

# Morphosyntax and Semantics of Psych-predicates in Caquinte

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*Dedicated to the memory of Zoila Sergio Salazar (circa 1957-2021)*

## Abstract

This article is a preliminary description of 14 verbs denoting mental states (knowledge, belief, desire, and affect) in Caquinte, an Arawak language of Peru, especially as concerns the morphosyntax of possible complements (nominal or clausal) and the semantics of roots and morphologically complex forms (e.g., with applicatives). It also describes the voice properties of these verbs and their effect on thematic interpretation, as well as the proleptic nature of some constructions. A major goal is the presentation of detailed empirical data that might not be found in either a grammar or a dictionary.

## 1 Introduction

This article is a preliminary description of the morphosyntax and semantics of psych-predicates in Caquinte, a vital Nijagantsi Arawak<sup>1</sup> language of southeastern Peru.<sup>2</sup> For present purposes, psych-predicates are verbs denoting states of knowledge, belief, desire, and affect, which I will refer to as mental states. The data on which this article is based is drawn from a segmented, glossed corpus of some 54,000 words of monologic texts,<sup>3</sup> as well as from conversations with Caquintes (see O’Hagan 2020:12-15 for more details).

The syntactic study of psych-predicates has focused on their valence and the thematic roles of their arguments (e.g., Belletti and Rizzi 1988, Cheung and Larson 2015), including research on lesser studied languages (e.g., Kim 2013). This article endeavors to go beyond this, with special focus on the morphosyntax of possible complements (nominal or clausal) and the lexical semantics of roots and other morphologically complex forms, revealing various senses via the exemplification of textual data. Language-specific details, such as the voice properties of verbal stems, are also described. Consequently some of the issues addressed will be of interest primarily to specialists, others to a more general audience. Two overarching goals are to target the empirical data that might be overlooked in a grammar (and that is too varied for a dictionary), and to be relatively atheoretical in the presentation of this data, using basic notions such as clause, complement, transitivity, etc. Larger typological questions are left to future research.

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, clausal complements that may themselves take a full range of morphology, or both. In this way, Caquinte

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<sup>1</sup>The term Nijagantsi was proposed by Michael (2020:97) to avoid the pejorative Spanish *campa*. See Mihás (2017) for an overview of the grammatical characteristics of this branch of the Arawak family.

<sup>2</sup>I am indebted to Antonina Salazar Torres, Joy Salazar Torres, Emilia Sergio Salazar, and Miguel Sergio Salazar, all of whom have patiently taught me (about) their language since 2014. I thank Stephanie Farmer, Kelsey Neely, Kamala Russell, and Amalia Skilton for discussion of some of the issues reviewed here. Documentary materials are archived with the California Language Archive at the University of California, Berkeley (Salazar Torres et al. n.d.).

<sup>3</sup>Most of these texts are part of one of two monolingual storybooks cited as Salazar Torres and O’Hagan (2019) or Salazar Torres et al. (2019). Citations consisting of three letters are codes for unpublished texts.

psych-predicates do not constitute a morphosyntactically or semantically unique class. They are grouped together here as an expositional convenience.

In what follows, I systematically describe the basic meaning of 14 verbs based on the contexts in which they are found in textual examples; the meaning of derived stems, especially with applicatives (e.g., which can license reason arguments) but also with more idiomatic expressions concerning mental states; the voice properties of verbs and how those affect the thematic interpretation of arguments; what complements are possible (nominal, nonverbal, verbal), and their properties; and whether proleptic marking is possible on the matrix verb in particular constructions. I find that all but two psych-predicates have intransitive and transitive forms, but that none of them exhibit a productive voice alternation between middle intransitive and active transitive forms found elsewhere in the language: for middle verbs, their objects correspond to the reason for the state; for active verbs, their objects correspond to the experiencer. With one exception, all verbs allow nominal complements, but only two allow nonverbal clausal complements; six allow verbal complements (with some incomplete data). Some verbs allow realis and irrealis complements, others only irrealis. Marking of a proleptic object in the matrix clause – apparently obligatory in some cases and optional in others – is restricted to verbs that can take nonverbal complements.

The remainder of this section provides a brief overview of relevant grammatical properties of Caquinte. Following that, the remainder of the article is organized principally around how I have chosen to schematize the mental states denoted by Caquinte psych-predicates. This includes categories of cognition (Section 2), desire (Section 3), positive affect (Section 4), and negative affect (Section 5). In Section 6 I conclude; the reader is referred here for a summary table of verbs and their properties that may be useful beforehand.

### 1.1 Basic Grammatical Profile

Caquinte is a strongly head-marking, agglutinative, polysynthetic language. The verbal word may be divided into prefixal, suffixal, and enclitic domains, all enclitics being second position clitics (see Rolle and O’Hagan 2019). Obligatory verbal categories include person (of the subject), aspect, reality status, and voice. The language exhibits an aspect-based split of nominative-accusative and neutral alignments, as discernible from the verbal agreement affixes summarized in Table 1 (see O’Hagan 2020:213-214, 223-226).<sup>4</sup> If object agreement suffixes (P) occur on a verb, then subject agreement is obligatorily prefixal (S, A). When object suffixes are absent (e.g., because of semantic properties of the object, or because the verb is intransitive), then either paradigm of subject agreement affixes is possible.<sup>5</sup>

	S, A	P	S, A
1	n(o)-	-na	-na
1INCL	a-	-aji	-aji
2	p(i)-	-mpi	-mpi
3M	i-, y-, ir(i)-	-ri	-Ø
3F	(o)-	-ro	-Ø

Table 1: Caquinte Agreement Markers

Reality status is a distinction between notionally realized and unrealized eventualities (Michael 2014). In Caquinte, realis is expressed by markers that also express active (-i AR) or middle (-a MR) voice; irrealis is expressed uniformly by -e (IRR), with a separate middle suffix -mpa (MID) occurring in such contexts. Voice

<sup>4</sup>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* ‘take.’ In all other instances the initial vowel of the root deletes. Third person masculine *i-* glides before vowel-initial roots.

<sup>5</sup>*Pace* O’Hagan (2015) and Mihás (2017:802-804), suffixal subject marking is not unique to intransitive subjects (O’Hagan 2021).

exhibits different properties depending on the verbal root: simplifying somewhat, some roots have middle intransitive forms and active transitive ones (i.e., a productive alternation), transitivity being determined by whether an object (suffix) is present; others are uniformly middle or active (ibid.:230-235; see also Drummond and O’Hagan 2020). Some verbal affixes condition middle voice (e.g., instrumental applicative *-an*). Aspect, reality status, and voice are all affected in elaborate ways by the extraction of a subject in the absence of an object suffix (see Baier and O’Hagan 2019). Caquinte exhibits VSO word order in contexts of sentence focus (O’Hagan 2020:136-141), with various other possible orders especially due to topicalization. Agreement affixes can co-occur with nominal arguments, and are often the sole instantiations of arguments in a clause, resulting in clauses frequently consisting of single words.

Other verbal categories include participant number, direction, associated motion, and many “adverbial” categories (e.g., *-aman* ‘early in the morning’), together with a rich set of derivational morphemes (e.g., eleven applicatives). Negation is expressed by one of two preverbal particles, and clause-linking constructions predominantly involve second position clitics (e.g., *=geti* ‘if, when’). There is no complementizer. See O’Hagan (2020:205-207) for a more comprehensive overview of the verbal word, and Swift (1988) for a complementary grammatical description.

The high degree of verbal morphological complexity is illustrated in (1), a purpose clause with an intervening temporal clause that I use to give a sense of the grammatical profile of the language. The purpose clause is introduced by two elements, the purpose particle *kameetsa* and the clitic *=niji*, which also marks the verb; the counter-expectational clitic *=te* is also present. Following *kameetsanijite* is the verb of the temporal clause, which has future temporal reference given its irrealis status, marked simultaneously by the suffix *-e* and a special form of the third person masculine prefix *iri-* (cf. realis *i-*).

- (1) ...*kameetsanijite irojokajitabakenerigeti kishokiro irishekatakaajiapojempariniji.*

*kameetsa =niji =te iri- ojok -ji -ab -k -e -nV -ri =geti kishokiro iri-*  
 PURP =PURP =CE 3M.IRR- give -NREF -DIR -PFV -IRR -REC -3M =when cooked.manioc 3M.IRR-  
*sheka -akag -jig -poj -e -mpa -ri =niji*  
 eat -CAUS -PL -ALL -IRR -MID -3M =PURP

...so that when they went to give him cooked manioc they could make him eat it now that he’d arrived. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:134)

The nonreferential suffix *-ji* approximates an English impersonal *they* construction (this suffix obligatorily triggers third person masculine subject agreement), and following this suffix are the directional *-ab*, expressing motion of the subject toward the object, perfective *-k*, and the irrealis. Then comes the recipient applicative *-nV* (n.b., ‘give’ is not inherently ditransitive), a third person object suffix agreeing with the recipient, and the clitic *=geti* ‘when.’ Following the verb is the object *kishokiro* ‘cooked manioc,’ a feminine noun not crossreferenced on the verb because the sole object agreement slot is occupied, as it were, by the recipient (see Drummond and O’Hagan 2020). Then comes the verb of the purpose clause, again in the irrealis, with the causative *-akag* following the root, then the participant plural marker *-jig*, the allative directional *-poj*, the same irrealis suffix, irrealis middle *-mpa*, and the same purpose enclitic.

## 2 Cognition

Caquinte exhibits four verbs that I describe under the notion of cognition: *tsa* ‘know, believe’ (Section 2.1), *ji* ‘believe falsely’ (Section 2.2), *kenkej* ‘think’ (Section 2.3), and *ogimag* ‘dream’ (Section 2.4). The description of the morphosyntax and semantics of these verbs forms the remainder of this section.

## 2.1 Knowing and Believing with *tsa*

Caquintes talk about familiarity with and beliefs about entities and eventualities with the verb *tsa*, an active verb both in its intransitive and transitive forms. In this section I describe nominal complements and special meanings with directionals, then clausal complements and the occurrence of proleptic object marking on matrix verbs, illustrating complement verbs with prefixal and suffixal subject marking. I then move on to abilitative interpretations, embedded questions, and other morphologically complex forms.

Nominal complements of *tsa* are illustrated in (2) and (3), with the verb, object suffix, and object noun in boldface. The former comes from a text in which Caquintes are engaged in conflicts with Ashaninkas.

- (2) Okantabaetanake ishikiripite teenika intsateroji iyapa.

*o- kan -bae -an -k -i i- shikiripi -te tee =nika i- N- tsa -e -ro -ji iyapa*  
 3F- do -DSTR -ABL -PFV -AR 3M- arrow -P NEG =CNGR 3M- IRR- know -IRR -3F -NEG shotgun

Their arrows came down like rain because they were not familiar with shotguns.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:151)

The latter comes from a text in which a woman suspects that her brother has gotten lost in the forest. When he unexpectedly returns, he gives her the following explanation. In (3c), note the additional regressive directional *-aj*, which expresses that, while the man formerly knew the way, he ceased being familiar with it during the course of his journey.

- (3) a. ...“Tee nompegempaji, arigenti notimpinake.”

*tee no- N- peg -e -mpa -ji arigenti no- timpina -k -i*  
 NEG 1- N- be.lost -IRR -MID -NEG FOC 1- go.wrong.way -PFV -AR

...“I didn’t get lost, I went the wrong way.”

- b. “Noabaetanake jmm osamani, okitamampororoipojakageti.”

*no- og -bae -an -k -i jmm osamani o- kitamampororo -poj -k -a*  
 1- go -DSTR -ABL -PFV -AR IDEO far 3F- exist.snow.on.mountaintop -ALL -PFV -MR  
 =geti  
 =where

“I went far away *jmm*, to where there was snow at the top of a mountain.”

- c. “Tee nontsatajeroji kenabokirontsi.”

*tee no- N- tsa -aj -e -ro -ji kenabokiro -ntsi*  
 NEG 1- IRR- know -REG -IRR -3F -NEG path -AL

“I no longer knew the way.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:96)

Familiarity need not be with an entity, but can be with an eventuality associated with an entity. In (4b), for example, even though *tsa* is marked for a second person object, the familiarity ascribed to the speaker is not in regards to the addressee (his shamanic apprentice), but to the latter’s actions. That is, it is not that the speaker does not know the addressee, but rather that he is not familiar with something he did. To indicate this familiarity with actions, I use the English *know that about X*, where X is the object marked on the verb. (Note here that Caquinte shamanic apprentices should avoid sexual relations with women.)

- (4) a. “Arimpatе kempetaka poanake mankigarentsiki.”

*ari =mpa =te kempe -ak -a -Ø pi- og -an -k -i mankigarentsi =ki*  
 FOC =INCNGR =CE be.like -PFV -MR -3 2- go -ABL -PFV -AR woman =LOC

“It seems as if you went to a woman.”

- b. “Teesakanika nontsatempiji...”

*tee =sakanika no- N- tsa -e -mpi -ji*  
NEG =MIR 1- IRR- know -IRR -2 -NEG

“I didn’t know that about you...”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:60)

The same holds in (5b). In this story, a young woman has refused to marry, and her father denies her food, but she finds a way to eat regardless. Similarly, it is not that the woman’s father does not know her, but rather that he does not know what she is up to.

- (5) a. Otashitakero aintochapaki oshekatapinikaro pitsekariki.

*o- tashi -ak -i -ro aintochapaki o- sheka -apini -k -a -ro pitsekari =ki*  
3F- roast -PFV -AR -3F manioc 3F- eat -regularly -PFV -MR -3F night =LOC

She toasted manioc and ate it every night.

- b. Tee intsateroji oraapanite aisa oniinanite.

