1 Introduction

This article describes the morphosyntax and semantics of psych-predicates in Caquinte, a Kampa Arawak (Mihas 2017) language of southeastern Peru with a few hundred speakers. I define ‘psych-predicate’ broadly, and include verb roots that denote states of knowledge, belief, desire, and affect, a collocation that I will refer to atheoretically as ‘internal states’. The aim is to anchor the lexical documentation of Caquinte in rich description, as well as to lay the groundwork for further research on the morphosyntax, semantics, and interactional use of a series of second-position clitics that also make reference to internal states. The data on which this paper is based is drawn from a corpus of more than 5,000 lines of interlinearized text produced by four native speakers of Caquinte, as well as from conversations with Caquintes. The majority of texts – rich in quoted dialogue – are written narrative, and a minority are oral narrative that were transcribed by me in consultation with native speakers; all were translated into Spanish by Miguel Sergio Salazar.

The syntactic study of psych-predicates since Belletti and Rizzi (1988) has focused on their valence and the thematic roles of their arguments, although the study of these predicates in these terms predates this period. This tradition continues to the present day (Cheung and Larson 2015), and research on lesser studied languages largely fits into it (e.g., Kim (2013)). The semantic study of psych-predicates, in contrast, is often manifest only through the glosses of the verbs that appear in the papers in this tradition, and such glosses are often relatively uninformative (e.g., ‘hate’). This paper attempts to fill this lacuna, and is especially concerned with describing the nature of the internal states denoted by these predicates in Caquinte, i.e., in “uncovering” shades of meaning via the rich exemplification of textual data as a way, in part, of illustrating how Caquintes talk about internal states. Although I will employ convenient glosses as a shorthand in interlinearization, the result is an attempt at a balance between morphosyntactic description in the traditional vein and

*[REMOVED FOR ANONYMOUS REVIEW]*

†Orthography: <b> = β; <ch> = tʃ; <j> = h; <n> = [placeless nasal]; <r> = R; <sh> = s.

1These include, for example, differential epistemic states among interactants (e.g., see Hyslop (2014); contributions in San Roque and Bergqvist (2015)).

2Translation of any sort is a non-trivial task (see Hanks (2014)), but it is especially acute in the case of Caquinte. No speaker of Caquinte is a native speaker of Spanish, many Caquintes are in practice monolingual or bilingual in Caquinte and Matsigenka (Kampa Arawak), and most of those who do speak Spanish use it on an irregular basis. As a result, translations of Caquinte into Spanish are largely a negotiation involving myself and my consultants. For the purposes of this article I have additionally translated from Spanish into English. In doing so I have relied, given my own speaking abilities in Caquinte, on my understanding of the pragmatic force of the utterances in question in order to arrive at a translation that is as semantically and pragmatically balanced relative to the Caquinte as possible. This often requires significant departures in syntactic structure (e.g., word order), but it is my contention that in light of the research questions developed here this is the most faithful representation possible.
lexical semantic description. Where possible I describe the interactional use of these predicates given my current understanding of Caquinte social norms and ways of speaking (Beier 2010).

In terms of their morphosyntax, Caquinte psych-predicates are verbs that, with one exception, may take a full range of derivational and inflectional morphology. They may select for nominal complements, finite clausal complements that may themselves also take a full range of derivational and inflectional morphology, or both. In what follows I describe, where relevant, the basic argument structure and thematic roles of these predicates, properties of clausal complements (e.g., coreference), and alternations involving directionals and valence-altering morphology. In addition, I more opportunistically describe morphosyntactic properties that pertain only to certain verbs (e.g., tendencies for frustrative morphology to surface on a complement).

The remainder of this section provides a brief overview of the grammatical profile of Caquinte so that the examples are as transparent as possible. Following that, the remainder of the article is organized principally around how I have chosen to schematize the internal states denoted by Caquinte psych-predicates. This includes categories of cognition (§2), desire (§3), positive affect (§4), and negative affect (§5). I begin to describe direct quotation as a mode for the communication of internal states and the expression of commitments in (§6), and in §7 I summarize and conclude.

1.1 Basic Grammatical Profile

Caquinte is a strongly head-marking, agglutinative, polysynthetic language. The verbal word may be divided into four domains: a prefixing domain, a suffixing domain, and an enclitic domain. The prefixing domain is characterized by the deletion of vowels as a resolution of vowel hiatus; the suffix domain is characterized by a combination of the epenthesis of /t/ and /a/ as a resolution of vowel and consonant hiatus, respectively (n.b., vowel deletion is also attested in this domain); the enclitic domain consists of second-position clitics that attach to the verb only when it is in first position.

Obligatory verbal categories include the person of the subject (the leftmost affixal slot) and reality status. The subjects of transitive verbs are crossreferenced via a set of prefixes, and the objects of transitive verbs are crossreferenced via a set of suffixes that exhibit a differential pattern, and as such may or may not co-occur with a nominal object. The crossreferencing of the subjects of intransitive verbs exhibits a fluid pattern instantiated by the above-mentioned prefixes and suffixes, with the exception that the crossreferencing of third person intransitive subjects is null. Verbal person markers are given in Table 1.

Reality status is a distinction between notionally realized and unrealized eventualities (Michael 2014). Caquinte, like all Kampa languages, exhibits two sets of reality status suffixes that, in the

In what follows, epenthetic segments are removed from segmentations and resultant glosses.

Three other phonological processes are worthy of mention at this juncture. 1) morpheme-final /g/ is deleted in the domain spanning the right edge of the verb root and the suffix slot immediately to the left of reality status suffixes. That is, morpheme-final /g/ only surfaces when it is immediately followed by a reality status suffix. 2) /h/ in the suffixal domain deletes if doing so would result either in a long vowel or in a diphthong of falling sonority. 3) /h/ metathesizes to avoid onsetless syllables if doing so would result in the formation of either a long vowel or a diphthong of falling sonority and not in two adjacent /h/-initial syllables. (There is at least one exception to the ban on adjacent /h/-initial syllables that is not discussed here.) Epenthesis precedes the processes described here, e.g., /i-sotog-ha-ah-i/ → [isoto hahai], /-akag-hig-ah-i/ → [a kahi]. Also see (1).

However, even marking of the subject and reality status may be suppressed under certain conditions, the former in instances of extraction (e.g., wh-questions), and the latter when followed by the first person inclusive suffix -aj. See (O’Hagan 2015) for a preliminary analysis.

Parentheses indicate vowels that delete before vowel-initial roots. (First person inclusive a- exceptionally deletes before the vowel-initial root og ‘go’ in order to avoid homophony with ag ‘fetch’. In all other instances the initial vowel of the root deletes.) Third person masculine i- glides before vowel-initial roots.
realis, additionally expone voice. They are conflated in the irrealis, and middle voice is separately exponed by the suffix -Npa (Table 2).

Table 1: Verbal Person Markers

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

Table 2: Reality Status Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ACTIVE</th>
<th>MIDDLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REALIS</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRREALIS</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Middle stems include reflexives, reciprocals, and lexically specified verbs (e.g., self-acts, verbs of consumption, etc.). Active-middle alternations involving one and the same verb root are common, and, in addition, certain verbal suffixes (e.g., the instrumental applicative -aN) condition middle voice obligatorily (no morpheme conditions active voice), and combinations of certain reality status suffixes with certain person suffixes are illicit.

Other verbal categories include temporal aspect, direction, associated motion, distributivity, pluractionality, participant number, and numerous adverbial categories, e.g., -aman, which expresses that the eventuality denoted by the verb root occurred early in the morning. Valence-altering categories marked on the verb include twelve applicatives, three causatives, an antipassive, and a reciprocal. The number of applicatives is noteworthy: Caquinte exhibits a single semantically underspecified locative postposition =ki, and as such applicatives have a high functional load in the introduction of arguments with particular thematic roles.

Verb stems may be nominalized via one of eight nominalizers, three of which differ only in the gender of the noun that they derive, or relativized via the relativizer =ka. Nominalizations permit few verbal categories while all verbal categories are permitted under relativization, and subjects as well as base and applied objects may be relativized. All nominalizers with the exception of -Nti derive morphologically inalienable nouns (see below). A rich set of second-position clitics (of which the above-mentioned relativizer =ka is one) encode modal, evidential, and other related categories (O’Hagan 2017a,b,c).

Interclausal relations are typically encoded via second-position clitics, e.g., =geti, which expresses temporal point overlap (English when; see Dixon (2009)) and also occurs in the protasis of a conditional. Relations of temporal anteriority are expressed via the combination of -kerata/-kerota ‘yet, still’, with =geti; temporal posteriority is expressed with adverbs. Counterfactuality is expressed by =me, which occurs in both the protasis and apodosis. There is no evidence for sub-
ordination in complementation: there is no overt complementizer and clausal complements exhibit the full range of verbal categories. The high degree of morphological complexity described so far is illustrated in (1).

(1) ...kameetsanjijite irojokitabakenerigeti kishokiro irishekataaajapojemparinijii.

\[
\text{kameetsa} = \text{ni} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{iri} \quad \text{ojok} \quad \text{-ji} \quad \text{-ab} \quad \text{-k} \quad \text{-e} \quad \text{nV} \quad \text{-ri} \quad \text{=geti}
\]

\[
\text{PURP} \quad \text{=PURP} \quad \text{=CE} \quad \text{3M.S.IRR} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{-NREF} \quad \text{-DIR} \quad \text{-PFV} \quad \text{-IRR} \quad \text{-A:REC} \quad \text{-3M.O} \quad \text{=when}
\]

\[
\text{kishokiro} \quad \text{iri} \quad \text{sheka} \quad \text{-akag} \quad \text{-jig} \quad \text{-poj} \quad \text{-e} \quad \text{-Npa} \quad \text{-ri} \quad \text{=niji}
\]

cooked.manioc 3M.S.IRR- eat \quad \text{-CAUS} \quad \text{-PL} \quad \text{-ALL} \quad \text{-IRR} \quad \text{-MID} \quad \text{3M.O} \quad \text{=PURP}

...so that when they gave him cooked manioc they could make him eat it. (shm)

Negation is encoded via two preverbal particles \text{tee} and \text{aato}: the former negates verbs that denote notionally reals states of affairs and additionally occurs optionally though frequently with the verbal suffix -\text{ji}; the latter negates verbs that denote notionally irrealis states of affairs (e.g., those with future temporal reference). The former results in irrealis marking on the verb, the latter in reals, a sort of canceling out effect that results from the double irreality of the entire proposition (i.e., negation and future temporal reference).

Sentential moods include declarative, interrogative, and imperative ones. Polar questions exhibit no domain-specific marking, while content questions are characterized by the presence of either \text{taa} ‘who(m), what’ or \text{ke} ‘where, how (many), why, which’, the latter of which inflects for gender. Different interpretations of \text{ke} result from complex interrogative constructions involving, among other verbs, the copular verb \text{ko}, applicativization, and relativization, which are outside the scope of this description. Positive imperatives are surface-equivalent to their second-person irrealis declarative counterparts; negative imperatives (i.e., prohibitives) are equivalent to their second-person doubly irrealis declarative counterparts (i.e., they are formed on \text{aato}).

Caquinte nouns are categorized by their grammatical gender and alienability. The noun phrase exhibits three series of prenominal demonstratives distributed spatially, two prenominal numerals (\text{aparo} ‘one’, \text{mabite} ‘two’)\(^9\) four plurals (\text{-jia}, \text{-bio}, \text{-jite}, and \text{=pae}), and a single underspecified locative postposition \text{=ki}. Both \text{=pae} and \text{=ki} are second-position clitics within the noun phrase, i.e., they attach to a small set of prenominal adjectives, but not to demonstratives or numerals. Adjectives covary with the gender of the noun they modify. Quantifiers appear to be adverbs.

Nominal possession, of the order possessum-possessor, differs based on the alienability of the possessed noun in question. Both sorts of noun are inflected for the person (and in the case of third persons, gender) of their possessors via a prefix. Inalienable nouns combine directly with these

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\(^8\)Abbreviations: 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person; \text{A} = applicative; \text{ABL} = ablative; \text{ADD} = additive; \text{ADVBLZR} = adverbializer; \text{ALIEN} = alienable; \text{ALL} = allative; \text{ALT} = alternative; \text{ANTIP} = antipassive; \text{AP} = alienable possession; \text{AM} = associated motion; \text{AUG} = augmentative; \text{CAUS} = causative; \text{CE} = counter-expectational; \text{CL} = classifier; \text{CNGR} = congruent; \text{CONJ} = conjectural; \text{CO} = copula; \text{CT} = contrastive topic; \text{D} = demonstrative; \text{DEC} = deceased; \text{DIR} = directional; \text{DIST} = distal; \text{DSTR} = distributive; \text{EVID} = evidential; \text{EXST} = existential; \text{F} = feminine; \text{FE} = feminine ego; \text{FOC} = focus; \text{FRUST} = frustrating; \text{FUT} = future; \text{HORT} = hortative; \text{IDEO} = ideophone; \text{IMP} = imperative; \text{INCL} = inclusive; \text{INCNGR} = incongruent; \text{INDR} = indirect; \text{INSTR} = instrumental; \text{INTR} = interrogative; \text{INTJ} = interjection; \text{INTR} = intransitive; \text{IPFV} = imperfective; \text{IRR} = irrealis; \text{LOC} = locative; \text{MAL} = malefactive; \text{M} = masculine; \text{MED} = medial; \text{MIR} = mirative; \text{MON} = monitive; \text{MS} = modal strengthening; \text{NEG} = negation; \text{NI} = noun incorporation; \text{NOMZ} = nominalizer; \text{NREF} = nonreferential; \text{O} = object; \text{P} = possessive; \text{PFV} = perfective; \text{PL} = plural; \text{PLRACT} = prluxational; \text{POS} = positive; \text{PRES} = presentative; \text{PRO} = pronoun; \text{PURP} = purpose; \text{R} = reals; \text{REAS} = reason; \text{REC} = recipient; \text{RECIPI} = reciprocal; \text{REDUP} = reduplication; \text{REG} = regressive; \text{REL} = relativizer; \text{RSTR} = restrictive; \text{S} = subject; \text{SC} = scene change; \text{TOP} = topic; \text{TRNS} = transitive; \text{XXX} = [unanalyzed]; \text{WH} = uh-word.

