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 ashéninca-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• Swift (1988:61) made an equivalent claim regarding intransitivity for Caquinte, and I have also, in unpublished work (O’Hagan 2015)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 aino: v. g. ¿ainovi? ¿cómo estás?: lo emplean como sufijo en algunas otras expresiones como cuando se dice: ¿sagitákavi? en vez de ¿pisagitáta? ¿has sido bautizado? Pero es de advertir que esta partícula bı 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
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) 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) “...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)

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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 = frustrating; 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)

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>n(o)-</td>
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<td>a-</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>p(i)-</td>
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<td>3M</td>
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<td>3F</td>
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- 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)
2.3. A Neo-Reichenbachian approach to tense and aspect

Aspect: situates TT with respect to TSit

Perfective TT (partially) includes TSit \{ \_\_\_\}_{TT} or \{ \_\_\_\}_{TSit} | \_\_\_

Imperfective TT is fully included in TSit \{ \_\_\_\}_{TT} \_\_\_\{TSit \_\_\_\}_TT

Perfect TT is after TSit \_\_\_\{TSit \_\_\_\}_TT

Prospective TT is before TSit \_\_\_\{TSit \_\_\_\}_TT

Tense: situates TT with respect to TU

Past TT is before TU \_\_\_\{TU \_\_\_\}_TT

Present TT includes TU \_\_\_\{TU \_\_\_\}_TT

Future TT is after TU \_\_\_\{TU \_\_\_\}_TT

Table 2.3: Characterization of the major categories of tense and aspect (after Klein 1994)

defines the temporal relation between the topic time and the situation time, whereas tense indicates the temporal relation between the topic time and the time of utterance. As noted above, Koro does not have any grammatical markers of tense. There is also no perfective construction in Koro; the temporal relations that are grammatically encoded in Koro are imperfective aspect, perfect aspect, and prospective aspect. As shown in the table, the function of imperfective aspect is to locate the topic time within the situation time. This means that, as exemplified in (2.15) above, the event is ongoing at the time being talked about. With dynamic verbs in English this is encoded with copula \textit{be} plus a gerundive form of the verb in -ing. In Koro it is encoded with an SVC, which will be described in detail in Chapters 5 and 6. Perfect aspect indicates that the situation time precedes the topic time. In other words, at the time being talked about, the event is already over. In English, this is encoded with auxiliary \textit{have} plus a participle form of the verb, as in \textit{Sylvia has left}. In Koro the particle \textit{k-...-ni} encodes perfect aspect (see §2.5.3 for examples). Finally, prospective aspect indicates that the situation time is after the topic time. In other words, at the time under discussion, the state of affairs has not yet begun. In English this is encoded with \textit{going to}, or more colloquially \textit{gonna}, plus a bare form of the verb. In Koro there are two separate markers that indicate a prospective relation between TT and TSit: (h)a and pa. The different uses and semantic overtones of these two morphemes are discussed in §2.5.1–2.5.2. 9 Like all future-oriented tenses and aspects, prospective has a strong modal character, and may well be

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 -Ø (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?”
  \textit{taa pi- an -Ø -i} \textit{WH 2- do -IPFV -AR}
  “What’re you doing?”

b. “Noshekata.”
  \textit{no- sheka -Ø -a} \textit{1- eat -IPFV -MR}
  “I’m eating.” \textit{(O’Hagan 2020:58)}

(5) a. ...“Pishekatarri emooki aisa shimoto?
  \textit{pi- sheka -Ø -a -ri emooki aisa shimoto} \textit{2- eat -IPFV -MR -3M grub.sp. also grub.sp.}
  ...“Do you eat \textit{emooki} grubs and \textit{shimoto} grubs?”

b. Irira poshontyo tsorintsoripiori ikanti, "Jeeje, noshekatari emooki...
  \textit{iri- ra poshontyo tsorintsoripiori i- kan -i jeeje no- sheka -Ø -a -ri emooki} \textit{3M- MED Old.Axe 3M- say -AR yes 1- eat -IPFV -MR -3M grub.sp.}
  Old Axe said, “Yes, I eat \textit{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 Ā-extraction contexts (10)

(10) “...irira impoitapojsitsika inkantakempa Katsirinkaiteri.”
iri-ra impoi -apoj -ats -i =ka i- N- kan -ak -e -mpa Katsirinkaiteri 3M- DEM be.last -ALL -1PFV -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.
Irirarkachapanetanka...