*tee i- N- tsa -e -ro -ji or- aapani -te aisa on- iinani -te*  
NEG 3M- IRR- know -IRR -3F -NEG 3F- father -P also 3F- mother -P

Her father didn’t know that about her, nor did her mother.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:47)

Finally, it is noteworthy that this use of *tsa* resembles English *suspect*, as is particularly clear in (6), where a young woman makes specific plans for escape. That is, to suspect someone is not only to know them, but to believe a particular thing about their actions.

- (6) Iroatimpa okenkejajake kameetsanijite aato itsajitiro.

*iroatimpa o- kenkej -maja -k -i kameetsa =niji =te aato i- tsa -ji -i -ro*  
3F.PRO 3F- think -really -PFV -AR PURP =PURP =CE NEG 3M- know -NREF -AR -3F

She thought hard so they wouldn’t suspect it.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:166)

This belief about actions is salient in (4b) and (5b), as it is in (6). The shaman did not believe his apprentice had gone to a woman, nor did the man believe his daughter was eating manioc at night. I return to the role of belief as it pertains to *tsa* at the end of this section.

Beyond familiarity, when the mental state involves a heightened awareness or effort, *tsa* co-occurs with the directional *-ab*. This directional typically expresses that the subject is moving toward the object; in these cases it is thus a metaphorical extension. In (7), for example, the man knows his brother-in-law is coming to spy on him in his garden, even though the latter does not wish to be found out.

- (7) Iira iranianishite itsatabake koraketake...

*iri- ra iri- anianishi -te i- tsa -ab -k -i korake -ak -i -Ø*  
3M- MED 3M- brother.in.law -P 3M- know -DIR -PFV -AR come -PFV -AR -3M

His brother-in-law knew he was coming...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:80)

This awareness can be due to particular evidentiary input. In (8), the narrator explains how the pale-winged trumpeter (a bird) has a call similar to the growl of a jaguar, and thus that it is important to be able to distinguish between the two based on detailed knowledge of the differences in their vocalizations. (The trumpeter’s has a final *chen*.) Note that the first instance of *tsa* denotes a general familiarity with a jaguar’s “voice,” which in turn allows one to make inferences as to whether one is dealing with a jaguar or a pale-winged trumpeter, the latter denoted by *tsa* marked with *-ab*.

- (8) Antsakerigeti ijenkaki, kero ikotani ijironkigeti kasekari aisa ijironkigeti omorinte otsempi, antsa-tabakeri irigenti omorinte otsempi...

*a- N- tsa -k -e -ri =geti i- jenka =ki ke -ro i- ko -a -ni i- jironk -i*  
 1INCL- IRR- know -PFV -IRR -3M =if 3M- voice =LOC WH -F 3M- be -MR -INT 3M- growl -AR  
*=geti kasekari aisa i- jironk -i =geti omorinte otsempi a- N- tsa -ab -k*  
 =when jaguar also 3M- growl -AR =when pale.winged.trumpeter 1INCL- IRR- know -DIR -PFV  
*-e -ri irigenti omorinte otsempi*  
 -IRR -3M 3M.COP pale.winged.trumpeter

If we know his voice, how the jaguar is when he growls and also the pale-winged trumpeter when he growls, we'll realize it's a pale-winged trumpeter... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:102)

Finally, when the collocation of *tsa* and *-ab* co-occurs additionally with regressive *-aj*, the resulting stem denotes recognition of the entity, for example, after a period of time has passed (9).

- (9) “Tee nontsatabajempiji, pikantashitatiimokena.”

*tee no- N- tsa -ab -aj -e -mpi -ji pi- kantashitig -imo -k -i -na*  
 NEG 1- N- know -DIR -REG -IRR -2 -NEG 2- be.different -PERS.LOC -PFV -AR -1

“I didn’t recognize you, you look different.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:6)

### 2.1.1 Clausal Complements of *tsa* and Prolepsis

Turning now to clausal complements, the complement of *tsa* may be a nonverbal clause (10). There is no complementizer, and, despite the status of the complement as clausal, the verb is marked with the third person feminine object suffix *-ro*. We will see below that this is part of a broader phenomenon by which the subject of the complement verb can also be marked on the matrix verb, a sort of prolepsis. Following Salzmann (2017:1), I consider prolepsis to involve “a construction where a structural complement of the matrix verb is semantically related to the predicate of the embedded clause.”<sup>6</sup> As such, instances in which Caquinte *tsa* takes a clausal complement may be paraphrased as ‘to know of X that Y,’ where X is coreferential with the subject of the complement verb and Y is the eventuality denoted by that verb.<sup>7</sup> (Clausal complements are bracketed in the following examples.)

- (10) ...“Kero okotakani pitsatantakaroka [irogenti kepatsipitsa]?”

*ke -ro o- ko -ak -a -ni pi- tsa -aN -ak -a -ro =ka irogenti kepatsi*  
 WH -F 3F- be -PFV -MR -INT 2- know -INSTR -PFV -MR -3F =REL 3F.COP dirt  
*-pitsa*  
 -thick.liquid-like.substance

...“How do you know it’s clay?” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:175)

The proleptic object suffix is optional, as shown by the absence of *-ro* in (11).

- (11) “...pitsatake [tee iro paamari], irigenti koonkarini.”

<sup>6</sup>In formal syntactic analyses of prolepsis, the absence of movement is criterial, but a less formal characterization will suffice here. I thank Line Mikkelsen for the original observation that these Caquinte constructions seem to be proleptic in nature.

<sup>7</sup>For this example, note that manner questions are formed with the interrogative pronoun *ke, ko* ‘be,’ and the verb, bearing the instrumental applicative *-aN* and the relativizer *=ka* (O’Hagan 2020:289-290).

*pi- tsa -ak -i tee iro paamari irigenti koonkarini*  
 2- know -PFV -AR NEG 3F.COP fire 3M.COP tinamou.sp.

“...you knew it wasn’t fire, it was *koonkarini* tinamou.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:46)

Turning now to verbal clausal complements, example (12) illustrates a verbal complement with prolepsis (see the boldfaced *-ri*), while (13) illustrates a parallel case without it. That is, there is no suffix *-ro* on the matrix verb in the latter case.

- (12) Irojokakero imae kameetsanijite intsatantajitakemparika [imetojantake].

*iri- ojok -k -e -ro i- mae kameetsa =niji =te i- N- tsa -aN -ji -ak*  
 3M.IRR- cut(.hair) -PFV -IRR -3F 3M- hair PURP =PURP =CE 3M- IRR- know -INSTR -NREF -PFV  
*-e -mpa -ri =ka i- metoj -aN -ak -i*  
 -IRR -MID -3M =REL 3M- kill -ANTIP -PFV -AR

He cuts his hair so people know he has killed someone. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:134)

- (13) ...itsaketari [yaanakero jeokarijite].

*i- tsa -k -i =tari i- ag -an -k -i -ro jeokarijite*  
 3M- know -PFV -AR =CNGR 3M- take -ABL -PFV -AR -3F spirit.type

...because he knew the *jeokarijite* spirit had taken her. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:112)

In the preceding two examples, the complement verb exhibits prefixal subject agreement. In the following two, however, subject agreement is suffixal, yet we see that an object suffix is similarly optional on the matrix verb, with it present in (14) but absent in (15). That is, there is no suffix *-ri* on the matrix verb in the latter case.

- (14) “...kameetsanijite intsajitakempi [mankigatakempi].”

*kameetsa =niji =te i- N- tsa -ji -ak -e -mpi mankiga -ak -i -mpi*  
 PURP =PURP =CE 3M- IRR- know -NREF -PFV -IRR -2 marry -PFV -AR -2

“...so they know you’ve gotten married.” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:13)

- (15) Aatogeti ikoraketaji, arikea antsake [timpinake].

*aato =geti i- korake -aj -i ari =kea a- N- tsa -k -e timpina -k -i -Ø*  
 NEG =if 3M.S- come -REG -AR FOC =EW 1INCL- IRR- know -PFV -IRR go.wrong.way -PFV -AR -3

If he doesn’t come back, then we’ll know he’s gone wrong the way. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:2)

When the subjects of both the matrix and complement verbs are coreferential, the interpretation is one of ability (cf. English *know how*). In this construction, *tsa* exhibits no object marking, and values of polarity and reality status are identical between both clauses. The latter can be appreciated by comparing (16) with (17): the former involves two verbs, both of which are positive polarity and realis; the latter involves two verbs, both of which are negative and irrealis.

- (16) ...itsati [itikatsati tikatsarentsi].

*i- tsa -i i- tikatsa -i tikatsa -re -ntsi*  
 3M- know -AR 3M- place(.trap) -AR place(.trap) -NMZ -AL

...he knew how to place a *tikatsarentsi* trap. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:104)

(17) Irirakea shamaki tee intsateji [inkatsiketeji]...

*iri- ra =kea shamaki tee i- N- tsa -e -ji i- N- katsike -e -ji*  
3M- MED =EW Shamaki NEG 3M- IRR- know -IRR -NEG 3M- IRR- clear.land -IRR -NEG

The Shamaki didn't know how to clear land... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:136)

### 2.1.2 Embedded Questions

The complement of *tsa* may be an embedded question formed on one of two clause-initial interrogative pronouns, *taa* (18) or *ke* (19). As above, the matrix verb can be marked with an object suffix that is coreferential with the subject of the complement verb. Note that verbs following *ke* are marked with the interrogative suffix *-ni*, which does not co-occur with *taa*.<sup>8</sup>

(18) Tee intsateroji [taa opajita chookatankitsi oraniki].

*tee i- N- tsa -e -ro -ji taa opajita chooka -ankitsi -i oraniki*  
NEG 3M- IRR- know -IRR -3F -NEG WH LIGHT EXST -PFV -AR there

He didn't know what it was that was over there. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:44)

(19) “Imaika jaame amenabakeri kameetsanijite antsakeri [kero ikenapojini].”

*imaika jaame a- amen -ab -k -e -ri kameetsa =niji =te a- N- tsa -k -e*  
now HORT 1INCL- watch -DIR -PFV -IRR -3M PURP =PURP =CE 1INCL- IRR- know -PFV -IRR  
*-ri ke -ro i- ken -poj -i -ni*  
-3M WH -F 3M- go.by.route -ALL -AR -INT

“Now let's watch them so we know where they're going.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:133)

However, again similar to what was observed previously, proleptic marking of an object on the matrix verb is optional, as shown for both embedded question types in (20) and (21).

(20) “Tee pintsateji abiatimpa [taa chagatakempi].”

*tee pi- N- tsa -e -ji abiatimpa taa chaga -ak -i -mpi*  
NEG 2- IRR- know -IRR -NEG 2.PRO WH poke -PFV -AR -2

“You don't know what poked you.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:72)

(21) “Intsake [kero okotakani intsompogi]...”

*i- N- tsa -k -e ke -ro o- ko -ak -a -ni intsompogi*  
3M- IRR- know -PFV -IRR WH -F 3F- be -PFV -MR -INT inside

“He'll know how it is inside...” (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:29)

<sup>8</sup>In (18), the light element *opajita*, a morphologically restricted form of the verb *paji* ‘name,’ forms a clefted question. See O'Hagan (2020:55-60) for details.

### 2.1.3 Other Complex Forms of *tsa* and Belief

In the opening portion of this section I noted how the directionals *-ab* and *-aj* expressed additional meanings in combination with *tsa*. Here I note other verbal suffixes in this vein. The causative *-akag* combines with *tsa* to derive ‘teach,’ and the ablative directional *-an* combines with it to derive ‘learn,’ both of which are illustrated in (22). The latter is part of a more general pattern whereby *-an* expresses changes of state with certain non-motion verbs.

(22) ...“Jaameja antsatakaajiajeri kameetsanijite intsatanaje inkatsiketanajeniji iriatimpa.”

*jaame* =*ja* *a-* *N-* ***tsa*** ***-akag*** *-jig* *-aj* *-e* *-ri* *kameetsa* =*niji* =*te* *i-* *N-* ***tsa*** ***-an***  
 HORT =PROSP 1INCL- IRR- know -CAUS -PL -REG -IRR -3M PURP =PURP =CE 3M- IRR- learn -ABL  
*-aj* *-e* *i-* *N-* *katsike* *-an* *-aj* *-e* =*niji* *iriatimpa*  
 -REG -IRR 3M- IRR- clear.land -ABL -REG -IRR =PURP 3M.PRO

...“Let’s teach them so they learn how to clear land themselves.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:136)

The next pair of suffixes are what is known as the durative in the Nijagantsi literature, *-bae*, and *-maja* ‘really.’<sup>9</sup> With motion verbs, *-bae* typically expresses that the eventuality was realized over a significant distance; with non-motion eventive verbs (e.g., ‘do’), it typically expresses a significant period of time (i.e., deriving ‘work’). With *tsa*, it derives a stem expressing wide-ranging knowledge, and is sometimes translated with Spanish *inteligente*. In (23), for example, the narrator speaks about Spider Monkey’s abilities.

(23) Teekatsi anaakerine, aisa itsabaeti, aisa ikemake taakageti amatsinkakerine.

*teekatsi* *anag* *-k* *-e* *-ri* *-ne* *aisa* *i-* ***tsa*** ***-bae*** *-i* *aisa* *i-* *kem* *-k* *-i* *taaka* =*geti*  
 no.one beat -PFV -IRR -3M -IRR also 3M- know -DUR -AR also 3M- hear -PFV -AR someone =when  
*amatsink* *-k* *-e* *-ri* *-ne*  
 stalk -PFV -IRR -3M -IRR

No one could beat him, also he knew a lot, also he heard when someone would stalk him.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:42)

With *-maja*, the interpretation is to know a particular thing well, as in (24), a negated example in which the narrator relates her difficulties in speaking Matsigenka.<sup>10</sup> Caquintes often use this construction to express doubt, with subsequent assertions often including the weak modal *=ka* (not discussed here).