\(^9\)Numerals of higher value are debated, but \text{mahitetapojatsika} ‘three’ and \text{gijatapojiroka} ‘four’ are attested.
prefixes, while alienable nouns additionally combine with the suffix -ne/-te, the relevant allomorph determined by the syllable count of the root. If an inalienable noun is to appear without a possessor, it must take the suffix -tsi/-ntsii, again with the relevant allomorph determined by the syllable count of the root. A large number of weakly referential nouns (Farmer 2015) may classify other nouns, enter into compounds with them, and incorporate into both numerals and verbs. There are distinct series of topic and focus pronouns.

Before moving on to the morphosyntactic and semantic description of psych-predicates, it will be helpful to have a more detailed understanding of transitivity in Caquinte. First off, I will refer to verbs as transitive if they may take a nominal complement without requiring additional valence-altering morphology (i.e., an applicative or causative). Caquinte verbs, then, behave differently from one another depending on how their transitivity intersects with reality status. One sort of verb is a-class as an intransitive, but i-class as a transitive; another is i-class as both an intransitive and transitive; and yet another is a-class as both an intransitive and transitive. No verb is i-class as an intransitive and a-class as a transitive, hence the generalizations regarding active and middle voice above. Many intransitive verbs exhibit no transitive counterpart, in which case it is not possible to place them into one of the three classes summarized in Table 3. In order to reduce potential confusion, I will refer to specific instantiations of a verb as, for example, an ‘a-class intransitive’, or an ‘a-class transitive’.

Table 3: Caquinte Verb Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>INTR</th>
<th>TRNS</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, some verb roots change reality status class depending on their reality status value. This always involves a change from a-class to i-class in the irrealis, and is a property that must be stated of individual lexical items, as semantically similar a-class verbs may differ in exactly this property, as is shown by contrasting the morphological behavior of sheka ‘eat’, which exhibits no change (2), and mir ‘drink’, which does (3).

(2) a. ...yaabakero ishekatabakaro.  
   i- ag -ab -k -i -ro i- sheka -ab -k -a -ro  
   3M.S- grab -DIR -PFV -R:ACT -3F.O 3M.S- eat -DIR -PFV -R:MID -3F.O  
   ...he grabbed it and ate it. (pis)

   b. “Noashia noshekatempari.”  
   noashia no- sheka -e -Npa -ri  
   I’m.going 1S- eat -IRR -MID -3M.O  
   “I’m going to go and eat him.” (pis)

(3) a. ..imirajaka kachojari...  
   i- mir -jig -k -a kachojari  
   3M.S- drink -PL -PFV -R:MID manioc.beer  

10These suffixes are argued to be type-shifters in Farmer and O’Hagan (2014).
...they drank manioc beer... (kis)
b. “Pimirakite kachojarī...”

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pî- mir} & \quad -kï \quad -e \quad \text{kachojarī} \\
& \text{2s- drink -AM -IRR manioc.beer}
\end{align*}
\]

“Drink manioc beer.” (has)

Caquinte exhibits one ditransitive verb \textit{aman} ‘ask for’. Ditransitive verbs in this language can be characterized by the fact that they may license two non-subject arguments without additional valence-altering morphology, and that the suffix covaries with the gender of the non-theme argument when both non-subject arguments are third person.\(^{11}\) In (4) the non-theme argument is the headless relative \textit{ashinkaroka}, which covaries with the suffix \textit{-\textit{ri}}.

(4) Arikea tee iramanajeriji ashinkaroka kitsaarentsi.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ari} =\text{kea} & \quad \text{tee} \quad \text{iri-} \quad \text{aman} & \quad -aj & \quad -e & \quad -\text{ri} & \quad -\text{ji} & \quad \text{ashiN} & \quad -k & \quad -a & \quad -\text{ro} \\
& \text{PRO} =\text{KEA} & \quad \text{NEG:r} & \quad \text{3M.S.IRR} & \quad \text{ask.for} & \quad -\text{REG} & \quad -\text{IRR} & \quad -3\text{M.O} & \quad -\text{NEG:r} & \quad \text{own} & \quad -\text{PFV} & \quad -\text{R:MID} & \quad -3\text{F.O} \\
=\text{ka} & \quad \text{kitsaa} & \quad -\text{re} & \quad -\text{Ntsi} \\
=\text{REL} & \quad \text{dress} & \quad -\text{NOMZ} & \quad -\text{ALIEN}
\end{align*}
\]

He hadn’t asked the owner of the cushman for it [i.e., the cushman]. (okp)

Notably, \textit{ojok} ‘give’ is not ditransitive given these criteria, but it does exhibit partial ditransitive behavior. It requires the recipient applicative \textit{-nV} to introduce a non-theme object, but it nevertheless can still not introduce a theme object on its own. To do so, it must be antipassivized via \textit{-aN}, a morpheme that reduces the valence of a mono- or ditransitive verb by one. This is identical to the behavior of \textit{aman} ‘ask for’, as seen by comparing (5) and (6).

(5) “Ojokantajero...”

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-} & \quad \text{ojok} & \quad -\text{aN} & \quad -aj & \quad -e & \quad -\text{ro} \\
& \text{1INCLS- give -ANTIP -REG -IRR -3F.O}
\end{align*}
\]

“We are going to give them [i.e., the women] away... (ttk)

(6) “Yamanantakempi shetyaonkani.”

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i-} & \quad \text{aman} & \quad -\text{aN} & \quad -ak & \quad -i & \quad -\text{Npi} & \quad \text{shetyaonkani} \\
& \text{3M.S- ask.for -ANTIP -PFV -R:ACT -2O} & \quad \text{vulture}
\end{align*}
\]

“The vulture has asked for you [i.e., your hand in marriage].” (pam)

In what follows the foregoing empirical facts will be useful as we review the thematic roles of psych-predicates of differing transitivity, and we turn to that discussion now.

2 Cognition

Caquinte exhibits four verbs that I describe under the notion of cognition. These are \textit{tsa} ‘know’ (§2.1), \textit{ji} ‘believe erroneously’ (§2.2), \textit{keNkej} ‘think’ (§2.3), and \textit{ogimag} ‘dream’ (2.4). The description of the morphosyntax and semantics of these verbs forms the remainder of this section.

\(^{11}\)When the non-theme argument is a speech act participant and the theme is a third person, both arguments are crossreferenced on the verb and the third person suffix covaries with the theme. This is a sort of Person-Case Constraint that also holds for related Matsigenka and is described in O’Hagan (2014).
2.1 Knowing

Caquintes talk about familiarity with entities and eventualities that are construed as verifiable in the world via the verb *tsa* ‘know’. Morphosyntactically, *tsa* is an *i*-class transitive verb that may take both nominal and clausal complements. Clausal complements may be introduced by the *wh*-word *ke* or directly as a finite verb. A nominal complement is illustrated in (7), which comes from a text in which a woman is surprised to find out that a man believes that she is his wife. Note that *tsa* here may also felicitously be translated as ‘recognize’.

(7) “Imaika, arimpa pitsakena?”

imaika ari =Npa pi- tsa -k -i -na
now PRO =INCNGR 2S- know -PFV -R:ACT -1O

“What, do you know me?” (pam)

Examples (8) and (9) show that *tsa* may also be translated felicitously as ‘be familiar with’. The former comes from a text in which Caquintes are engaged in periodic skirmishes with neighboring Asháninkas; the latter comes from a text in which a woman suspects her brother to have been lost in the forest. When he unexpectedly returns, he gives her the following explanation.

(8) Okantabaetanake ishikiripite teenika intsateroji iyapa.

o- kaN -bae -an -k -i i- shikiripite- te tee =nika i- N- tsa
3F.S- DO -DSTR -ABL -PFV -R:ACT 3M.P- arrow -AP NEG =CNGR:NEG 3M.S- IRR- know
-e -ro -ji iyapa
-IRR -3F.O -NEG:R shotgun

Their arrows came down like rain because they were not familiar with the shotgun. (ttk)

(9) a. “Arigenti notimpinake.”

arigeNti no- tiNpina -k -i
FOC:PRED:INTR 1S- lose.path -PFV -R:ACT

“I only lost the path.” (okp)

b. “Noabaetanake jmm osamani, okitamampororoipojakageti.”

no- og -bae -an -k -i jmm osamani o- kitamaNpororoi
1S- go -DSTR -ABL -PFV -R:ACT IDEO:extent far 3F.S- exist.snow.on.mountaintop
-poj -k -a -geti
-ALL -PFV -R:MID =where

“I went far away, to where there was snow at the top of a mountain.” (okp)

c. “Tee nontsatajeroji kenabokironts.”

tee no- N- tsa -aj -e -ro -ji kenabokiro -Ntsi
NEG:R 1S- IRR- know -REG -IRR -3F.O -NEG:R path -ALIEN

“I didn’t know the way back.” (okp)

The excerpt in (10) comes from a text in which a young woman who refuses to marry is denied food by her father; she then begins eating manioc secretly at night, the specific situation described below. This example differs from the previous two in that the familiarity ascribed to the entity denoted by the verbal subject (i.e., the father) is not in regards to his daughter specifically, but to the actions that she performs.
a. Otashitakero aintochapaki oshekatapiniko pitsekariki.

She toasted the manioc and ate it regularly at night. (kam)

b. Tee intsateroji oraapanite...

But her father ... didn’t know about it. (kam)

A similar interpretation is present in (11), which comes from a text in which a kidnapped young woman begins making plans for her escape. Again, familiarity is not in regards to the young woman but to her actions, and as such is translatable via English suspect.

(11) Iroatimpa okenkejamajake kameetsanijite aato itsahitiro.

She thought hard so that they would not suspect her. (ttk)

The complement of tsʁ may be a small clause, as is exemplified via irogeniti kepatsipitsa ‘(that) it is clay’ in (12). There is no overt complementizer, and, despite the status of the complement as clausal, the verb is marked with the suffix -ro, and we will see below that this is part of a broader phenomenon in these constructions by which the subject of the complement verb controls object marking on the matrix verb. As such, instances in which tsʁ takes a clausal complement may be paraphrased as ‘to know of X that Y’, where ‘X’ is the subject of the complement verb and ‘Y’ is the eventuality denoted by that verb.12

(12) “Kero okotakani pitsatantakaroka irogenti kepatsipitsa?”

“How do you know that it’s clay?” (tsp)

In example (13) the complement of tsʁ is the full clause inmetojantake. There is no overt complementizer, and, like (12), tsʁ is marked by the suffix -ri, which is coreferential with the subject prefix i- of the complement verb metøj ‘kill’. The presence of the suffix can be seen as a way to disambiguate a construction that involves knowledge of eventualities that do not involve the subject of the matrix verb (cf. know that) from those that do (cf. know how and (16) below).13

12Note that interrogative constructions translatable via English how are formed with the interrogative pronoun ke, inflected for feminine gender, the copular verb ko, also inflected for a feminine subject, and a relativized applicativized stem (see tsʁ). Note that this construction does not have the same pragmatic force as its English cleft equivalent How is it that you know that it’s clay?.

13Similarly to the interrogative construction described in footnote 12, one sort of purpose clause in Caquinte is formed via the particle kameetsanijite, which precedes the purpose clause, followed by a relativized applicativized stem.
He cuts his hair [i.e., a warrior] so that people know that he has killed someone. (shm)

When the subject of the complement of *tsa* is indefinite, *tsa* itself receives no object marking, as is expected given more general patterns of object marking in this language (see §1.1). This is shown in (14), in which the complement of *tsa* is the existential verb *chooka*; the subject of *chooka* is the headless relative *aanakeroneka* ‘someone who would take her’.

(14) Otsake chooka aakeroneka koajika mankigamajatakemparoneka.

She knew that there was someone who would take her and who would later make her their true wife. (pam)

As mentioned in the introductory remarks, the complement clause of *tsa* may be introduced by the interrogative pronoun *ke*, forming an embedded interrogative construction, as in (15). As above, the matrix verb is marked with a suffix that is coreferential with the subject of the complement verb. When the verb is not applicativized and relativized, the interpretation of *ke* is ‘where’ (cf. footnote 12).

(15) ‘...jaame amenabakeri kameetsanijite antsakeri kero ikenapojini.’

‘...let’s go watch them so we know where they’re going.’ (shm)

Clausal complements of *tsa* that are not introduced by *ke* may receive an interpretation that invokes the notion of ability (cf. English *know how*) when the subjects of both the matrix and complement verbs are coreferential, as in (16). In this construction *tsa* exhibits no object marking, and values of sentential polarity and reality status are identical between both verbs.

(16) Irirakea shamaki tee intsateji inkatsiketeji.
Finally, Caquinte exhibits two stems formed on tsa that are worthy of note in the context of this description. One, translatable as ‘teach, instruct’, is derived via the suffixal causative -akag; the other, translatable as ‘learn’, is derived via the ablative directional -an. Neither the string tsatakag nor the string tsatan (note l-epenthesis) is lexicalized per se, since other verbal morphemes may intervene between them, but their collocation may be thought of as lexicalized. Both of these stems are illustrated in (17).

(17) “Jaameja antsatakaajiajeri kameetsanijite intsatanaje inkatsiketanijeniji iriatimpa.”

“Let’s teach them so that they learn how to clear land themselves.” (shm)

2.2 Belief and Expectation

Caquinte exhibits no verb that may be translated via English believe in a narrow sense. Instead, we will see that the verb ji, an i-class transitive verb, approximates the notion of an erroneous belief, i.e., a belief in P, but in reality not P. It may select for either a nominal or a clausal complement, and clausal complements may be either realis or irrealis. The subject of a realis complement is not coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause; the subject of an irrealis complements is always coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause in the present corpus. Furthermore, the alternation between reality status values is determined by a temporal relation: if the eventuality denoted by the complement temporally precedes the eventuality denoted by ji, then the complement is realis; if it follows it, it is irrealis. Although complements of both reality status values denote eventualities that are never truly realized in the world, irrealis complements also carry an entailment that an attempt at realizing the eventuality was frustrated. That is, some eventuality is believed to be imminent (e.g., desired or attempted), but ultimately it is unrealized. In this way ji interacts with two morphological frustratives in Caquinte, the verbal suffix -be and the verbal enclitic =me, to be discussed below.

