Caquinte Information Structure

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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

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


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              Antonina        Joy
               (c1969)       (1987)
             Emilia  Miguel
             (1984)   (1986)
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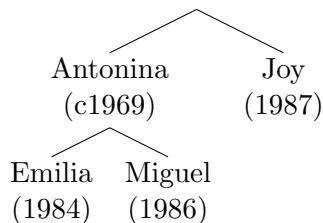
Figure 1: Speaker Genealogy

  - 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:

  - <u>Obligatory</u>: person (specifically subject agreement) and reality status (Michael 2014)
  - <u>Non-obligatory</u>: 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 1: Caquinte Verbal Person-Markers

	A/S	P	S
1	*n(o)-*	*-na*	*-na*
1INCL	*a-*, *∅-*	*-ahi*	*-ahi*
2	*p(i)-*	*-Npi*	*-Npi*
3M	*i-*, *y-*, *ir(i)-*	**-ri**	**-∅**
3F	*o-*, *∅-*	**-ro**	**-∅**

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 coöperative [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 (2a,d)

  - transitive = VAP (i.e., VSO) (1)

(1) Ari otiakero Shomoshiki inkomerikanate...

ari	*o-*	*tig*	*-a*	*-k*	*-i*	*-ro*	*Shomoshiki*	*Ø-*	*iNkomerikana*	*-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-

tseNpi	*-Ø*	*-ge*	*-poh*	*-a*	*-k*	*-a*	*=geti*
mountain	-VBLZR	-DISTR	-ALL	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:MID	=SUB

  "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*
so	=SC	much	3F.S-	be.sad	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:MID	3F.S-	cry	-EP	-PFV

-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	=xxx	1INCL-	watch	-EP	-FRUST	-EP	-DIR	-EP	-PFV	-IRR	-MID	-3M.O

  "Come on, we're going to look for him."

  f. "Aatogeti ikoraketahi, arikea antsake tinpinake."

$$aato \quad =geti \quad i\text{-} \quad korake \text{ -}t \quad \text{-}ah \quad \text{-}i \qquad ari =kea \quad a\text{-} \qquad \text{N-} \quad tsa$$
NEG:IRR =SUB 3M.S- come -EP -REG -REAL:ACT so =SC 1INCL- IRR- know

$$\text{-}k \quad \text{-}e \quad tinpina \quad \text{-}k \quad \text{-}i \qquad \text{-}\emptyset$$
-PFV -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 ochookahiahi **roatinpa**.

$$ari \quad \emptyset\text{-} \quad ogishineh \quad \text{-}ah \quad \text{-}i \qquad \text{-}ro \quad on\text{-} \quad iinani \quad \text{-}te \quad ari \; o\text{-}$$
so 3F.S- make.happy -REG -REAL:ACT -3F.O 3F.P- mother -POSS so 3F.S-

$$chooka \text{ -}hig \quad \text{-}ah \quad \text{-}i \qquad roati\text{N}pa$$
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	N*ta*

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."

$$metoh \text{ -}a \quad \text{-}k \quad \text{-}i \qquad o\text{-} \quad metoh \text{ -}an \quad \text{-}a \quad \text{-}k \quad \text{-}i \qquad \text{-}ri$$
die -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT 3F.S- kill -ABL -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT -3M.O

$$i\text{N}chato \text{ -}poa$$
tree -trunk

"He's dead, a tree trunk killed him."

b. Ari itankorehanahi **irira tanpishinari**.

$$ari \quad i\text{-} \qquad ta\text{N}koreh \quad \text{-}an \quad \text{-}ah \quad \text{-}i \qquad iri\text{-} \quad ra \qquad ta\text{N}pishinari$$
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**.

$$imaika \quad no\text{-} \; \text{N-} \quad tsaveta\text{N} \qquad \text{-}t \quad \text{-}e \quad \text{-}ri \quad iri\text{-} \; ra \qquad kamaarini$$
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) <u>VERB</u> (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
manioc.beer

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

   b. **Irira imoroiroki** ikantiri kakinte: "Nonpeakenpi anianishi."

iri- *ra*   *imoroiroki*   *i-*   *ka*N -*t* -*i*   -*ri*   *kaki*N*te no-*
3M- DEM:MED collared.peccary 3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT -3M.O person   1S-

N- *peg*   -*a* -*k*   -*e*   -N*pi 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. Nonoshikatsintahikitanaka niraanaka aaaa choiiii choiiii joaaan joaaan.

no- *noshik* -*a* -*tsi*N*tahiki*   -*t* -*an* -*a* -*k*   -*a*   *no-* *irag* -*an* -*a*
1S- pull   -EP -CL:intertwined -EP -ABL -EP -PFV -REAL:MID 1S- cry -ABL -EP

-*k*   -*a*   *aaaa choiiii choiiii joaaan joaaan*
-PFV -REAL:MID ONOM

We were pulled around intertwined, and we cried *aaaa choiii choiii joaaan joaaan*.

