -t -i iriat\text{\small Ipa} kameetsa
3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT 3M.PRO that’s.fine

He said: “That’s fine.” (tsh129-132)

– They can appear preverbally, denoting referents that are switch topics [10 & 11]

(10) CONTEXT: The moon and the star find a beautiful woman bathing at the river.

a. Inehakameetsatakaro ogameetsare irorihite ontihavenahavaeka omae.

i- nehakameetsa -t -ak -a -ro o- kameetsa -re
irorihi =te 0- ontih -a -venaha -vaec -k -a o- mae
because.F =xx 3F.S- braid -EP -CL:(hair.type) -DISTR -PFV -REAL:MID 3F.S- hair

They found her beauty attractive because her hair was long and braided.

b. Kotankitsi roatinpa tee onintehi.

kota\text{\small Nk}itsi roati\text{\small Ipa} tee o- ni\text{\small N} -t -e -hi

but 3F.PRO NEG:REAL 3F.S- want -EP -IRR -NEG:REAL

But she wasn’t interested. (kat15-16)

(11) CONTEXT: A woman abandons her husband for her own brother.

a. Kenpehi yamenakotahiro irimankigare, iroatinpa tee onkenkehaherihi...

keNpehi i- amen -ako -t -ah -i -ro iri- ma\text{\small N}kigare
iroati\text{\small Npa} tee o- N- keNkeh -ah -e -ri -hi
3F.PRO NEG:REAL 3F.S- IRR- think.about -REG -IRR -3M.O -NEG:REAL

He watched her from afar, but she didn’t think about him...

b. Tee kapichahi onkatsimaterihi, iriatinpa osheki ipintsatakarao.

tee kapichahi o- N- katsima -t -e -ri -hi
NEG:REAL small.amount 3F.S- IRR- hate -EPC -IRR -3M.O -NEG:REAL
iriat\text{\small Ipa} osheki i- pi\text{\small Nts}a -t -ak -a -ro
3M.PRO much 3M.S- love -EP -PFV -REAL:MID -3F.O

She couldn’t stand him, but he on the other hand loved her very much. (okp5-6)
– They can modify a noun, appearing prenominally

(12) CONTEXT: A woman goes to visit her new daughter-in-law (a ground dove).
  a. Onehapohirookea ovatyageo nohatanatsi aintochapaki.
      o-neh-a-poh-i -ro =kea o- vatyageo noha
      3F.S-see-REAL:ACT-3M.O=SC 3F.P-daughter-in-law.FE masticate
      -t -an -atsi -Ø aiNtochapaki
      -EP-ABL-HAB-3S manioc
      She saw her daughter-in-law masticating manioc.
  b. Arikea iroatinpa heento ogichokotiavakerikea maasano korakehiankitsika.
      ari=kea iroatinpa heeNo o-ogi-caus-sit -PL-DIR-EP-PFV
      -i -ri =kea maasano korake -hig-ankitsi =ka
      -REAL:ACT-3M.O=SC all come -PL-INTR.SE:PFV=REL
      Then the ground dove had all those who had come sit down. (has56-57)

5 Demonstrative Suffixes

5.1 -ga

• The suffix -ga attaches to the medial demonstrative ra and functions to bring a referent into the common ground

• The relevant referent may, strictly speaking, never have been in the common ground, as is traceable from the openings of interactions between individuals who have never spoken

(13) CONTEXT: An early woman, who has been raised eating dirt, comes across a tayra (in human form) in the forest drinking honey. He offers her a gourd full of honey to drink, but she is unable to finish it because it continues to replenish itself. She asks him why his foodstuffs are so plentiful, and, after he responds, follows up with the question in (13a). Neither her father nor either her or his choices of food have been previously mentioned.
  a. ... “Oraga ishekagekaka aapani?”
      o- ra -ga i- sheka -ge -k -a =ka aapani
      3F-DEM:MED-CG:ACT 3M.S-eat -DISTR-PFV-REAL:MID=REL father
      ... “What about what my father eats?”
  b. “Tee onkenpetenparoahi okatika pishekatakaka aviatinpa.”
      tee o- N- keNpe -t -e -Npa -ro -hi o- ka
      -tika pi-sheka-t -ak -a =ka aviatinpa
      -POINT 2S-eat -EP-PFV-REAL:MID=REL 2.PRO
      “It’s not like this that you’re eating.” (tsp30-31)
The relevant referent also may have been in the common ground, but be construed as no longer being in it at the time of utterance (14)