(24) Tee nontsamajateroji igenketsatsare, mana natatejenkatakeri intati nobetsatakageti.

*tee* *no-* *N-* ***tsa*** ***-maja*** *-e* *-ro* *-ji* *i-* *kenketsatsare* *mana* *no-* *atatejenka* *-ak* *-i* *-ro* *intati*  
 NEG 1- IRR- know -really -IRR -3F -NEG 3M- language rather 1- stutter -PFV -AR -3F only  
*no-* *obetsa* *-ak* *-a* =*geti*  
 1- speak -PFV -MR =when

I didn’t really know their language, I only stuttered it when I spoke.

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:32)

<sup>9</sup>The latter has non-cognate equivalents in related language, such as Matsigenka *-asano*, which Snell (2011:847) glosses as a *veritativo* (“expresa las ideas de autenticidad, veracidad, acción bien realizada o intensa”).

<sup>10</sup>Many but not all verbs in Caquinte freely combine with both *-bae* and *-maja*, resulting in regularly distinct meanings. With *shig* ‘run,’ for example, *-bae* expresses running far, whereas *-maja* expresses running fast.

I conclude this section on *tsa* by noting that it is also used to express culturally held beliefs. In this light, it is noteworthy that Caquinte does not have a lexical verb regularly translated with Spanish *creer* ‘believe,’ and Caquintes with some knowledge of Spanish often borrow *creencia* ‘belief’ to talk about culturally held beliefs. (For weakly held beliefs about particular eventualities, modal =*ka* is used.) In (25), for example, the narrator explains the male practice of avoiding menstruating women. The verb *tsa* takes a verbal complement (*metoj* ‘kill’).

- (25) a. Koramani nobaesatiniteni aatotari ikonogaro gamachonkajaretankitsika.  
*koramani no- paesatini -te -ni aato =tari i- konog -a -ro gamachonkajare -ankits -i =ka*  
 long.ago 1- ancestor -P -DEC NEG =CNGR 3M- mix -MR -3F menstruate -PFV -AR =REL  
 Long ago my ancestors wouldn’t mix with those who were menstruating.
- b. Aisa aato ishekatakotaro itsaketari [imetojajitiritsi maasano ogamachonkajaretageti irorijan-ite], aisa imankigare...  
*aisa aato i- sheka -ako -a -ro i- tsa -k -i =tari i- metoj -ji -i -ri -tsi*  
 also NEG 3M- eat -INDR -MR -3F 3M- believe -PFV -AR =CNGR 3M- kill -NREF -AR -3M -APPR  
*maasano o- gamachonkajare -a =geti iri- orijani -te aisa i- mankigare*  
 all 3F- menstruate -MR =when 3M- daughter -P also 3M- spouse  
 Also they wouldn’t eat with them because they believed that someone would kill them when all their daughters were menstruating, also their wives... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:71)

Interestingly, the complement is marked by the apprehensive *-tsi*, which, outside of its monoclausal function (not discussed here), typically marks complements of *tsarog* ‘be afraid’ (see Section 5.4). At present, naturally occurring examples of *tsa* meaning ‘believe’ are limited, though it is likely that apprehensive *-tsi* is not a grammatical requirement of such constructions.

## 2.2 Believing Falsely (and Frustrative) with *ji*

As noted in Section 2.1.3, Caquinte does not have a lexical verb regularly translated with Spanish *creer* ‘believe.’ Instead, false belief is lexicalized with the verb *ji*. For present purposes, false beliefs are incorrect ones about the identity of entities or about the realization of eventualities. As with *tsa*, complements of *ji* may be either nominal or clausal. This section additionally describes a frustrative interpretation involving clausal complements, and the ways in which *ji* constructions more generally interact with the other frustrative markers *-be* and *=me*. In the following examples, note that, unlike all other verbs described in this article, *ji* is defective in that it is always followed by an invariant set of verbal morphemes: perfective *-k*, active realis *-i* or irrealis *-e*, an optional, productively alternating object suffix, and an as yet unidentified morpheme *-ji*, which is incidentally identical to the verb root and also to the negative suffix that co-occurs with the negator *tee*. I gloss *-ji* as *JI*, noting that it is optional but frequent.

Nominal complements of *ji* are illustrated in (26), with a noun, and in (27), with a pronoun. In both cases, the verb is marked with an object suffix that covaries with the object.

- (26) ...ijikeroji inchato, irogenti ibaja.  
*i- ji -k -i -ro -ji inchato irogenti i- baja*  
 3M- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -3F -JI tree 3M.COP 3M- horn  
 ...he thought it was the tree, but it was his horn. (tnt)
- (27) “Irotarite iinani okomitankarika, ojikempiji abiatimpa.”

*iro =tari =te iinani o- komi -an -k -a -ri =ka o- ji -k -i -mpi*  
 3F.COP =CNGR =CE mother 3F- mistake -INSTR -PFV -MR -3M =REL 3F- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -2  
 -*ji abiatimpa*  
 -JI 2.PRO

“That’s why mother mistook him, she thought he was you.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:9)

In the present corpus, nominal complements of *ji* always co-occur with an object suffix. Future research will determine whether this is a grammatical requirement.

### 2.2.1 Clausal Complements of *ji* and Prolepsis

Clausal complements of *ji* may be nonverbal or verbal clauses. Nonverbal-clause complements of *ji* must be formed with a series of copulas ending in <ro>, and not the other series of copulas in the language, which end in <genti> (see O’Hagan 2020:33-48 for the distinction).

(28) Ijikeriji [irio itsino], tee irio...

*i- ji -k -i -ri -ji irio i- tsino tee irio*  
 3M- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -3M -JI 3M.COP 3M- body NEG 3M.COP

I thought it was his body, but it wasn’t him... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:114)

(29) ...nojikeroji [iro shekatsimajaka]...

*no- ji -k -i -ro -ji iro sheka -tsi -majaka*  
 1- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -3F -JI 3F.PRO food -AL -real

...I thought that it was real food... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:174)

Unlike nonverbal-clause complements of *tsa* (Section 2.1.1), where marking of a proleptic object on the matrix verb was optional, with *ji* such marking seems to be obligatory, though additional research is needed to confirm this observation. With verbal complements it is clearly optional (see below).

Turning to verbal complements, I begin with realis complements, illustrating the optionality of prolepsis when the complement verb exhibits prefixal subject agreement. This can be appreciated by comparing (30) with (31). As with (20) above, the first example in this pair comes from the story of the birth of Sun, whose mother is a Caquinte woman impregnated by Moon when he cuts off one of his testicles and floats it downstream in the river where the woman is bathing. In (31), Tapir believes he has gotten Jaguar off his tracks, but Jaguar later returns to bite him.

(30) “...onkemajitatigero chagak chagak ojikeroritari [ochagatakero kenashibirori].”

*o- N- kem -jitatig -e -ro chagak chagak o- ji -k -e -ro -ji =tari o- chaga*  
 3F- IRR- feel -MIR -IRR -3F IDEO IDEO 3F- believe.falsely -PFV -IRR -3F -JI =CNGR 3F- poke  
 -*ak -i -ro kenashibirori*  
 -PFV -AR -3F rock

“...she’ll feel it *chagak chagak* and she’ll think a rock poked her.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:71)

(31) ...ijikeji [yoabaetanake osamani]...

*i- ji -k -i -ji i- og -bae -an -k -i osamani*  
 3M- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -JI 3M- go -DSTR -ABL -PFV -AR far

...he thought he went far away...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:69)

Examples (32) and (33) show the optionality of prolepsis when the complement verb exhibits suffixal subject agreement. In the former, Vampire Bat believes his wife is sleeping, and so plans to extract her blood to drink. He calls out to her to make sure she is indeed sleeping, and is surprised to learn she is actually awake. In the latter, a young Caquinte man is captured by Ashaninkas and presumed dead. When he later returns from the Tambo River, his father-in-law expresses his surprise to see him alive.

(32) ...“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)

(33) ...“Notinerijaniki, nojikeji [metojakempi].”

*no- tinerijaniki no- ji -k -i -ji metoj -k -i -mpi*  
1- son-in-law 1- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -JI die -PFV -AR -2

...“Son-in-law, I thought you were dead.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:158)

Before moving on to the discussion of the category frustrative, which involves irrealis complements, I note that irrealis complements of *ji* are also attested with interpretations parallel to those discussed here, namely ones in which the eventuality is believed to be imminent, subsequent to the moment of belief. They exhibit the same morphosyntactic properties; in (34) I illustrate an example lacking a proleptic object.

(34) Nojikeji [ari irojokabajena nosheka]...

*no- ji -k -i -ji ari iri- ojok -ab -aj -e -na no- sheka*  
1- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -JI FOC 3M.IRR- give -DIR -REG -IRR -1 1- food

I thought he'd give me my food...

(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:5)

### 2.2.2 Verb *ji* and Frustratives

Irrealis complements of *ji* in which the subject is coreferential with that of the matrix clause receive a frustrative interpretation (see Overall 2017 for an overview of this category in Amazonian languages). To provide context, before discussing this construction in Caquinte I first briefly examine the morphological frustratives *-be* and *=me*, and their co-occurrences.<sup>11</sup> The frustrative *-be* expresses that the eventuality denoted by the verb was realized, but with notable consequences of some sort, often uncharacteristic, unexpected, unusual, etc., as can be seen in (35), in which the speaker sees a particular fish, only to then see it vanish before his eyes.

(35) “Chapinki namenabekari shabemereto ipeajenkatanakaro.”

*chapinki no- amen -be -k -a -ri shabemereto i- peajenka -an -k -a =ro*  
recently 1- see -FRST -PFV -MR -3M fish.sp. 3M- vanish -ABL -PFV -MR =EVID

“Yesterday I saw a *paco* fish but then it vanished.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:26)

<sup>11</sup>See O'Hagan (2018) for a preliminary analysis of Caquinte frustratives in aspectual terms.

Frustrative *-be* also occurs with irrealis stems, the notable consequence being interpreted as following an as yet unrealized eventuality. In (36), the speaker quotes a Caquinte man daring his people to run away into the forest, even though he possesses a technology that will allow him to track them. That is, they will not actually be able to escape him.

(36) ...“Pishiagebetanakempa tomirishiki...”

*pi- shig -ge -be -an -k -e -mpa tomirishi =ki*  
2- run -DSTR -FRST -ABL -PFV -IRR -MID forest =LOC

...“Run away to the forest...”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:46)

The frustrative *=me*, in contrast, expresses that the eventuality denoted by the verb to which it attaches was only nearly realized.<sup>12</sup> As such, unlike *-be*, it occurs only in irrealis clauses. Clauses exhibiting *=me* are often translated with ‘almost’ or ‘tried to,’ and indeed *=me* attaches optionally but frequently to verbs following the adverb *pajeni* ‘almost’ (n.b., variant *pajini*), as in (37), which may also bear *=me*. It also occurs optionally but frequently in complements of *iroshi* ‘be about to’ (38). The difference between this construction and that involving *pajeni* is one of perspective: in the former topic time follows situation time, whereas in the latter it precedes it (Klein 1994).

(37) Pajini ometojeme.

*pajini o- metoj -e =me*  
almost 3F- die -IRR =FRST

She almost died.

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:2)

(38) ...iroshipojigeti osotoanajeme iroatimpa.

*iroshi -poj -i -Ø =geti o- sotog -an -aj -e =me iroatimpa*  
be.about.to -ALL -AR -3 =when 3F- emerge -ABL -REG -IRR =FRST 3F.PRO

...when she was about to come out again.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:141)

However, *=me* need not be translated with ‘almost’ or ‘be about to,’ as can be seen in (39), in which it occurs in a purpose clause, expressing that the eventuality was never realized.

(39) Arikea oanake kenkebarotanatsika onkajatapanajanteme.

*ari =kea o- og -an -k -i kenkebaro -an -atsi =ka o- N- kaja -apanajan -e =me*  
FOC =EW 3F- go -ABL -PFV -AR be.of.age.F -ABL -IPFV =REL 3F- IRR- bathe -AM -IRR =FRST

Then a young woman went to bathe.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:158)

When *=me* occurs in a complement clause, the matrix verb frequently exhibits the frustrative *-be*, as seen for the same verb *iroshi* in (40). This follows from the observation that the eventuality of the matrix clause (i.e., being about to happen) is notionally realized, but with notable consequences, made explicit via the non-realization of the eventuality denoted by the complement verb, which is marked with *=me*.

(40) Irira chonchokoronti iroshibetapojaka irarejetapojempame imagorejapoji.

<sup>12</sup>The enclitic *=me* also encodes counterfactuality and deontic modality, which are not described here.

*iri- ra chonchokoronti iroshi -be -apoj-k -a -Ø iri- areje -apoj-e -mpa =me i-*  
 3M- MED deer be.nigh -FRST -ALL -PFV -MR -3 3M.IRR- arrive -ALL -IRR -MID =FRST 3M-  
*magorej -poj -i*  
 rest -ALL -AR

The deer was about to arrive and rested.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:37)

With these observations in mind, we return to irrealis complements of *ji* in which there is coreference between the subjects of the matrix and complement clauses. Like constructions with *=me*, the *ji* frustrative construction involves the near realization of an eventuality, which is denoted by the verb of the complement clause. In (41), for example, a Caquinte woman is given human food for the first time by Tayra. While she tries to eat all of it – because it is so delicious – she is unable to because her body is not used to it. In the first portion of the sentence there is no marking of the frustrated eventuality apart from the *ji* construction, but the non-realization of the eventuality is then made explicit by the negated clause in the second portion of the sentence.