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

o- *ra*   *igetyo*   ... *o-*   *shitik*   -*an* -*a* -*k*   -*i*   -*ro*
3F- DEM:MED sister.FE ... 3F.S- tie.w/one.loop -ABL -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT -3F.O

o-   *tsa* *i-*   *shitik*   -*a*N   -*t* -*a* -*hi*   -*t* -*ak*
3F.P- liana 3M.S- tie.w/one.loop -APPL:INSTR -EP -EP -NREF -EP -PFV

-*a*   *o-*   *go*N*korinaki* =*ki*
-REAL:MID 3F.P- neck   =LOC

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...

iri-	*ra*	*hagitya*	*osheki*	*i-*	*shima*N*pohaN*k	*-an*	*-a*	*-k*	*-a*
3M-	DEM:MED	Spix's.guan	much	3M.S-	be.sad	-ABL	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:MID

    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.

iri-	*ra*	*o-*	*haai*	*-te*	*tee*	*i-*	N-	*kama*N	*-t*	*-an*	*-a*
3M-	DEM:PROX	3F.P-	brother.FE	-POSS	NEG:REAL	3M.S-	IRR-	tell	-EP	-ABL	-EP

-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	*naati*N*pa*	*naage*N*ti*	*naro*	*narotake*
1INCL	*aati*N*pa*	*aage*N*ti*	*aro*	*arotake*
2	*aviati*N*pa*	*avige*N*ti*	*aviro*	*avirotake*
3M	*iriati*N*pa*	*irige*N*ti*	*irio*	*iriotake*
3F	*(i/o)roati*N*pa*	*iroge*N*ti*	*iro*	*irotake*

- The *-ti*N*pa* 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 Kitepámpani asking for permission from the community president to live there permanently.

    a. ... ikanti: "Taa opahita pikoraketashitake akaniki?"

i-	*ka*N	*-t*	*-i*	*taa*	*o-*	*pahi*	*-t*	*-a*	*pi-*	*korake*	*-t*
3M.S-	say	-EP	-REAL:ACT	WH	3F.S-	LIGHT	-EP	-REAL:MID	2S-	come	-EP

-ashi	*-t*	*-ak*	*-i*	*aka*	*=niki*
-APPL:PURP	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:ACT	here	=AVBZ

    ... and he said: "Why have you come here?"

b. Nokantiri **naatinpa**: "Noshiaka."

no-	kaN	-t	-i		-ri	naatiNpa	no-	shig	-a	-k	-a
1S-	say	-EP	-REAL:ACT		-3M.O	1.PRO	1S-	fun	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:MID

I said: "I've run away."

c. "Noninke nonchookatahe akaniki Kitepanpaniki."

no-	niN	-k	-i		no-	N-	chooka	-t	-ah	-e	aka	=niki
1S-	want	-PFV	-REAL:ACT		1S-	IRR-	EXST		-EP	-REG	-IRR	here	=ADVZ

KitepaNpani	=ki
Kitepámpani	=LOC

"I want to live here in Kitepámpani."

d. Ikanti **iriatinpa**: "Kameetsa."

i-	kaN	-t	-i		iriatiNpa	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
3M.S-	find.attractive	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:MID		-3F.O	3F.P-	be.beautiful		-NOMZ

irorihi	=te	Ø-	ontih	-a	-venaha		-vae	-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.

kotaNkitsi	roatiNpa	tee		o-	niN	-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-	maNkigare
near	3M.S-	watch	-APPL:INDR	-EP	-REG	-REAL:ACT		-3F.O	3M.P-	spouse

iroatiNpa	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 ipintsatakaro.

tee	kapichahi	o-	N-	katsima	-t	-e	-ri	-hi
NEG:REAL	small.amount	3F.S-	IRR-	hate		-EPC	-IRR	-3M.O	-NEG:REAL

iriatiNpa	osheki	i-	piNtsa	-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)

9

– They can modify a noun, appearing prenominally (12)

(12)   CONTEXT: A woman goes to visit her new daughter-in-law (a ground dove).

    a. Onehapohirokea ovatyageo nohatanatsi aintochapaki.

o-	neh	-a	-poh	-i		-ro	=kea	o-	vatyageo		noha
3F.S-	see	-EP	-ALL	-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 ogichokotihiavakerikea maasano korakehiankitsika.

ari	=kea	**iroatiNpa**	*heeNto*		Ø-	ogi-	chokoti	-hig	-av	-a	-k
so	=SC	3F.PRO	ground.dove.sp.		3F.S-	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)

(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 onkenpetenparohi okatika pishekatakaka aviatinpa."

tee	o-	N-	keNpe	-t	-e	-Npa	-ro	-hi		o-	ka
NEG:REAL	3F.S-	IRR-	be.like	-EP	-IRR	-MID	-3F.O	-NEG:REAL		3F-	DEM:PROX

-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)[1]

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

o-	ra	**-ga**	pi-	ohok	-a	-k	-i		-na	=ka	no-	sheka	-t
3F-	DEM:MED	-CG:ACT	2S-	give	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:ACT		-1O	=REL	1S-	eat	-EP

-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
so	3M.S-	go	-ABL	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:ACT	=SUB	3F-	DEM:DIST	=ADVZ	Picha	=LOC

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-	peakag		-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 opihatakeneri tsogepironakiki.

o-	ra	**-ga**	sheri	Ø-	ovatsa		-t	-av	-a	-k
3F-	DEM:MED	-CG:ACT	tobacco	3F.S-	prepare(.tobacco)		-EP	-DIR	-EP	-PFV

-i		-nV		-ri	=tari	iri-	iinani	-te	o-
-REAL:ACT	-APPL:REC		-3M.O	=CNGR		3M.P-	mother	-POSS	3F.S-

piha		-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

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[1]Regarding 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?" MEDIAL

> *taa* *o-* *pahi* *o-* *ra* **-tika**
> WH 3F.S- LIGHT 3F- DEM:MED -POINT

... "What is that?" (kon82)

c. ... "Irintatika irigenti heokarihite." DISTAL

> *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* *i-* *ovetsa* *-t* *-ak* *-a* *-ro* *iri-* *orihani* *-te* *i-* *kaN* *-t*
> SO 3M.S- speak -EP -PFV -REAL:MID -3F.O 3M.P- daughter -POSS 3M.S- say -EP
>
> *-i* *-ro* *pi-* *ag* *-ah* *-e* *-ri* *no-* *tinerihaniki*
> -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. Oroatinpa okanti: "Intsiha, naatinpa kenkevarovaekena."