(14) ... “Oraga pohokakenaka noshekataka inkaharankitika, ari iro shekatsi?”

o- ra -ga pi- ohok -a -k -i -na =ka no- sheka -t
-a =ka iNkaharaNki -Ø -t -i =ka ari iro sheka -tsi
-REAL:MID =REL previously -VBZ -EP -REAL:ACT =REL so 3F.PRO food -ALIEN

... “What about what you gave me that I ate from earlier, is that food?” (tsp39)

The suffix -ga does not occur only in interrogatives, but also in declaratives

(15) CONTEXT: A mother plans to raise her son so that he will become a powerful shaman, initially being the one to prepare his ayahuasca and tobacco for him, his two most potent drugs. He later goes to live with Matsigenkas on the Picha River. (The previous mention of tobacco is in line 53 of this text.)

a. ... ari yoanakegeti ontaniki Pichaki, iriatinpa yagavehaka itsinakahiro isantomar-itsate, ipeakaaharo.

ari i- og -an -a -k -i =geti o- Nta =niki Picha =ki
iriatiNpa i- agaveh -a -k -a i- tsinak -ah -i -ro
3M.PRO 3M.S- be.able -EP -PFV -REAL:MID 3M.S- crush -REG -REAL:ACT -3F.O
i- santomaritsa -te i- pekaq -ah -a -ro
3M.P- ayahuasca -POSS 3M.S- manufacture -REG -REAL:MID -3F.O

... when he went over there to Picha, he was able to crush his own ayahuasca, he made it.

b. Oraga sheri ovatsatavakeneritari iriinanite ophatakeneri tsogepironakiki.

o- ra -ga sheri Ø- ovatsa -t -av -a -k
-i -nV -ri =tari iiri iinnani -te o-
-REAL:ACT -APPL:REC -3M.O =CNGR 3M.P- mother -POSS 3F.S-
pilha -t -ak -i -nV -ri tsogepiro
put(.in.small.hole) -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT -APPL:REC -3M.O bamboo
-naki =ki
-CN:round.open.top =LOC

The tobacco his mother prepared for him, putting it into bamboo stalks and giving it to him. (ama162-163)

5.2 -tika

• The suffix -tika attaches to all three demonstratives and often occurs when speakers point

(16) a. ... “Hero okatika notsovironakite.” PROXIMAL

1Regarding this sentence, MSS has the intuition that, when -ga is present, it is as if the woman has given the food back to the tayra, whereas if -ga is not present, it is as if the woman still has the food.
he -ro o- ka -tika no- tsovironaki -te
PRES -3F 3F- DEM:PROX -POINT 1P- house -POSS
... “Here is my house.” (has26)

b. ... “Taa opahi oratika?”
taa o- pahi o- ra -tika
WH 3F.S- LIGHT 3F- DEM:MED -POINT
... “What is that?” (kon82)

c. ... “Irintatika irigenti heokarihite.”
iri- Nta -tika irigenti heokarihite
3M- DEM:DIST -POINT 3M.PRO spirit.type
... “That is a heokarihite spirit.” (ttk355)

• The suffix -tika also occurs in instances in which switches in topic involve a referent that is at the periphery of the common ground

(17) Context: A vampire bat marries several sisters successively, killing each one to drink their blood and blaming each death on their recklessness at a mystical swamp named Tsonkamonki. The vampire bat returns to the sisters’ parents each time he needs a new wife. The following scene occurs when the vampire bat returns for his second wife. Significant back-and-forth occurs between the father, the vampire bat, and the second daughter, but the mother has not been mentioned since line 85, when the vampire bat had come for his first wife.

a. Ari yovetsatakaro irorihanite, ikantiro: “Paaheri notinerihaniki.”
ari so i- ovetsa -t -ak -a -ro iri- orihani -te i- kaN -t
-i -ro pi- ag -ah -e -ri no- tenerihaniki
-REAL: ACT -3F.O 2S- live. with -REG -IRR -3M.O 1P- son-in-law
And so he spoke to his daughter, saying to her: “Go back and live with my son-in-law.”

b. Oroatipna okanti: “Intsiha, naatinpa kenkevaroavakena.”
oratiNpa o- kan -t -i intsiha naatiNpa kenkevaro -vae -k
3F.PRO 3F.S- say -EP -REAL: ACT sure 1.PRO be.of.age -DISTR -PFV
-i -na
-REAL: ACT -1S
She said: “Sure, I’m very much of age.”

c. “Irosati namenakitero metohakeroka nogetyote.”
irosati no- amen -a -ki -t -e -ro metoh -a -k -i -ro
=ka no- igetyo -te
=REL 1P- sister.FE -POSS
“And then I’ll go and see who killed my sister.”

d. Ari yohokakeneri.
ari i- ohok -a -k -i -nV -ri
so 3M.S- give -EP -PFV -REAL: ACT -APPL: REC -3M.O
And so he gave her to him.

e. Irira pinchinchi ikantiri igoonkinite: “Noanahe notsovironakiteki, oratika porihan-
te nontsipatanahenparo.”

