

Split Subject Marking in Caquinte

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1 Introduction

- It has long been asserted that Nijagantsi Arawak languages, namely Asheninka, exhibits a pattern of split intransitivity (e.g., Payne and Payne 1983, 2005), where intransitive verbs can be marked for person by prefixes or suffixes

[...] son “sinónimos” para los ashéninka-hablantes. La presencia de un sufijo pronominal como opuesto al prefijo pronominal es “opcional” con cualquier verbo intransitivo [...]
(Payne 1983:19)

- Swift (1988:61) made an equivalent claim regarding intransitivity for Caquinte, and I have also, in unpublished work (O'Hagan 2015)
- Allusions to the intransitivity of these constructions is even older, as in the studies of Matsigenka by the Dominican priest José Pío Aza (1865-1938)

Va siempre sufijo con el verbo *aiño* : v. g. ¿*aiño*BI? ¿cómo estás?: lo emplean como sufijo en algunas otras expresiones como cuando se dice: ¿*sagüitákabi*? en vez de ¿*pisagüitaka*? ¿has sido bautizado? Pero es de advertir que esta partícula BI únicamente se usa cuando la segunda persona es *sujeto* del verbo.

(Aza 1924:206, emphasis original)

- Subsequent claims about other related languages such as Nanti (Michael 2008:344) and other dialects of Asheninka (e.g., Mihas 2015:454-463) have highlighted intransitivity
- However Kindberg's (1961:523, emphasis original) early modern formulation is broader

There are certain constructions in which the subject of a verb is overtly expressed in some form other than that of 010 prefixes with that verb.

One construction expresses the subject of a verb with morphemes from order 1200, i.e. 1201 and 1202. This is done with a relatively limited number of commonly used words, and generally in conversation. *nopokahi I have come* (no 011, pok **come** VS1, ah 802, i 1001B) AA may be transformed to *pokahana I have come* as a response form in conversation (pok **come** VS1, ah 802, a 1001A, na

1201) ARsp. Note that these transforms [sic] function in two different sentence types. The response construction is dependent upon the query **pokahimpi have you come?** (pok **come** VS1, ah 802, i 1001B, mpi 1202) Inter. That is to say, the action slot in the query may be optionally filled by a verb with the subject represented by order 010 or order 1200. However, if the query uses order 1200, the response must use order 1200.

Occasionally in narration the subject may be expressed by the use of order 1200, as in *karahakena noveane I broke my bow* ([*karah break* VS1, ak 801, e 1002B, na 1201] [no 011, veane **bow** NS1]) AAG.

- Similar conversational exchanges with suffixal subject markers are found in Caquinte (1)¹

- (1) a. ...“Anianishi, koraketajimpi?”
anianishi korake -aj -i -mpi
 brother.in.law come -REG -AR -2
 ...“Brother-in-law, you’ve come back?”
- b. Ikanti, “Jeeje, koraketajana.”
i- kan -i jeeje korake -aj -a -na
 3M- say -AR yes come -REG -MR -1
 He said, “Yes, I’ve come back.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:8)

- Crucially, transitive equivalents are similarly also found in Caquinte (2)²

- (2) “...kejekena shirompito.”
keje -k -i -na shirompito
 be.like -PFV -AR -1 bird.sp.
 “...I’m like *shirompito* [a skilled hunter].”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:110)

- Suffixal subject markers alternate with prefixal ones (3)

- (3) “...irorijite nokejekari aapani.”
iroriji =te no- keje -k -a -ri aapani
 because =CE 1- be.like -PFV -MR -3M paternal.uncle
 “...because I’m like my paternal uncle.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:52)

¹Abbreviations: ABL = ablative; ADJ = adjective; ALL = allative; AR = active realis; CE = counter-expectational; CT = contrastive topic; CL = classifier; COP = copula; DIR = directional; DIST = distal; DUR = durative; EPIST = epistemic; EVID = evidential; EW = elsewhere; EXST = existential; F = feminine; FOC = focus; FRST = frustrative; IDEO = ideophone; INDR = indirect applicative; INSTR = instrumental applicative; IPFV = imperfective; IRR = irrealis; LOC = locative; M = masculine; MED = medial; MID = middle; MR = middle realis; NEG = negation; NMZ = nominalizer; NR = nonreferential; OST = ostensive; P = possessive; PFV = perfective; PL = plural; PRO = pro-form; PROL = prolonged period; PURP = purpose (applicative); REC = recipient; REG = regressive; REL = relativizer; SM = specific moment; TOP = topic.