This section first describes constructions involving nominal complements of ji, then clausal complements. Before progressing, however, a word on the morphological analysis of ji itself is in order. Unlike all other verb roots described in this article, ji appears to be defective in that it is always followed by an invariant set of verbal morphemes, i.e., those that appear to be perfective -k, realis -i, and an as-yet unidentified morpheme -ji, although it is worth noting that the latter is of the same
phonological shape as the suffix -ji that associates with realis negation (see §1.1). An alternative morphological segmentation might propose a verb root jikej – which would be phonotactically well formed in Caquinte – and realis -i. However, this segmentation does not hold up in the face of the position of object suffixes when they are present (see below). Comparative facts in the form of a Matsigenka verb root i, exhibiting a regular loss of Proto-Kampa *h [Michael 2011], also point to a segmentation in which ji is analyzed as the root.

When the complement of ji is nominal – i.e., a noun (18) or pronoun (19) – the verbal word may contain an object suffix, the distribution of which follows broader properties of differential object marking in the language.

(18) Nojikeriji oeboronti...

no- ji -k -i -ri_i -ji oeboroNti_i
1S- believe -PFV -R:ACT -3M.O -JI bird.sp.

I thought that it was a porotobango... (shm)

(19) ...omposagipoja chorinaki takorororo ijikeroji iro.

o- oNpos -ki -poj -a chorina -ki takorororo i-
3F.S fall -CL:small.round -ALL -R:MID palm.sp. -CL:small.round IDEO:falling.fruit 3M.S-
ji -k -i -ro_i -ji iro_i
believe -PFV -R:ACT -3F.O -JI 3F:FOC

'...an ungarahui fruit fell and he thought it was that.' (ttk)

More frequently, ji introduces two elements, the first of which is a pronoun and the second of which is a noun. The two elements form a predicational copular clause [Mikkelsen 2005]. In this construction verbal object suffixes are obligatory.

(20) Ijikeriji iro itsino, tee iro...

i- ji -k -i -ri_i -ji iro_i i- tsino_i tee iro
3M.S- believe -PFV -R:ACT -3M.O -JI 3M:FOC 3M.P- body NEG:R 3M:FOC

I thought it was his body, but it wasn’t him... (pam)

(21) ...nojikeroji iro shekatsimajaka.

no- hi -k -i -ro_i -ji iro_i sheka_i -tsi -majaka
1S- believe -PFV -R:ACT -3F.O -JI 3F:PRO food -ALIEN -true

...I thought that it was real food. (tsp)

Turning to realis clausal complements, we observe that the ways in which arguments of the clausal complements of ji are encoded are various. When ji lacks object suffixes, an intransitive subject (S) may be encoded as either a verbal prefix (22) or a verbal suffix (23), and a transitive object (P) is encoded as a suffix (24).

(22) ...ijikeji yoabaetanake osamani...

i- i -ji o- i-j og -bae -an -k -i osamani
3M.S- believe -PFV -R:ACT -JI 3M.S- go -DSTR -ABL -PFV -R:ACT far
...he thought that he went far away...

(23) “Nojikeji jaai peakekemp.”

no-i ji -k -i -ji jaai peg -k -i -np
1S- believe -PFV -R:ACT -JI brother.FE be.lost -PFV -R:ACT -2S

“I thought, brother, that you were lost.”

(24) “Nojikeji pimejotakenari norijanite.”

no-i ji -k -i -ji pi-j metoj -it -k -i -na -ri no- irihani -te
1S- believe -PFV -R:ACT -JI 2S- kill -A:MAL -PFV -R:ACT -1O -3M.O 1P son -AP

“I thought that you killed my son.”

When *ji* exhibits an object suffix, a transitive subject (P) is encoded as a preverbal pronoun and that verb lacks a suffix (25). Note the parallel with the copular clauses in (20) and (21).

(25) Ijikeriji irio imetojake.

i-i ji -k -i -ri -ji irio i-j metoj -k -i
3M.S- believe -PFV -R:ACT -3M.O -JI 3M.PRO 3M.S- kill -PFV -R:ACT

They thought that they had killed him.

Before discussing irrealis clausal complements, we first briefly examine the morphological frustratives *-be* and *-me*, and their co-occurrences. The frustrative *-be* expresses that the eventuality denoted by the verb to which it attaches was realized, but with notable consequences of some sort, often uncharacteristic, unexpected, unusual, etc., as can be seen in (26), in which a certain fish simply vanishes out of sight. The verb stems in which *-be* appears are *a*-class and realis, i.e., *-be* is a morpheme that conditions a reality status class alternation (see §1.1).

(26) Chapinki namenabekari shabemereto ipeajenakatanakaro.

chap înki no- amen -be -k -a -ri shabemereto i- peajenka -an -k
recently 1S- observe -FRUST -PFV -R:MID -3M.O fish.sp. 3M.S- vanish -ABL -PFV
-a =to
-R:MID =EVID

Yesterday I saw a *paco* but then it vanished.

The frustrative *-me* expresses that the eventuality denoted by the verb to which it attaches was nearly realized. Unlike *-be*, it attaches to only irrealis verb stems and places no restrictions on reality status class. Clauses exhibiting *-me* are often translated as ‘almost X-ed’, ‘wanted to X’, ‘tried to X’, ‘had the intention of X-ing’, etc., where ‘X’ is the relevant eventuality. However, it need not be translated as such, as can be seen in (27), in which it attaches to the verb of a purpose clause in order to express that the bathing eventuality was never realized.

(27) Arikea oanake kenkebarotanatsika onkajatapanajanteme.

18The presence of this evidential indicates that the subject of the verb was expected to be found in a particular location, in this case the location in which it had been observed moments before.
19The enclitic *-me* also encodes counterfactuality and deontic modality, which are not described here.
Then a young woman went to bathe. (ttk)

It occurs optionally but frequently on verbs that follow the adverb *pajini/pajeni* ‘almost’ (28), and it may additionally occur on the adverb itself.

(28) *Pajini* ometojeme.

*pajini* o- metoj -e =me

almost 3F.S- die -IRR =FRUST

She almost died. (naa)

It also occurs optionally but frequently on verbs that are complements to the verb *iroshi* ‘be nigh’ (29). The difference between this construction and that involving *pajini/pajeni* is one of perspective: in the former topic time follows situation time, whereas in the latter it precedes it.

(29) *...iroshipojigeti osotoanajeme iroatimpa...*

*iroshi* -poj -i -Ø =geti o- sotog -an -aj -e =me iroitinpa

be.nigh -ALL -R:ACT -S =when 3F.S- emerge -ABL -REG -IRR =FRUST 3F.PRO

*...when she was about to emerge again [i.e., from her menarche seclusion hut]...* (sis)

When *=me* attaches to the verb of a complement clause, the matrix verb frequently exhibits the suffixal frustrative -be, as seen for the same verb *iroshi* ‘be nigh’ in (30). This follows from the observation that the eventuality of the matrix clause (i.e., being nigh) is notionally realized, but with unusual consequences, made explicit here via the non-realization of the eventuality denoted by the complement verb, which is marked with *=me*.

(30) *Irira chonchokoronti iroshibapotajaka irarejetapojempame imagorejapoji.*

*iri- ra choNchokoroNTi iroshi* -be -apoj -k -a -Ø *iri- areje -apoj*

3M- D:MED deer be.nigh -FRUST -ALL -PFV -R:MID -3S 3M.S.IRR- arrive -ALL

-e -Npa =me i- magorej -paj -i

-IRR -MID =FRUST 3M.S- rest -ALL -R:ACT

When the deer was near to arriving he rested. (kis)

Despite the fact that verbs marked with *=me* are often translated into Spanish with expressions of desire, intent, or attempt, it is clear in examples such as (28), in which death is to be avoided, that these modal flavors are not inherent to *=me*. In that vein, we see in (31) that verbs marked with *=me* may be complements to verbs that explicitly encode desire, such as *niN* ‘want’ (see §3.1).

(31) *Inintabekakea inkokerome...*

*i- niN -be -k -a =kea i- N- ko -k -e -ro =me*

3M.S- want -FRUST -PFV -R:MID =KEA 3M.S- IRR- have.sex.with -PFV -IRR -3P.O =FRUST

He wanted to have sex with her [i.e., but didn’t]... (okp)
With these observations in mind, we return to the irrealis complements of *ji*, which I argue have a generally frustrated interpretation. Example (32) comes from the abovementioned text involving early humans and the tayra. At this juncture, a young woman is tasting certain delicious foods for the first time.

(32) Ojikeji onteronkero, tee onteronkeroji.

\[
\begin{align*}
o_i & \quad ji \quad -k \quad -i \quad -ji \quad o_i \quad N- \quad ternoKk \quad -e \quad -ro \quad tee \quad o- \quad N- \quad ternoKk \quad -e \\
3F.S- & \quad believe \quad -PFV \quad -R:ACT \quad -JI \quad 3F.S- \quad IRR- \quad finish \quad -IRR \quad -3F.O \quad NEG:R \quad 3F.S- \quad IRR- \quad finish \quad -IRR \\
-jo & \quad =ji \\
-3F.O -NEG:R
\end{align*}
\]

She thought she would finish it [i.e., the food] but couldn’t. (tsp)

The excerpt in (33) comes from a humorous text in which a man tries his luck in getting near a woodpecker’s net trap, despite his brother-in-law’s warnings that he should avoid it. The following events then ensue. In (33b) we see that =me attaches to the complement of *ji*.

(33) a. Ooo chaamantsajaniki, aato agabezana agana.

\[
\begin{align*}
oo & \quad chaa \quad -maNtsa \quad -janiki \quad aato \quad o- \quad agabez \quad -a \quad -na \quad o- \\
ideo:condescension \quad small \quad -NT:net \quad -small \quad NEG:IRR \quad 3F.S- \quad be.able \quad -R:MAND \quad -1O \quad 3F.S- \\
ag & \quad -a \quad -na \\
trap & \quad -R:MAND \quad -1O \\
\text{“Ooo, it’s a tiny little trap, it won’t be able to trap me.”}
\end{align*}
\]

b. Intsija nosantijero.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ntsija} & \quad no- \quad san\text{tij} \quad -e \quad -ro \\
xxx & \quad 1S- \quad fart.on \quad -IRR \quad -3F.O \\
\text{“I’m going to fart on it.”}
\end{align*}
\]

c. Ijikeji irisantijerome aitsitari tapik...

\[
\begin{align*}
i- & \quad ji \quad -k \quad -i \quad -ji \quad iri- \quad san\text{tij} \quad -e \quad -ro \quad =me \quad o- \quad ag \quad -itsi \\
3M.S- & \quad believe \quad -PFV \quad -R:ACT \quad -JI \quad 3M.S.IRR- \quad fart.on \quad -IRR \quad -3F.O \quad =FRUST \quad 3F.S- \quad grab \quad -A:MAL \\
-a & \quad -ri \quad tapik \\
-R:MAND \quad -3M.O \quad IDEO:grab.around.body
\end{align*}
\]

He was about to fart on it, but right then it grabbed him around his body... (kon)

Later in the same text (34) the man returns to his brother-in-law and explains what has happened to him. In this excerpt we encounter a number of things of interest: in (34a) and (34c) the morphological frustrative *-be* occurs, presumably because the trapping eventuality denoted by *ag* has had notable consequences, namely that the man trapped has escaped; *ji* occurs in (34b), but, unlike the previous example, =me does not attach to its complement, indicating that its appearance is not a grammatical requirement of *ji*.

(34) a. Aabekena imantsatsite koontsenene.

\[
\begin{align*}
o- & \quad ag \quad -be \quad -k \quad -i \quad -na \quad i- \quad ma\text{Ntsa} \quad -tsi \quad -te \quad koo\text{Ntsenene} \\
3F.S- & \quad trap \quad -FRUST \quad -PFV \quad -R:ACT \quad -1O \quad 3M.P- \quad net \quad -ALIEN \quad -AP \text{Lineated.woodpecker}
\end{align*}
\]

“The woodpecker’s net trapped me.”

b. Nojikeji nontsojenkiteri.
"I thought I would just provoke him."

(The example in (35) comes from a text in which a man discovers he is wounded.)

(35) Ijikeji intatanake, ichokotibetanaka, osotoajatapoji igamachonkajare okantabaetapoji chochorororo.

He was going to warm himself by the fire, he sat down, but when he had, much of his blood began to drip out. (shm)

From these examples it is clear that it is insufficient to simply analyze ji as the lexical counterpart of =me, given that they may both occur in the same sentence (33c). I suggest that =me and ji differ in that the latter requires agency on the part of entity denoted by its subject, whereas the former does not, as evidenced by the fact that the complements of ji are attested only with agent subjects, whereas the subjects of verbs to which =me attaches are attested with experiencer subjects, e.g., as in the case of metoj ‘die’ in (28). The enclitic =me is compatible (although, as we have seen, not obligatory) with the complements of ji because it simply makes no requirement on agency.

Furthermore, we have seen two distinct patterns regarding clausal complements of ji. On the one hand there are realis complements with non-coreferential subjects that denote erroneously held beliefs (nominal complements also fall into this category); on the other hand there are irrealis complements with coreferential subjects that denote frustrated eventualities. What I have described as two distinct interpretations of these complement clauses might arguably be collapsed entirely under the notion of erroneous belief, i.e, the irrealis complements concerning erroneous beliefs about prospective eventualities. Put differently, and with the coreferentiality of subjects in mind, they are erroneous beliefs that concern one’s own actions. Direct elicitation is required to determine whether the apparent coreference restrictions across reality status values is a grammatical restriction or an artefact of my corpus.

2.3 Cogitation

Caquintes talk about cogitation, irrespective of positive or negative affect, via the verb keskej ‘think (about)’, which, like ogimag ‘dream’ (§2.4), co-occurs with a direct speech complement typically introduced by kaN ‘say’ (36), although it may introduce a direct speech complement itself (37).
The eventuality denoted by the verb of the direct speech complement is typically construed as a course of action committed to as a way of resolving some undesirable state of affairs. In (36), a young woman has been kidnapped with her infant child, and, although she purposefully gives off the impression of having become accustomed to her captors’ way of life, she in reality wants to escape. In (37), a young woman is having difficulties getting along with members of the community in which she lives, and commits to going to another Caquinte community to reside. In the former, the narrator is speaking about her grandmother, and reference in the direct speech complement accordingly shifts to the first person; in the latter the narrator is speaking about herself with first person reference, and as such reference in the complement remains constant. In addition, it is important to note that, despite the direct speech complements, the speaker of each is not contextually copresent with any other individuals in the text, and it is not necessary for the speaker to have uttered these words aloud.