- POSS 1S- go -ABL -REG -IRR 1P- house - POSS =LOC 3F- DEM:MED
- CG:REACT 1P- daughter - POSS 1S-IRR- accompany -EP - ABL - REG - IRR - MID
- ro
- 3F. O

The vampire bat said to his father-in-law: “I am going to go back to my house, I'll accompany your daughter.”

f. Irira orapaanite ikantir: “Intsiha.”

- POSS 3M. S- say - EP - REAL: ACT sure

Her father said: “Sure.”

g. Oratika oniinanite tee onintehi oanahehi, okantir: “Aato ogi orihani, ometohita-

- Npa

Her mother didn’t want her to go back, and she said: “My daughter won’t go, lest Tsonkamonki kill her.” (pik136-142)

5.3 Differentiation Among Set Members (-Npani)

- When a set of referents is introduced into the common ground, they may be differentiated
- between via the suffix -Npani

- This suffix attaches to demonstratives, -tina-pronouns, and adverbs (e.g., imaiaka ‘now’)
- It often – but need not – involve a relation of contrast

(18) a. ... “Pishekatari emooki aisa shimoto?”


... “Do you eat emooki grub and shimoto grub?”

b. ... “Heehe, noshekatari emooki, iriranpani shimoto tee noshekatenparihi.”
... “Yes, I eat emooki grub, but I don’t eat shimoto grub.” (ptk253-254)

• All members of the relevant set need not be overtly expressed, but may be construed as already being in the common ground [19 & 20]

(19) CONTEXT: A man is suspicious of his vampire bat brother-in-law, and wants to stay up through the night to see what he is up to.

a. ...okantiri: “Nontineokitanahe.”
   o- kaN -t -i -ri no- N- tineoki -t -an -ah -e
   ...she said to him: “I am going to go back to sleep.”

b. Iriatinpa ikantiro: “Intsiha, naatinpanpani aato notineokiti.”
   iriatiNpa i- kaN -t -i -ro iNTsiha naatiNpa -Npani aato
   no- tineoki -t -i
   1S- sleep -EP -REAL:ACT
   He said to her: “Go ahead, I’m not going to sleep.” (pik109-110)

(20) CONTEXT: Vampire bat does not want his new wife to see the blood of his previous wives in his private clay pot.

a. “Hero okatika choomo pintiantakenpaka.”
   he -ro o- ka -tika choomo pi- N- tig -aN -t -ak
   -e -Npani =ka
   -IRR -MID =REL
   “Here is a (clay) pot for you to cook with.”

b. “Ontatikanpani choomo irogenti nashi naatinpa.”
   o- Nta -tika -Npani choomo irogenti no- ashi naatiNpa
   3F.S- DEM:DIST -POINT -CNTR clay.pot 3F.PRO 1P- POSS 1.PRO
   “That (clay) pot is mine.” (pik151-152)

• When the set is relatively large, and there is no explicit contrast between two referents, -Npani appears with each referent [21]

(21) CONTEXT: a powerful female shaman speaks with her son-in-law about what all of the previously mentioned characters in the narrative will transform into.

a. ...okanti: “Iriranpani kavavaantoni inpeankenpa kavavaantsitshitsaki.”
   o- kaN -t -i iri- ra -Npani kavavaaNtoni i- N-
   3F.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT 3M- DEM:MED -CNTR rat.sp. 3M.S- IRR-
   peg -an -a -k -e -Npa kavavaaNtoshitsaki
   transform -ABL -EP -PFV -IRR -MID rat.sp.(animal)
...she said: “The rat will transform into a true kavavaantoshitsaki rat.”

b. Ari irira kavavaantoni ipeanaka kavavaantoshitsaki.

ari iri-ra kavavaantoni i- peg -an -a -k -a
so 3M- DEM:MED rat.sp. 3M.S- transform -ABL -EP -PFV -REAL:MID
kavavaantoshitsaki rat.sp.(animal)

And so the rat transformed into a true kavavaantoshitsaki rat.