> *oroatiNpa* *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*
> then 1S- see -EP -AM -EP -IRR -3F.O kill -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT -3F.O
>
> *=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-
ite nontsipatanahenparo."

iri- ra   *piɴchiɴchi*   *i-*   *kaɴ -t -i*   *-ri*   *i- kooɴkini*
3M- DEM:MED vampire.bat 3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT -3M.O 3M.P- father-in-law

-te   *no- og -an -ah -e*   *no- tsovironaki -te*   *=ki o- ra*
-POSS 1S- go -ABL -REG -IRR 1P- house   -POSS =LOC 3F- DEM:MED

-tika   *pi- orihani -te*   *no- ɴ- tsipa*   *-t -an -ah -e -ɴpa*
-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 oraapanite ikanti: "Intsiha."

iri- ra   *or- aapani -te*   *i-*   *kaɴ -t -i*   *iɴtsiha*
3M- DEM:MED 3F.P- father -POSS 3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT sure

Her father said: "Sure."

g. Oratika oniinanite tee onintehi oanahehi, okanti: "Aato ogi orihani, ometohita-
narotsi Tsonkamonki."

o- ra   **-tika**   *on- iinani -te tee*   *o- niɴ -t -e*
3F- DEM:MED -CG:REACT 3F.P- mother -POSS NEG:REAL -3F.S- want -EP -IRR

-hi   *Ø- og -an -ah -e -hi*   *o- kaɴ -t -i*
-NEG:REAL 3F.S- go -ABL -REG -IRR -NEG:REAL 3F.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT

aato   *Ø- og -i*   *orihani o- metoh -it*   *-a -na*
NEG:IRR 3F.S- go -REAL:ACT daughter 3F.S- kill   -APPL:MAL -REAL:MID -1O

-ro -tsi Tsoɴkamoɴki
-3F.O -lest Tsonkamonki

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 (-ɴ*pani*)

- When a set of referents is introduced into the common ground, they may be differentiated
  between via the suffix -ɴ*pani* (18)

  – This suffix attaches to demonstratives, -*tiɴpa* pronouns, and adverbs (e.g., *imaika* 'now')
  – It often – but need not – involve a relation of contrast (18)

(18) a. ... "Pishekatari emooki aisa shimoto?"

     pi- sheka -t -a   *-ri*   *emooki aisa shimoto*
     2S- eat   -EP -REAL:MID -3M.O grub.sp. and grub.sp.

     ... "Do you eat *emooki* grub and *shimoto* grub?"

b. ... "Heehe, noshekatari emooki, **iriranpani shimoto** tee noshekatenparihi."

> *heehe no- sheka -t -a -ri emooki iri- ra -Npani shimoto*
> yes 1S- eat -EP -REAL:MID -3M.O grub.sp. 3M- DEM:MED -CNTR grub.sp.
>
> *tee no- sheka -t -e -Npa -ri -hi*
> NEG:REAL 1S- eat -EP -IRR -MID -3M.O -NEG:REAL
>
> ... "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*
  > 3F.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT -3M.O 1S- IRR- sleep -EP -ABL -REG -IRR

  > ...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*
  > 3M.PRO 3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT -3F.O go.ahead 1.PRO -CNTR NEG:IRR

  > *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*
  > PRES -F 3F.S- DEM:PROX -POINT clay.pot 2S- IRR- cook -APPL:INSTR -EP -PFV

  > *-e -Npa =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, -N*pani* 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 inpeanakenpa kavavaantoshitsaki."

  > *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)

14

...she said: "The rat will transform into a true *kavavaantoshitsaki* rat."

b. Ari irira kavavaantoni ipeanaka kavavaantoshitsaki.

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

kavavaaɴtoshitsaki
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   PoshoɴtyoTsoriɴtsoripiori i-   ovetsa -t -an -a -k
3M- DEM:MED Old Axe   3M.S- speak -EP -ABL -EP -PFV

-a   -ro i-   kaɴ -t -i   -ro naatiɴpa -ɴpani aato   pi-
-REAL:MID -3F.O 3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT -3F.O 1.PRO   -CNTR NEG:IRR 2S-

peg   -akag -a   -na naatiɴpa kakiɴte
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 pamakaviri-vakitsate."

aisa Ø-   ovetsa -t -an -a -k   -a   o-   kaɴ -t -i   iri-
again 3F.S- speak -EP -ABL -EP -PFV -REAL:MID 3F.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT 3M-

ra   -ɴpani no- maɴkigare i-   ɴ-   peg   -an -a -k -e   -ɴpa
DEM:MED -CNTR 1P- spouse   3M.S- IRR- transform -ABL -EP -PFV -IRR -MID

pamakavirivakitsate
eagle.sp.