²A transitive equivalent has also been found in the Ucayali dialect of Asheninka (T. Pedrós, p.c. 20211016).

1.1 Caquinte Grammar Background

- Caquinte is a strongly headmarking, agglutinative Arawak language of the Nijagantsi branch spoken by several hundred people in southeastern Peruvian Amazonia
- Obligatory verbal categories are person of the subject (except in cases of anti-agreement), aspect (§2), reality status (Michael 2014), and voice
 - Reality status and voice are exponed together in the realis (active realis *-i*, middle realis *-a*) and separately in the irrealis (irrealis *-e*, middle *-mpa*)
- Subjects and (multiple) objects are both crossreferenced on the verb by a series of prefixes and suffixes (Table 1)
 - Multiple objects can be crossreferenced on the verb in certain configurations (see Drummond and O’Hagan 2020 for details)

Table 1: Caquinte Person Markers

	SUBJ	OBJ	SUBJ
1	n(o)-	-na	-na
1INCL	a-	-aji	-aji
2	p(i)-	-mpi	-mpi
3M	i-, y-, ir(i)-	-ri	-∅
3F	(o)-	-ro	-∅

- Alignment is nominative-accusative when comparing subject prefixes and object suffixes, as well as third person subject suffixes and object suffixes, but neutral when comparing local subject suffixes and object suffixes
- The verb is predominantly suffixal, with the exception of subject and causative prefixes, and a small number of other archaic derivational prefixes
- Negation is with one of two preverbal particles *tee* and *aato* sensitive to the reality status value of the clause “before” negation
- See O’Hagan (2020:App. B) for an overview of other areas of grammar
- Data for this presentation comes from a text corpus of ~54,000 words collected since 2014, mostly published in Salazar Torres et al. (2019) and Salazar Torres and O’Hagan (2019)
 - 20,895 examples of subject prefixes, 1,221 examples of subject suffixes
 - 12,208 and 293 examples of perfectives *-(a)k* and *-ankits*, 218 examples of imperfective *-ats* (zero imperfective not segmented)

Aspect: situates TT with respect to TSit		
PERFECTIVE	TT (partially) includes TSit	{——[——]} _{TSit} _{TT} or [{——}] _{TSit} _{TT}
IMPERFECTIVE	TT is fully included in TSit	{——[—] _{TT} ——}] _{TSit}
PERFECT	TT is after TSit	{——}] _{TSit} [_{TT}
PROSPECTIVE	TT is before TSit	[_{TT} {——}] _{TSit}
Tense: situates TT with respect to TU		
PAST	TT is before TU	[_{TT} () _{TU}
PRESENT	TT includes TU	[() _{TU} _{TT}
FUTURE	TT is after TU	() _{TU} [_{TT}

Figure 1: Summary of Klein’s (1994) Aspects & Tenses (Cleary-Kemp 2015:30)

2 Basic Aspectual Contrasts in Caquinte

- Caquinte exhibits an aspectual contrast typically described for Nijagantsi languages as perfective-imperfective (e.g., Dohn 2017), to be problematized below (cf. O’Hagan 2018)
 - Imperfective $-\emptyset$ (not segmented beyond this section), perfective $-(a)k$
- Imperfective verbs can be progressive (4) or habitual (5) (cf. Castillo Ramirez 2020)

- (4) a. “Taa panti?” PROGRESSIVE
taa pi- aN -∅ -i
 WH 2- do -IPFV -AR
 “What’re you doing?”
- b. “Noshekata.”
no- sheka -∅ -a
 1- eat -IPFV -MR
 “I’m eating.” (O’Hagan 2020:58)
- (5) a. ...“Pishekatari emooki aisa shimoto?” HABITUAL
pi- sheka -∅ -a -ri emooki aisa shimoto
 2- eat -IPFV -MR -3M grub.sp. also grub.sp.
 ...“Do you eat *emooki* grubs and *shimoto* grubs?”
- b. Irira poshontyo tsorintSORIPIORI ikanti, “Jeeje, noshekatari emooki...
iri- ra poshontyo tsorintSORIPIORI i- kaN -i jeeje no- sheka -∅ -a -ri emooki
 3M- MED Old.Axe 3M- say -AR yes 1- eat -IPFV -MR -3M grub.sp.
 Old Axe said, “Yes, I eat *emooki* grubs...” (ptk)