c. Irira Poshontyo Tsorintsoripiori yovetsatanakaro, ikantiro: “Naatinpanpani aato pipeakagana, naatinpa kakinte.”

iri-ra Poshontyo Tsorintsoripiori i- ovetsa-t -an -a -k
-a -ro i- kan-t -i -ro naatinpa -Npani aato pi-
-REAL:MID -3F.O 3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT -3F.O 1.PRO -CNTR NEG:IRR 2S-
peg -akag -a -na naatinpa kakiNte
transform -CAUS -REAL:MID -1O 1.PRO person

Old Axe spoke to her, saying to her: “Don’t transform me, I’m a person.”

d. Aisa ovetsatanaka, okanti: “Iriranpani nomankigare inpeanakenpa pamakavirevakitsate.”

aisa Ø- ovetsa-t -an -a -k -a o- kan-t -i iri-
ra -Npani no- mankigare i- N- peg -an -a -k -e -Npa
pamakavirevakitsate
eagle.sp.

Again she spoke, saying: “My husband will transform into the pamakavirevakitsate
eagle.”


ari i- peg -an -a -k -a Ø- ovetsa -itsi -t -an
-a -k -a aisa o- kan-t -i o- ra -tika
-Npani no- orihani -te o- N- peg -an -a -k -e -Npa
ochotentega o- peg -an -a -k -a
flower 3F.S- transform -ABL -EP -PFV -REAL:MID

And so he transformed, and immediately she spoke again, saying: “My daughter
will transform into a flower,” and she transformed. (ptk295-299)
The story begins with Old Axe and Rat going off deep into the forest to hunt. They come across a house near a river, with many beautiful women about. Old Axe approaches one woman swimming in the river, and asks immediately for her father. She asks more about where he has come from, and explains that her father is very irascible, and would possibly not be amenable to Old Axe’s visit. Nevertheless, after some time passes, Old Axe manages to visit the woman’s father, who is pleased that he has come, indicating that he will now treat him as his slave (aahanirentsi). After two days, Rat, who had accompanied Old Axe there, grows tired of the situation, and asks why they can’t leave. Old Axe arranges another conversation with the woman’s father, and before the conversation takes place he conspires with the woman – they plan to marry, and plot as to how Old Axe will locate the woman, as they look similar but have different postures. (They are concerned the woman’s father will ask Old Axe to choose between various of his daughters at once, which he later does.) When Old Axe finally speaks with the woman’s father, he indicates that he will give his daughter to him only if he agrees to clear him a new garden. Old Axe agrees, and the man, pleased with this, gives him necessary tools. At this point the narrative picks up.

a. Ari yohokavakeneri kotsiro, poshontyo, ikantiri: “Imaika poanake pinkatsiketenaro.”

b. Ari yoanake ikatsiketapohiro itsipatakari kavavaantoni.

c. Irira kakinte ari ikahemahiakero irorihanitepae, ikantiro: “Orihanipae, pinkorakehiake, noninke novetsahiakenpi.”

d. Ari okorakehiake, ikantiro: “Inkaharanki ikoraketake lakintee, ikankena, ikanti:”
And so they came, and he said to them: “Recently a man came, and he talked to me, saying:"

e. “Pohokakenaroro irihanite.”
   pi-ohok-a-k-e-na-ro pi-orihane-te
2s-give -EP-PFV-IRR-1O-3F.O daughter-POSS
   “Give me your daughter.”

f. “Naatinpa nokantiri:”
   naatin-pa no-kan-t-i
1.PRO 1s-say -EP-REAL:ACT-3M.O
   “I said to him:”

g. “Heehe, pinteronkakenarogeti nonigankitehire nagavehake nohokakenpiro.”
   heehe pi-N-teronk-a-k-e-na-ro =geti no-migaku-te-re no-yes
   2s-IRR-finish -EP-PFV-IRR-1O-3F.O =SUB 1P-garden -POSS
   1s-agaveh-a-k-e-no-ohok-a-k-e-Npi-ro
   “Yes, when you finish my garden for me I will be able to give her to you.”

h. “Aisa nokantiri: ‘Aatogeti piteronkanaro aato nohokinpiro.’”
   aisa no-kan-t-i -ri aato =geti pi-teronk-i
   also 1s-say -EP-REAL:ACT-3M.O NEG:IRR =SUB 2s-finish -REAL:ACT-1O-3F.O
   aato no-ohok-i
   NEG:IRR 1s-give -REAL:ACT-2O-3F.O
   “And I also said to him: ‘If you don’t finish it for me, I won’t give her to you.’”