This last point is illustrable via texts. In (38) two brothers-in-law are at the river when one guesses (correctly) that all of the fish that he has recently seen disappear before his eyes are in 20 In that vein kënskej is occasionally translated as Spanish darse cuenta ‘realize’, that is, when the thought process that leads to some course of action is perhaps more suddenly stumbled upon than anticipated.
reality the other transformed into those fish for the purpose of freaking him out. The transforming
brother-in-law responds.

(38) a. “Jeeje, irotari, pamengeti taaka ipajitapae narotari mana nomintsaroakempi intati.”

   jeeje iro =tari pi- amen -e =geti taa =ka ipajitapae naro =tari
   yes 3F:FOC =CNGR 2S- observe -IRR =when WH =INDEF miscellany 1.PRO =CNGR
   mana no- omIn- tsarog -k -e =np iNtati
   ALT 1S- CAUS- startle -PFV -IRR -2O RSTR

   “Right, it’s that, whenever you see some thing [i.e., an animal], it’s me just wanting to
   startle you.”

b. Irira iranianishite ikenkejanake, ikanti:

   iri- ra iri- anianishi -te i- kenkej -an -k -i i- kaN
   3M- D:MED 3M.P- brother-in-law.ME -AP 3M.S- think -ABI -PFV -R:ACT 3M.S- say
   -i
   -R:ACT

   His brother-in-law thought and said:

c. “Imaikampani nojokeneri kachojari kameetsanijite namenabakeri impeanakempageti.”

   imaika =Npani no- ojok -e =nV -ri kachojari kameetsa =niji =te no-
   now =CE 1S- give -IRR =A:REC -3M.O manioc.beer PURP =PURP =CE 1S-
   amen -ab -k -e -ri i- N- peg -an -k -e =Npa =geti
   observe -DIR -PFV -IRR -3M.O 3M.S- IRR- transform -ABL -PFV -IRR -MID =when

   “Now I need to give him manioc beer so that I can observe him when he transforms.”

   (imo)

   It is clear that the quotation in (38c) is not directed at the man’s brother-in-law because
   the objects of the verbs ojok ‘give’ and amen ‘observe’ are third and not second person. Rather, this
   example appears to closely mirror the lay Western concept of a “thought bubble”, something opaque
   to an interlocutor but recoverable by a third party.

   In (36)-(38) kenkej is intransitive, taking no object suffix or nominal object. The subject, an
   experiencer, is the sole argument. The same verb, however, may take an object, in which case that
   object is interpreted as a theme, the subject matter of cogitation. This can be seen in (39), from
   a text in which a man is abandoned by his wife, who goes to live incestuously with her brother, a
   serious taboo. Using kenkej in this way is a common way of expressing that some entity does not
   matter (cf. Sp. importar), or is of little significance, i.e., one does not think about it much. There
   is no other lexical verb in the language to express (in)significance of this sort.

(39) Kempeji yamenakotajiro irimankigare, iroatimpaa tee onkenkejajeri...

   kenpeji i- amen -ako -aj -i -ro iri- mankigare iroti\nspa t\nee o-
   near 3M.S- observe -A:INDR -REG -R:ACT -3F.O 3M.P- spouse 3F:TOP NEGR 3F.S-
   N- kenkej -aj -e -ri
   IRR- think about -REG -IRR -3M.O

21 The verb kenkej need not always co-occur with the ablative -an; it is also attested with the allative -poj and
   without a directional altogether. In the latter case, however, the extremal -maja is always present, yielding a stem
   kenkejamaja with a meaning similar to ‘think deeply/intensely’.

22 In this way kenkej differs from many other predicates in Caquinte – e.g., shine ‘be happy’ – which require applicatives
   to license similar sorts of theme arguments.
Although near, he watched his wife from afar, but she did not think about him in return...

Lastly, there appears to be an idiomatic use of *kenkej* that has a meaning similar to English ‘joke with’. Morphosyntactically this construction behaves like that in (39), except that the subject is the joker and the object is the one joked with. This is illustrated in (40), from a text in which a young man thought to have been lost returns unexpectedly to his father-in-law and asks him (in the sentence preceding this one) to cut peach palm so that he, the father-in-law, might make good arrows for him.

(40) “Mana pikenkejakena?”

*mana pri- kenkej -k -i -na*

ALT 2S- joke.with -PFV -R:ACT -1O

“Are you just joking with me?” (ttk)

Note that in this example *kenkej* lacks a directional, but at present it is unclear whether this contributes a difference in meaning. Further research is needed to better understand the cultural practices of joking (and a number of other very culturally specific references that surround this example) and to see in what sense this meaning can be connected up with cogitation.

### 2.4 Dreaming

Caquintes talk about dreams via the verb *ogimag* ‘dream’, which also co-occurs with *kan* ‘say’ to introduce a direct speech complement. That is, the content of dreams is relayed via direct quotation of either the dreamer, or of some character in the dream. Quotation of the dreamer is illustrated in (41), in which a spurned Caquinte named Chaanta fears for his life following a dream.

(41) a. Yogimaabaeka, ikanariumimakigare:

*i- ogimag -bae -k -a i- kan -i -ro i- mankigare*

3M.S. dream -DSTR -PFV -R: MID 3M.S. say -R:ACT -3F.O 3M.P. spouse

He dreamed for a long while, and said to his wife:

b. “Imaikatia irimetojajitakajitia.”

*imaika =tia *iri- metoj -ji -ak -aji =tia*

now =Chaanta*23* 3M.S.IRR- kill -NREF -PFV -1INCL.O =Chaanta

“Now they’re going to kill us.”

c. “Noanaketatia noshianaketatia.”

*no- og -an -k -e =ta =tia no- shig -an -k -e =ta =tia*

1S- go -ABL -PFV -IRR =FUT =Chaanta 1S- run -ABL -PFV -IRR =FUT =Chaanta

“I am going to flee.” (ttk)

From this excerpt a number of morphosyntactic properties can be described. The dreamer, an experiencer, is encoded as the grammatical subject of *ogimag*. The verb is itself intransitive, the

*Chaanta’s early life is mysterious: he is said to have been found by a Caquinte woman in a pile of rubble following the collapse of a nearby cliff. His nourishment in infancy was tobacco, and he grew to adulthood within a few years. His speech is peppered by occasional lexical items that are unique to him and is marked with the constant use of the enclitic =tia, which appears to occur nowhere else in the language.*
stem being marked with an $a$-class reality status suffix. No $i$-class stems are attested that might take a nominal complement.

At this juncture it is worthy of mention that ogimag is diachronically morphologically complex: it consists of the proto-Kampa verb root *mag 'sleep', and the prefixal causative ogi-. The latter is still productive in Caquinte, but the former has been replaced by the verb tineoki 'sleep', although it is still productive in related and neighboring languages like Matsigenka. Thus translations of 'dream' in diachronic terms can be roughly paraphrased as “make oneself sleep”.

As mentioned above, it is also common to relay in some detail the content of dreams via quotation of other participants, as is evident in the longer excerpt in (42).

(42) a. Opitsekanakegeti yogimaaka, ikantajitiri:
   o- pitsek -an -k -i =geti i- ogimag -k -a i- kaN -ji
   -i -ri -R:ACT -3M.O
   When night fell, he dreamt, and someone said to him:
   
   b. “Pija poanake ontaniki otsempiki.”
   pij a pi- og -an -k -e o- Nta =niki o- tseNpi =ki
   go.IMP 2S- go -ABL -PFV -IRR 3F- D:DIST =ADVBLZR 3F- mountain =LOC
   “Go there to the mountain.”
   
   c. “Pamenapojakeri baabaikonta shitaponkatake jenoki inchatoki.”
   pi- amen -paj -k -e -ri baabaikNta shitapoNka -ak -e -Ø jenoki
2S- observe -ABL -PFV -IRR -3M.O bear build.platform -PFV -IRR -3S high.up
   inchato =ki
   tree =LOC
   “You will see a bear building the platform of his house high up in a tree.”
   
   d. “Pinkajemakikeri, pinkanteri:”
   pi- N- kajem -ako -k -e -ri pi- N- kaN -e -ri
2S- IRR- shout -A:INDR -PFV -IRR -3M.O 2S- IRR- say -IRR -3M.O
   “Call out to him, say to him:”
   
   e. “‘Notyaine, taa panti?’”
   no- tyai -ne taa pi- aN -i
1P- grandfather -AP WH 2S- do -R:ACT
   “Grandfather, what are you doing?”
   
   f. “Iriatimpa irampatosanakempa ibakoki taan taan, omposapojempa sankenakojaribenki.”
   iriatiNpa iri- N- apatos -an -k -e -Npa i- bako =ki
   taan taan o- oNpos -paj -e -Npa sankenakojaribeNki
   IDEO:slap.surface IDEO:slap.surface 3F:S- fall -ABL -IRR -MID sedge
   “He will clap his hands together taan taan and sedge will fall.”
   
   g. “Arikea paitsitemparo pantsikitsitemparo.”
   ari =kea pi- ag -itsi -e -Npa -ro pi- N- atsik -itsi -e -Npa -ro
   “Then snatch it up right away and chew it.”
h. Arikea itinajanaka, ikanti:

\[ \text{ari } =\text{kea } i- \text{tinaj } -an \ -k \ -a \ i- \text{kaN } -i \]

\[ \text{PRO } =\text{KEA 3M.S} \text{ awaken } -\text{ABL } -\text{PFV } -\text{R: MID} \ 3\text{M.S} \ \text{ say } -\text{R: ACT} \]

Then he woke up and said:

i. “Nogimaaka.”

\[ \text{no- ogimag } -k \ -a \]

1s- dream -PFV -R: MID

“I’ve dreamt.”

j. Osabinkagitetanakegeti, yoanake.

\[ \text{o- saviNkagite } -an \ -k \ -i \ =\text{geti } i- \ \text{og } -an \ -k \ -i \]

3F.S- rise(.sun) -ABL -PFV -R:ACT =when 3M.S- go -ABL -PFV -R:ACT

‘And when the sun began to rise, he left [i.e., in search of the bear].’ (ttk)

Note how the content of the dream is first introduced by the narrator in (42a) via referring to the dreamer and his dreaming eventuality in the third person. Several quotations follow, but the speaker is unidentified, and in (42) we even see a double embedding of direct speech in which the narrator relays what the unidentified speaker says the dreamer should say. The direct speech is all a sort of instruction-giving, to be enacted in the real, non-dream world once the dreamer wakes. When he does wake (42h), he simply says ‘I’ve dreamt’ (42i), without relaying the content of the dream, much like the actual content of the dream in (41b) was underspecified.

The prevalence of direct speech in the narration of dreams is quite striking, and can in Caquinte I think be seen as a way to avoid paraphrasing (and in so doing possibly rendering unfaithful the representation of) what are arguably the most internal of internal states of an other. More research is needed on the narration of dreams by dreamers in Caquinte conversation in order to better understand the extent to which the narration of a dream is either simply ellided in these textual examples or is reconstructed by a non-dreamer narrator and cast as direct speech despite that narrator not having had access to the direct speech of the dream.

3 Desire

Caquintes talk about desire via two verbs, \textit{nǐN} and \textit{nejema}, which I will gloss as ‘want’ and ‘be desirous of’, respectively; these verbs are the subject of this section. We begin with \textit{nǐN} ‘want’, since it is the most well attested in the extant corpus, is the most common in discourse, and exhibits the widest range of morphosyntactic properties. Both of the verbs in this section may take nominal complements, but only \textit{nǐN} may take clausal complements.

3.1 \textit{nǐN} ‘want’

The verb \textit{nǐN} ‘want’ is an \textit{i}-class transitive verb that may take a nominal or clausal complement. The sort of desire denoted by \textit{nǐN} typically involves an entity or eventuality that is construed as obtainable, as opposed to \textit{nejema} (see §3.2). A nominal complement of \textit{nǐN} is illustrated in (43), which comes from a text in which a vulture (transformed into a human) approaches a man and expresses that he would like to marry his daughter.

24A request of this sort may seem blunt to native speakers of English, but it is the traditional way for a Caquinte man to request a woman’s hand in marriage.
“Noninkero porijanite.”

\[ no\text{-}niN ~ -k ~ -i ~ -ro ~ pi\text{-}orijani ~ -te \]

1s- want -PFV -R:ACT -3F.O 2P- daughter -AP

“I want your daughter.” (pam)

Complement verbs of \( niN \) are obligatorily irrealis and exhibit subject prefixes that are either coreferential (44) or non-coreferential (45) with the subject of the matrix verb. It is noteworthy that, as seen throughout this work, verbs with coreferential subjects always exhibit subject prefixes, despite their semantic redundancy.

(44) Oninke age tsipana.

\[ o\text{-}niN ~ -k ~ -i ~ o\text{-}ag ~ -e ~ tsipana \]

3F.S- want -PFV -R:ACT 3F.S- fetch -IRR plant.sp.

She wanted to fetch \( bijao \) leaves. (kam)

Unlike some other verbs in Caquinte, however (e.g., \( tsa \) ‘know’), \( niN \) does not exhibit an object suffix that is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause when that subject is not coreferential with the subject of the matrix verb (cf. (13)), as in (45).

(45) “Noninke pimpochatena.”

\[ no\text{-}niN ~ -k ~ -i ~ pi\text{-}N\text{-}pocha ~ -e ~ -na \]

1s- want -PFV -R:ACT 2S- IRR- bring.back.to.life -IRR -1O

“I want you to bring me back to life.” (okp)

Unlike constructions involving \( tsa \) ‘know’ in which the subjects of the matrix and complement verbs are coreferential, negation in equivalent constructions involving \( niN \) ‘want’ does not obligatorily appear on both verbs. Compare (16) with (46) and (47) below. More research is required to tease apart potential interpretational differences between these constructions.

(46) Oroatimpa tee oninteji onchookateji iginteniki katonkoniri.

\[ oroati\text{-}ni\text{pna} ~ tee ~ o\text{-}niN ~ -e ~ -ji ~ o\text{-}N\text{-}chooka ~ -e ~ -ji ~ i ~ gi\text{Ntenini} \]

3F:TOP NEG:R 3F.S- want -IRR -NEG:R 3P.S- IRR- reside -IRR -NEG:R 3M.P- territory

=k\text{-}katoNkoniri

=LOC Asháninkas

She did not want to live in the Asháninkas’ community. (ttk)

(47) “Imaikampani tee nonintajeji namenajero...”

\[ imaika ~ =\text{npani} ~ tee ~ no\text{-}niN ~ -aj ~ -e ~ -ji ~ no\text{-}amen ~ -aj ~ -e ~ -ro \]

now ~ =CT NEG:R 1S- want -REG -IRR -NEG:R 1S- observe -REG -IRR -3F.O

“Now I don’t want to see her anymore...” (okp)

Greater degrees of desire are expressed by combining \( niN \) with the distributive suffix \(-\text{bae} \) (48).