- Perfective verbs typically denote culminated eventualities (6)
 - (6) CONTEXT: Spix’s Guan climbs a tree, throws fruit down to the ground for his companion *shonkiri* (tinamou sp.), eats fruit up in the tree, then comes down. ...“Nogonoro, pishekataka?”

no- gonoro pi- sheka -ak -a
1- countryman 2- eat -PFV -MR

...“Countryman, did you eat?” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:29)
 - Stative verbs are typically marked with the perfective, regardless of whether they denote a culminated eventuality (7) or not (8)
 - (7) CONTEXT: The speaker reflects on her homecoming many decades earlier. *Osheki noshinebaetaka narejetajageti noniinaniteki...*

osheki no- shine -bae -ak -a no- areje -aj -a =geti non- iinani -te =ki
much 1- be.happy -DUR -PFV -MR 1- arrive -REG -MR =when 1- mother -P =LOC

I was very happy when I arrived back at my mother...
(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:11)
 - (8) CONTEXT: Someone reports on their current state in a 2014 letter. *Nojokijika, aisa osheki noshimampojankabaeka...*

no- ojokiji -k -a aisa osheki no- shimampojank -bae -k -a
1- be.sick -PFV -MR also much 1- be.sad -DUR -PFV -MR

I’m sick, also I’m very sad... (anonymized)
 - Non-culminated interpretations of statives are often found with suffixal subjects (see below)
 - Imperfective-marked verbs can receive a culminated interpretation, especially at the ends of chains of perfective verbs (9)
 - (9) *Arikea ishiashipojakena, itatsinkapojakena nojokabaeta isabiji porokiren.*

ari =kea i- shig -ashi -poj -k -i -na i- tatsink -poj -k -i -na no-
FOC =EW 3M- run -APPL -ALL -PFV -AR -1 3M- push -ALL -PFV -AR -1 1-
ojokabae -Ø -a isabiji porokiren
come.close -IPFV -MR on.ground IDEO:fall.on.rocks

Then he ran up to me and pushed me and I came down on the ground on the rocks.
(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:9)
 - Imperfective has a non-zero allomorph in certain \bar{A} -extraction contexts (10)
 - (10) “...irira impoitapojatsika inkantakempa Katsirinkaiteri.”

iri- ra impoi -apoj -ats -i =ka i- N- kaN -ak -e -mpa Katsirinkaiteri
 3M- DEM be.last -ALL -IPFV -AR =REL 3M- IRR- name -PFV -IRR -MID Sun

“...the one who comes last will be named Sun.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:73)

- Ablative directional *-an*, which co-occurs obligatorily with perfective *-(a)k*,³ yields a change-of-state interpretation with stative verbs (11)

- (11) CONTEXT: Piranha has lost his ring, but other animals tell him they’ll retrieve it.
 Iri_a kachapa ishinetanaka...

iri- ra kachapa i- shine -an -k -a
 3M- MED piranha.sp. 3M- be.happy -ABL -PFV -MR

Then Piranha became happy... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:38)

3 Morphosyntactic Restrictions

- Payne and Payne (2005:42-45) describe morphosyntactic restrictions on subject suffixes, including several verbal suffixes that have cognates or semantic equivalents in Caquinte
- In Asheninka, the subordinator *-ra* ‘when, where’ (probably =*ra*) is not compatible with subject suffixes, but in Caquinte =*geti* ‘if, when, where’ is (12)

- (12) “...‘Kenkebaritanakempigeti, poanake pigoonkiniteki...’”

kenkebari -an -k -e -mpi =geti pi- og -an -k -e pi- koonkini -te =ki
 be.of.age -ABL -PFV -IRR -2 =when 2- go -AN -PFV -IRR 2- maternal.uncle -P =LOC

“...‘When you come of age, you’ll go to your maternal uncle...’”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:7)

- In Asheninka, the suffix *-aman* ‘early in the morning’ is not compatible with subject suffixes, but Caquinte *-aman* is (13)

- (13) ...yamenapojiri chokotitamanake paamaripokiki...

i- amen -poj -i -ri chokoti -aman -k -i -Ø paamari -poki =ki
 3M- see -ALL -AR -3M sit -EARLY.MORNING -PFV -AR -3 fire -heart =LOC

...he saw him sitting early in the morning by the fire...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:55)

- Other cognates suffixes are not expected to be incompatible on syntactic or semantic grounds (e.g., reciprocal *-abakag*, purpose applicative *-ashi*), and need further investigation

³This holds except when the subject has been extracted, e.g., *kenkebarotanatsika* (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:158).