i. Aisa ikantiro: “Orihanipae, pinkorakehiaka osavinkagitetanahegeti.”
   aisa i-kan-t-i -ro orihani =pae pi-N-korake-hig-a-k
   -e-o-savin-kagite-t-an-ah-e =geti
   -IRR 3F.S-rise(sun) -EP-ABL-REG-IRR =SUB

And he also said to them: “Daughters, come when the sun rises again.”

j. “Pinkatintiihiaka kameetsaanihite irira kakinte, korokaka inintakeka, iramenahiakenpi kameetsaaniihite korea ininkelairimankigakenpakana.”
   pi-N-katintii-hig-a-k-e-kameetsa=niihi =te iri-ra
   kakeetsa ke =ro =ka =ka i- niN-t-ak -i =ka iri- amen
person WH-F =INDEF =REL 3M.S-want -EP-PFV-REAL:ACT =REL 3M.S.IRR see
   -a-hig-a-k-e-Npi-kameetsa=niihi =te ke -ro =ka i- niN-k
   -i =ka iri=mankiga-k-e-Npa =ka
   -REAL:ACT =REL 3M.S.IRR-marry -PFV-IRR-MID =REL
“You’ll stand in a line so that the man, whichever one of you that he likes, he will see you so that he will marry whichever one he likes.”

k. Oroatinpahia okantahanake: “Kameetsavaeke, nonkorakehiake osavinkagitetanahegeti.”

l. Ari oaoaitanahi apaniropae otineokitanahigeti.

m. Oratika irorihanite kakinte oanake ameneri Poshontyo Tsorintsoripiori.

n. Amenapohiri okahemakotsitari, okantiri: “Kakinte!”

o. Iriatinpa ipitsokanaka, ikantiro: “Taate opahita pinintake?”

p. Oroatinpahia okanti: “Kaakateha, noninke novetsatenpi.”

q. Ikorakepohi kempehi, ikantiro: “Taate opahita?”

And they said: “That’s very good, we will come back when the sun rises again.”

And so some went back to where they were sleeping.

The man’s daughter went to see Old Axe.

When she arrived she saw him and immediately called out to him, saying to him: “Person!”

He turned around, saying to her: “What do you want?”

She said: “Come here, I want to speak with you.”
He came near, saying to her: “What is it?”

She said to him: “What’s your name?”

He said: “My name is Old Axe.”

She laughed at him hee hee hee, saying to him: “Your name is not good.”

He said to her: “And you, what’s your name?”

She said: “My name is Flower.”

“You see it in the forest, it’s beautiful, I am Flower.”

He said to her: “And you, what’s your name?”

She said: “My name is Flower.”
And then shortly thereafter he asked her, saying to her: “What about your father, what’s his name?”

She said: “His name is Eagle.”

“And my mother is Cloud.” (ptk60-85)

Part III

“Focus”

An identificational focus represents a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; it is identified as the exhaustive subset of this set for which the predicate phrase actually holds. (Kiss 1998:245)

6 Identificational Focus and Subject Agreement

• Caquinte subject agreement is suppressed in instances of subject extraction
  
  – Subject focus
  
  – Subject relative clauses
  
  – Subject content interrogatives

• Focused subject may also be one of a set of quantificational elements (23 - 25), although these elements do not require the suppression of subject agreement

(23) Iriatinpa iteronkavakeri, apanirosano shianankitsi.

(24) CONTEXT: A man uses barbasco poison to fish, but little comes of it.

a. Arikea yamenitsigevetavakarikea kaharagiteni.
b. **Aparopae** metohagetanankitsi.

   *aparopae metoh* -a -ge -t -an -ankan
to die -EP -DISTR -ABL -ABL -INTR.SE:PFV

Only some had died here and there. (shm336-337)

(25) **Osheki** korakehiankitsi.

   *osheki korake* -hig -ankan
many come -PL -INTR.SE:PFV

Many came. (shm27)

- One set of pronouns – the ‘*irio*’ set (Table 3), or focus pronouns – requires the suppression of subject agreement

(26) “**Aviro**sa amanpivenkena notinerihaniki.”

   *aviro =sa* amanpive -k -i -na no- tinerihaniki
2.PRO =INFER betray -PFV -REAL.1 -1O 1P- nephew

“You betrayed me, nephew!” (ttk587)

- As Kiss’s system allows, Caquinte identificational focus entails exhaustivity (i.e., [+exhaustive]) but not contrast

(27) **CONTEXT:** This text recounts the deeds of a Taataki, a famed Caquinte warrior whose abilities are unique among all Caquintes. This passage comes from the end of the text.

a. Arike, okameetsagitetanahigeti, yanaakeritari Taataki katonkoniri, teekatsi kehetenparine.