(41) Ojikeji [onteronkero], tee onteronkeroji.

*o- ji -k -i -ji o- N- teronk -e -ro tee o- N- teronk -e -ro -ji*  
 3F- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -JI 3F- IRR- finish -IRR -3F NEG 3F- IRR- finish -IRR -3F -NEG

She tried to finish it, but she couldn't finish it.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:174)

In (42), in contrast, from a humorous story in which a man tries his luck in getting near Woodpecker's net trap, we observe that *=me* occurs in the complement clause. This is consistent with the semantics of *=me*, given that it also expresses that the eventuality was nearly realized.

(42) a. “Ooo chaamantsajaniki, aato agabejana agana.”

*ooo chaa -mantsa -janiki aato o- agabej -a -na o- ag -a -na*  
 IDEO small -net -small NEG 3F- be.able -MR -1 3F- trap -MR -1

“Ooo, it's a tiny little trap, it won't be able to trap me.”

b. Ikanti, “Iintsija nosantijero.”

*i- kan -i iintsija no- santij -e -ro*  
 3M- say -AR COMMITMENT 1- fart.on -IRR -3F

He said, “I'm going to fart on it.”

c. Ijikeji [irisantijerome] aitsitari tapik...

*i- ji -k -i -ji iri- santij -e -ro =me o- ag -itsi -a -ri tapik*  
 3M- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -FRST 3M.IRR- fart.on -IRR -3F =FRST 3F- grab -SM -MR -3M IDEO

He tried to fart on it, but it grabbed him around his body *tapik*... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:78)

Later in the same story (43), the man returns to his brother-in-law and explains what has happened to him. In (43a) and (43c), frustrative *-be* occurs, because the trapping eventuality denoted by *ag* has had notable consequences, namely that the man trapped has escaped; *ji* occurs in (43b), but, unlike the previous example, *=me* does not attach to its complement.

(43) a. ...“Jeeje, aabekena imantsatsite koontsenene.”

*jeeje o- ag -be -k -i -na i- mantsa -tsi -te koontsenene*  
 yes 3F- trap -FRST -PFV -AR -1 3M- net -AL -P Lineated.woodpecker

...“Yes, the woodpecker’s net trapped me.”

- b. “Nojikeji [nontsojenkiteri].”

*no- ji -k -i -ji no- N- tsojenki -e -ri*  
1- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -FRST 1- IRR- provoke -IRR -3M

“I thought I would (just) provoke him.”

- c. “Imaikampani aato notsojenkitajiri namenakerotari aabekenageti.”

*imaika =mpani aato no- tsojenki -aj -i -ri no- amen -k -i -ro =tari o- ag -be*  
now =CT NEG 1- provoke -REG -AR -3M 1- see -PFV -AR -3F =CNGR 3F- trap -FRST  
*-k -i -na =geti*  
-PFV -AR -1 =because

“Now I won’t provoke him because I’ve seen how he’s trapped me.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:80)

To give another example for the sake of illustration, (44) comes from a text in which a man discovers he is wounded. There is an initial allusion to the fact that the man will not be able to warm himself successfully (with a *ji* construction), the reason for which is made explicit in the remainder of the sentence. To warm himself, the man sits down (*chokoti* ‘sit’ being marked by *-be*), but with notable consequences, namely that he begins to bleed.

- (44) Ijikeji [intatanake], ichokotibetanaka osotoajatapoji igamachonkajare...

*i- ji -k -i -ji i- N- ta -an -k -e i- chokoti -be -an*  
3M- believe.falsely -PFV -AR -FRST 3M- IRR- warm.by.fire -ABL -PFV -IRR 3M- sit -FRST -ABL  
*-k -a o- sotog -ja -apoj -i i- kamachonkajare*  
-PFV -MR 3F- emerge -CL:fluid -ALL -AR 3M- blood

He was going to warm himself by the fire, but he sat down and his blood came out...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:136)

From these examples it is clear that it is insufficient to analyze *ji* as the lexical counterpart of *=me*, given that they may co-occur (42c). I suggest that *=me* and *ji* differ in that the latter requires an agentive subject, whereas the former does not. This is 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, as in the case of *metoj* ‘die’ in (37). The enclitic *=me* is compatible with the complements of *ji* because it simply makes no requirement on agency. Furthermore, we have seen two distinct patterns regarding verbal complements of *ji*. On the one hand there are realis and irrealis complements that denote false beliefs; 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 under the notion of false belief. That is, the *ji* frustrative construction might be characterized as involving false beliefs about one’s own prospective actions.

### 2.3 Thinking with *kenkej*

Thinking is denoted by the verb *kenkej*, an active verb in both its intransitive and transitive forms. This verb may take a nominal or verbal complement, or be followed by *kan* ‘say,’ which introduces a direct speech complement making explicit a particular thought. As above, I begin with nominal complements, discuss derived forms, and then clausal complements and related meanings involving other verbal suffixes.

Nominal complements of *kenkej* are interpreted as the subject matter thought about, as shown in (45). In this story, the shaman Okitsipokani’s wife abandons him in order to enter into an incestuous relationship

with her brother. Here *kenkej* is marked with a third person masculine object suffix that corresponds to Okitsipokani, the grammatical object. Using *kenkej* in this way is a common way of expressing that something does not matter, or is of little significance. There is no other lexical verb in the language to express insignificance of this sort.

- (45) Kempeji yamenakotajiro irimankigare, iroatimpa tee onkenkejajeri...

*kempeji i- amen -ako -aj -i -ro iri- mankigare iroatimpa tee o- N- kenkej -aj -e -ri*  
 near 3M- see -INDR -REG -AR -3F 3M- spouse 3F.PRO NEG 3F- IRR- think.about -REG -IRR -3M

He watched his wife nearby, but she did not think about him... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:94)

Relatedly, *kenkej* may also express remembering, as in (46), from a story in which the female shaman Tyaabankaroni remembers her husband's advice when her ingestion of ayahuasca goes awry. Here the complement is a headless relative clause (bracketed). There is no other lexical verb in the language to express remembering.

- (46) Arikea okenkejanakero [ikamantabetakaroka omankigare inkajaranki].

*ari =kea o- kenkej -an -k -i -ro i- kaman -be -ak -a -ro =ka o- mankigare inkajaranki*  
 FOC =EW 3F- think -ABL -PFV -AR -3F 3M- tell -FRST -PFV -MR -3F =REL 3F- spouse before

Then she remembered what her husband had told her before. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:66)

The nominal object referring to the subject matter thought about may also be introduced via the indirect applicative *-ako* (see O'Hagan 2020:242-246 for details on the semantics of this applicative). This is shown in (47), in which the complement is again a headless relative clause.

- (47) ...osheki okenkejakokero [inkajaranki chagatakeroka].

*osheki o- kenkej -ako -k -i -ro inkajaranki chaga -ak -i -ro =ka*  
 much 3F- think -INDR -PFV -AR -3F before poke -PFV -AR -3F =REL

...she thought a lot about what had poked her before. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:72)

The difference between plain and applicativized objects with *kenkej* is not yet well understood. In that context it is worth noting that the applicativized stem also has a lexicalized meaning similar to English *avenge*. In (48), for instance, a group of Caquinte warriors goes to respond in kind to the beating of a Caquinte shaman on the part of Ashaninkas.

- (48) "Imaikampani jaame ankenkejakotajeri."

*imaika =mpani jaame a- N- kenkejako -aj -e -ri*  
 now =CT HORT 1INCL- IRR- avenge -REG -IRR -3M

"Now we'll go avenge him." (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:151)

### 2.3.1 Clausal Complements of *kenkej* and Related Meanings

Turning now to other kinds of complements, verbal complements of *kenkej*, as we have seen with both *tša* (Section 2.1) and *ji* (Section 2.2), are introduced without dedicated marking of complementation. Among naturally occurring examples, the verbs in these complements always have subjects coreferential with those of the matrix clause, and denote planning, as in (49). They are thus irrealis, since the relevant plans have not yet unfolded relative to the time of thinking. There is no other lexical verb in the language to express planning.

- (49) Arikea ikenkejanaji [iroanaje iriinaniteki], ikantikea, “Imaika noanaje iinaniki.”

*ari =kea i- kenkej -an -aj -i iri- og -an -aj -e iri- iinani -te =ki i- kan -i*  
 FOC =EW 3M- think -ABL -REG -AR 3M.IRR- go -ABL -REG -IRR 3M- mother -P =LOC 3M- say -AR  
 =kea imaika no- og -an -aj -e iinani =ki  
 =EW NOW 1- go -ABL -REG -IRR mother =LOC

Then he thought to go back to his mother, and he said, “Now I’m going to go back to my mother.”  
 (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:6)

Importantly, *kenkej* is not used to denote beliefs, and so it is not used, for instance, to express the belief that someone else might return to their mother. It denotes a mental state of cogitation, hence its senses of thinking about particular entities, or remembering them.

The preceding example illustrates a second common pattern, namely one in which *kenkej* is followed by *kan* ‘say,’ which introduces a direct speech complement making explicit the thought in question. This is additionally shown in (50b). Less commonly, a direct speech complement may occur without *kan* (51b).

- (50) a. Oninke oanaje oraapaniteki.

*o- niN -k -i o- og -an -aj -e or- aapani -te =ki*  
 3F- want -PFV -AR 3F- go -ABL -REG -IRR 3F- father -P =LOC

She wanted to go back to her father.

- b. Okenkejanake, okanti, “Noshianaje.”

*o- kenkej -an -k -i o- kan -i no- shig -an -aj -e*  
 3F- think -ABL -PFV -AR 3F- say -AR 1- run -ABL -REG -IRR

She thought, and said, “I’m going to run away.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:166)

- (51) a. Ari yaajikena ikatsiketakaajitakena tomirishi.

*ari i- ag -ji -k -i -na i- katsike -akag -ji -ak -i -na tomirishi*  
 FOC 3M- grab -NREF -PFV -AR -1 3M- clear.land -CAUS -NREF -PFV -AR -1 weeds

They grabbed me and made me clear away weeds.

- b. Irosati nokenkejanajikea, “Noanaje Kitepampaniki.”

*irosati no- kenkej -an -aj -i =kea no- og -an -aj -e Kitepampani =ki*  
 and.then 1- think -ABL -REG -AR =EW 1- go -ABL -REG -IRR Kitepampani =LOC

And then I thought, “I’m going to go back to Kitepampani.” (tsh)

Crucially, note that the direct speech complement does not have to be uttered aloud, and in this way is similar to the English expression *say to oneself*. This point is illustrated in (52). In this context, two men (brothers-in-law) are at the river when one guesses (correctly) that all of the fish he has recently seen vanish before his eyes are in reality the other man transformed into those fish for the purpose of startling him. The transforming man responds. It is clear that the quoted speech in (52b) is not directed at the man’s brother-in-law because the objects of the verbs *ojok* ‘give’ and *amen* ‘see’ are third and not second person.

- (52) a. “Pamenegeti taaka ipajitapae, narotari, mana nomintsarokempi intati.”

*pi- amen -e =geti taaka ipajitapae naro =tari mana no- omiN- tsarog -k -e -mpi intati*  
 2- see -IRR =when something 1.COP =CNGR rather 1- CAUS- startle -PFV -IRR -2 only

“Whenever you see something, it’s me, I just want to startle you.”

- b. Irira iranianishite ikenkejanake, ikanti, “Imaikampani nojokeneri kachojari kameetsanijite na-menabakeri impeanakempageti.”

*iri- ra iri- anianishi -te i- kenkej -an -k -i i- kan -i imaika =mpani no- ojok*  
 3M- MED 3M- brother.in.law -P 3M- think -ABL -PFV -AR 3M- say -AR now =CT 1- give  
*-e -nV -ri kachojari kameetsa =niji =te no- amen -ab -k -e -ri i- N-*  
 -IRR -REC -3M manioc.beer PURP =PURP =CE 1- see -DIR -PFV -IRR -3M 3M- IRR-  
*peg -an -k -e -mpa =geti*  
 transform -ABL -PFV -IRR -MID =when

His brother-in-law thought, and said, “Now I need to give him manioc beer so that I can see him when he transforms.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:26)

Finally I observe that deep thought is expressed with *-maja* ‘really’ (53), as seen in Section 2.1.3 with *tsa*. The use of durative *-bae* with *kenkej* is unattested, though it likely expresses thinking for a long time.

- (53) Imaika iroa mankigarentsi okenkejamaatake, okanti, “Aato okempetakagana chapinki nogetyote.”

*imaika iroa mankigarentsi o- kenkej -maja -ak -i o- kan -i aato o- kempe -akag -a*  
 now 3F.PRO woman 3F- think -really -PFV -AR 3F- say -AR NEG 3F- be.like -CAUS -MR  
*-na chapinki no- igetyo -te*  
 -1 recently 1- sister -P

Then she the woman thought hard, and said, “She won’t do to me like she did recently to my sister.” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:144)

## 2.4 Dreaming with *ogimag*

Dreaming is denoted by the verb *ogimag*, a middle verb in both its intransitive and transitive forms. Historically, this verb is a causativized form of proto-Nijagantsi \**mag* ‘sleep,’ replaced in Caquinte by *tineoki*. Like *kenkej*, the subject matter dreamt about may be introduced as a nominal complement. In (54), the powerful shaman Kapashini has dreamt about his nephew, who is attempting to steal Kapashini’s *kantakaantanentsi*, his powers of communing with the masters of particular animals to release them for hunting. The verb bears the third person masculine object suffix *-ri*, corresponding to the nephew.

- (54) Irirakea Kapashini yogimaabakari inkajaranki pitsekariki...