Again she spoke, saying: "My husband will transform into the *pamakavirivakitsate* eagle."

e. Ari ipeanaka, ovetsatsitanaka aisa, okanti: "**Oratikanpani** norihanite onpeanakenpa ochotentega," opeanaka.

ari i-   peg   -an -a -k   -a   Ø-   ovetsa -itsi   -t -an
so 3M.S- transform -ABL -EP -PFV -REAL:MID 3F.S- speak -APPL:MAL -EP -ABL

-a -k   -a   aisa o-   kaɴ -t -i   o-   ra   -tika
-EP -PFV -REAL:MID again 3F.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT 3F- DEM:MED -POINT

-ɴpani no- orihani -te   o-   ɴ-   peg   -an -a -k -e   -ɴpa
-CNTR 1P- daughter -POSS 3F.S- IRR- transform -ABL -EP -PFV -IRR -MID

ochoteɴtega 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)

Part II

Text Interlude: *Poshontyo tsorintsoripiori aisati kavavaantoni* 'Old Axe and Rat'

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.

(22)   a. Ari yohokavakeneri kotsiro, poshontyo, ikantiri: "Imaika poanake pinkatsiketenaro."

ari	*i-*	*ohok*	*-av*	*-a*	*-k*	*-i*	*-nV*	*-ri*	*kotsiro*	*poshoɴtyo*	*i-*
so	3M.S-	give	-DIR	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:ACT	-APPL:REC	-3M.O	machete	axe	3M.S-

kaɴ	*-t*	*-i*	*-ri*	*imaika*	*pi-*	*og*	*-an*	*-a*	*-k*	*-e*	*pi-*	*ɴ-*	*katsike*	*-t*
say	-EP	-REAL:ACT	-3M.O	now	2S-	go	-ABL	-EP	-PFV	-IRR	2S-	IRR-	clear(.land)	-EP

-e	*-na*	*-ro*
-IRR	-1O	-3F.O

And so he gave him a machete, an axe, saying to him: "Now go and clear it for me."

   b. Ari yoanake ikatsiketapohiro itsipatakari kavavaantoni.

ari	*i-*	*og*	*-an*	*-a*	*-k*	*-i*	*i-*	*katsike*	*-t*	*-apoh*	*-i*	*-ro*
so	3M.S-	go	-ABL	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:ACT	3M.S-	clear(.land)	-EP	-ALL	-REAL:ACT	-3F.O

i-	*tsipa*	*-t*	*-ak*	*-a*	*-ri*	*kavavaaɴtoni*
3M.S-	accompany	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:MID	-3M.O	rat.sp.

And so he went and when he arrived he cleared it alongside the *kavavaantoni* rat.

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

iri-	*ra*	*kakiɴte*	*ari*	*i-*	*kahem*	*-a*	*-hig*	*-a*	*-k*	*-i*	*-ro*	*iri-*
3M-	DEM:MED	person	so	3M.S-	shout	-EP	-PL	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:ACT	-3F.O	3M.P-

orihani	*-te*	*=pae*	*i-*	*kaɴ*	*-t*	*-i*	*-ro*	*orihani*	*=pae*	*pi-*	*ɴ-*	*korake*
daughter	-POSS	=PL	3M.S-	say	-EP	-REAL:ACT	-3F.O	daughter	=PL	2S-	IRR-	come

-hig	*-a*	*-k*	*-e*	*no-*	*niɴ*	*-k*	*-i*	*no-*	*ovetsa*	*-hig*	*-a*	*-k*	*-e*	*-ɴpi*
-PL	-EP	-PFV	-IRR	1S-	want	-PFV	-REAL:ACT	1S-	speak	-PL	-EP	-PFV	-IRR	-2O

The man shouted at his daughters, saying to them: "Daughters, come, I want to speak with you."

   d. Ari okorakehiake, ikantiro: "Inkaharanki ikoraketake kakinte, ikankena, ikanti:"

ari o-   korake -hig -a -k   -i   i-   kaN -t -i   -ro
so 3F.S- come -PL -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT 3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT -3F.O

iNkaharaNki i-   korake -t -ak -i   kakiNte i-   kaN -k   -i
recently   3M.S- come -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT person 3M.S- say -PFV -REAL:ACT

-na i-   kaN -t -i
-1O 3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT

And so they came, and he said to them: "Recently a man came, and he talked to me, saying:"

e. "'Pohokakenaro porihanite."'

pi- ohok -a -k   -e   -na -ro   pi- orihani   -te
2S- give -EP -PFV -IRR -1O -3F.O 2P- daughter -POSS

"'Give me your daughter."'

f. "Naatinpa nokantiri:"

naatiNpa no- kaN -t   -i   -ri
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- nigaNkitehi -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
be.able -EP -PFV -IRR 1S- give -EP -PFV -IRR -2O -3F.O

"'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   -na -ro
also 1S- say -EP -REAL:ACT -3M.O NEG:IRR =SUB 2S- finish -REAL:ACT -1O -3F.O

aato   no- ohok -i   -Npi -ro
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, pinkorakehiake osavinkagitetanahegeti."

aisa i-   kaN -t -i   -ro   orihani =pae pi- N- korake -hig -a -k
also 3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT -3F.O daughter =PL 2S- IRR- come -PL -EP -PFV

-e o-   saviNkagite -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. "Pinkatintiihiake kameetsanihite irira kakinte, kerokaka inintakeka, iramenahiakenpi kameetsanihite keroka ininkeka irimankigakenpaka."

pi- N- katiNtii   -hig -a -k   -e   kameetsa =nihi =te iri- ra
2S- IRR- stand.in.line -PL -EP -PFV -IRR PURP   =PURP =xxx 3M- DEM:MED

kakiNte 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 =nihi   =te ke -ro =ka   i-   niN -k
-EP -PL -EP -PFV -IRR -2O PURP   =PURP =? WH -F =INDEF 3M.S- want -PFV

-i   =ka iri-   maNkiga -k   -e   -Npa =ka
-REAL:ACT =REL 3M.S.IRR- marry   -PFV -IRR -MID =REL

17

"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 okantahianake: "Kameetsavaeke, nonkorakehiake osavinkagitetanahegeti."