- Strikingly, Payne and Payne (2005:45) claim that subject suffixes cannot occur embedded (14), a widely attested pattern in Caquinte (15)

o-ny-aaty-ii-mi *p-ote-t-ak-a*
 3F-see-PRGSV-REAL-2 2-put.in-&-PFCTV-REAL/REFL
 ‘she was seeing (that) you put yourself inside (i.e. got in)’

(14) **o-ny-aaty-ii-mi ote-t-ak-a-mi*

(15) Arikea itinajanaka jagitya yameniri miraka isantomaritsate.

ari =kea i- tinaj -an -k -a jagitya i- amen-i -ri mir -k
 FOC =EW 3M- be.awake -ABL -PFV -MR Spix’s.guan 3M- see -AR -3M drink -PFV
-a -Ø i- santomaritsa -te
 -MR -3 3M- ayahuasca -P

Then Spix’s guan awoke and saw him drinking his ayahuasca.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:29)

- Verbs with suffixal subject markers cannot be negated (16), as is also true in Asheninka

(16) a. ...“Nojikeji peakempi.”

no-ji -k -i -ji peg -k -i -mpi
 1- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -JI be.lost -PFV -AR -2
 ...“I thought you were lost.”

b. Okanti, “Tee nompegempaji...”

o- kan-i tee no- N- peg -e -mpa -ji
 3F- say -AR NEG 1- IRR- be.lost -IRR -MID -NEG

She said, “I wasn’t lost...”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:62)

4 Prefixal versus Suffixal Subject Marking

- Verbs marked with prefixal subject markers denote eventualities that occur posterior to those denoted by preceding verbs

– In (17), the break of day occurs following Vampire Bat’s sleep

(17) Ari itineokikiti kapichaji osabinkagitetsitanaka aisa.

ari i- tineoki -ki -i kapichaji o- sabinkagite -(i)tsi -an
 FOC 3M- sleep -GO.DO.RETURN -AR small.amount 3F- be.morning -SM -ABL
-k -a aisa
 -PFV -MR again

Then he slept for a bit and morning broke again. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:96)

- Verbs marked with suffixal subject markers, in contrast, denote eventualities that occur anterior to those denoted by preceding verbs

– In (18), nightfall precedes the narrator’s arrival, but is described after it

(18) Narejetaja, pitsekagitetanake, namenabepoja kajaragiteni.

no- areje -aj -a pitsek -gite -an -k -i -Ø no- amen
 1- arrive -REG -MR be.night -CL:environment -ABL -PFV -AR -3 1- see
-be -poj -a kajara -gite -ni
 -FRST -ALL -MR empty -CL:environment -ADJ

I arrived back, it’d gotten dark, and I saw it was empty.

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:44)

- These temporal relations are especially salient when the verb is embedded under *amen* ‘see’
- In (19), with *te* ‘place in vessel,’ the subject of the matrix verb observes a family get in an airplane, while in (20) they only observe that people have previously been placed inside

(19) Yamenabajana notejianaja oaporoki.

i- amen -ab -aj -a -na no- te -jig -an -aj -a oaporo =ki
 3M- see -DIR -REG -MR -1 1- place.in.vessel -PL -ABL -REG -MR airplane =LOC

He watched us get back in the airplane.

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:51)

(20) ...irisookiteri tetaka kakinte.

iri- sooki -e -ri te -ak -a -Ø kakinte
 3M- see -IRR -3M place.in.vessel -PFV -MR -3 person

...they’ll see people placed inside [Moon’s fish trap].

(tai)

- The suffixal cases resemble perfects, which on a Kleinian approach should be incompatible with the perfective that is found
- This interpretation is readily found with telic verbs

(21) CONTEXT: A young woman goes outside and looks up at the sky.

...“Iinani, tsibakake katsirinkaiteri.”

iinani tsibak -k -i -Ø katsirinkaiteri
 mother go.out -PFV -AR -3 sun

...“Mother, the sun’s gone out.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:10)

(22) CONTEXT: Brown Capuchin enters the house clearing of a cannibal woman.

Arikea yameniro tariaka kemi...

ari =kea i- amen -i -ro tarig -k -a -Ø kemi
 FOC =EW 3M- see AR -3F pile.separately -PFV -MR -3 squash.sp.