*iri- ra =kea Kapashi -ni i- ogimag -ab -k -a -ri inkajaranki pitsekariki =ki*  
 3M- MED =EW Kapashi -DEC 3M- dream -DIR -PFV -MR -3M before night =LOC

Kapashini had dreamt about him before during the night... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:53)

Similarly like *kenkej*, *ogimag* may be followed by *kan* ‘say,’ which introduces a direct speech complement describing the content of a dream. That is, the content is relayed via direct quotation of either the dreamer, or of some character in the dream. Quotation of the dreamer is illustrated in (55), in which a spurned Caquinte named Chaantani fears for his life following a dream.<sup>13</sup> Note also that this example also shows that lengthy, deep dreaming is expressed with the durative *-bae*.

- (55) a. Yogimaabaeka, ikantiro imankigare, “Imaikatia irimetojajitakajitia.”

*i- ogimag -bae -k -a i- kan -i -ro i- mankigare imaika =tia iri- metoj*  
 3M- dream -DSTR -PFV -MR 3M- say -AR -3F 3M- spouse now =Chaanta 3M.IRR- kill  
*-ji -ak -aji =tia*  
 -NREF -PFV -1INCL =Chaanta

<sup>13</sup>See O’Hagan (2020:185-187) for details about the mysterious Caquinte ancestor Chaantani, whose speech is peppered with various idiosyncracies. In this example, his characteristic clitic *=tia* occurs.

He dreamt for a long while, and said to his wife, “Now they’re going to kill us.”

- b. “Noanaketatia noshianaketatia.”

*no-og -an -k -e =ta =tia no-shig -an -k -e =ta =tia*  
1- go -ABL -PFV -IRR =PROSP =Chaanta 1- run -ABL -PFV -IRR =PROSP =Chaanta

“I’m going to run away.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:155)

In the longer excerpt in (56), the content is relayed via quotation of other dream participants. In these cases, *kan* ‘say’ bears the nonreferential suffix *-ji*, akin to English impersonal *they*. In this example, the content of the dream is first introduced by the narrator in (56a) by referring to the dreamer and his dreaming in the third person. Several quotations follow, but the speaker is unidentified, and in (56c) we see a double embedding of direct speech in which the unidentified speaker relays what Bear will 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, he simply says, “I’ve dreamt” (56f), without relaying the content of the dream.

- (56) a. Opitekanakegeti yogimaaka, ikantajitiri, “Pija poanake ontaniki otsempiki.”

*o- pitsek -an -k -i =geti i- ogimag -k -a i- kan -ji -i -ri pija pi-og*  
3F- be.night -ALL -PFV -AR =when 3M- dream -PFV -MR 3M- say -NREF -AR -3M go.IMP 2- go  
*-an -k -e ontaniki o- tsempi =ki*  
-ABL -PFV -IRR there 3F- mountain =LOC

When night fell, he dreamt, and they said to him, “Go there to the mountain.”

- b. “Pamenapojakeri baabaikonta shitaponkatake jenoki inchatoki.”

*pi- amen -poj -k -e -ri baabaikonta shitaponka -ak -e -Ø jenoki inchatoki =ki*  
2- see -ABL -PFV -IRR -3M bear build.platform -PFV -IRR -3 high tree =LOC

“You will see a bear building a platform high up in a tree.”

- c. “Pinkajemakokeri, pinkanteri, ‘Notyaine, taa panti?’ ”

*pi- N- kajem -ako -k -e -ri pi- N- kan -e -ri no- tyai -ne taa pi- an -i*  
2- IRR- call -INDR -PFV -IRR -3M 2- IRR- say -IRR -3M 1P- grandfather -P WH 2- do -AR

“Call out to him, say to him, ‘Grandfather, what are you doing?’ ”

- d. “Iriatimpa irampatosanakempa ibakoki tan tan, omposapojempa sankenakojaribenki.”

*iriatimpa iri- N- apatos -an -k -e -mpa i- bako =ki tan tan o- ompos -poj*  
3M.PRO 3M.IRR- IRR- clap -ABL -PFV -IRR -MID 3M- hand =LOC IDEO IDEO 3F- fall -ABL  
*-e -mpa sankenakojaribenki*  
-IRR -MID sedge

“He will clap his hands together *tan tan*, and sedge will fall.”

- e. “Arikea paitsitemparo pantsikitsitemparo.”

*ari =kea pi- ag -itsi -e -mpa -ro pi- N- atsik -itsi -e -mpa -ro*  
FOC =EW 2- grab -SM -IRR -MID -3F 2- IRR- chew -SM -IRR -MID -3F

“Then grab it and chew it.”

- f. Arikea itinajanaka, ikanti, “Nogimaaka.”

*ari =kea i- tinaj -an -k -a i- kan -i no- ogimag -k -a*  
FOC =EW 3M- be.awake -ABL -PFV -MR 3M- say -AR 1- dream -PFV -MR

Then he woke up, and said, “I’ve dreamt.”

- g. Osabinkagitetanakegeti yoanake.

*o- sabinkagite -an -k -i =geti i- og -an -k -i*  
 3F- rise(.sun) -ABL -PFV -AR =when 3M- go -ABL -PFV -AR

When the sun began to rise, he left.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:160)

### 3 Desire

Two verbs denote desires in Caquinte, *nin* and *nejema*, the latter denoting a more intense desire. I begin with *nin*, since it is the most well attested in the 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 *nin* may take clausal complements.

#### 3.1 *nin* ‘want’

The verb *nin* ‘want,’ an active verb in both its intransitive and transitive forms, may take a nominal or clausal complement. The sort of desire denoted by *nin* typically involves low intensity regarding an entity or eventuality that is construed as obtainable, as opposed to *nejema* (see Section 3.2). A nominal complement of *nin* is illustrated in (57), which comes from a text in which Turkey Vulture approaches a man and expresses that he would like to marry his daughter. A request of this sort may strike the reader as blunt, but it is the traditional way for a Caquinte man to request a woman’s hand in marriage.

(57) ...“Noninkero porijanite.”

*no- nin -k -i -ro pi- orijani -te*  
 1- want -PFV -AR -3F 2- daughter -P

...“I want your daughter.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:109)

Nonverbal complements of *nin* are unattested. Verbal complements are obligatorily irrealis. Subjects may or may not be coreferential between clauses, as can be appreciated by comparing (58) with (59), where subject agreement prefixes are in boldface.

(58) Oninke [age tsipana].

*o- nin -k -i o- ag -e tsipana*  
 3F- want -PFV -AR 3F- fetch -IRR plant.sp.

She wanted to fetch *bijao* leaves.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:47)

(59) ...“Noninke [pimpochatena].”

*no- nin -k -i pi- N- pocha -e -na*  
 1- want -PFV -AR 2- IRR- bring.back.to.life -IRR -1

...“I want you to bring me back to life.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:96)

Unlike *tsa* and *ji*, *nin* is never attested with proleptic object marking in its morphologically simplex form. However, there is a sparsely attested causativized form of *nin* in which prolepsis is attested. This construction, shown in (60) with a second person object suffix, differs from the simplex one in expressing general desires. In this case the speaker has a longstanding desire that her children go to school, and does not wish it only in a particular moment. For this reason I translate it with English *want for*.

(60) “Naatimpa nonintakaakeri nirijanite intsatake inkijake ishikoiñakiki...”

*naatimpa no- nin -akag -k -i -ri no- irijani -te i- N- tsa -k -e i- N- kij*  
 1.PRO 1- want -CAUS -PFV -AR -3M 1- son -P 3M- IRR- know -PFV -IRR 3M- IRR- enter  
*-k -e ishikoiñaki =ki*  
 -PFV -IRR school =LOC

“I want for my son to know and enter into the school...” (Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:32)

Note that the causativized stem is lexicalized. If it were productive, the interpretation would be that the speaker made her son want to go to school, but here the context makes it clear that this is not a possible interpretation. The speaker expresses to her husband that she does not want them to live too far away in the forest, so that their children can attend school, not because she convinced her son to attend school.

Greater degrees of desire are expressed by combining *nin* with durative *-bae* (61). The related suffix *-maja* ‘really’ is not attested with *nin*.

(61) “Irigenti pinintabaetake kamaarini!”

*irigenti pi- nin -bae -ak -i kamaarini*  
 3M.COP 2- want -DUR -PFV -AR snake

“You’re in love with a snake!” (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:48)

### 3.2 *nejema* ‘desire’

The verb *nejema*, a middle verb, is used to talk about desire that can be conceptualized as distant, and to a certain degree lustful or covetous.<sup>14</sup> At present *nejema* is attested only with nominal complements that refer to tasty foods and women, and it seems to imply that the entity in question is not obtained, or not obtained in full. It is shown in (62), 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 turkey vultures. He later guts the capybaras and throws the guts to the vultures to keep them off his trail.

(62) a. Aapoja akaniki inejematsitakari irira shetyaonkani.

*o- ag -poj -a akaniki i- nejema -itsi -ak -a -ri iri- ra shetyaonkani*  
 3F- arrive(.day) -ALL -MR here 3M- desire -MAL -PFV -MR -3M 3M- MED Turkey.vulture  
 Some time passes and here the turkey vultures desire them.

b. Inejematsitakari poorontonari, irishekatsitakempari.

*i- nejema -itsi -ak -a -ri poorontonari iri- sheka -itsi -ak -e -mpa -ri*  
 3M- desire -MAL -PFV -MR -3M capybara 3M.IRR- eat -MAL -PFV -IRR -MID -3M

They desire the capybaras, they’re going to eat them. (yac)

## 4 Positive Affect

In this section I describe three verbs, *shine* ‘be happy’ (Section 4.1), *pintsa* (approximately) ‘love’ (Section 4.2), and *ame* ‘be used to’ (Section 4.3).

<sup>14</sup>This verb may historically be morphologically complex, possibly consisting of proto-Nijagantsi *\*nej* ‘see’ and a suffix *\*-uma*. Compare Matsigenka *neima* (Snell 2011).

#### 4.1 *shine* ‘be happy’

Caquintes talk about positive affective responses to a given state of affairs with the verb *shine* (63), an intransitive middle verb. (Transitive forms are derived with applicatives – see below.) Greater degrees of positive affect are expressed with durative *-bae* (*-maja* ‘really’ is unattested with this verb).

- (63) a. Iri ra ajitsi ari imetojakero ishekatakaro chonchokoronti.

*iri- ra ajitsi ari i- metoj-k -i -ro i- sheka -ak -a -ro chonchokoronti*  
3M- MED jaguar FOC 3M- kill -PFV -AR -3F 3M- eat -PFV -MR -3F deer

The jaguar killed and ate the deer.

- b. Ari ishinebaetaka irira ajitsi.

*ari i- shine -bae -ak -a iri- ra ajitsi*  
FOC 3M- be.happy -DSTR -PFV -MR 3M- MED jaguar

Then the jaguar was very happy.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:23-24)

The reason for a positive affective state may be expressed as a nominal complement introduced with the applicative *-ben* (see O’Hagan 2020:264-267 for details on the semantics of this applicative), as in (64). This stem is often translated via Spanish *gustar* ‘like,’ and can have the sense of English *be happy for*.

- (64) Iiratika 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- MED -OST dog 3M- find -ALL -PFV -AR -3M 3M- MED -OST bee.sp. 3M- be.happy -REAS -PFV -MR -3M

The dog found the bees, he likes them.

(tnt21)

Note that, unlike *kenkej*, which alternated between intransitive forms and transitive ones in which the direct object was the subject matter thought about, the reason for a positive affective state cannot be introduced as a direct object without the applicative. This also makes *shine* unlike its negative affective counterpart (see Section 5).

Relatedly, *shine* cannot take a verbal complement denoting the reason for the positive affective state. Instead such reasons are expressed with clauses containing the second position clitic =*geti* ‘when, if,’ as shown in (65), which also illustrates that *shine* may denote the positive affect resulting from celebration.

- (65) Arikea itsamarojianake yamashaijianake osheki oshinebentajiakarogeti aakegeti omankigare.

*ari =kea i- tsamaro -jig -an -k -i i- amashai -jig -an -k -i osheki o- shine -ben*  
FOC =EW 3M- dance -PL -ABL -PFV -AR 3M- sing -PL -ABL -PFV -AR much 3F- be.happy -REAS  
*-jig -k -a -ro =geti o- ag -k -i =geti o- mankigare*  
-PL -PFV -MR -3F =while 3F- marry -PFV -AR =when 3F- spouse

They began to dance and sing when they were very happy for her when she got her husband.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:176)

The same verb may also be used to express that someone is in a good mood at a particular moment, even if they are not typically in a good mood. This is the case in (66), in which the narrator conveys the state in which her husband found his mother when they arrived at a particular village. The narrator had previously expressed her fear of her mother-in-law’s cantankerousness, and so waited in the forest until her husband established that his mother was willing to receive guests.

- (66) 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 3M- mother -P

He saw his mother was in a good mood. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:22)

#### 4.1.1 Derived Forms of *shine*

Like some other verbs in Caquinte, *shine* can be causativized with either of two productive causatives -*akag* or *ogi-* (see O'Hagan 2020:237-240 for these causatives). The first is shown in (67), in which the narrator of a story makes clear one of the morals that the reader should take away from it, namely having to do with the good treatment of one's brother-in-law.

(67) Pishinetakaakempari, pishirontakaakempari, osheki pishinebaekempa.