   *ari =kea o* - kameetsa -gite -t -an -ah -i =getti i- anag
-a -k -i -ri =tari Taataki katonkoniri teekatsi kehe -t -e
-Npa -ri -ne
-MID -3M.O -IRR:AA

Then when there was peace again, Taataki suprassed the Asháninkas, no one equaled him.

b. Maasano ikemakohiakeri.

   *maasano i- kem -ako -hig -a -k -i -ri*

3Context: A man suddenly realizes that his nephew, who was kidnapped by Asháninkas as a boy and raised among them, has betrayed him by bringing Asháninkas to his house that shoot him full of arrows.
Everyone heard of him.

c. **Irio** santikogitetaantahtiro.

\[
\text{irio santiko } \cdot \text{gite } \cdot \text{t } \cdot \text{-akag } \cdot \text{-aN } \cdot \text{t } \cdot \text{-ah } \cdot \text{i } \cdot \text{-ro}
\]


He brought peace to everything as it had been before. (ttk1122-1124)

- However, an interpretation of contrast is available [28]

(28) **CONTEXT:** a woman attempts to poison her captors with manioc beer, and so relies on the custom of not drinking one’s own manioc beer in order to avoid having to drink the poisoned beverage.

a. ...“Pimire.”

\[
\text{pi- mir } \cdot \text{-e}
\]

2S- drink -IRR.1

...“Drink.”

b. Okanti: **“Naatinpa** ashintahatakaro.”

\[
\text{o- } \text{kan } \cdot \text{t } \cdot \text{-i } \cdot \text{naatinpa ashin} \cdot \text{t } \cdot \text{-a } \cdot \text{-ha } \cdot \text{t } \cdot \text{-ak } \cdot \text{-a}
\]


-3F.O

She says: “But it’s mine.”

c. **“Aviro** mekea ashinkenparome nomirakeme.”

\[
\text{aviro } =\text{me } =\text{ke}= \text{ashin} \cdot \text{t } \cdot \text{-ak } \cdot \text{-e } \cdot \text{Npa } =\text{me } =\text{no- mir } \cdot \text{-a } \cdot \text{-k}
\]


“If it were yours, I would drink.”

- As in [28] above, while **iro** pronouns express identificational focus only, other pronouns may also suppress subject agreement (see § 8.1)

- Focus pronouns may fall outside [29] or inside [30] the scope of negation

  – This correlates with a position to the left or to the right of the negation, respectively

(29) **“Avironpa miratsine avatinpa aviro** tari tee pinohatehi.”

\[
\text{aviro } =\text{Npa } =\text{mir } =\text{atsi } =\text{-ne } =\text{aviatiNpa aviro } =\text{tari } =\text{tee}
\]


\[
\text{pi- noha } \cdot \text{-t } \cdot \text{-e } \cdot \text{-hi}
\]

2S- masticate -EP -IRR -NEG:REAL

“You drink because you didn’t masticate.” (sis134)

(30) a. ...“Tee **iro** piraapanite.”
...“He’s not your father.”

b. “Iriratari piraapanite imetohakeri.”

“He killed your father.” (ttk315-316)

- Interestingly, nouns do not occur in this focus position
  - When a full noun is required, a coreferential pronoun precedes the verb and the noun follows it (31)

(31) Ari ikihanakegeti, iriokea sotoapohatsi Katsirinkaiteri.

So when he set [i.e., the first sun], Katsirinkaiteri [i.e., our sun] emerged. (kat181)

- This bipartite construction is frequent in responses to questions that contain an identificational focus (32)

(32) CONTEXT: A man acquires the ability to transform into various flying entities by swooping low over a magical river. Every time he returns to his perch, he asks himself what he will transform into next.

a. “Taashia nonpeanakenpa?”

b. “Irio nonpeanakenpa ashiivanti.”