(48) “Irigenti pinintabaetake kamaarini!”

\[ irige\text{Nti} ~ pi\text{-}niN ~ -\text{bae} ~ -ak ~ -i ~ kamaarini \]

COP:3M 2S- want -DSTR -PFV -R:ACT snake

“You’re in love with a snake!” (kam)
3.2 *nejema* ‘be desirous of’

The verb *nejema* is used to talk about desire that can be conceptualized as distant from some entity, and to a certain degree lustful, avaricious, or covetous. At present *nejema* is only attested in reference to particularly tasty foods and women, and it appears to have an implication that the desired object in question is not obtained, or not obtained in full. It is a transitive *a*-class verb in which the desirer is encoded as the subject, while the theme, the desiree, is encoded as the object. This is shown in (49), from the narration of a picture book developed by Marine Vuillermet and Antoine Desnoyers in which a man goes hunting, kills capybaras, and then is pursued by vultures. He later guts the capybaras and throws the guts to the vultures to keep them off his trail.

(49) a. Aapoja akaniki inejematsitakari irira shetyaonkani.
   o- ag -poj -a aka =niki i- *nejema* -itsi -ak
   3F.S arrive(.day) -ALL -R:MID here =ADVBLZR 3M.S be.desirous.of -A:MAL -PFV
   -a -ri iri- ra shetyaoNkani
   -R:MID -3M.O 3M- D:MED turkey.vulture
   Some time passes and here the turkey vultures are desirous of them.

b. Inejematsitakari poorontonari, irishekatsitakempari.
   i- *nejema* -itsi -ak -a -ri pooroNtonari iri- sheka -itsi
   3M.S be.desirous.of -A:MAL -PFV -R:MID -3M.O capybara 3M.S.IRR eat -A:MAL
   -ak -e -Npa -ri
   -PFV -IRR -MID -3M.O
   They’re desirous of the capybaras, they’re going to eat them. (yac)

It is important to note than the original translation of (49) into Spanish is *lo desea comer ronzoco* ‘he [read: they] desire to eat [the] capybara’, suggesting that *sheka* ‘eat’ is a complement of *nejema*. However, the objects of complement verbs never otherwise intervene between matrix and complement verb in Caquinte, and so I opt to analyze this as two apposed sentences, resulting in a common VO word order.

This verb may historically be morphologically complex, possibly consisting of proto-Kampa *neh* ‘see, visit’, and a suffix that in related Matsigenka is *-uma* or *-ima* and that expresses that some eventuality obtained to a minor degree, e.g., ‘see slightly, hardly see’ [26]. The cognate Caquinte suffix *-ima* is not especially productive, and is currently only attested under negation, in which case it exhibits a different interpretation (see footnote [26]).

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25 Strictly speaking the examples in (49) are not sufficient to show that *nejema* is an *a*-class verb root, since the malefactive applicative *-itsi* requires that the stem to which it attaches be marked as *a*-class irrespective of the reality status class of the root. See (1), in which no *a*-class-inducing morphology is present.

(1) Aato onejemagetajari anempoantsika.
   aato a- *nejema* -ge -ah -a -ri anENpog -AN -atsi =ka
   NEG:IRR 3F.S be.desirous.of -DSTR -REG -R:MID -3M.O make:big -ANTIP -PFV =REL
   She will not be desirous of that which makes her big [speaking of dietary restrictions]. (Swift 1988:157)

26 See the Matsigenka stem *neima* mentioned throughout Snell (2011). This suffix scopes under negation, yielding interpretations akin to English *(not) at all*.
4 Positive Affect

4.1 shine ‘be happy’

Caquintes talk about positive affective responses to a given state of affairs via the verb shine ‘be happy’, an a-class intransitive verb illustrated in (50).

(50) a. Irira ajitsi ari imetojakero ishekatakaro chonchokoronti.
   iri- ra ajitsi ari i- metoj -k -i -ro i- sheka -ak -a
   3M- D: MED jaguar PRO 3M.S- kill -PFV -R: ACT -3F.O 3M.S- eat -PFV -R: MID
   -ro chonchokoroSti
   -3F.O deer
   The jaguar killed and ate the deer.

b. Ari ishinebaetaka irira ajitsi.
   ari i- shine -bae -ak -a iri- ra ajitsi
   PRO 3M.S- be.happy -DSTR -PFV -R: MID 3M- D: MED jaguar
   And thus the jaguar was very happy. (caa49)

The reason for a positive affective state, when encoded via a noun, is expressed as an applied object introduced via -ben, as in (51); note that -ben is transparent to reality status class, and the stem remains a-class. This collocation is often translated via Spanish gustar ‘like’.

(51) Iriratika shiishi inejapojakeri iriratika earoto, ishinebenkari.
   iri- ra -tika shiishi i- nej -poj -k -i -ri iri- ra -tika earoto
   i- shine -ben -k -a -ri
   3M.S- be.happy -A: REAS -PFV -R: MID -3M.O
   ‘The dog found the bees, he likes them.’ (tnt21)

The verb shine may also express the joy stemming from celebration, as in (52). In this example we see that clausal complements of shine are introduced via the co-occurrence of an object suffix (itself introduced by -ben) as well as =geti ‘when, if’ on the complement verb.28

27 The applicative -ben typically introduces an argument that denotes an entity on whose behalf an eventuality is realized, as in (1), from a text in which a warrior tires in a battle in which his daughter has been captured.

(1) a. “Arimpa nometojeta yaajitanakerotari norijanite.”
   ari =Npa no- metoj -e =ta i- ag -ji -an -k -i -ro =tari no-
   PRO =INCNGR 1S- die -IRR =FUT 3M.S- take -NREF -ABL -PFV -R: ACT -3F.O =REAS: POS 1P-
   orijani -te
daughter -AP
   “Better that I die because they’ve already taken my daughter away.”

b. “Kameetsatake nometojabenkero.”
   kameetsa -ak -i -Ø no- metoj -ben -k -e -ro
   be.good -PFV -R: ACT -3S 1S- die -A: ON: behalf.of -PFV -IRR -3F.O
   “It’s good that I die for her.” (ttk899)

28 Note that =geti further appears on shine as part of a clause-linking construction.
(52) Arikea itsamarojianak, yamashaijianak, osheki oshinebentajiakarogeti aakegeti omankigare.


‘They began to dance and sing as they merrily celebrated her finding her husband.’ (tsp)

It is common for Caquintes to remark on the positive affective states of themselves and others, especially as concerns the happiness that obtains in children (e.g., a well behaved infant) and that which results from propitious living conditions and from actions undertaken with a high degree of agency (see [50] above).

4.2 Love and Pity

Caquintes talk about familial love via the verb piNTsa ‘love’, which may take nominal complements only. It may refer to the love between spouses [53], or that between parents and children [54]. It is an a-class transitive verb, the subject of which is the one who feels love and the object is the recipient (in a non-technical sense) of that love, i.e., a theme.

(53) “Inani, osheki nopintsatakempi.”

inani osheki no- piNTsa -ak -i -Npi
mother much 1S- love -PFV -R:ACT -2O

“Mother, I love you very much.” (okp)

(54) Iriatinpa orijanite tee irininteji irojokero iriinanite, osheki ipintsakarok.

iriatiNpa o- irijani -te tee iri- nin -e -ji iri- ajok -e
3M:TOP 3F.S. son -AP NEG:R 3M.S.IRR- want -IRR -NEG:R 3M.S.IRR- abandon -IRR
-ri iri- inani -te osheki i- piNTsa -k -a -ro
-3F.O 3M.P. mother -AP much 3M.S. love -PFV -R:MID -3F.O

He didn’t want to abandon his mother because he loved her very much. (okp)

Derived stems involving piNTsa suggest, however, that its core meaning may be something slightly different than love in the Western sense. Take the following example, in which a man is speaking to his son-in-law, who is a turkey vulture, explaining why it is that he feels no guilt over having let his daughter run away with an eagle while the vulture was away.

(55) “Mana nojokashikempiro intati, nopintsatakovekempi intati.”

mana no- ajok -ashi -k -i -Npi -ro iNTati no- piNTsa -ako -be -k
ALT 1S- give -A:PURP -PFV -R:ACT -2O -3F.O RSTR 1S- love -A:INDR -FRUST -PFV
-i -Npi iNtati
-R:ACT -2O RSTR

“I only gave her to you because I took pity on you.” (pam)
This is a difficult sentence to translate. The Spanish original is Sólo te entregué, te he hecho favor 'I just gave you to her temporarily, I did you a favor'. The appearance of intati at the end of both clauses indicates that we are clearly dealing with two sentences, and there is no overt marking in the second sentence that construes it as the reason for the first sentence. Nevertheless, conversation with the translator indicated that the meaning of this stem pinttsaako is not as general as English do a favor. For example, this expression cannot be used in a context in which one has helped one’s brother-in-law carry a heavy load back to the village. It is also clear that the character in question (the man) never had an especially positive or excited reaction to giving his daughter to the vulture in the first place, which rules out a translation like English have compassion for. This leads me to an English translation involving pity, namely one in which the man need not have had a particularly positive affective stance toward the vulture at the beginning. If that is right, then, we must re-examine the meaning of the root pintsa such that its combination with the indirect applicative -ako could plausibly yield a meaning like English have pity on (assuming, of course, that the stem is not lexicalized). This will be the topic of future research.

4.3 Custom and Contentment

Caquintes talk about usual states of affairs via the verb ame ‘be accustomed to’, an a-class verb that may function both transitively and in transitively. Transitive ame may take either nominal or clausal complements; the former is illustrated in [56], excerpted from a text in which a fox challenges a tortoise to a fasting competition. The object is encoded as -ro and refers to the proposition in the preceding clause of not eating for three days.

(56) a. “...jaameja aato ashekata tres sabinkagiteri.”
   jaame =ja aato a- sheka -a tres sabi\text{\textbackslash n}kagiteri
   HORT =MS NEG:IRR 1INCL.S- eat -R:MID three day
   “...come on, let’s not eat for three days.”

b. “Naatimpa nametaro...”
   naati\text{\textbackslash n}pa no- ame a- ro
   1:TOP 1S- be.acquainted.to -R:MID -3F.O
   “I am accustomed to it...” (kis)

This verb is analyzed as expressing an internal state because of uses as in [57], in which a degree of contentment regarding one’s current situation is expressed. This excerpt comes from the abovementioned text in which a young woman has been captured by enemy Asháninkas; she attempts to convince her captors that she has become accustomed to living among them so that they will not suspect that she is planning her escape. These examples also illustrate the intransitive function of ame.

(57) a. “Aato noshiga, ametanakena.”
   aato no- shig -a ame -an -k -a -na
   NEG:IRR 1S- run -R:MID be.acquainted.to -ABL -PFV -R:MID -1S
   “I won’t run away, I’ve become accustomed to things.”

b. “Chapinkimpani tee nametempaji.”

Note also the presence of the frustrative -be, which expresses that whatever emotion the man felt toward the vulture originally, it has not lasted.
There are two constructions in which clausal complements to ame are attested. In one, ame is intransitive and its clausal complement is a finite irrealis clause, as in (58). Here we also observe that ame is employed to describe customs that hold of Caquinte society generally.

(58) Koramani naatimpa namejiga irojokakeneri noraanapite.

‘Long ago it was customary that our father give us to them [i.e., male suitors].’ (ttk)

In another, ame is intransitive but has been causativized by ogi- and its clausal complement is a finite realis clause (59).

(59) ‘Aatogeti agameta akatsiketi, ankantagetanake sagomare sagomare atantanapakoki.’

‘When we are not accustomed to clearing land the palms of our hands peel.’ (shm)

What is notable about these two examples is that ame does not exhibit an object suffix, nor is the complement verb introduced by the subordinator =getti. Furthermore, the apparent distinction in reality status value between these two constructions appears to be epiphenomenal. That is, customs that hold of Caquinte society as a whole are expressed as irrealis, whereas those that pertain temporarily to smaller groups of individuals are expressed as realis. Targeted elicitation to get at this distinction will be the topic of future research.

5 Negative Affect

5.1 shimaNpojanK ‘be sad’

In contrast to shine (§4.1), which expresses positive affective states, Caquintes talk about negative affective states via the verb shimaNpojanK ‘be sad’. Like shine, it is an a-class intransitive verb, as illustrated in (60).
(60) Arikea ishimampojankajiaka shapankari imetojakegeti igoonkinite.

ari =kea i- shimanpojanK -jig -k -a shapankari i- metoj -k -i
PRO =KEA 3M.S- be.sad -PL -PFV -R:MID tayra 3M.S- die -PFV -R:ACT
=getti i- koonKini -te
=when 3M.S- father-in-law -AP

'Tayra and others were sad when his [i.e., Tayra's] father-in-law died.' (tsp)

The reason for a negative affective state, when it is encoded via a noun, is expressed as an applied object introduced via the applicative -ako (n.b., not -ben, as with shine), as in (61).

(61) Oniinanite osheki oshimampojankakotakaro metojankitsika orijanite.

on- iinani -te osheki o- shimanpojanK -ako -ak -a -ro metoj -ankitsi
3F.P- mother -AP much 3F.S- be.sad -A:INDR -PFV -R:MID -3F.O die -PFV
=ka o- orijani -te
=REL 3F.P- daughter -AP

Her mother was incredibly sad over her daughter who had died. (sis)

As with shine, it is common for Caquintes to remark on an individual's negative affective state following some set of events. Furthermore, it is common to follow up a description of one's internal state (encoded in this instance via shimanpojanK) with descriptions of physically perceptible correlates of that internal state, e.g., crying and moaning, as in (62). This example comes from a text in which a jaguar asks a deer to bathe his children because he observes that the latter's are impeccably clean; the deer deceives him, though, and he returns home to find his children covered in scabies, with their fur already peeling off. They subsequently all die.