*pi- shine -akag -k -e -mpa -ri pi- shiron -akag -k -e -mpa -ri osheki pi- shine*  
 2- be.happy -CAUS -PFV -IRR -MID -3M 2- laugh -CAUS -PFV -IRR -MID -3M much 2- be.happy  
*-bae -k -e -mpa*  
 -DUR -PFV -IRR -MID

Make him happy, make him laugh, and you'll be very happy. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:93)

The other stem seems to be lexicalized, based on both on morphological and semantic considerations. Productive instances of *ogi-* have no effect on the resulting shape of the root, but the combination of *ogi-* with *shine* yields an /h/-final stem, a result that is attested with some other unproductive derivational morphology in the language. Semantically, the verb *ogishinej* has more to do with the expression of being cheered up, as in (68), where the narrator has been crying, or in being soothed, as in (69), where the person soothed has been stung by *shaneronto* bees.

(68) Yogishinejabajana, ikanti, "Aatogeti ometoji orijani, ankoraketaje aisa amenapojajero piinanite."

*i- ogishinej -ab -aj -a -na i- kan -i aato =geti o- metoj -i orijani a- N-*  
 3M- make.happy -DIR -REG -MR -1 3M- say -AR NEG =if 3F- die -AR daughter 1INCL- IRR-  
*korake -aj -e aisa a- amen -poj -aj -e -ro pi- iinani -te*  
 come -REG -IRR again 1INCL- see -ALL -REG -IRR -3F 2- mother -P

He cheered me up, and said, "If our daughter doesn't die, we'll come back again and see your mother when we get here." (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:30)

(69) Ari iraaka, ari nogishinejagekero.

*ari o- irag -k -a ari no- ogishinej -ge -k -i -ro*  
 FOC 3F- cry -PFV -MR FOC 1- make.happy -DSTR -PFV -AR -3F

Then she cried, then I soothed her. (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:31)

The distinction between the two causativized stems is not straightforward, and warrants further investigation. Some instances of *ogishinej* seem to be quite semantically transparent. In (70), for example, a girl wishes to return to a different community where her parents live, but her uncle forbids it.

(70) Iriatimpa tee irininteji irogishinejenaji, ikanti, "Aato ogi."

*iriatimpa tee iri- nin -e -ji iri- ogishinej -e -na -ji i- kan -i aato o- og -i*  
 3M.PRO NEG 3M.IRR- want -IRR -NEG 3M make.happy -IRR -1 -NEG 3M- say -AR NEG 3F- go -AR

He didn't want to make me happy, and said, "She won't go." (Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:6)

## 4.2 Fond Feelings with *pintsa*

Caquintes talk about strong, fond feelings toward someone with the verb *pintsa*, a middle transitive verb that takes nominal complements only. It may denote familial love, as in (71), or the love one has for one's own people (72).

- (71) Iriatimpa orijanite tee irininteji irojokero iriinanite, osheki ipintsakaro.

*iriatimpa* o- irijani -te tee iri- niN -e -ji iri- ojok -e -ro iri- iinani -te osheki  
 3M.PRO 3F- SON -P NEG 3M.IRR- want -IRR -NEG 3M.IRR- leave -IRR -3F 3M- mother -P much  
 i- **pintsa** -k -a -ro  
 3M- love -PFV -MR -3F

He, her son, didn't want to leave his mother, he loved her very much.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:100)

- (72) Abiatimpa pimpintsakempari pigonoro kameetsanijite impintsajikempi abiatimpa.

*abiatimpa* pi- **pintsa** -ak -e -mpa -ri pi- gonoro kameetsa =niji =te i- N- **pintsa** -ji  
 2.PRO 2- love -PFV -IRR -MID -3M 2- people PURP =PURP =CE 3M- IRR- love -NREF  
 -k -e -mpi abiatimpa  
 -PFV -IRR -2 2.PRO

You love your people so they love you.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:66)

In other contexts, it is clear that *pintsa* should be glossed not as English *love* but as *miss*: it is used to express the mental state one inhabits while a loved one is away for long periods, as in (73). In these instances it is translated with Spanish *echar de menos* 'miss.'

- (73) "Osheki tai tee namenajempiji, aisa osheki nopintsatakempi."

*osheki* tai tee no- amen -aj -e -mpi -ji aisa osheki no- **pintsa** -ak -i -mpi  
 much month NEG 1- see -REG -IRR -2 -NEG also much 1- miss -PFV -AR -2

"I haven't seen you in many months, also I've missed you a lot."

(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:7)

This more general sense of *pintsa* is evidenced by stems derived productively with the indirect applicative *-ako*, which express notions of pity, that is, fond feelings from afar, or indirectly, as it were. In (74), a man explains to Turkey Vulture why it is he gave his daughter Shimashiri to him, when Osprey was a clearly more desirable marriage partner. The man as a result explains why he feels no guilt over having let his daughter later run away with Osprey.

- (74) "Mana nojokashikempiro intati, nopintsatovekempi intati."

*mana* no- ojok -ashi -k -i -mpi -ro intati no- **pintsa** -ako -be -k -i -mpi intati  
 rather 1- give -PURP -PFV -AR -2 -3F only 1- love -INDR -FRST -PFV -AR -2 only

"I only gave her to you for no good reason, I took pity on you."

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:112)

### 4.3 Custom and Contentment with *ame*

Caquintes talk about states of affairs they are accustomed to with the verb *ame* ‘be used to,’ a middle verb in both its intransitive and transitive forms. A nominal complement is shown in (75), from a story in which Fox challenges Tortoise to a fasting competition.

- (75) a. “...jaameja aato ashekata *tres* sabinkagiteri.”

*jaame* =*ja*    *aato* *a-*    *sheka* *-a*    *tres*    *sabinkagiteri*  
HORT =PROSP NEG 1INCL- eat    -MR three day

“...come on, let’s not eat for three days.”

- b. “Naatimpa nametaro...”

*naatimpa* *no-* ***ame***    *-a*    *-ro*  
1.PRO    1- be.used.to -MR -3F

‘I’m used to it..’

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:36)

This verb is analyzed as expressing a mental state because of uses as in (76), in which a degree of contentment regarding one’s current situation is expressed. This excerpt comes from a story in which a young woman has been captured by Ashaninkas. She attempts to convince her captors that she has become accustomed to living among them so they will not suspect that she is planning to escape. These examples also illustrate intransitive *ame*. (Note that, despite my translation with ‘things,’ *ame* is intransitive in all three subexamples.)

- (76) a. “Aato noshiga, ametanakena.”

*aato* *no-* *shig* *-a*    ***ame***    *-an*    *-k*    *-a*    *-na*  
NEG 1- run -MR be.used.to -ABL -PFV -MR -1

‘I won’t run away, I’ve gotten used to things.’

- b. “Chapinkimpani tee nametempaji.”

*chapinki* =*mpani*    *tee*    *no-* ***ame***    *-e*    *-mpa*    *-ji*  
recently =CT    NEG 1- be.used.to -IRR -MID -NEG

‘Recently I wasn’t used to things.’

- c. “Imaikampani ametanakena.”

*imaika* =*mpani*    ***ame***    *-an*    *-ak*    *-a*    *-na*  
now =CT    be.used.to -ABL -PFV -MR -1

‘But now I’ve gotten used to things.’

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:166)

Clausal complements exhibit no special marking, as in (77), a comment on traditional marriage practices. Proleptic object marking is absent, nor is the complement clause introduced with =*geti*, as was the case with *shine* above.

- (77) Koramani naatimpa namejiga irojokakeneri noraapanite.

*koramani*    *naatimpa*    *no-* ***ame***    *-jig* *-a*    *iri-*    *ojok* *-k*    *-e*    *-nV*    *-ri*    *nor-*    *aapani*    *-te*  
long ago 1.PRO    1- be.used.to -PL -MR 3M.IRR- give -PFV -IRR -REC -3M 1P- father -P

Long ago we were used to our fathers giving us to them.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:150)

### 4.3.1 Derived Forms of *ame*

The verb *ame* may be causativized with *ogi-*. When the resulting stem combines with active voice, it is often translated as ‘train,’ for example, in the training of shamanic apprentices. When it combines with middle voice, however, it is difficult to discern a difference with simplex *ame*, which necessitates further research. Here I simply observe that the derived stem, like its simplex counterpart, may take nominal or clausal complements, as contrasted in (78) and (79).

(78) Irira nirijanite tee irogametemparoji shekatsipae konoaetankitsika.

*iri- ra no- irijani -te tee iri- ogi- ame -e -mpa -ro -ji sheka -tsi =pae konog*  
 3M- MED 1- SON -P NEG 3M.IRR- CAUS- be.used.to -IRR -MID -3F -NEG food -AL =PL mix  
*-ge -ankits -i =ka*  
 -DSTR -PFV -AR =REL

My son wasn’t used to foods that were mixed.

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:24)

(79) “Aatogeti agameta akatsiketi, ankantagetanake sagomare sagomare atantanapakoki.”

*aato =geti a- ogi- ame -a a- katsike -i a- N- kaN -ge -an -k*  
 NEG =when 1INCL- CAUS- be.used.to -MR 1INCL- clear.land -AR 1INCL- IRR- do -DSTR -ABL -PFV  
*-e sagomare sagomare a- tantanapako =ki*  
 -IRR IDEO IDEO 1INCL.P- palm =LOC

“When we’re not used to clearing land, our palms go *sagomare sagomare* [peel].”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:136)

## 5 Negative Affect

In this section I describe five verbs, *shimampojank* ‘be sad’ (Section 5.1), *atsipe* ‘suffer’ (5.2), socially dangerous behavior with *katsima* (Section 5.3), fright with *tsarog* (Section 5.4), and *asereg* ‘bother’ (5.5).

### 5.1 *shimampojank* ‘be sad’

Caquintes talk about negative affective states with the verb *shimampojank* (80), a middle verb in both its intransitive and transitive forms.

(80) Arikea ishimampojankajiaka shapankari imetojakegeti igoonkinitite.

*ari =kea i- shimampojank -jig -k -a shapankari i- metoj -k -i =geti i-*  
 FOC =EW 3M- be.sad -PL -PFV -MR tayra 3M- die -PFV -AR =when 3M-  
*koonkini -te*  
 father-in-law -P

Tayra and others were sad when his father-in-law died.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:177)

Nominal complements refer to reasons for negative affective states. These complements may either be introduced directly (81), or via the indirect applicative *-ako* (82). (Recall, in contrast, that *shine* ‘be happy’ required applicative *-ben* to introduce such complements.) The difference between these two constructions is not yet well understood.

(81) Iiratika tai iriatimpa oshekini ishimampojankanakaro irorijanite mabitetankitsika.

*iri- ra -tika tai iriatimpa osheki -ni i- shimampojank -an -k -a -ro iri- orijani*  
 3M- MED -OST moon 3M.PRO much -AUG -3M- be.sad -ABL -PFV -MR -3F 3M- daughter  
*-te mabite -ankits -i =ka*  
 -P two -PFV -AR =REL

Moon, he got very sad over his second daughter. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:172)

- (82) Oniinanite osheki oshimampojankakotakaro metojankitsika orijanite.

*on- iinani -te osheki o- shimampojank -ako -ak -a -ro metoj -ankitsi =ka o- orijani -te*  
 3F- mother -P much 3F- be.sad -INDR -PFV -MR -3F die -PFV =REL 3F- daughter -P

Her mother was very sad over her daughter who had died. (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:143)

As with *shine*, however, clausal complements are not attested. Instead such reasons are expressed with clauses containing the same =*geti*, as with (80) above.

In the preceding examples, sadness is brought about by death, but it may also be brought about by pain or suffering. In (83), Jaguar asks Deer to bathe his children because he observes that the latter's are impeccably clean. But Deer deceives him, and he returns home to find his children covered in scabies. In (84), the shaman Okitsipokani's wife has abandoned him.

- (83) ...yameniri ichaajanikirite ishimampojankanaka, iraanaka yasakanaka.

*i- amen -i -ri i- chaajanikiri -te i- shimampojank -an -k -a i- irag -an -k -a*  
 3M- see -AR -3M 3M- child -P 3M- be.sad -ABL -PFV -MR 3M- cry -ABL -PFV -MR  
*i- asak -an -k -a*  
 3M- moan -ABL -PFV -MR

...he saw that his children had gotten sad, they began to cry and moan.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:23)

- (84) "Opishonkanakena, atsipetakaakena, oshimampojankakaakena."

*o- pishonk -an -k -i -na o- atsipe -akag -k -i -na o- shimampojank -akag -k -i -na*  
 3F- throw -ABL -PFV -AR -1 3F- suffer -CAUS -PFV -AR -1 3F- be.sad -CAUS -PFV -AR -1

"She threw me out and went away, she made me suffer, she made me sad."

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:96)

Finally, like *shine*, greater degrees of sadness are expressed with durative *-bae* (*-maja* 'really' is unattested with this verb).

- (85) Arikea iraka osheki, ishimampojankabaeka osheki...

*ari =kea i- irag -k -a osheki i- shimampojank -bae -k -a osheki*  
 FOC =EW 3M cry -PFV -MR much 3M- be.sad -DUR -PFV -MR much

Then he cried a lot, he was very sad...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:53)

## 5.2 Suffering with *atsipe*

Caquintes talk about suffering with the verb *atsipe* (86), a middle verb in both its intransitive and transitive forms. Suffering may be conceptualized as stemming from emotional and explicitly physical hardship, both of which are illustrated in (86). In this story, a Caquinte man acquires a dictatorial role in a particular

community. In (86a), suffering comes from a pattern of tying girls around by the neck; in (86b) it comes from the loneliness resulting from not residing with one's parents; in (86c) it comes from forced labor and in (86d) from hunger.