Then he saw squashes piled up... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:85)

- (23) CONTEXT: The narrator has just been married in a Christian ceremony.
 Nokatiaka kameetsanijite intsajitakena mankigatakena.

no- katig -k -a kameetsa =niji =te i- N- tsa -ji -ak -e -na mankiga
 1- stand -PFV -MR PURP =PURP =CE 3M- IRR- know -NR -PFV -IRR -1 marry
-ak -i -na
 -PFV -AR -1

I stood so they'd know I'd gotten married. (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:13)

- (24) a. "Inkajaranki notineokitakiti."

inkajaranki no- tineoki -aki -i
 previously 1- sleep -GO.DO.RETURN -AR

"Before I slept a bit."

- b. "Imaikampani pityakirejanajana, aato notineokitaji."

imaika =mpani pityakirej -an -aj -a -na aato no- tineoki -aj -i
 now =CT open.eyes -ABL -REG -MR -1 NEG 1- sleep -REG -AR

"Now I've opened my eyes again, I won't sleep anymore."

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:125)

- With atelic verbs, in contrast, suffixal subject marking expresses that the eventuality is ongoing at the time of that of the matrix clause, as in the embedded examples in (25)-(28)

- (25) CONTEXT: "Then he came to the house and emerged."

Ari yamenapojiro shinetaka iriinanite.

ari i- amen -poj -i -ro shine -ak -a -Ø iri- iinani -te
 FOC 3M- see -ALL -AR -3F be.happy -PFV -MR -3 3- mother -P

He saw that his mother was happy. (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:21)

- (26) CONTEXT: The narrator finds her classificatory brother at the mouth of the Ajeni.
 ...yamenana katiakena...

i- amen -a -na katig -k -i -na
 3M- see -MR -1 stand -PFV -AR -1

...he saw me standing... (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:8)

- (27) CONTEXT: Vampire Bat attempts to trick his wife while she's sleeping.
 ..."Nojikempiji tineokikempi."

no- ji -k -i -mpi -ji tineoki -k -i -mpi
 1- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -2 -JI sleep -PFV -AR -2

...“I thought you were sleeping.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:125)

- (28) CONTEXT: The narrator accompanies the wife of her classificatory father to go look for him at the river.

...namenapojiri tsinakake samponkagogine.

no- amen -poj -i -ri tsinak -k -i -Ø samponkagogine
 1- see -ALL -AR -3M pound -PFV -AR -3 barbasco

...We saw him pounding barbasco. (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:23)

- Interpretations of ongoingness are expectedly found when verbs marked with suffixal subject markers are not embedded

- (29) CONTEXT: Speckled Chachalaca (a bird) provides his brother-in-law Mocharanti (another bird) with ample manioc beer, and after a while the latter says this.

...“Anianishi, shinkitapojana.”

anianishi shinki -apoj -a -na
 brother.in.law be.drunk -ALL -MR -1

...“Brother-in-law, I’m drunk.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:92)

- (30) CONTEXT: A man accuses another man of causing him to step on his own infant daughter, and that the latter is happy about it.

“...naagenti iraankitsine abiatimpa shinetakempi osheki.”

naagenti irag -ankits -i -ne abiatimpa shine -ak -e -mpi osheki
 1.COP cry -PFV -AR -IRR 2.PRO be.happy -PFV -IRR -2 much

“...I’ll be the one to cry and you’ll be very happy.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:28)

- (31) CONTEXT: Vampire Bat’s wife boils him plantains for breakfast, then tells him to eat, which he refuses to do, giving an explanation.

- a. ...“Inkajaranki pitsekariki noshekatakari osaiteberi notashitake chopeki.”

inkajaranki pitsekariki =ki no- sheka -ak -a -ri osaiteberi no- tashi -ak -i chopeki
 previously night =LOC 1- eat -PFV -MR -3M paca 1- roast -PFV -AR plantain

...“Before at night I ate paca and roasted plantains.”

- b. “Imaikampani arasokabaekena.”

imaika =mpani arasok -bae -k -i -na
 now =CT be.full -DUR -PFV -AR -1

“Now I’m full.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:125)

(32) ...“Pishianake, koraketapoji A. irimetojakempi.”
pi- shig -an -k -e korake -apoj -i -Ø A. iri- metoj -k -e -mpi
 2- run -ABL -PFV -IRR come -ALL -AR -3 A. 3M.IRR- kill -PFV -IRR -2
 ...“Run away, A.’s on his way to kill you.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:45)