(62) Irompayarejebetapojajaitsobironakiteki, yameniri ihaajankikiri iishimampojankanaka, iraanaka, yasanakanaka.

iro =Npa i- areje -be -apoj -aj -a i- tsobironaki -te =ki
3F:FOC =INCNGR 3M.S- arrive -FRST -ALL -REG -R:MID 3M.P- house -AP =LOC
i- amen -i -ri i- chaajanikiri -te i- shimanpojanK -an -k
3M.S- observe -R:ACT -3M.O 3M.P- child.MALE -AP 3M.S- be.sad -ABL -PFV
-a i- irag -an -k -a i- asak -an -k -a
-R:MID 3M.S- cry -ABL -PFV -R:MID 3M.S- moan.in.pain -ABL -PFV -R:MID

Then he arrived back at his house and saw that his children had become sad and begun to cry and moan in pain. (caa)

Sadness is conceptualized as an internal state that coincides with suffering (see §5.2), as made explicit in (63), in which a man has been abandoned by his wife.

(63) Opishonkanakena, atsipetakaakena, oshimampojankakaakena.

o- pishonK -an -k -i -na o- atsipe -akag -k -i -na o-
3F.S- abandon -ABL -PFV -R:ACT -1O 3F.S- suffer -CAUS -PFV -R:ACT -1O 3F.S-
shimanpojanK -akag -k -i -na
be.sad -CAUS -PFV -R:ACT -1O

She abandoned me and went away, she made me suffer, she made me sad. (okp)
5.2 Suffering

Caquintes talk about suffering via the verb *atsipe*[^30] an *a*-class intransitive verb illustrated in (64). Suffering may be conceptualized as stemming from emotional and explicitly physical hardship. We have seen an example of the former in (63), and we continue by examining the extended text excerpt in (64), an autobiography in which, several decades ago, one Caquinte acquired a dictatorial role in a particular community, with disastrous consequences for its residents.[^31] In (64a), suffering comes from a pattern of tying young girls around by the neck like fish strung on a line; in (64b) it comes from the loneliness resulting from not residing with one’s parents; in (64d) it comes from forced labor and in (64e) from hunger.

(64) a. Naatimpa nochaajanikikegeti osheki natsipebaeka, ipeakaajiklena aajanirentsni.

naatInpa no- chaajaniki -k -i =geti osheki no- atsipe -bæk -k -a  
1:TOP 1S- be.small -PFV -R:ACT =when much 1S- suffer -DSTR -PFV -R:MID  
- i- peg -akag -ji -k -i -na aajanire -Ntsi  
1S- transform -CAUS -NREF -PFV -R:ACT -1O slave -ALIEN

When I was little I suffered very much, they treated me like a slave.

b. Tee nonchookatimoteri itsobironakiteki norapaaniti.

tee neg:r no-1s-irr chooka reside -imo -a:pres -e -ri i- tsobironaki -te =ki nor-aapani  
NEG:1S- IRR- reside -A:PRES -IRR -3M.O 3M.S- house -AP =LOC 1P- father  
-te  
-AP

I didn’t live with my father at his house.

c. Nochookake itsobironakiteki ANON.

no- chooka -ak -i i- tsobironaki -te =ki ANON  
1S- reside -PFV -R:ACT 3M.S- house -AP =LOC ANON

I lived at ANON’s house.

d. Maasano kenkebarigetankitsiak yomperaperajiakari yantajiakake pitsekariki aisa sabinkagiteri.

maasano kenkebari -ge =ankti =ka i- onpera -pera -jig -k -a  
all mature.MALE -DSTR -PFV =REL 3M.S- order -REDUP -PL -PFV -R:MID  
-ri i- an -jig -k -i pitsek -ri =ki aisa sabinkagiteri =ki  
-3M.O 3M.S- work -PL -PFV -R:ACT be.night -NOMZ =LOC also day =LOC

He ordered all of the young men about and they worked day and night.

e. Osheki yatsipejiaka chaajanikikiripe itase aisa naatimpa natsipepetaka notase.

osheki i- atsipe -jig -k -a chaajanikiri =pae i- tase aisa naatInpa  
much 3M.S- suffer -PL -PFV -R:MID child.MALE =PL 3M.P- hunger also 1:TOP  
no- atsipe -ak -a no- tase  
1S- suffer -PFV -R:MID 1P- hunger

The children suffered very much from hunger and I also suffered from hunger. (naa)

Furthermore, we see in (64e) that *atsipe* may function transitively with no change in reality status class or applicativization; the reason for suffering is expressed as a direct object of the verb (see *tase* ‘hunger’).

[^30]: The root in some speakers is occasionally realized as *atsiperej*, but this appears to be an influence from Matsigenka.
[^31]: I have anonymized the name of one character given the sensitivity of this material.
5.3 Socially Dangerous Behavior

This section is devoted to teasing apart the varied interpretations of the verb *katsima*, an *î*-class verb that may function both transitively and intransitively without a change in reality status class. Its etymology lies in a combination of what in comparative Arawak studies is referred to as the ‘attributive prefix’ *ka*-, unproductive in Kampa languages, and the the proto-Kampa word *tsima* ‘fire’[^32]. A root *î-tsima* is not attested in Caquinte, it having been replaced by *paamari*. The Caquinte root *katsima* expresses a range of internal states that are largely viewed as interpersonally and socially dangerous, such as anger, rebellion, disagreement, hate, etc., that is, those in opposition to the calm that is highly valued among Caquintes and arguably Kampa peoples generally (Johnson 2003). It is unlike the internal state expressed by *shima-npojan* ‘be sad’ in that no real threat to order is present in the latter. Metaphorically speaking, then, the possession of fire is conceptualized as putting one at risk of behaving in socially proscribed ways. In the following examples I gloss *katsima* differently as is most contextually appropriate.

Perhaps the most frequent use of *katsima* is to express episodes of confrontation between individuals. This can be seen most clearly in contexts of argument or disagreement, as in (65) at which point a character in the text is responding to a question regarding the reason for the apparent thunder rumbling in the sky.

(65) "...arikampa ikatsimatabakaajiaka irira jeokarijite."

```
ari =ka =Npa i- katsima -abakag -jig -k -a iri- ra jeokarijite
PRO =CONJ =INCNGR 3M.S- argue -RECIPE -PL -PFV -R:MID 3M- D:MED helper.spirit
```

"The jeokarijite are probably arguing among themselves." (shi)

The relevant confrontation can take place between two individuals, as in (66), from a text proffering advice for a good relationship between brothers-in-law, a very important kin relation in Caquinte society.

(66) Aato pikatsimatiri panianishite.

```
aato pi- katsima -i -ri pi- anianishi -te
NEG:IRR 2S- get.angry.at -R:ACT -3M.O 2P- brother-in-law -AP
```

Don’t get angry at your brother-in-law. (mch)

Furthermore, although *katsima* cannot introduce a direct speech complement on its own, it is often followed by *kan* ‘say’, which serves to introduce the content of arguments between individuals.

(67) a. Arikea irira Kamojiiri ikatsismakeri ANON ikantiri:

```
ari =kea iri- ra Kamojiiri i- katsima -k -i -ri ANON i-
PRO =KEA 3M- D:MED Kamojiiri 3M.S- confront -PFV -R:ACT -3M.O ANON 3M.S-
kan -i -ri
say -R:ACT -3M.O
```

[^32]: This is an inalienable root that is defective in all Kampa languages in which it exists. In Matsigenka, for example, its possessed form is *tsima* (e.g., *no-tsim* ‘my fire’), while its unpossessed form is *tsitsi* ‘fire’, which exhibits an irregular deletion of the final syllable of the root before the affixation of the “alienating” suffix -tsi. The prefix *ka*-, to the extent that it is attested in Kampa languages, combines with inalienable roots, thus its combination with *tsima* is expected.

[^33]: Note that the reciprocal suffix -*abakag* induces a change from *î*- to *a*-class.
Then Kamojiri confronted ANON and said to him:
b. “Osheki patsipetakaajiakena aisa chaajanikiripae.”

You are making me suffer greatly, as well as the other boys.” (naa)

That an internal state of anger is occasionally at play is especially evident in instances in which *katsima* functions intransitively and is followed by *kaN ‘say’, introducing a quotation that gives some insight into the details of that internal state (68).

(68) a. Irira kasekari ikatsimatanake ikanti:

The jaguar got angry, saying:

b. “Namenajerigeti pisonono katsiketi ... noshekakempari.”

“If I see that squirrel again I’ll eat him immediately.” (pis)

A notion similar to that expressed by English *hate* may also be expressed by *katsima*. In (69), a jaguar has had a variety of tricks played on him by different animals, and he proceeds to go around to several of them asking if they hate him – or perhaps more precisely (and idiomatically) ‘have it out for him’ – and the following is a response by the bear.

(69) “Tee nonkatsimatempiji.”

“I don’t hate you.” (kas)

The verb *katsima* may also describe an internal state that holds when one does not want to obey the expectations or strictures of others. For example, in (70), a young woman does not want to get married despite her parents protestations. Here I gloss *katsima* as ‘rebel’, in part guided by the use of Spanish *renegar* by one bilingual speaker of Caquinte in the translation of this token.

(70) ...tee oninteji omankigakempa, okatsimatake oshekini.

An alternate construction for expressing the anger that might consume an individual is illustrated in (1). In this construction *katsima* is nominalized via the eventuality nominalizer -ka (i.e., ‘anger’) and functions as the subject of a transitive verb stem *peakag*, with the experiencer encoded as the object.

(1) Arikea opeakaantakari igatsimaka.

Then his anger transformed him. (ttk)
...she didn’t want to get married, she rebelled a lot. (kam)

That the internal state expressed by *katsima* is proscribed in Caquinte society is made explicit in (71) From the same text about brother-in-law relationships, in this excerpt one man explains why he occasionally laughs (good-naturedly) at the other.

(71) a. “Anianishi, okajenibaeke osheki, irotarite ashinetankempaka.”
   
   anianishi o- kajeni -bae -k -i osheki iro =tari =te
   
   brother-in-law 3F.S- be.funny -DSTR -PFV -R:ACT much 3F:FOC =REAS:POS =CE
   
   a- shine -aN -k -e -Npa =ka
   
   1INCL.S- be.happy -A:INSTR -PFV -IRR -MID =REL

   “Brother-in-law, it’s really funny, that’s why we should be happy.”

b. “Aatogeti, aato ashiroonta, inkantajikaji:”
   
   aato =geti aato a- shiroN -a i- N kaN -ji -k -aji
   
   NEG =if NEG:IRR 1INCL.S- laugh -R:MID 3M.S- IRR- say -NREF -PFV -1INCL.O

   “If not, we won’t laugh and they will say to us:”

c. “‘Arikampa ikatsimatake.”’
   
   ari =ka =Npa i- katsima -ak -i
   
   PRO =CONJ =INCNGR 3M.S- be.angry -PFV -R:ACT

   “‘He’s probably angry.’”

d. “Irotarite noshirontantakaka.”
   
   iro =tari =te no- shiroN -aN -ak -a =ka
   
   3F:FOC =REAS:POS =CE 1S- laugh -A:INSTR -PFV -R:MID =REL

   “That’s why I laugh.” (mch)

However, it is not always straightforward that the internal state expressed by *katsima* is proscribed in Caquinte society. This root also is also involved in the derivation of ‘warrior’, a highly esteemed role in traditional Caquinte society (72).

(72) Tee irio katsimari irigentsi tsaroatsika.
   
   tee irio katsima -ri irigeNti tsarog -atsi =ka
   
   NEG:R 3M:FOC xxx -NOMZ COP:3M startle -IPFV =REL

   He’s not brave, he’s a coward. (ttk)

I would like to suggest that the qualities that become a warrior (bravery, a fearlessness derived from a certain internal rage, etc.), while valuable in battle and praised in that context, are fraught in more typical Caquinte social settings.

I conclude this section by noting that the object for the internal state expressed by *katsima* (i.e., its theme), when encoded via a noun, is introduced via the applicative -ako, as in (73).

(73) “Ikatsimatakotirotsi ashintaroka.”
“Watch out, the owner will get angry over them [i.e., stolen foods].”

5.4 Fear and Fright

Caquinte exhibits two verbs whose semantics involve a “scared” internal state. One, pink ‘fear’, denotes a long-term, non-situationally bound fear. It is an i-class transitive verb, the subject of which denotes the individual who holds the fear and the object of which denotes the source of the fear. This is illustrated in (74), which comes from a text in which someone is giving advice as to how a woman can best avoid being eaten by a ravenous jaguar.

(74) “Imaikampani poashigeteri kiritaki impinkapojeka aatonijite yatsikinpi.”

imaika =N=pi- og -ashi -ge -e -ri kiri -taki i- N- pink
now =CT 2S- put -A:PURP -DSTR -IRR -3M.O peach.palm -bark 3M.S- IRR- fear
-po =ka aato =niji =te i- atsik -i -Npi
-ALL -IRR =REL NEG:IRR =PURP =CE 3M.S- bite -R:ACT -2O

“Now you need to put down peach palm bark, which he will fear, so he doesn’t bite you.” (okp)

The other, tsarog ‘startle’, denotes a sudden, situationally bound fright or startle. On the one hand, it may function as an i-class transitive verb, the subject of which denotes the source of the fright and the object of which denotes the individual who is frightened. This is shown in (75), which comes from the same text involving a ravenous jaguar.

(75) “Inani, pantaitanake jenoki shitaponkarontsiki aatonijite itsaroapojimpi.”

iinani =pi- N- atai -an -k -e jenoki shitapo =ka -ro -Ntsi =ki
mother 2S- IRR- climb.up -ABL -PFV -IRR high.up build.platform -NOMZ -ALIEN =LOC
aato =niji =te i- tsarog -poj -i -Npi
NEG:IRR =PURP =CE 3M.S- frighten -ALL -R:ACT -2O

“Mother, climb high up onto the house platform so that he doesn’t scare you.” (okp)

On the other hand, it may also function as an i-class intransitive verb, the subject of which denotes the individual who is frightened (n.b., the reversal of semantic roles). Various degrees of suddenness may be involved in the moment at which fright occurs. In the excerpt in (76), the individual is conceived of as jumping at the moment of fright (i.e., when a tentacle grabs his leg).

(76) a. Ikajabepojaka, ikemajitatigiri tsirek.

i- kaja =be -poj -k -a i- kem -jitattr -i -ri
3M.S- get.in.water -FRUST -ALL -PFV -R:ACT -3M.S- feel -MIR -R:ACT -3M.O

b. Yojokabaekita komek, itsaroanake, ikanti:
It came quite close, and he was startled, and said:

c. “Taashia opajita?”