*oroati*ɴ*pa*	*-hia*	*o-*	*ka*ɴ	*-t*	*-a*	*-hig*	*-an*	*-a*	*-k*	*-i*		*kameetsa*	*-vae*	*-k*
3F.PRO	-PL	3F.S-	say	-EP	-EP	-PL	-ABL	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:ACT	be.good	-DISTR	-PFV

-i		*-Ø*	*no-*	ɴ-	*korake*	*-hig*	*-a*	*-k*	*-e*	*o-*		*savinkagite*	*-t*	*-an*	*-ah*
-REAL:ACT	-3S	1S-	IRR-	come	-PL	-EP	-PFV	-IRR	3F.S-	rise(.sun)	-EP	-ABL	-REG

-e	*=geti*
-IRR	=SUB

And they said: "That's very good, we will come back when the sun rises again."

l. Ari oaoaitanahi apaniropae otineokitanahigeti.

ari	*Ø-*	*og*	*-a*	*-oa*		*-i*		*-t*	*-an*	*-ah*	*-i*		*apaniropae*	*o-*
so	3F.S-	go	-EP	-go.REDUP	-i.REDUP	-EP	-ABL	-REG	-REAL:ACT	some		3F.S-

tineoki	*-t*	*-an*	*-ah*	*-i*		*=geti*
sleep	-EP	-ABL	-REG	-REAL:ACT	=SUB

And so some went back to where they were sleeping.

m. Oratika irorihanite kakinte oanake ameneri Poshontyo Tsorintsoripiori.

o-	*ra*	*-tika*	*iri-*	*orihani*	*-te*	*kaki*ɴ*te*	*Ø-*	*og*	*-an*	*-a*	*-k*
3F-	DEM:MED	-REACT1	3M.P-	daughter	-POSS	person	3F.S-	go	-ABL	-EP	-PFV

-i		*Ø-*	*amen*	*-e*	*-ri*	*Posho*ɴ*tyo Tsori*ɴ*tsoripiori*
-REAL:ACT	3F.S-	see	IRR	-3M.O	Old Axe

The man's daughter went to see Old Axe.

n. Amenapohiri okahemakotsitari, okantiri: "Kakinte!"

Ø-		*amen*	*-a*	*-poh*	*-i*		*-ri*	*o-*	*kahem*	*-ako*		*-itsi*		*-t*
3F.S-	see	-EP	-ALL	-REAL:ACT	-3M.O	3F.S-	shout	-APPL:INDR	-APPL:MAL	-EP

-a		*-ri*	*o-*	*ka*ɴ	*-t*	*-i*		*-ri*	*kaki*ɴ*te*
-REAL:MID	-3M.S	3F.S-	say	-EP	-REAL:ACT	-3M.O	person

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

o. Iriatinpa ipitsokanaka, ikantiro: "Taate opahita pinintake?"

*iriati*ɴ*pa*	*i-*	*pitsok*	*-an*	*-a*	*-k*	*-a*		*i-*	*ka*ɴ	*-t*	*-i*
3M.PRO	3M.S-	turn.around	-ABL	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:MID	3M.S-	say	-EP	-REAL:ACT

-ro	*taa*	*=te*	*o-*	*pahi*	*-t*	*-a*		*pi-*	*ni*ɴ	*-t*	*-ak*	*-i*
-3F.O	WH	=?	3F.S-	LIGHT	-EP	-REAL:MID	2S-	want	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:ACT

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

p. Oroatinpa okanti: "Kaakateha, noninke novetsatenpi."

*oroati*ɴ*pa*	*o-*	*ka*ɴ	*-t*	*-i*		*kaaka*	*=te*	*=ha*	*no-*	*ni*ɴ	*-k*	*-i*		*no-*
3F.PRO	3F.S-	say	-EP	-REAL:ACT	come	=xxx	=xxx	1S-	want	-PFV	-REAL:ACT	1S-

ovetsa	*-t*	*-e*	*-*ɴ*pi*
speak	-EP	-IRR	-2O

She said: "Come here, I want to speak with you."

q. Ikorakepohi kenpehi, ikantiro: "Taate opahita?"