“I will transform into an angel.” (okp78-79)

7 An Aside on Content Interrogatives

If a sentence part conveys new, nonpresupposed information marked by one or more pitch accents – without expressing exhaustive identification performed on a set of contextually or situationally given entities, it is not an identificational focus but a mere information focus. [...] An information focus is present in every sentence, but not every sentence contains an identificational focus. (Kiss 1998:246)
• Caquinte exhibits no morphosyntactic strategy that uniquely expresses informational focus

• Content interrogatives are formed on an underspecified interrogative pronoun taa, which occurs at the beginning of the sentence and often serves as a host for second-position clitics

• It is not obvious that there are instances of responses containing both the questioned argument and the verb of the original question that are information-structurally equivalent to the question (i.e., where the focus would be purely informational)

  – The questioned argument can be construed information-structurally in a variety of ways in the response

(33) a. ...“Taa tanpishitatsi?”
   taa tanpishi -t -alsi
   WH be.strong -EP -INTR.SE:IPFV
   “Who is strong?”

b. Oroatinpa okanti: “Aviatinpa tanpishitatsi.”
   oroatinpa o- kan -t -i aviatinpa tanpishi -t -alsi
   She said: “You are strong.” (kev48-49)

(34) a. ...“Inani, taakea chookatankitsi ontaniki antakeronta?”
   inani taa =kea chooka -t -ankitsi o- nta =niki anTakeronta
   “Mother, who lives over there on the other side?”

b. Okantiri: “Chooka oshekini kakintehia...”
   o- kan -t -i -ri chooka -Ø osheki =ni kakinte -hia
   3F.S- say -EP-REAL:ACT -3M.O EXST -3S much =AUG person -PL
   She said: “There are many many people...” (ama137-138)

(35) a. ...“Taa katsimatakena?”
   taa katsima -t -ak -i -na
   WH hate -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT -1O
   “Who hates me?”

b. Ikanti tanpishinari: “Naatinpa katsimatakenpi...”
   i- kan -t -i tanpishinari naatInpa katsima -t -ak -i
   -Npi
   -2O
   The tapir said: “I hate you...” (kas38-39)

(36) a. “Taate pitsipataka?”
   taa =te pi- tsipa -t -ak -a
   WH =XXX 2S- accompany -EP -PFV -REAL:MID
   “Who are you with?”
b. Oroatinpa okanti: “**Teekatsi** nontsipatenpaka, apaniro notineokitake.”

\[\text{orootAtp} \text{PA} \text{K} \text{N} - \text{t} - \text{i} \quad \text{teekatsi} \text{NO} - \text{N} - \text{tsipa} \quad \text{t} - \text{c} \quad \text{Npa} \]


=ka apaniro no- timeoki -t -ak -i

=REL alone 1S- sleep -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT

She said: “I’m not with anyone, I’m sleeping alone.” (kam37-38)

(37) a. “Taate pipega anianishi?”

\[\text{taa} = \text{te} \quad \text{pi} - \text{peg} \quad -a \quad \text{anianishi} \]

WH =xxx 2S- transform -REAL:MID brother-in-law.ME

“What do you transform into, brother-in-law?”

b. Iriatinpa ikanti: “Nopegasa anianishi *etsikiri*.”

\[\text{iriati} \text{Npa} \quad \text{i} - \text{kan} - \text{t} - \text{i} \quad \text{no} - \text{peg} \quad -a \quad = \text{sa} \]

3M.PRO 3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT 1S- transform -REAL:MID =INFER

anianishi etsikiri

brother-in-law.ME fish.sp.

He said: “I transform into *etsikiri* fish, brother-in-law.” (imo33-34)

8 Other Sorts of Identificational Focus

8.1 **-genti** Pronouns

- The *-genti* pronouns function in many ways like copulas, which Caquinte otherwise lacks (38)

(38) “Aviatinpa avigenti tanpishirimahaka.”

\[\text{aviati} \text{Npa} \quad \text{avigenti} \quad \text{tanpishi} \quad \text{-ri} \quad \text{-mahaka} \]

2.PRO 2.PRO be.strong -NOMZ -TRUE

“You’re the truly strong one.” (kch2.61)

- In contrast, juxtapositions of *-tiNpa* pronouns and a noun are interpreted as appositions (39)

(39) **Aviatinpa** chaahanikiri, aato pikehetari irika panari.

\[\text{aviati} \text{Npa} \quad \text{chaahanikiri} \quad \text{aato} \quad \text{pi}- \text{kehe} \quad \text{-t} \quad \text{-a} \quad \text{-ri} \quad \text{iri}- \text{ka} \]


panari bird.sp.