What’s that?”

In (77), the individual runs away after noticing the distressing presence of sitting mats at her bathing place by the river.

(77) a. Osookigeti ameniro ishitajikaro

She looked around and saw that someone had placed mats down.

b. Iroakerasano yogaanaka.

They had relocated very recently.

c. Otsaroanake oshiapanajanta tsobironakiki.

She was frightened and ran back home. (ttk)

In yet other instances the fright is conceived of as bound by some situation. In (78) that situation holds from the moment at which the woman is told that she is not in danger of being bitten to the moment at which she realizes that she is no longer in danger. In (79) that situation holds from the moment at which the Asháninkas in question see their formidable Caquinte enemy to the moment at which they also realize that they are no longer in danger.

(78) “Pinkantero piinanite aato otsarogi aatotarite natsikiro.”

Tell your mother not to be afraid, I won’t bite her.” (okp)

(79) Ari yamenamenaitanake intati sorerere, itsaroajianake.

Ari yamenamenaitanake intati sorerere, itsaroajianake.
They just looked on wide-eyed, and they were afraid. (ttk)

Numerous instances of situationally bound fright, however, may be characteristic of an individual (say, over the course of a lifetime), as is the case of those individuals denoted by the noun derived from *tsarog* ‘frighten’ via the nominalizer -*Nti* 80.

(80) Irirakea impoitanksitsika irigenti tsaronti.

   iri- ra =kea iNpoi aNkitsi =ka irigeNti tsarog -Nti
3M- D:MED =KEA be.last -PFV =REL COP:3M frighten -NOMZ

The one who came last was a coward. (shm)

Finally, the intransitive instantiation of *tsarog* may be causativized with the malefactive causative *omiN-* 81, and that stem takes on the thematic structure of the transitive instantiation of *tsarog* (see above). At present the distinction between this stem and the transitive instantiation of *tsarog* is unclear, although I suspect that the former expresses overt malice on the part of the subject, whereas the former does not.

(81) ...omintsaroakeri oshekini aisa shiishi.

   o- omiN- tsarog -k -i -ri osheki =ni aisa shiishi
3F.S- CAUS- frighten -PFV -R:ACT -3M.O much =AUG also dog

   ...it frightened him very much, and the dog as well. (tnt)

5.5 Annoyance

Caquintes talk about bother and annoyance via the verb *asereg*, an *i*-class transitive verb, the subject of which denotes the source of annoyance and the object of which denotes the individual annoyed 36. A common source of annoyance for Caquintes are inconveniences placed upon others that result from failings of self-sufficiency. This is represented in (82), which comes from a portion of a text disparaging the qualities of vultures in which the narrator moralizes and admonishes Caquinte children not to let those same qualities materialize in themselves.

(82) a. Intineokigiteni, aato yanti, mana irasereantagetake.

   i- N- tineoki -gi -e =ni aato i- an -i mana iri-
3M.S- IRR- sleep -PROL-IRR =AUG NEG:IRR 3M.S- work -R:ACT ALT 3M.S.IRR-
   asereg -AN -ge -ak -e
   annoy -ANTIP -DSTR -PFV -IRR

   He’ll always be sleeping, he won’t work, he’ll just annoy people.

b. Abiatimpa pantake, aato paseregiri pagonoro pamanapinjekeri isheka.

   abiiatNpa pi- an -ak -e aato pi- asereg -i -ri pi- gonoro pi-
2:TOP 2S- work -PFV -IRR NEG:IRR 2S- annoy -R:ACT -3M.O 2P- fellow 1S-
   aman -pini -ge -k -e -ri i- sheka
   ask.for -regularly -DSTR -PFV -IRR -3M.O 3P- food

   You must work, don’t annoy your fellow Caquintes by always asking each of them for their food. (pam)

36 In this way its thematic structure is identical to transitive *tsarog* (see 5.4). Unlike *tsarog*, however, it appears to have no intransitive counterpart.
5.6 Embarrassment and Shame

Data regarding how Caquintes talk about embarrassment, shame, and like is lacking relative to other psych-predicates that have been discussed in this article. However, some preliminary observations can be made. This section concerns two verbs *pashibeN* and *marik*. The former is an *a*-class intransitive verb that appears to denote the internal state that obtains when an eventuality is found to be or may be potentially be construed by others as untrue, inappropriate, inadequate, etc. This can be seen in (83), which comes from the abovementioned text in which a young woman has gone down to the river to bathe, whereupon she finds a number of abandoned palm sitting mats. Frightened, she returns home and reports her findings, but her great-uncle does not believe her.

(83) a. “Ishitajikaro obana tagarobana.”
   
   i- shita -ji -k -a -ro o- pana tagaro -pana
   3M.S- place(.mat) -NREF -PFV -R:MID -3F.O 3F- frond palm.sp. -frond
   
   “Someone has put tagaro fronds down.”

b. Ikantirokea oshaate:
   
   i- kaN -i -ro =kea o- shaa -te
   3M.S- say -R:ACT -3F.O =KEA 3F.P- great.uncle -AP
   
   And then her great-uncle said:

c. “Teeshine, irotake obonki piishao.”
   
   tee =shine irotake o- poNki piishao
   no =ANGER 3F:FOC 3F- track great.niece.AFF
   
   “Nonsense, they’re my great-niece’s tracks!”

d. “Jerompa opashibentanaka otsimenkanake paamari.”
   
   je -ro =Npa o- pashibeN -an -k -a o- tsumeNk -an -k
   PRES -F =INCNGR 3F.S- be.all.weird -ABL -PFV -R:MID 3F.S- stoak -ABL -PFV
   -i paamari
   -R:ACT fire
   
   “That’s why she’s gotten all weird and is over there stoaking the fire.” (ttk)

I have translated *pashibeN* with the colloquial English expression ‘be all weird’\(^{36}\) in order to capture the fact that no extreme degree of embarrassment or shame appears to be at play here, even given Caquinte social norms. Rather, the young woman appears to want to avoid responding to the challenge of the truth of her previous assertion. That is, this verb appears to denote the internal state in which one wishes to avoid confrontation, censure, embarrassment, and the like. This is in line with the translations given in Snell (2011:363) for related Matsigenka of ‘be embarrassed, be timid’ (translation mine).

The semantics of *marik*, an *i*-class transitive verb, are more difficult to tease apart, but we can get partway by examining the excerpt in (84), which comes from a text in which a ground dove transformed into a woman teaches a man how to better harvest his manioc. They marry, and when her mother-in-law later comes to meet her, she follows her to her swidden to observe the ground dove’s harvesting technique, which involves shaking the manioc tubers off of the stalk. When they return to the house, the following events occur.

(84) a. Arikeate okoraketapoji oairontsite, okantimotapoji, okanti:

\(^{36}\)Thanks go to Kelsey Neely for suggesting this translation.
Then her mother-in-law came, and she mocked her, saying:

b. “Naatimpa manakeate noninkakotiro aintochapaki.”

I just shake the manioc.”

c. Arikea iroatimpa jeento omarikakerokeate.

She had called the ground dove out.

d. Omatibikanakekea jeento...:

The ground dove lowered her head in silence...

I have opted to translate marik in this context as ‘call out’, in the colloquial English sense that involves revealing an untruth or casting aspersions on courses of action that are socially inap propriate, reprehensible, or insufficient in some way. This verb is translated by those Caquintes who speak Spanish as Spanish asustar ‘frighten’, but it is clear in the above context that fright is not at issue. Relatedly, one might think that a translation like ‘mock’ is more fitting, but that is contradicted by examples such as (85), which comes from a text in which a man warns his brother-in-law not to risk his luck by trying to get too close to a dangerous woodpecker’s net trap.

(85) “Aato pikantiri, pimarikiritsi, pimarikakotirotsi mantsatsi, aatotari aaji aisa.”

“Don’t speak to him, you’ll call him out, you’ll jinx the net and it won’t catch again.” (kon)

Note that this sentence contains two instances of marik, a simplex one and one in which it combines with the indirect applicative -ako. In the former the direct object of marik is =ri, which refers to the woodpecker; in the latter the applied object of marik is the net itself, as evidenced by the feminine gender of the suffix. In this example, unlike (84), ‘call out’ appears to involve the revelation of the woodpecker’s presence. But the composition of this meaning and the indirect applicative -ako is not yet well understood, and is a topic for future research.

6 Direct Quotation

Direct quotation (or reported speech) which can be identified by deictic transposition relative to the matrix verb kaN ‘say’ \[37\] is incredibly frequent in Caquinte. In narrative, narrators quote char-

\[37\] Both direct and indirect quotes are always introduced by kaN ‘say’ in Caquinte.
acters and characters quote other characters. Indirect quotation, which exhibits no such deictic transposition, is also attested, as in (86) and (87).

(86) “Nokantiro oshekatsitenarono naintochapakite.”

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{no-} & \text{ kaN } -i \quad -ro \quad o- \quad \text{sheka} \quad -i\text{s} \quad -ak \quad -i \quad -na \quad -ro \quad no- \quad \text{aiNtochapaki} \quad -te \\
& \text{1S- say} \quad -R:\text{ACT} \quad -3\text{F.O} \quad 3\text{F.S- eat} \quad -A:\text{MAL} \quad -PFV \quad -R:\text{ACT} \quad -1\text{O} \quad -3\text{F.O} \quad 1\text{P- manioc} \quad -\text{AP}
\end{align*}
\]

“I told her that she was eating my manioc.” (has)

(87) Okantiri iramakenero machaaki...

\[
\begin{align*}
o- & \text{ kaN } -i \quad -ri \quad \text{iri-} \quad \text{am} \quad -k \quad -e \quad =nV \quad -ro \quad machaki \\
& \text{3F.S- say} \quad -R:\text{ACT} \quad -3\text{M.O} \quad 3\text{M.S.IRR- bring} \quad -PFV \quad -IRR \quad =A:\text{REC} \quad -3\text{F.O} \quad \text{lima.bean}
\end{align*}
\]

She told him to bring her lima beans... (pam)

A central question in the study of Caquinte interaction (as well as in the study of psych-predicates) thus becomes: when do speakers employ direct quotation and when do they employ indirect quotation? And when do they not invoke quotation of any sort whatsoever (e.g., ishi-mampojankaka ‘he is sad’)? As a foray into answering these questions, we can observe that, crosslinguistically, direct quotation is often understood to be a responsibility-diminishing tool in interaction relative to the content of the quote, whereas indirect quotation is often understood to be responsibility-enhancing. With that in mind, it is useful to reconsider (86), which comes from a text in which a man is relaying his own previous speech that his interlocutor had just overheard as noise but could not understand. The man risks little in this particular interaction in indirectly quoting himself. Similarly, the narrator in (87) risks little in indirectly quoting the relevant character’s command – it simply moves the narrative forward. The resulting expectation, then, is that direct quotation will be employed when the risk associated with responsibility-taking is high.

We have seen that in narrative the attribution of internal states by narrators to characters is fairly common, but we can imagine that the same attribution in interaction may be more perilous. Significantly, it may be more perilous regardless of whether the internal state holds of an other or oneself. Similar claims have been made for many societies (e.g., see Danziger and Rumsey (2013) and contributions therein). As a result, some societies prioritize direct quotation in the communication of internal states (e.g., the personal opinions that one holds), especially when the risk associated with the attribution of those internal states is high. This is the case in Nanti society, members of which speak a language related to Caquinte, as argued in Michael (2001:5, emphasis mine).

The second area of practice involves the use of reported speech to talk about human agency and the evaluative positions that people take. That is, the use of reported speech to talk about how humans effect changes in the world (e.g. by making decisions, giving orders, and making promises), and about the judgements they make as critical beings (e.g. whether something is ‘good’, ‘bad’, ‘acceptable’, etc.). This area of speech reporting practice, I argue, arises because of, and is organized by, a Nanti ideology that takes an individual’s utterance to be the most appropriate means for discussing their agency and evaluative stances.

As a result of the social pay-off of the use of direct quotation, it is unsurprising to find instances in which speakers not only quote others, but also themselves. Furthermore, speakers may occasionally frame as direct quotation a string that was never actually uttered in the world. Michael (2012:322, boldface emphasis mine) describes the latter phenomenon in Nanti.

38Recall that this is what is also at play in constructions involving \textit{kenkej} ‘think’ and \textit{ogimag} ‘dream’.
one form of quotation is particularly remarkable: the use of quotative constructions to frame as ‘reported speech’ utterances that are being expressed for the first time, rather than drawn from a previous speech event. Of particular interest, Nantis principally employ this practices [sic], which I call concurrent quotative framing (CQF) in taking strong evaluative or epistemic stances in discourse, often in opposition to stances expressed by other participants. As such, the interactional functions of CQF contrast with the distancing and responsibility-diminishing functions often ascribed to reported speech.

The remainder of this section homes in on CQF in Caquinte, as a way of illustrating a particular sort of direct quotation in the language. I suggest that CQF has the opposite pragmatic function relative to Nanti, namely that it serves exactly the ‘responsibility-diminishing functions’ that one expects crosslinguistically, namely to reduce a speaker’s commitment to some stance. This is not always immediately obvious, as we will further see that CQF co-occurs with future =ta, which carries an implicature of commitment. As a result, CQF occurs in instances of commitment, or the taking of ‘strong evaluative or epistemic stances’ (Michael:ibid.). I contend, however, that in Caquinte CQF serves to hedge a commitment that is otherwise expected by an interlocutor. That is, CQF in combination with =ta allows one to commit, but to commit weakly.

To get at this, we examine the excerpt in (88). This text revolves around the mountain cave known as Shitekitsini, the home of a race of demonic semi-humans (kakinteniro) with huge, frizzy hair. The central character is Maremareti, a powerful Caquinte shaman who one day dares to enter the cave. On the relevant day, he announces his intention to enter the cave to his wife and gathers a group of Caquinte men who will accompany him. He takes ayahuasca and begins to hallucinate. Through his trance he enters the cave, grabs one of the kakinteniro, dismembers him, and escapes out the other end of the cave. He returns home to his wife, and some time passes. Later, he returns to the cave to visit the kakinteniro.