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

\(^3\)This 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)

\[
\text{ari} = \text{kea} \text{i-} \text{tinaj} \text{-an} \text{-k} \text{-a jagitya} \text{i-} \text{amen} \text{-i} \text{-ri mir} \text{-k} \\
\text{FOC} = \text{EW} \text{3M-} \text{be.awake} \text{-ABL} \text{-PFV} \text{-MR Spix's.guan} \text{3M-} \text{see} \text{-AR} \text{-3M drink} \text{-PFV} \text{-a} \text{-Ø i-} \text{santomaritsa} \text{-te} \\
\text{-MR} \text{-3 3M- ayahuasca} \text{-p}
\]

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.”
   \[
   \text{no-} \text{ji} \text{-k} \text{-i} \text{-ji peg} \text{-k} \text{-i} \text{-mpi} \\
   \text{1-} \text{believe.falsely} \text{-PFV} \text{-AR} \text{-JI be.lost} \text{-PFV} \text{-AR} \text{-2} \\
   ..“I thought you were lost.”
   \]

b. Okanti, “Tee nompegempaji...”
   \[
   \text{o-} \text{kan} \text{-i} \text{tee} \text{no-} \text{N-} \text{peg} \text{-e} \text{-mpa} \text{-ji} \\
   \text{3F-} \text{say} \text{-AR NEG 1-} \text{IRR-} \text{be.lost} \text{-IRR} \text{-MID} \text{-NEG}
   \]
   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

17. Ari itineokikiti kapichaji osabinkagitetsitanaka aisa.
   \[
   \text{ari} \text{i-} \text{tineoki} \text{-ki} \text{-i} \text{kapichaji} \text{o-} \text{sabinkagite -(i)tsi} \text{-an} \\
   \text{FOC} \text{3M-} \text{sleep} \text{-GO.DO.RETURN} \text{-AR small.amount 3F-} \text{be.morning} \text{-SM} \text{-ABL} \text{-k} \text{-a} \text{aisa} \\
   \text{-PFV} \text{-MR again}
   \]
   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, namenabpotja kajaragiteni.

\[\text{no- areje -aj -a pitsek -gite -an -k -i -Ø no- amen}^1\]
\[1- \text{arrive -REG -MR be.night -CL:environment -ABL -PFV -AR -3 1- see}^2\]
\[be -poj -a kajara -gite -ni\]
\[\text{FRST -ALL -MR empty -CL:environment -ADJ}\]

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.

\[\text{i- amen -ab -aj -a -na no- te}^3\]
\[\text{-jig -an -aj -a oapor -ki}^4\]
\[3M see -DIR -REG -MR -1 1- place.in.vessel -PL -ABL -REG -MR airplane -LOC}\]

He watched us get back in the airplane. (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:51)

(20) …irisookiteri tetaka kakinte.

\[\text{iri- sooki -e -ri te}^5\]
\[\text{-ak -a -Ø kakinte}^6\]
\[3M see -IRR -3M place.in.vessel -PFV -MR -3 person\]

…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) \text{context: A young woman goes outside and looks up at the sky.}

\[\text{...“Iinani, tsibakake katsirinkaiteri.”}\]
\[\text{iinani tsibak -k -i -Ø katsirinkaiteri}^7\]
mother go.out -PFV -AR -3 sun

\[\text{...“Mother, the sun’s gone out.”}\] (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:10)

(22) \text{context: Brown Capuchin enters the house clearing of a cannibal woman.}
Arikea yameniro tariaka kemi...
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 kameetsanjite 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 marty -ak -i -na -PFV -AR -1

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


inkajaranki no- tineoki -aki -i

previously 1- sleep -GO.DO.RETURN -AR

“Before I slept a bit.”

b. “Imaikampani pityakirejanajana, aato notionekitaji.”

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 =kea i- amen -poj -i -ro shine -ak -a -Ø iri- iinanani -te

FOC 3M- see -ALL -AR -3F be.happy -PFV -MR -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 Ageni.

...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.

...“Nojikempii tineokikempi.”
(28) **context:** The narrator accompanies the wife of her classificatory father to go look for him at the river.

...namenapojirin tisnakake samponkagogine.

(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.”

(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.”

(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.”

b. “Imaika mpani arasok -bae -k -i -na

“Now I’m full.”
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)

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 verb

Data from the Ucayali dialect of Asheninka alerted me to the possibility of constructions like these (T. Pedrós, p.c.).
“You cook manioc.”  
(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:9)  
(cf. *abiro tiajerone*)  

(35) ...“Aapani, jero ontatika kakinte ataitankitsika mapocha.”  
*aapani je -ro o- nta -tika kakinte atai -ankits -i =ka mapocha*  
father  
PRES  
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 oakenpi amashaigitsimpi?”  
*jaaashine taa =kea og -k -i -mpi amashai -gi -ats -i -mpi*  
shut.up  
WH  
=EW  
happen.to  
-PFV  
-AR  
-2  
sing  
-PROL  
-PFV  
-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  
-PFV  
-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 Taatakini lives.  
Arikea ichookatake oraniki Taataki peakaanatsi shikiripite...  
*ari =kea i- chooka -ak -i oraniki Taataki peakag -an -ats -i -Ø i- shikiripi -te*  
FOC  
=EW  
3M  
EXST  
-PFV  
-AR  
there  
Taatakini make  
-ABL  
-PFV  
-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)

**References**