18

i-   korake -poh -i   keNpehi i-   kaN -t   -i   -ro   taa =te o-
3M.S- come   -ALL -REAL:ACT near   3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT -3F.O WH =? 3F.S-
pahi   -t   -a
LIGHT -EP -REAL:MID

He came near, saying to her: "What is it?"

r. Okantiri: "Kero pipahitani?"

o-   kaN -t   -i   -ri   ke -ro pi- pahi -t   -a   -ni
3F.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT -3M.O WH -F 2S- name -EP -REAL:MID -INTERR

She said to him: "What's your name?"

s. Iriatinpa ikanti: "Nopahita Poshontyo Tsorintsoripiori."

iriatiNpa i-   kaN -t   -i   no- pahi -t   -a
3M.PRO   3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT 1S- name -EP -REAL:MID
PoshoNtyo TsoriNtsoripiori
Old Axe

He said: "My name is Old Axe."

t. Iroatinpa oshirontimentsitari ihí ihí ihí, okantiri: "Tee onkameetsatehi pivahiro."

iroatiNpa o-   shiroN -t   -imeN -itsi   -t   -a   -ri   ihí ihí ihí o-
3F.PRO   3F.S- laugh -EP -APPL -APPL:MAL -EP -REAL:MID -3M.O hee hee hee 3F.S-
kaN -t   -i   -ri   tee   o-   N- kameetsa -t   -e   -hi   pi-
say -EP -REAL:ACT -3M.O NEG:REAL 3F.S- IRR- be.good -EP -IRR -NEG:REAL 1P-
vahiro
name

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

u. Iriatinpa ikantiro: "Aviatinpate, kero pipahitani?"

iriatiNpa i-   kaN -t   -i   -ro   aviatiNpa =te   ke -ro pi- pahi -t
3M.PRO   3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT -3F.O 2.PRO   =xxx WH -F   2S- name -EP
-a   -ni
-REAL:MID -INTERR

He said to her: "And you, what's your name?"

v. Oroatinpa okanti: "Nopahita Ochotentega."

oroatiNpa o-   kaN -t   -i   no- pahi -t   -a   ochoteNtega
3F.PRO   3F.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT 1S- name -EP -REAL:MID flower

She said: "My name is Flower."

w. "Pameniro tomirishiki, kameetsavaeke, naatinpa narogenti Ochotentega."

pi- ameN -i   -ro   tomirishi =ki   kameetsa   -vae -k   -i   -Ø
2S- see   -REAL:ACT -3F.O forest   =LOC be.beautiful -DISTR -PFV -REAL:ACT -3S
naatiNpa narogeNti ochoteNtega
1.PRO   1.PRO   flower

"You see it in the forest, it's beautiful, I am Flower."

x. Irosati okoakotsitaro, ikantiro: "Iriragate piraapanite, kero ipahitani?"

irosati o-   koako -itsi   -t   -a   -ro   i-   kaN -t   -i   -ro
then   3F.S- ask   -APPL:MAL -EP -REAL:MID -3F.O 3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT -3F.O

iri-	*ra*		*-ga*	*=te*	*pir-*	*aapani*	*-te*	*ke*	*-ro*	*i-*	*pahi*	*-t*	*-a*
3M-	DEM:MED		-CG:ACT	=xxx	2P-	father	-POSS	WH	-F	3M.S-	name	-EP	-REAL:MID

-ni
-INTERR

And then shortly thereafter he asked her, saying to her: "What about your father, what's his name?"

y. Oroatinpa okanti: "Ipahita Pamakavirivakitsate."

oroatiɴpa	*o-*	*kaɴ*	*-t*	*-i*	*i-*	*pahi*	*-t*	*-a*	*pamakavirivakitsate*
3F.PRO	3F.S-	say	-EP	-REAL:ACT	3M.S-	name	-EP	-REAL:MID	eagle.sp.

She said: "His name is Eagle."

z. "Oratika noniinanite irogenti Mararo."

o-	*ra*	*-tika*	*non-*	*iinani*	*-te*	*irogeɴti*	*mararo*
3F-	DEM:MED	-CG:REACT	1S-	mother	-POSS	3F.PRO	cloud

"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, **apaniro**sano shianankitsi.

iriatiɴpa	*i-*	*teroɴk*	*-av*	*-a*	*-k*	*-i*	*-ri*	*apaniro*	*=sano*	*shig*	*-an*
3M.PRO	3M.S-	finish	-DIR	-EP	-PFV	-REAL:ACT	-3M.O	one	=EMPH	run	-ABL

-aɴkitsi
-INTR.SE:PFV

He finished them off, but one escaped. (ttk97)

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

> *ari =kea i-   amen -itsi   -ge   -ve   -t -av -a -k   -a*
> so =SC 3M.S- look -APPL:MAL -DISTR -FRUST -EP -DIR -EP -PFV -REAL:MID
>
> *-ri   =kea kahara -gite   =ni*
> -3M.O =SC empty -CL:ENV =AUG
>
> Then he looked around at them in vain, things were empty.

b. **Aparopae** metohagetanankitsi.

> *aparopae metoh -a -ge   -t   -an -aɴkitsi*
> some   die   -EP -DISTR -ABL -ABL -INTR.SE:PFV
>
> Only some had died here and there. (shm336-337)

(25) **Osheki** korakehiankitsi.

> *osheki korake -hig -aɴkitsi*
> 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."[2]

> *aviro =sa   amaɴpiveɴ -k   -i   -na no- tinerihaniki*
> 2.PRO =INFER betray   -PFV -REAL.I -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)

   (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. Arikea, okameetsagitetanahigeti, yanaakeritari Taataki katonkoniri, teekatsi kehetenparine.