(88) a. “Shaameti, koraketakempi.”
   shaameti korake -ak -i -Npi
cos-father come -PFV -R:ACT -2S
   “Co-father, you’ve come.”

b. Ikanti:
   i- kaN -i
3M.S- say -R:ACT
   He says:

c. “Jeeje, koraketakena.”
   heehe korake -ak -i -na
yes come -PFV -R:ACT -1S
   “Yes, I’ve come.”

d. “Nokanti namenajaterita shaameti.”
   no- kaN -i no- amen -aja -e -ri =ta shaameti
1S- say -R:ACT 1S- see -AM -IRR -3M.O =FUT co-father
   “I said, ‘I’m going to see my co-father.’”

e. Ari yogichokotitakeri, ikantiro irimankigare:
He sat him down and said to his wife:

f. “Pintige poniriori ajokabakeneri shaameti irishekatapojempata.”

pi- N- tig -e poniriori a- ajok -ab -k -e =nV -ri shaameti
2s- IRR- cook -IRR sweet potato INCL.S- give -DIR -PFV -IRR =A:REC -3M.O co-father
ir- sheka -apoj -e -Npa =ta
3M.S- eat -ALL -IRR -MID =FUT

“Cook sweet potato for us to give to my co-father so he can eat.”

g. Arikea aakiti oboniriorite, otiakero, yameniro Maremareti.

ari =kea o- ag -ki -i o- poniriori -te o- tig -k -i
PRO =KEA 3F.S- fetch -AM -R:ACT 3F.P- sweet potato -AP 3F.S- cook -PFV -R:ACT
-ro i- amen -i -ro Maremareti =ni
-3F.O 3M.S- watch -R:ACT -3F.O Maremareti =DEC

She went to fetch her sweet potato and came back and cooked it, and Maremareti watched her.

h. Teekea iro poniriori ashekataka aatimpa, irogenti iboniriorite Matsintioni, okejebekaro poniriori.

tee =kea iro poniriori a- sheka -a =ka aatiNpa iroqNTi
NEG:R =KEA 3F:FOC sweet potato INCL.S- eat -R:REL INCL.TOP COP:3F
i- poniriori -te Matsintio =ni o- keje -be -k -a -ro
3M.P- sweet potato -AP Matsintio =DEC 3F.S- resemble -FRUST -PFV -R:REL -3F.O poniriori
sweet potato

It was not the sweet potato that we eat, it was Matsintio’s [i.e., a demon] sweet potato, it only resembled sweet potato.

i. Ikankiti komek, ikantanake:

i- kaN -ki -i komek i- kaN -an -k -i
3M.S- say -AM -R:ACT IDEO:disgust 3M.S- say -ABL -PFV -R:ACT

He went komek, and said:

j. “Isaashi.”

isaashi
INTJ: ugh

“Ugh!”

k. Ikantirikea:

i- kaN -i -ri =kea
3M.S- say -R:ACT -3M.O =KEA

And he said to him:

l. “Kerokea pijateni, shaameti?”

ke -ro =kea pi- ja -e -ni shaameti
WH -F =KEA 2S- go -IRR -INTERR co-father
“Where are you going to go, co-father?”

m. Ikanti:
i-  kaN -i
3M.S- say -R:ACT
He said:

n. “Nokanti: ‘Nontajenkashitakiterita shaameti osamani.’”

no- kaN -i no- N- tajeNkashi -aki -e -ri =ta shaameti osamani
1S- say -R:ACT 1S- IRR- check.on -AM -IRR -3M.O =FUT co-father far

“Oh, I am going to check up on my co-father far away.” (shi82)

Following the exchange of a common greeting (88a-c), Maremareti explains the motive for his presence among the kakinteniro by quoting himself, even though it is not apparent that he has ever uttered these words before. This string has the temporal deictic properties of direct quotation (n.b. its irreality), i.e., an utterance Maremareti would have made before arriving among the kakinteniro. The quote also includes the second-position clitic =ta: this clitic occurs in every instance of self-quotatation in my corpus (as well as in other contexts), and it carries an implicature of commitment in the sense of [Kockelman (2004)]. Following this, Maremareti is served an unpalatable sort of sweet potato. His disgust is expressed by the ideophone komek followed by the interjection isaashi. The ideophone and interjection differ in their utterability: the former is a description of an eventuality used in narrative that replaces more contentful words like fully formed verbs; the latter is actually uttered out loud by Maremareti. Both are introduced by kaN, but crucially the stems differ: ideophones are typically introduced by a form of ‘say’ marked with the associated motion suffix -ki; interjections are introduced by a form of ‘say’ that may also be used to introduce the longer quotations that we have seen elsewhere.

After this, the kakinteniro again speaks to Maremareti, and the form of his question in (88l) is noteworthy in that it, like Maremareti’s utterance in (88d), exhibits the temporal deictic properties of an utterance that precedes Maremareti’s actual arrival to Shitekitsini, i.e., the verb is irrealis and as such can only have a future temporal interpretation. This question (‘Where are you going to go?’) is answered in (88m) and is another instance of CQF. The cumulative effect, then, is to locate the portions of the interaction between Maremareti and the kakinteniro beyond their greeting (88a)-(88c)) at a time that wholly precedes their actual interaction.

With these facts in mind, then, we can ask the following question: why do Maremareti and his interlocutor discuss Maremareti’s course of action (i.e., visiting) as if it has not yet been realized, when in fact it is currently underway? To begin to formulate an answer to this question, let us first observe that three different aspects of the grammar are at play here: 1) irreality; 2) the enclitic =ta; and 3) the embedding of a proposition that contains these first two bits within a self-quotatation. Furthermore, these three aspects are not independent. All instances of =ta in the present corpus co-occur with irrealis inflection, and all instances of CQF in the present corpus exhibit =ta. It thus becomes useful to compare instances of =ta outside of CQF.

A salient and frequent use of =ta occurs in the announcement of an individual’s planned activities for the day, an exchange that often takes place between spouses in the morning, as in (89).

(89) a. Osabinkagitetanakegeti, ikantiro imankigare:

o- sabiNkagite -an -k -i =geti i- kaN -i -ro i- maNkigare
3F.S- rise.sun -ABL -PFV -R:ACT =when 3M.S- say -R:ACT -3F.O 3M.P- spouse

When the sun had risen, he said to his wife:
b. “Nonkatsiketeta.”

\[
\text{no- N- katsike -e =ta}
\]

1S- IRR- clear.land -IRR =FUT

“I’m going to clear land.” (kon)

Exchanges between spouses of this sort – frequent in narrative – never involve CQF. I interpret this as indicating that there is little social damage that would accrue to the speaker should he not in fact clear land, or should he do so improperly or unsuccessfully, etc., and as such that committing to this stance involves little risk. Thus the speaker commits to the stance in full.

Coming back to the previous text (88), it is possible to describe the characters’ interaction in a similar fashion. Maremareti’s arrival at Shitekitsini is perilous both for him as well as for the kakinteniro, whose existence risks being found out by others in the human world. Put differently, the consequences of a commitment to a stance are potentially quite serious. As a result, the need to mitigate social risk is high, but this is in tension with one additional facet of the situation, namely that Maremareti must indicate some purpose for his unexpected re-arrival. This, in a less risky context, might take the form of a simple commitment with =ta (see (89)). The grammar of Caquinte, however, provides another option besides choosing between full commitment – i.e., a declarative irrealis sentence with =ta – and no commitment. That dichotomy is avoided entirely by employing CQF (88d). That is, it allows an interactant to frame a commitment as quoted (or reported), and thus indexically signal that it is a lesser commitment than it otherwise would be, in turn mitigating social damage should a course of action not go according to plan (e.g., Maremareti and the kakinteniro’s interaction, or Maremareti’s visit more generally). CQF is, then, I argue, a hedge, or a form of weak commitment, which can subsequently be picked up by an interlocutor.

This pick-up takes the shape of an arguably distinct phenomenon, namely the formulation of questions in the irrealis (i.e., with future temporal reference (88)) in a context in which what is really being asked about is realis (i.e., has already come to pass). Thus the kakinteniro asks ‘Where will you go?’ and not ‘Why have you come?’ Similarly, I argue that this is a risk mitigation strategy in that the kakinteniro signals to Maremareti that he (Maremareti) is not at present responsible for the commitment that the kakinteniro is soliciting, since it is framed as temporally posterior to the moment of utterance. It also reduces the degree to which the kakinteniro is seen as asking a face-threatening question.

I conclude this section by reviewing what can be said regarding the interaction between direct quotation and psych-predicates, and the implications that has for the depiction of internal states. As we have seen, only two psych-predicates – kenkej ‘think’ and ogimag ‘dream’ – occur with direct quotations. In contrast, it is common in narrative for the internal states denoted by all other psych-predicates to be directly asserted of some other. That is not to say, however, that Caquintes will readily or flippantly make reference to those states in interaction. There is a substantial difference between asserting an internal state of a(n often fictional or mythologized) character in narrative and doing the same with regard to real interactants, fellow Caquintes, etc., and the ways in which this difference might manifest is a fruitful area for future research. Nevertheless, it is clear that whatever those ways of speaking are, it is not codified in the grammar for all internal state predicates.

7 Summary and Conclusion

The descriptive generalizations that can be stated with regard to Caquinte psych-predicates are summarized in Table 4. This table is organized along the X-axis by the following properties as distributed across transitivity: reality status class, the thematic roles of arguments, the type of
clausal complement, and the reality status value of that clausal complement. ‘Derived’ verbs are morphologically complex, e.g., derived with the causative. Gray cells in the Derived column indicate that the relevant forms have simply not been described, not that they are unattested.\(^{39}\) Along the Y-axis is a list of the seventeen verbs described in this article. Black cells indicate that the verb in question does not have the relevant function (e.g., does not have an intransitive instantiation).

A number of observations can be made. First, intransitive, transitive, and derived verbs may all be either i- or a-class. The S argument of intransitive verbs all exhibit the thematic role of experiencer, which is in line with the fact that the eventualities that they denote are all internal states. The arguments of transitive verbs, however, show more variation in thematic role assignment. Most transitive verbs exhibit experiencer subjects and theme objects, e.g., in the case of ame, a subject who is the one accustomed to some thing denoted by the object, the theme. One verb, katsima, exhibits an experiencer subject and a recipient object. And three exhibit causer subjects and experiencer objects. In this vein, note that CAUS-EXP is not simply the inverse of EXP-THM. For example, themes of verbs like ame ‘be accustomed to’ are not necessarily the cause of being accustomed, but rather what one is accustomed to. The cause of tsarog ‘frighten’, however, is also what one is frightened by. These thematic roles may be further manipulated by derivational suffixes such as causative -akag or various applicatives. Importantly, there is a difference between verbs that have simplex intransitive and simplex transitive counterparts (e.g., tsarog ‘frighten’), and those that have only simplex intransitive instantiations, their transitive counterparts being derived via valence-altering morphology (e.g., atsipe ‘suffer’). Furthermore, there are verbs with no simplex intransitive instantiations (e.g., asereg ‘bother’). That is, there is no syntactically parallel way in Caquinte to express English constructions such as I am bothered.\(^{40}\)

Speaking of clausal complements, it becomes evident that only four psych-predicates take embedded clausal complements. Two others co-occur with kaN ‘say’ to introduce a direct speech quotation, and although such complements are not complements of the psych-predicate per se, I list them here with ‘ds’ (‘direct speech’) in parentheses. Of the three verbs that take embedded clausal complements, two allow their complements to exhibit either of the two notionally possible reality status values. The third, niN ‘want’, requires an irrealis clausal complement.

The goal of this article has been to present a morphosyntactic and semantic description of psych-predicates in Caquinte, as a way of establishing a foundation on which to base future investigation of the study of other sorts of internal states in the language expressed by other morphosyntactic means. However, the course of this research is not unidirectional, and much regarding the use of psych-predicates in interaction remains to be learned. As a consequence, the description of the lexical semantic content of the psych-predicates described here is liable to change over time. In terms of morphosyntax, we have reviewed a number of properties of constructions that include psych-predicates that will be of further interest to the more narrowly syntactic study of Caquinte, including, among other topics, the assignment of thematic roles, the status of clausal complements, restrictions on and differences in interpretation between different coreference patterns across clauses, the expression of negation across clauses, and the distribution of the reality status classes and requirements for certain reality status values in these constructions. In this way I hope to have opened up many possible avenues for a variety of analytical interests, both my own and those of other scholars.

39 The description of the interpretation of all valence-altering morphemes is outside the scope of this work.
40 However, these transitive verbs can be made intransitive via the antipassive -an, but this does not alter the thematic role of the subject as in the case of English I am bothered.
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Table 4: Summary of Morphosyntactic and Semantic Properties of Caquinte Psych-predicates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Derived</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RS S-θ</td>
<td>RS A-θ P-θ</td>
<td>Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsa</td>
<td>'know'</td>
<td>i EXP</td>
<td>i EXP THM</td>
<td>emb REAL, IRR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji</td>
<td>'believe ...'</td>
<td>i EXP</td>
<td>i EXP THM</td>
<td>emb REAL, IRR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keNkej</td>
<td>'think'</td>
<td>i EXP</td>
<td>i EXP THM</td>
<td>(ds) REAL, IRR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogimag</td>
<td>'dream'</td>
<td>a EXP</td>
<td>a EXP THM</td>
<td>(ds) REAL, IRR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nIn</td>
<td>'want'</td>
<td>i EXP</td>
<td>i EXP THM</td>
<td>emb IRR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nejema</td>
<td>'be desirous of'</td>
<td>a EXP</td>
<td>a EXP THM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shine</td>
<td>'be happy'</td>
<td>a EXP</td>
<td>a EXP THM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pînts</td>
<td>'love'</td>
<td>a EXP</td>
<td>a EXP THM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame</td>
<td>'be accustomed to'</td>
<td>a EXP</td>
<td>a EXP THM</td>
<td>emb REAL, IRR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shimaNpojan</td>
<td>'be sad'</td>
<td>a EXP</td>
<td>a EXP THM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atsipe</td>
<td>'suffer'</td>
<td>a EXP</td>
<td>a EXP THM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katsima</td>
<td>'be angry'</td>
<td>i EXP</td>
<td>i EXP REC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pînk</td>
<td>'fear'</td>
<td></td>
<td>i EXP THM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsarog</td>
<td>'frighten'</td>
<td>i EXP</td>
<td>i CAUS EXP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asereg</td>
<td>'bother'</td>
<td>i EXP</td>
<td>i CAUS EXP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pashibeN</td>
<td>xxx</td>
<td>a EXP</td>
<td>??</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marik</td>
<td>xxx</td>
<td>i EXP</td>
<td>i CAUS EXP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>