(33) CONTEXT: A woman turns around to find her son choking on a large seed.
 ...“Ooo, soabaetake nirijanite.”
ooo sog -bae -ak -i -Ø no- irijani -te
 IDEO:dismay choke -DUR -PFV -AR -3 1- son -P
 ...“Ooo, my son’s choking badly.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:31)

- In sum, with telic verbs, suffixal subject marking resembles a perfect, but with atelic ones it resembles an imperfective (see Fig. 1)

5 What Counts as an Intransitive?

- Other morphosyntactic phenomena in Caquinte that at first blush seem to require an intransitive clause are in fact sensitive only to whether an object suffix is present
- Baier and O’Hagan (2019) describe anti-agreement and special marking of irrealis found when subjects are extracted (i.e., *wh*-questions, relative clauses, focus)
- Intransitive subjects specifically show additional special marking of aspect (*-ats* IPFV, *-ankits* PFV) and reduction in voice contrasts (only “active realis” *-i*)

(1) a.	Inkorakeke. i- [N] korake- [k] -[e] 3M-IRR-COME -PFV-IRR He will come.	INTRANSITIVE, NO EXTRACTION
b.	koraketankitsineka korake- [ankits] -i - [ne] =ka come -PFV -?-IRR =REL the one who will come	INTRANSITIVE, EXTRACTED SUBJECT

Figure 2: Morphosyntactic Changes with Extraction of S (Baier and O’Hagan 2019:2)

- However, apparently S-specific morphosyntactic phenomena are found when a transitive clause lacks an object suffix on the verb⁴

(34) “Abiro tiajatsine aintochapaki.”
abiro tig -aj -ats -i -ne aintochapaki
 2.COP cook -REG -IPFV -AR -IRR manioc

⁴Data from the Ucayali dialect of Asheninka alerted me to the possibility of constructions like these (T. Pedrós, p.c.).

“You cook manioc.”
(cf. *abiro tiajerone*)

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:9)

(35) ...“Aapani, jero ontatika kakinte ataitankitsika mapocha.”

aapani je -ro o- nta -tika kakinte atai -ankits -i =ka mapocha
father PRES -F 3F- DIST -OST person climb -PFV -AR =REL papaya

...“Father, look there’s someone who’s climbed a papaya tree.”

(cf. *ataitakeroka mapocha*)

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:36)

- Of 494 combined textual examples of *-ats* and *-ankits*, only three include a DP object
- With subject suffixes in transitive clauses (§4), and with subject extraction in the absence of an object suffix, a DP object may be present but the clause looks intransitive

6 Other Connections between Extraction & Subject Suffixes

- Imperfective *-ats* is additionally found in clauses with subject suffixes

(36) CONTEXT: Spix’s Guan tries to sleep, but *shonkiri* drinks ayahuasca and sings all night, waking Spix’s Guan up.

...“Jaaashine, taakea oakempi amashaigitatsimpi?”

jaaashine taa =kea og -k -i -mpi amashai -gi -ats -i -mpi
shut.up WH =EW happen.to -PFV -AR -2 sing -PROL -IPFV -AR -2

...“Shut up, what’s wrong with you that you’re singing for so long?”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:29)

(37) Kotankitsi iriatimpa shirampari teekeate iragamajempaji, shiakotanatsi.

kotankitsi iriatimpa shirampari tee =kea =te iri- agamaj -e -mpa
but 3M.PRO man NEG =EW =CE 3M.IRR- pay.attention -IRR -MID
-ji shiako -an -ats -i -Ø
-NEG weed -ABL -IPFV -AR -3

But the man wasn’t paying attention, he kept weeding.

- With ablative *-an*, this construction is interpreted as involving the continuation or resumption of an eventuality

(38) CONTEXT: The traitor Teresoni brings a large number of Ashaninkas to the headwaters of the Pogeni River, where Taatakin lives.

Arikea ichookatake oraniki Taataki peakaanatsi ishikiripite...

ari =kea i- chooka -ak -i oraniki Taataki peakag -an -ats -i -Ø i- shikiripi -te
FOC =EW 3M- EXST -PFV -AR there Taataki make -ABL -IPFV -AR -3 3M- arrow -P

Taatakini was there continuing to make his arrows. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:162)

- (39) CONTEXT: Old Axe clears a garden in order to marry a man’s daughter, but when he finishes clearing the man tells him to clear a second garden, after which the young woman goes back to see Old Axe in the clearing.

...“Shiakotanatsimpi aisa?”

shiako -an -ats -i -mpi aisa
weed -ABL -IPFV -AR -2 again

...“Have you resumed weeding again?” (ptk)

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