- (86) a. Naatimpa nochaajanikikegeti osheki natsipebaeka, ipeakaajikena aajanirentsi.  
*naatimpa no- chaajaniki -k -i =geti osheki no- **atsipe** -bae -k -a i- peg -akag*  
 1.PRO 1- be.little -PFV -AR =when much 1- suffer -DSTR -PFV -MR 1- transform -CAUS  
*-ji -k -i -na **aajanire** -ntsi*  
 -NREF -PFV -AR -1 slave -AL  
 When I was little I suffered a lot, they treated me like a slave.
- b. Tee nonchookatimoteri itsobironakiteki noraapanite, nohookake itsobironakiteki S.  
*tee no- N- chooka -imo -e -ri i- tsobironaki -te =ki nor- aapani -te no- chooka -ak*  
 NEG 1- IRR- live -PRES -IRR -3M 3M- house -P =LOC 1P- father -P 1- live -PFV  
*-i i- tsobironaki -te =ki S*  
 -AR 3M- house -AP =LOC S  
 I didn't live with my father at his house, I lived at S's house.
- c. Maasano kenkebarigetankitsika yomperaperajiakari yantajiake pitsekariki aisa sabinkagiteriki.  
*maasano kenkebari -ge -ankitsi =ka i- **ompera** -pera -jig -k -a -ri i- **an** -jig*  
 all be.of.age.F -DSTR -PFV =REL 3M- order -RD -PL -PFV -MR -3M 3M- work -PL  
*-k -i pitsekari =ki aisa sabinkagiteri =ki*  
 -PFV -AR night =LOC also day =LOC  
 He ordered all of the young men about and they worked day and night.
- d. Osheki yatsipejiaka chaajanikiripae itase aisa naatimpa natsipetaka notase.  
*osheki i- **atsipe** -jig -k -a chaajanikiri =pae i- **tase** aisa naatimpa no- **atsipe** -ak*  
 much 3M- suffer -PL -PFV -MR child =PL 3M- hunger also 1.PRO 1- suffer -PFV  
*-a no- **tase***  
 -MR 1P- hunger  
 The children suffered a lot from hunger and I also suffered from hunger.

(Salazar Torres and O'Hagan 2019:2)

Nominal complements are introduced directly, as shown in (86d) and reiterated in (87), where an object suffix is present.

- (87) "Iriatimpa tee irantsipetemparoji imetojane."

*iriatimpa tee iri- N- **atsipe** -e -mpa -ro -ji i- metoj -ne*  
 3M.PRO NEG 3M.IRR- IRR- suffer -IRR -MID -3F -NEG 3M- die -NMZ

"He didn't suffer death."

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:14)

The status of verbal complements is less straightforward. In some cases, as with the first portion of (88), a reason expressed as a clause is introduced with =geti 'when, if,' as with *shine* and *shimampojank*. But in other cases, as with the second portion of the same example, it seems that *atsipe* introduces a verbal complement directly. An alternative analysis could posit that the two final clauses are simply juxtaposed, that is, *I'll suffer a lot and be buried in the ground*.

- (88) Imaika naatimpa nantsipetakemparo nometojanakegeti, nantsipebaekempa [nontijabiotankemparo kepatsi].

*imaika naatimpa no- N- **atsipe** -ak -e -mpa-ro no- metoj -an -k -e =geti no- N-*  
 now 1.PRO 1- IRR- suffer -PFV -IRR -MID -3F 1- die -ABL -PFV -IRR =when 1- IRR-  
***atsipe** -bae -k -e -mpa no- N- tijabio -an -k -e -mpa-ro kepatsi*  
 suffer -DUR -PFV -IRR -MID 1- IRR- bury -INSTR -PFV -IRR -MID -3F ground

Now I'll suffer (it) when I die, I'll suffer a lot being buried in the ground.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:63)

Finally, note that (88) also shows that greater degrees of suffering are expressed with durative *-bae*. With this verb, however, *-maja* 'really' is also attested (89). In this context, the shaman Kapashini has told his nephew that he made him suffer when he sent his soul to Tsonkatagaroni.

(89) "Imaika abiro atsipemajatankitsine..."

*imaika abiro **atsipe** -maja -ankits -i -ne*  
 now 2.COP suffer -really -PFV -AR -IRR

"Now you're the one who'll really suffer..."

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:59)

### 5.3 Socially Dangerous Behavior with *katsima*

This section is devoted to the varied interpretations of the verb *katsima*, an active verb in both its intransitive and transitive forms. Its etymology lies in a combination of what in comparative Arawak studies is referred to as the attributive prefix *ka-*, unproductive in Nijagantsi languages, and the proto-Nijagantsi word *\*tsima* 'fire'.<sup>15</sup> A root †*tsima* is not attested in Caquinte (though see *tsimajenka* below), it having been replaced by *paamari*. The Caquinte root *katsima* expresses a range of mental 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 Nijagantsi peoples generally (Johnson 2003). It is unlike the state expressed by *shimampojank* 'be sad' in that no real threat to order is present with the latter. Metaphorically speaking, then, the possession of fire is conceptualized as putting one at risk of behaving in socially proscribed ways.

Perhaps the most common use of *katsima* is to denote confrontation between individuals. This can be seen most clearly in contexts of argument or disagreement, as in (90). In this context, a person who lives in the mountain Shitekitsini responds to the shaman Maremaretini's question about why it is thundering.

(90) ..."Tee, arikampa ikatsimatabakaajjaka irira jeokarijite."

*tee ari =ka =mpa i- **katsima** -abakag -jig -k -a iri- ra jeokarijite*  
 no FOC =MOD =INCNGR 3M- argue -RECIP -PL -PFV -MR 3M- MED spirit.type

... "No, the *jeokarijite* spirits must be arguing with each other."

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:148)

The relevant confrontation can take place between two individuals, as in (91), from a story again proffering advice for a good relationship between brothers-in-law.

(91) Aato pikatsimatiri panianishite.

*aato pi- **katsima** -i -ri pi- anianishi -te*  
 NEG 2- get.angry.at -AR -3M 2- brother.in.law -P

<sup>15</sup>This is an inalienable root that is defective in all Nijagantsi languages in which it exists. In Matsigenka, for example, its possessed form is *tsima* (e.g., *no-tsuma* 'my fire'), while its unpossessed form is *tsitsi* 'fire,' which exhibits an irregular deletion of the final syllable of the root before *-tsi* (i.e., †*tsimatsi*).

Don't get angry at your brother-in-law.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:92-93)

Alternatively, a notion similar to that expressed by English *hate* may be expressed by *katsima*. In (92), Jaguar has had a variety of tricks played on him by different animals, and he goes around to several of them asking if they hate him and are thus treating him this way; the following is a response by Bear.

(92) ...“Tee nonkatsimatempiji.”

*tee no- N- katsima -e -mpi -ji*  
NEG 1- IRR- hate -IRR -2 -NEG

...“I don't hate you.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:68)

The verb *katsima* may also describe a mental state that holds when one does not want to obey the expectations or strictures of others. For example, in (93), 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.

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

*tee o- niN -e -ji o- mankiga -k -e -mpa o- katsima -ak -i osheki -ni*  
NEG 3F- want -IRR -NEG 3F- marry -PFV -IRR -MID 3F- rebel -PFV -AR much -AUG

...she didn't want to get married, she rebelled a lot.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:47)

That the mental state expressed by *katsima* is proscribed in Caquinte society is made explicit in (94), where Speckled Chachalaca explains the risks of being accused of *katsima*-like behavior.

(94) a. “Anianishi, okajenibaeke osheki, irotarite ashinetankempaka.”

*anianishi o- kajeni -bae -k -i osheki iro =tari =te a- shine -aN*  
brother.in.law 3F- be.funny -DSTR -PFV -AR much 3F.COP =CNGR =CE 1INCL- be.happy -INSTR  
*-k -e -mpa =ka*  
-PFV -IRR -MID =REL

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

b. “Aatogeti, aato ashironta, inkantajikaji, ‘Arikampa ikatsimatake.’”

*aato =geti aato a- shiron -a i- N- kan -ji -k -aji ari =ka =mpa i-*  
NEG =if NEG 1INCL- laugh -MR 3M- IRR- say -NREF -PFV -1INCL FOC =MOD =INCNGR 3M-  
*katsima -ak -i*  
be.angry -PFV -AR

“If not, we won't laugh, and they'll say to us, ‘He must be angry.’”

c. “Irotarite noshirontantakaka.”

*iro =tari =te no- shiron -aN -ak -a =ka*  
3F.COP =CNGR =CE 1- laugh -INSTR -PFV -MR =REL

“That's why I laughed.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:92)

However, it is not always straightforward that the relevant state is proscribed. This root is also involved in the derivation of ‘warrior,’ an esteemed role (95).

(95) Tee irio katsimari, irigenti tsaroatsika.

*tee irio katsima -ri irigenti tsarog -ats -i =ka*  
 NEG 3M.COP be.fierce -NMZ 3M.COP startle -IPFV -AR =REL

He's not brave, he's a coward.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:150)

I suggest that the qualities that become a warrior (bravery, a fierceness derived from a certain internal anger, etc.), while valuable in battle, are fraught in more typical social settings.

Syntactically, *katsima* may be intransitive or transitive. When transitive, its nominal complement refers to the entity gotten angry at, not the reason for the anger. Reasons for anger, as with the verb *shimampojank*, are introduced via the indirect applicative *-ako*. In (96), a warning is given to those who have stolen manioc from a garden. The third person feminine object suffix on the verb corresponds to the manioc, the reason that its owner might become angry.

(96) “Ikatsimatakotirotsi ashintaroka.”

*i- katsima -ako -i -ro -tsi ashin -a -ro =ka*  
 3M- be.angry -INDR -AR -3F -APPR OWN -MR -3F =REL

“Watch out, the owner will get angry over them.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:132)

Finally, clausal complements are not attested. However, direct speech quotes introduced by *kan* commonly occur to make the reason for the mental state explicit (97).

(97) Arikea irira Kamojiri ikatsimakeri S, ikantiri, “Osheki patsipetakaajiakena aisa chaajanikiripae.”

*ari =kea iri- ra Kamojiri i- katsima -k -i -ri S i- kan -i -ri osheki pi- atsipe -akag*  
 FOC =EW 3M- MED Kamojiri 3M- confront -PFV -AR -3M S 3M- say -AR -3M much 2- suffer -CAUS  
*-jig -k -i -na aisa chaajanikiri =pae*  
 -PL -PFV -AR -1 also child =PL

Then Kamojiri confronted S, and said to him, “You’re making us suffer a lot, and also the children.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:2)

### 5.3.1 Derived Forms of *katsima* and Related Expressions

A few different idiomatic expressions are attested related to the onset of intense anger and the passage of anger. Two involve different forms of the verb *peg* ‘transform’ in combination with a form of *katsima* nominalized with *-ka* functioning as the grammatical subject. In one construction, *peg* is active, and exhibits no other derivational morphology (98). In the other, *peg* is middle, and is derived with antipassive *-an* (99).<sup>16</sup> In both cases I adopt the translation with English *consume* based on the original Spanish translation.

(98) ...ari ikemisantajenkatanake shikererere opeanakeri igatsimaka...

*ari i- kemisan -jenka -an -k -i shikererere o- peg -an -k -i -ri i-*  
 FOC 3M- listen.to -CL:immaterial -ABL -PFV -AR IDEO 3F- transform -ABL -PFV -AR -3M 3M-  
***katsima -ka***  
 be.angry -NMZ

...he listened to him silently *shikererere*, his anger consumed him... (Salazar Torres et al. 2019:42)

<sup>16</sup>The antipassive is present because this middle form of *peg* is otherwise ditransitive. The antipassive functions to derive a transitive verb from a ditransitive one.

(99) Arikea opeakaantakari igatsimaka...

*ari =kea o- peg -akag -an -ak -a -ri i- katsima -ka*  
 FOC =EW 3F- transform -CAUS -ANTIP -PFV -MR -3M 3P- be.angry -NMZ

Then his anger consumed him...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:156)

In a different expression, the verb is *korake* ‘come,’ and the subject is the inalienable noun *tsimajenka* ‘anger,’ attested only with the immaterial classifier *-jenka*. The verb bears the purpose applicative *-ashi* (see O’Hagan 2020:248-251), which introduces an object that corresponds to the individual who has gotten angry, as shown in (100).

(100) Ari ikenkejakegeti, okoraketashipojiri itsimajenka...

*ari i- kenkej -k -i =geti o- korake -ashi -poj -i -ri i- tsimajenka*  
 FOC 3M- think -PFV -AR =when 3F- come -PURP -ALL -AR -3M 3M- anger

When he thought, anger came over him...

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:56)

The passage of anger can be described with at least two different expressions. One again is based on *peg* ‘transform,’ in this case causativized with *ogi-*, together with the same form of *katsima* nominalized with *-ka* seen above (101).

(101) “Kerompa onkokempani pigipeantajemparoka pigatsimaka?”

*ke -ro =mpa o- N- ko -k -e -mpa -ni pi- ogi- peg -an -aj -e -mpa -ro*  
 WH -F =INCNGR 3F- IRR- be PFV -IRR -MID -INT 2- CAUS- transform -INSTR -REG -IRR -MID -3F  
 =ka pi- katsima -ka  
 =REL 2- be.angry -NMZ

“How are you going to get rid of your anger?”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:27)

The other expression is diachronically more interesting in the Nijagantsi perspective, involving the unproductive reversative prefix *pe-*, which combines with productive reversative suffix *-rej*. Like its productive counterpart, *pe-*, in addition to attaching to verbal roots, may attach to inalienable nouns, deriving a verb denoting the reversal of the state characterized by that noun.<sup>17</sup> In this case the relevant noun is *tsima*, and the resulting stem is *petsimarej*. I analyze the stem as synchronically monomorphemic, since *tsima* is otherwise unattested.

(102) Arikea nopetsimarejanakegeti, ari nogaanaka aisa.