> *ari =kea o-   kameetsa -gite   -t -an -ah -i   =geti i-   anag*
> so =SC 3F.S- be.good -CL:ENV -EP -ABL -REG -REAL:ACT =SUB 3M.S- surpass
>
> *-a -k -i   -ri   =tari Taataki katoɴkoniri teekatsi kehe -t -e*
> -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT -3M.O =CNGR Taataki Asháninka no.one be.like -EP -IRR
>
> *-ɴpa -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*
> all   3M.S- heard -APPL:INDR -PL -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT -3M.O

---

[2]Context: 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** santikogitetakaantahiro.

irio   saɴtiko -gite   -t   -akag -aɴ   -t -ah -i   -ro
3M.PRO be.silent -CL:ENV -EPC -CAUS -ANTIP -EP -REG -REAL.I -3F.O

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."

pi- mir   -e
2S- drink -IRR.I

..."Drink."

b. Okanti: "**Naatinpa** ashintahatakaro."

o-   kaɴ -t   -i   naatiɴpa ashiɴ -t   -a -ha   -t -ak -a
3F.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT 1.PRO   own -EP -EP -CL:fluid -EP -PFV -REAL:MID

-ro
-3F.O

She says: "But it's mine."

c. "**Aviro**mekea ashinkenparome nomirakeme."

aviro =me   =kea ashiɴ -t   -ak -e   -ɴpa -ro   =me   no- mir -a -k
2.PRO =CNTF =SC own -EP -PFV -IRR -MID -3F.O =CNTF 1S- drink -EP -PFV

-e   =me
-IRR =CNTF

"If it were yours, I would drink."

- As in (28) above, while *irio* 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 aviatinpa **aviro**tari tee pinohatehi."

aviro =ɴpa   mir -atsi   -ne   aviatiɴpa aviro =tari   tee
2.PRO =INCNGR drink -INTR.SE:IPFV -IRR:AA 2.PRO   2.PRO =CNGR NEG:REAL

pi- noha   -t   -e   -hi
2S- masticate -EP -IRR -NEG:REAL

"You drink because you didn't maticate." (sis134)

(30)   a. ..."Tee **irio** piraapanite."

> tee   irio   pir- aapani -te
>
> NEG:REAL 3M.PRO 2P- father -POSS
>
> ..."He's not your father."

b. "Iriratari piraapanite imetohakeri."

> iri- ra   =tari pir- aapani -te   i-   metoh -a -k   -i
>
> 3M- DEM:MED =CNGR 2P- father -POSS 3M.S- kill   -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT
>
> -ri
>
> -3M.O
>
> "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, **irio**kea sotoapohatsi **Katsirinkaiteri**.

> ari i-   kih -an -a -k   -i   =geti irio   =kea sotog -a -poh
>
> so 3M.S- enter -ABL -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT =SUB 3M.PRO =SC emerge -EP -ALL
>
> -atsi   KatsiriNkaiteri
>
> -INTR.SE:IPFV 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?"

> **taa** =shia no- N- peg   -an -a -k   -e   -Npa
>
> WH =URG 1S- IRR- transform -ABL -EP -PFV -IRR -MID

"What will I transform into?"

b. "**Irio** nonpeanakenpa **ashiivanti**."

> irio   no- N- peg   -an -a -k   -e   -Npa ashiivaNti
>
> 3M.PRO 1S- IRR- transform -ABL -EP -PFV -IRR -MID angel

"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 taɴpishi -t   -atsi
  WH be.strong -EP -INTR.SE:IPFV

  ...“Who is strong?”

  b. Oroatinpa okanti: “**Aviatinpa** tanpishitatsi.”

  oroatiɴpa o-   kaɴ -t -i   aviatiɴpa taɴpishi -t   -atsi
  3F.PRO 3F.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT 2.PRO   be.strong -EP -INTR.SE:IPFV

  She said: “You are strong.” (kev48-49)

(34) a. ...“Iinani, **taa**kea chookatankitsi ontaniki antakeronta?”

  iinani taa =kea chooka -t -aɴkitsi   o- ɴta   =niki aɴtakeroɴta
  mother WH =SC EXST -EP -INTR.SE:PFV 3F- DEM:DIST =ADVZ other.side.DIST

  ...“Mother, who lives over there on the other side?”

  b. Okantiri: “Chooka oshekini **kakintehia**...”

  o-   kaɴ -t -i   -ri   chooka -Ø osheki =ni   kakiɴte -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-   kaɴ -t -i   taɴpishinari naatiɴpa katsima -t   -ak   -i
  3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT tapir   1.PRO   hate   -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT
  -ɴpi
  -2O

  The tapir said: “I hate you...” (kas38-39)

(36) a. “**Taa**te 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."

oroatiɴpa	*o-*	*kaɴ*	*-t*	*-i*	*teekatsi*	*no-*	*ɴ-*	*tsipa*	*-t*	*-e*	*-ɴpa*
3F.PRO	3F.S-	say	-EP	-REAL:ACT	no.one	1S-	IRR-	accompany	-EP	-IRR	-MID

=ka	*apaniro*	*no-*	*tineoki*	*-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. "**Taa**te pipega anianishi?"

taa	*=te*	*pi-*	*peg*	*-a*	*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**."

iriatiɴpa	*i-*	*kaɴ*	*-t*	*-i*	*no-*	*peg*	*-a*	*=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 -*geɴti* Pronouns

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

(38) "Aviatinpa **avigenti** tanpishirimahaka."

aviatiɴpa	*avigeɴti*	*taɴpishi*	*-ri*	*-mahaka*
2.PRO	2.PRO	be.strong	-NOMZ	-TRUE

"You're the truly strong one." (kch2.61)

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

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

aviatiɴpa	*chaahanikiri*	*aato*	*pi-*	*kehe*	*-t*	*-a*	*-ri*	*iri-*	*ka*
2.PRO	child	NEG:IRR	2S-	be.like	-EP	-REAL:MID	-3M.O	3M-	DEM:PROX

panari
bird.sp.