You children, don’t be like this *panari* bird. (pam391)

- Apparently copular uses of *-genti* pronouns may be the only pronoun in the clause (40)

(40) Koramani naatinpahia ikantahigana katonkoniri: “**Avigenti**hia Kachomashiri, aisa **avigenti** Pontonisati.”
Long ago the Ashéninkas said to us: “You are Kachomashiris, also you are Pontonisatis.” (ttk11)

• These -genti clauses may appear in object position – contrast (41) & (42)

(41) Yameniro imankigare isavihi okahemakotiri ovakoki.

i- amen -i -ro i- mankigare isavihi o- kahem -ako -t
3M.S- see -REAL:ACT -3F.O 3M.P- spouse below 3F.S- shout -APPL:INDR -EP
-i -ri o- vako =ki
-REAL:ACT -3M.O 3F.P- hand =LOC

He saw his wife below and she called to him with her hand. (okp249)

(42) Yamenapohiro irogenti irorihanite.

i- amen -a -poh -i -ro irogenti iri- orihani -te
3M.S- see -EP -ALL -REAL:ACT -3F.O 3F.PRO 3M.P- daughter -POSS

He saw that it was his daughter. (ttk1074)

• These -genti clauses may also appear in subject position (43)

(43) Ari notsarakitanake ivoanahi irigenti shiranpari.

ari no- tsaraki -t -an -ak -i - i- vog -an -ah -i
irigenti shiraNpari
3M.PRO young.male

Then I got pregnant, and a boy was born. (tsh153)

• A focus akin to English only is expressed with a -genti pronoun coreferential with a noun
• In this construction, the pronoun typically precedes the verb with the noun following it
• When this construction associates with the subject, subject agreement is suppressed, regardless of transitivity, as seen by comparing (44) & (45)

(44) Irigenti chookahiatsi chaahanikiri koontsenene.

irigenti chooka -hig -atsi chaahanikiri koontsenene
3M.PRO EXST -PL -INTR.SE:IPFV child Lineated.woodpecker

3Context: A man is up in a tree and his wife comes to him urgently with news that her brother has turned out to be a cannibal that has recently been terrorizing the area, but she can only motion to him.
4Context: A man whose daughter was kidnapped by Asháninkas sees a woman in the distance on the beach, but can’t make her out, and upon drawing nearer realizes that it is his daughter.
Only the woodpecker’s children remained. (kon92)

(45) Iriakea pamakavirivakitsate tee irihatemi inkoahaterohi, irigenti koahatakero shetyonkani...

The eagle didn’t go to search for her in the water, only the vulture went to search for her... (pam160)

• When this construction associates with the object, object agreement is suppressed (46)

(46) “Irigenti pinintavaetake kamaarini!”

“You only really want a snake!” (kam64)

• When this construction associates with the object and both arguments are nouns, object pronoun and noun appear together before the verb and object agreement is not suppressed, as in (47)

(47) Irikanu Tsipirini ometohanakere oshiteki chokoishiteki.

The strained plantain mash had only killed Tsipirini. (tsp146)

• The same construction often occurs in responses to content interrogatives, even when no focus is apparent (48)

(48) a. “Taashia yamenahitake?”

“What did you see?”

b. Ariake ikanti iritarian: “Irigenti namenake koontsenene.”

Then he said: “I saw a woodpecker.” (kon180-181)
8.2 *arige*ti ‘only’

- Identificational focus over an event is expressed via etymologically related *arige*ti 

(49) a. Arikea Okitsipokani ikantikea: “Tee nonpegenpahi.”

```plaintext
```

Then Okitsipokani said: “I didn’t get lost.”

b. “*Arigenti* notinpinake.”

```plaintext
arige =ti only no- ti -in -pina -k -i only 1S- lose.path -PFV -REAL:ACT
```

“I only lost the trail.” (okp85-86)

8.3 *iNtati* ‘only’

(50) Arikea roatinpa otsipatashitakari *intati* aisa iriatinpa itsipatashitaro *intati* irorihite tee intsatehi kovagisherentsi, mana itsipavihitakaro *intati*.

```plaintext
```

And so she only accompanied him, of her own will, and he only accompanied her of his, because he was not familiar with sex, and instead only accompanied her as a friend. (ama82)

9 Conclusion

- Caquinte exhibits a high degree of sensitivity in its word order and morphology to the nature of referents relative to the common ground
- Focus-related phenomena involve comparatively “less” morphology, but interact in important ways with agreement
- Important empirical issues for future research include:
  - Difference between *-tika* and *-ga*
  - Distribution of four series of pronouns
  - Bipartite constructions involving pronouns and nouns
  - Interaction of pronouns, nouns, word order, and agreement
- How much do common ground- and focus-related phenomena belong in a similar module of grammar?
References


Thiesen, Wesley and David Weber. 2012. *A Grammar of Bora with Special Attention to Tone*. Dallas: SIL.