*ari =kea no- petsimarej -an -k -i =geti ari no- ogag -an -k -a aisa*  
 FOC =EW 1- pass.anger -ABL -PFV -AR =when FOC 1- relocate -ABL -PFV -MR again

Then when my anger had passed, we moved on again.

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:46)

#### 5.4 Fright with *tsarog*

Caquintes talk about fright with the verb *tsarog*, an active verb in both its intransitive and transitive forms. In its intransitive form, the subject refers to the entity that is startled. In (103), the relevant fright is due to an immediate physical stimulus, a tentacle underwater.

<sup>17</sup>Other stems with a similar derivation are *peshinkirej* ‘sober up’ (from *shinki* ‘be drunk’) and *petsipagerej* ‘pass soreness’ (cf. *katsipage* ‘be sore,’ involving the same attributive prefix as *katsima*).

(103) a. Ikajabepojaka, ikemajitatigiri tsirek.

*i- kaja -be -poj -k -a i- kem -jitatig -i -ri tsirek*  
3M- get.in.water -FRST -ALL -PFV -MR 3M- feel -MIR -AR -3M IDEO

He got in the water and felt something grab around him *tsirek*.

b. Yojokabaekita komek, itsaroanake, ikanti, “Taashia opajita?”

*i- ojok -bae -ki -a komek i- tsarog -an -k -i i- kaN -i taa =shia o-*  
3M- come.close -DSTR -AM -MR IDEO 3M- startle -ABL -PFV -AR 3M- say -AR WH =ANXIETY 3F-  
*paji -a*  
name -AR

It came quite close, and he got startled *komek*, and said, “What’s that?”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:75)

In its transitive form, the object refers to the entity that is startled. This is shown in (104), which comes from the same text involving a ravenous jaguar.

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

*iinani pi- N- atai -an -k -e jenoki shitaponka -ro -ntsi =ki aato =niji =te i-*  
mother 2- IRR- climb -ABL -PFV -IRR high build.platform -NMZ -AL =LOC NEG =PURP =CE 3M-  
***tsarog -poj -i -mpi***  
frighten -ALL -AR -2

“Mother, climb high onto the house platform so he doesn’t frighten you.”

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:99)

Finally, clausal complements of *tsarog* bear the apprehensive suffix *-tsi*.

(105) “Otsaroake [pikatsimatabakerotsi].”

*o- tsarog -k -i pi- katsima -ab -k -i -ro -tsi*  
3F- be.afraid -PFV -AR 2- get.angry.at -DIR -PFV -AR -3F -APPR

“She was afraid you’d get angry at her.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:21)

#### 5.4.1 Derived Forms of *tsarog*

Two derived forms of *tsarog* are worthy of note. One is derived with the malefactive causative *omin-*, deriving a stem that seems to be identical in function to the morphologically simplex transitive *tsarog* in (104), as shown in (106).<sup>18</sup>

(106) ...omintsaroakeri oshekini, aisa shiishi.

*o- omin- tsarog -k -i -ri osheki -ni aisa shiishi*  
3F- CAUS- frighten -PFV -AR -3M much -AUG also dog

...it frightened him very much, and also the dog.

(tnt)

<sup>18</sup>The malefactive causative is not productive in Caquinte. See Michael (2008:284) for a description in Nanti.

The second is derived with the elsewhere productive causative *-akag*, and yields a middle verb with an unexpected argument structure. Instead of the object referring to the entity made to be afraid, as would be expected, it is instead the subject that refers to the entity that is afraid, with the object referring to the reason for the fear. This is illustrated in (107), from the same story we have seen above in which the narrator is afraid of her mother-in-law. I do not segment the derived form, analyzing it as lexicalized due to its (diachronically) aberrant argument structure.

(107) ...notsaroakaapojaro iriinanite nomankigare, nokanti, “Okatsimatabakenatsi.”

*no- tsaroakag -poj -a -ro iri- iinani -te no- mankigare no- kan -i o- katsima -ab -k*  
 1- be.afraid.of -ALL -MR -3F 3M- mother -P 1- spouse 1- say -AR 3F- get.angry.at -DIR -PFV  
*-i -na -tsi*  
 -AR -1 -APPR

...I was afraid of my husband’s mother, I said, “She’ll get angry with me.”

(Salazar Torres and O’Hagan 2019:21)

### 5.5 Annoyance with *asereg*

Caquintes talk about bother and annoyance with the verb *asereg*, an active transitive verb. The subject refers the reason for the annoyance and the object refers to the entity annoyed. (Unlike *tsarog*, *asereg* does not seem to have an intransitive counterpart.) A common source of annoyance for Caquintes are inconveniences placed upon others that result from failings of self-sufficiency. This is represented in (108), which comes from a portion of a text disparaging the qualities of Turkey Vulture, in which the narrator admonishes Caquinte children not to let those same qualities materialize in themselves. In a related sense, *asereg* can be translated as English *harass* (109).

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

*i- N- tineoki -gi -e -ni aato i- an -i mana iri- asereg -an -ge -ak -e*  
 3M-IRR- sleep -PROL -IRR -AUG NEG 3M- work -AR rather 3M.IRR- annoy -ANTIP -DSTR -PFV -IRR

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

b. Abiatimpa pantake, aato paseregiri pignonoro pamanapinigekekeri isheka.

*abiatimpa pi- an -ak -e aato pi- asereg -i -ri pi- gonoro pi- aman -pini -ge*  
 2.PRO 2- work -PFV -IRR NEG 2- annoy -AR -3M 2- people 1- ask.for -regularly -DSTR  
*-k -e -ri i- sheka*  
 -PFV -IRR -3M 3M- food

You must work, don’t annoy your people by always asking each of them for their food.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:116)

(109) Tee irininteji iriatimpa tee inkejetemparinika kenkebari, ikenkejake teeka onkameetsateji, aisa tee irasereageteroji mankigarentsipae, ichookake kameetsa.

*tee iri- niN -e -ji iriatimpa tee i- N- keje -e -mpa -ri -nika kenkebari i-*  
 NEG 3M.IRR- want -IRR -NEG 3M.PRO NEG 3M- IRR- be.like -IRR -MID -3M -CNGR adult.man 3M-  
*kenkej -k -i tee =ka o- N- kameetsa -e -ji aisa tee iri- asereg -ge -e -ro*  
 think -PFV -AR NEG =REL 3F- IRR- be.good -IRR -NEG also NEG 3M.IRR- harass -DSTR -IRR -3F  
*-ji mankigarentsi =pae i- chooka -k -i kameetsa*  
 -NEG woman =PL 3M- live -PFV -AR well

He didn’t want to because he wasn’t like adult men, they think bad things, also he didn’t harass women, he lived well.

(Salazar Torres et al. 2019:5)

## 6 Conclusion

In this article I have described morphosyntactic and semantic properties of 14 psych-predicates in Caquinte, with special focus on voice and transitivity, possible complements (nominal vs. clausal, including nonverbal and verbal clauses), prolepsis, and various morphologically complex stems including directionals and derivational suffixes such as causatives and applicatives. Key empirical facts are summarized in Table 2, where I list the verbs in question, a gloss of convenience, and the other mentioned properties. Question marks indicate points in need of empirical clarification in the future.

VERB	GLOSS	VOICE		COMPLEMENTS			PROL.	DERIVED
		INTR	TR	N	NV	V		
<i>tsa</i>	‘know, believe’	ACT	ACT	✓	✓	✓	✓	
<i>ji</i>	‘believe falsely’	ACT	ACT	✓	✓	✓	✓	
<i>kenkej</i>	‘think’	ACT	ACT	✓		✓		-ako (subject matter)
<i>ogimag</i>	‘dream’	MID	MID	✓				
<i>nin</i>	‘want’	ACT	ACT	✓		✓	(✓)	-akag (“want for”)
<i>nejema</i>	‘desire’	?	MID	✓		?		
<i>shine</i>	‘be happy’	MID						-ben (reason)
<i>pintsa</i>	‘love’		MID	✓				
<i>ame</i>	‘be used to’	MID	MID	✓		✓		
<i>shimampojank</i>	‘be sad’	MID	MID	✓				-ako (reason)
<i>atsipe</i>	‘suffer’	MID	MID	✓				
<i>katsima</i>	‘be angry’	ACT	ACT	✓				-ako (reason)
<i>tsarog</i>	‘be afraid’	ACT	ACT	✓		✓		-akag (‘be afraid of’)
<i>asereg</i>	‘bother’	?	ACT	✓				

Table 2: Summary of Morphosyntactic Patterns of Psych-predicates

A number of general observations can be made based on this summary. First, none of the verbs described here exhibit the productive voice alternation between intransitive and transitive forms that was mentioned in Section 1.1. With the exceptions of intransitive *shine* ‘be happy’ and transitive *pintsa* ‘love,’ all verbs have intransitive and transitive forms (n.b., despite the glosses of convenience given here), as was shown by the permissibility of an object (suffix) without applicative derivation. Even frequently intransitive verbs such as *shimampojank* ‘be sad’ can take an object without such derivation. Note an important relationship between voice and thematic roles for some verbs. For middle verbs like *ame*, *shimampojank*, and *atsipe*, their objects correspond to the reason for the state. For active verbs like *katsima* and *tsarog*, their objects correspond to the experiencer (like the subjects of the middle verbs), the entity gotten angry at or made afraid. That is, with the first group, the subject corresponds to the experiencer regardless of whether an object is present. With the latter group, the subject corresponds to the experiencer when intransitive, but the object corresponds to the experiencer when transitive.<sup>19</sup>

All verbs, again with the exception of intransitive *shine* ‘be happy,’ allow nominal complements, but only two of 14 allow nonverbal clausal complements. A larger number of verbs, six of 14, allow verbal clausal complements, with various differences in the morphosyntactic properties of those verbal complements. Verbs like *tsa* ‘know’ and *ji* ‘believe falsely’ allow both realis and irrealis complements without restriction on the coreference of arguments between clauses. With *kenkej* ‘think,’ verbal complements must be irrealis and have a subject coreferential with that of the matrix clause. With *nin* ‘want,’ verbal

<sup>19</sup>This is partially true of *asereg* with available data: an object corresponds to the entity bothered, not the reason for bothering.

complements must be irrealis, but there are no coreference restrictions. The status of verbal complements of *ame* ‘be used to’ is uncertain, and verbal complements of *tsarog* ‘be afraid’ are marked with apprehensive *-tsi*. When a verbal complement is not permissible, direct speech complements of *kan* ‘say’ may function to introduce relevant information (e.g., with *ogimag* ‘dream’), and an adverbial clause with *=geti* ‘when, if’ is always possible (e.g., as was shown with *shimampojank* ‘be sad’).

The verbal marking of a proleptic object in the matrix clause is restricted to verbs that can take non-verbal complements, with the exception of the causativized form of *nin* ‘want.’ For *tsa* ‘know’ and *ji* ‘believe falsely,’ prolepsis is optional (see below), and the difference in meaning between proleptic and non-proleptic constructions is not yet well understood. While all instances of *ji* with nonverbal complements show proleptic marking, it is not yet clear whether this is a grammatical requirement, that is, whether this is the only case in which prolepsis is obligatory.

Derivational suffixes play a prominent role with psych-predicates. For verbs like *shine* ‘be happy’ and *katsima* ‘be angry,’ applicatives are the only way to express the reason for the mental state, in the former case because the verb has no transitive form, in the latter case because the object refers to the entity gotten angry at, not the reason for the anger. For other verbs like *kenkej* ‘think’ and *shimampojank* ‘be sad,’ use of the indirect applicative *-ako* does not change the interpretation of the object. Lexicalized instances of causative *-akag* are attested with *nin* ‘want’ and *tsarog* ‘be afraid.’

Future research can clarify whether certain verbs have intransitive forms (i.e., *nejema* and *asereg*), whether they can take verbal complements, and what the interpretation of proleptic object marking is. Relatedly, a lexical study of voice and thematic roles that goes beyond psych-predicates will help elucidate the function of the active-middle alternation in Nijagantsi languages, which has become fossilized in some languages. Furthermore, continued work with texts and native speaker intuitions will refine our understanding of various possible senses of verbs, and their interactional functions. More broadly, different possible complement clauses and requirements on them can be situated crosslinguistically.

## 7 Abbreviations and Representational Conventions

Epenthetic segments are not included in the segmentation (see O’Hagan 2020:217-220 for details). The following orthographic conventions are used: <b> = β; <ch> = tʃ; <j> = h; <r> = r; <sh> = ʃ. The following abbreviations are used: 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person; ABL = ablative; AL = alienable; ALL = allative; ANTIP = antipassive; AM = associated motion; APPR = apprehensive; AR = active realis; AUG = augmentative; CAUS = causative; CE = counter-expectational; CL = classifier; CNGR = congruent; COP = copula; CT = contrastive topic; DEC = deceased reference; DIR = directional; DIST = distal; DSTR = distributive; EVID = evidential; EW = elsewhere; EXST = existential; F = feminine; FOC = focus; FRST = frustrative; HORT = hortative; IDEO = ideophone; IMP = imperative; INCL = inclusive; INCNGR = incongruent; INDR = indirect; INSTR = instrumental; INT = interrogative; INTJ = interjection; IPFV = imperfective; IRR = irrealis; LOC = locative; M = masculine; MAL = malefactive; MED = medial; MID = middle; MIR = mirative; MOD = modal; MR = middle realis; NEG = negation; NMZ = nominalizer; NREF = nonreferential; OST = ostensive; P = possessive; PFV = perfective; PL = plural; PRES = presentative; PRO = pronoun; PROSP = prospective; PURP = purpose; REC = recipient; RECIP = reciprocal; RD = reduplication; REG = regressive; REL = relativizer; SM = specific moment; WH = *wh*-word.

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