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

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

(40) Koramani naatinpahia ikantahigana katonkoniri: "**Avigenti**hia Kachomashiri, aisa **avigenti** Pontonisati."

> *koramani naatiɴpa -hia i-*   *kaɴ -t*   *-a*   *-hig -a*   *-na katoɴkoniri avigeɴti*
> long.ago 1.PRO   -PL 3M.S- said -EP -EP -PL -REAL:ACT -1O Asháninka 2.PRO
> *-hia Kachomashiri aisa avigeɴti Poɴtonisati*
> -PL Kachomashiri also 2.PRO   Pontonisati
>
> Long ago the Ashéninkas said to us: "You are Kachomashiris, also you are Pontonisatis." (ttk11)

- These *-geɴti* clauses may appear in object position – contrast (41) & (42)

  (41) Yameniro imankigare isavihi okahemakotiri ovakoki.[3]

  > *i-*   *amen -i*   *-ro*   *i-*   *maɴkigare 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.[4]

  > *i-*   *amen -a*   *-poh -i*   *-ro*   *irogeɴti 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 *-geɴti* 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*
  > so 1S- be.pregnant -EP -ABL -PFV -REAL:ACT 3M.S- be.born -ABL -REG -REAL:ACT
  > *irigeɴti shiraɴpari*
  > 3M.PRO young.male
  >
  > Then I got pregnant, and a boy was born. (tsh153)

- A focus akin to English *only* is expressed with a *-geɴti* 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**.

  > *irigeɴti chooka -hig -atsi*   *chaahanikiri kooɴtsenene*
  > 3M.PRO EXST   -PL -INTR.SE:IPFV child   Lineated.woodpecker

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[3]Context: 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.

[4]Context: 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) Irirakea pamakavirivakitsate tee irihatehi inkoahaterohi, **irigenti** koahatakero **shetyaonkani**...

iri- ra   =kea pamakavirivakitsate tee   iri-   ha -t   -e
3M- DEM:MED =SC eagle.sp.   NEG:REAL 3M.S.IRR- go -EP -IRR

-hi   i-   N- kog   -a -ha   -t -e   -ro   -hi   irigeNti
-NEG:REAL 3M.S- IRR- look.for -EP -CL:fluid -EP -IRR -3F.O -NEG:REAL 3M.PRO

kog   -a -ha   -t -ak -i   -ro   shetyaoNkani
look.for -EP -CL:fluid -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT -3F.O Turkey.vulture

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**!"

irigeNti pi- niN -t -a -vae   -t -ak -i   kamaarini
3M.PRO 2S- want -EP -EP -DISTR -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT snake

"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) **Irigenti Tsipirini** ometohanakeri oshiteki chopekishiteki.

irigeNti Tsipiri =ni   o-   metoh -an -a -k -i   -ri   o-
3M.PRO Tsipiri =DEC 3F.S- kill   -ABL -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT -3M.O 3F.P-

shiteki   chopeki -shiteki
strained.mash plantain -strained.mash

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?"

taa =shia i-   amen -a -hi   -t -ak -i
WH =URG 3M.S- see   -EP -NREF -EP -PFV -REAL:ACT

"What did you see?"

b. Arikea ikanti iriatinpa: "**Irigenti** namenake **koontsenene**."

ari =kea i-   kaN -t -i   iriatiNpa irigeNti no- amen -a -k
so =SC 3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT 3M.PRO 3M.PRO 1S- see   -EP -PFV

-i   kooNtsenene
-REAL:ACT Lineated.woodpecker

Then he said: "I saw a woodpecker." (kon180-181)

8.2 *arige*N*ti* **'only'**

- Identificational focus over an event is expressed via etymologically related *arige*N*ti* (49)

(49) a. Arikea Okitsipokani ikantikea: "Tee nonpegenpahi."

ari =kea Okitsipokani i-   kaN -t -i   =kea tee   no- N-
so =SC Okitsipokani 3M.S- say -EP -REAL:ACT =SC NEG:REAL 1S- IRR-

peg   -e   -Npa -hi
go.out.of.view -IRR -MID -NEG:REAL

Then Okitsipokani said: "I didn't get lost."

b. "**Arigenti** notinpinake."

arigeNti no- tiNpina   -k   -i
only   1S- lose.path -PFV -REAL:ACT

"I only lost the trail." (okp85-86)

8.3 *i*N*tati* **'only'**

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

ari =kea roatiNpa o-   tsipa   -t -ashi   -t -ak -a   -ri   iNtati
so =SC 3F.PRO 3F.S- accompany -EP -APPL:PURP -EP -PFV -REAL:MID -3M.O only

aisa iriatiNpa i-   tsipa   -t -ashi   -t -a   -ro   iNtati irorihi
also 3M.PRO 3M.S- accompany -EP -APPL:PURP -EP -REAL:MID -3F.O only   because.F

=te   tee   i-   N-   tsa -t -e -hi   kovagishe -re   -Ntsi   mana
=xxx NEG:REAL 3M.S- IRR- know -EP -IRR -NEG:REAL have.sex   -NOMZ -ALIEN instead

i-   tsipavihi   -t -ak -a   -ro   iNtati
3M.S- accompany.as.friend -EP -PFV -REAL:MID -3F.O only

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?

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